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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES.

A Nagging Note:—The body of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel was brought to Bombay on the S. S Narkunda which arrived here on Thursday at 6 p. m. It was received at the pier by the relatives and friends of Mr. Patel and was conveyed to the G. T. Hospital where it was kept till Friday morning. On Friday the body was taken in solemn procession to the Hindu burning ground generally known as Sonapur and was there consigned to the flames. The proceedings in their subdued character were far more impressive than any spectacular demonstration. The decision of the Bombay Government withholding permission to cremate Mr. Vithalbhai's body on the foreshore at Chowpathy, has therefore not detracted from—rather has it enhanced—the value of the ceremony. It had many reasons to commend it. Chowpathy is the only bit of sandy beach adjoining the southern half of Bombay city. It is crowded during the greater part of the day with men, women and children. All along the shore there are residential and other buildings. Chowpathy is, for these reasons, the most unsuitable place one can think of for cremating a body on an open pyre. On hygienic and sanitary grounds also, cemetries in India are as a rule placed at a distance from places of human habitation. These are very good reasons for not permitting corpses to be cremated on the foreshore. The Press Note, however, leaves these aside, and makes out that the main reason for refusing the request is the probability of similar requests being made, in future. If the present Government can refuse permission to the cremation of Mr. Patel's body on the foreshore notwithstanding the precedent created by Mr. Tilak's case, a future Government may be trusted to exercise its discretion with equal regard to the conditions that may then prevail. There is no good reason for assuming that it will be less mindful of its duty to the public than the present one. What is even more objectionable, is the dragging in of the Hindu community into this matter without any excuse whatever. The application was not made on the ground that Mr. Patel was a Hindu, and Hinduism has nothing to do with the question which the Government had to decide. According to Hindu ideas the cremation ceremony can only take place in the established smashans. The only exception is in the case of sanyasins who, however, are buried and not burned. The only conceivable result of introducing the Hindu name in this context, is to invoke communal jealousies. The person who drafted the Note might not have consciously intended it but that only shows how deep-rooted and insidious the communal appeal has become in certain types of minds. The Indian population is predominantly Hindu, whether one likes it or not, and there is no sense in nagging at it in the manner of this Note.

Affairs in Afghanistan:—A few days ago, Dr. Sir Muhammed Iqbal, Sir Syed Ross Masood and Syed Suleiman Nadvi, who had been invited by King Nadir Shah to advise him on educational reforms which he contemplated introducing in his country, returned to India. In their statement to the press they declared that there was complete safety of life and property in Afghanistan and that even the orthodox party stood solidly behind the King and his Ministers in their reforms. One of the leading divines was quoted by them as saying that in Afghanistan there was now no difference between the Mullahs and the young men. This statement was made on the 7th instant to the Associated Press. The news of the murder of King Nadir Shah on the 8th instant, therefore, came as a complete surprise to Indian readers. It is not known at the time of writing who the assassin was and what his motives were. It has not been suggested that he was a lunatic who could have had no particular motive to kill the King. The alternatives seem to be that the assassin was the tool of a clerical party opposed to Nadir Shah's reforms, or that he was instigated by the party in favour of the restoration of ex-King Amanullah, which seems to have been increasing in strength of late. The ex-King, who lives at Rome, in a statement to Reuter's representative said that if the Afghan people wished him to return with his programme of reforms and progress, he was always ready to serve his country with all his powers. He went on to denounce Nadir Shah's regime as a "reign of

terror in which intellectuals of all classes had been butchered." He added that he could not help feeling a little glad that Nadir Shah was gone, as he was a danger not only to his own people but to the neighbours of Afghanistan. Amanullah refused to reply to a further question whether he intended to return immediately to Afghanistan; but one of his retinue interposed and said that naturally as he was the head of Afghanistan for ten years, he cannot be ignored by his countrymen. We are afraid there are troublous times ahead for Afghanistan which, according to all accounts, was on the high road to a stable condition under King Nadir Shah.

An Expatriation Scheme:—The *Hindu* of Madras points out that the investigation now started in South Africa is quite different from the one which was acquiesced in by the South African Indian National Congress. "The task of exploring outlets for colonization," it observes, "was intended to be for the benefit in the main of the surplus population in India and incidentally of those Indians in South Africa who might desire to go out of South Africa, hoping to find better conditions in countries to which they emigrated. The preliminary investigation started by Mr. Hofmeyr, however, is for the purpose of investigating 'into the possibilities of a colonization scheme for settling South African Indians in other countries.'...It will, therefore, be seen that the declared object of the South African Government in starting this enquiry is to send as many Indians out of the Union as possible, an object with which the Indian community is in strong disagreement because they feel they have a right to stay in South Africa and be treated as permanent members of the population." We are not surprised to learn from a cable of the South African correspondent of the *Hindu* that the task of seeking out countries for colonisation by South African Indians, is not proving as easy as it was first believed it would be.

Co-operation Between Missions and Social Reformers:—In an outspoken article the *Dnyanodaya*, which is the mouthpiece of several Christian Missions in Western India, after paying a high tribute to the operations of the Servants of Untouchables Society, asks why there should not be co-operation between Missions and the Society. The answer is obvious. The Servants of Untouchables Society has amongst its articles one forbidding religious propaganda. Christian Missions are primarily proselytising agencies. The Lindsay Commission on Missionary Colleges in India, said "if we believe in co-operation, let us do it whole-heartedly and not pretend that we can both co-operate with non-Christians and yet talk about a distinctive Christian purpose." The Hocking Commission on the Appraisal of the Work of Missions, with deeper insight, saw that the distinctive Christian purpose was for missionaries to regard themselves as co-workers with the forces within other religious systems which are making for righteousness, and it discountenanced proselytism as a hindrance to such co-operation. The *Dnyanodaya* was one of the severest critics of the Hocking Commission. We are glad that it has now come to the same conclusion though it does not yet see that so long as Missions exist to proselytise, no co-operation is possible between them and non-Christian movements like the Servants of Untouchables Society. Incidentally, the *Dnyanodaya* calls attention to the hold of caste on Indian Christians. It estimates that more than one-half of the total Indian Christian population, is dominated by caste ideas; and it knows "some who know India far better than we do who put the figure even higher." We reprinted part of the *Dnyanodaya's* article in the *Reformer* of October 28.

The Nazis and India:—The first reactions of the British Press to political innovations have invariably been violent. This has coloured reports in Indian newspapers. Very often, however, there have been startling reversals of early impressions. The Nazi movement in Germany presents the latest instance of this. At the outset, the messages appearing in British newspapers and cabled by Reuter to the Indian press consistently represented Nazism as nothing greater than a system of Jew-baiting. That attitude has been abandoned, and it is now recognized that Hitler's programme is worth a more serious study. The Indian press fortunately has been in possession of materials other than those supplied through British channels and has utilised them for enabling the public to form its independent opinion of modern Germany and her reactions to new problems. This has been largely due to the statements issued from time to time by the German Consuls in India and to the communications of Indians who have recently returned from Germany. The messages of foreign correspondents to Indian papers have also contributed to establishing a better understanding of the German question. The recent controversy in Ceylon over Reuter's message from Berlin, relating to the revisal of the marriage code in Germany, has resulted in an important statement from the German Consul for Ceylon and South India, explaining Germany's position in relation to the racial question. The contemplated legislation, as we believed, is solely concerned with an internal problem which has arisen in Germany after the war.

The Jews in Palestine:—Commenting on the position of Jews in Palestine, the *Leader* deplores British indifference to the feelings of the Arabs. It writes: "The Arabs may well inquire how they will be able to rule over Palestine when the country has passed into the hands of the Jews. There are a handful of Jews in South Africa, but it is they more than any other class of Europeans who are responsible for the humiliations injustice and oppression to which Asiatics are subjected under the Union Government."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1933.

BIRTH CONTROL.

The idea of improving the economic condition of the country by means of a vigorous propaganda in favour of birth control by contraceptive methods, has found unexpected support from some influential men. They have held public meetings and passed resolutions advocating measures to popularise the artificial limitation of families on a national scale. The enormous practical difficulties in the way of this measure, even the *Spectator*, which regards the increase of Asiatic populations as a menace to European civilisation, has felt obliged to recognise. It wrote in its issue of September 29: "It is hardly conceivable that birth control methods should be adopted in the East as things are. The simplest of such methods involves the use of appliances of one kind or another, and the cost of them would militate fatally against their adoption by the poorest classes, which are also the most fertile classes, of the population of Asiatic countries, even if there were no religious objection to be surmounted. It might well be an act of wisdom on the part of the governments in Asia to make the free issue of contraceptives by approved clinics possible, but there is no visible prospect of that, and so far clinics do not even exist, apart from half a dozen or so, in India." We can not imagine that these considerations are not present to the minds of the advocates of birth control in this country. We rather think that the impelling motive in their case is their knowledge of the hardships in individual cases. One of the most distressing sights, is that of bright young girls broken in health and reduced to skin and bone within half a dozen years of their marriage. The children themselves are underfed and start life with a strong tendency to hypochondria which often develops in after life to cynicism and inappreciation of the joy of life for themselves and intolerance of it in others. The advocates of birth control among us would seem to have been moved more by such instances than by a consideration of the practicability of their proposals. It is a delicate task to suggest to an over-uxorious son-in-law that he should include some consideration for the health of his wife among his matrimonial responsibilities. A public propaganda avoids this necessity. Unless the relative concerned is one of those individuals who never open a newspaper, there is a chance of his lighting on the speeches of eminent men in favour of birth control and of his adopting it in his own case. We do not say that all or most of the elderly advocates of birth control are actuated by this desire to compass a private end by public propaganda. But it is not unlikely to be present in the minds of some of them and, if it were, we should not think that it is a matter for reproach. So far as the propaganda in favour of birth control promotes among husbands at thought for the consequences of too frequent child-bearing on their wives, it is a movement to be welcomed.

This kind of experience is to be met with chiefly among the middle classes. For the working classes who are the vast majority, the argument holds, namely, that if every addition to the population is a mouth more to feed it is also a pair of hands more to work. Looking at the question from the national point of view, therefore, the problem of the increase of population is the problem of providing increasing work. The advocacy of birth control is detrimental to national progress in that it diverts attention from the real issue which Government and publicists have to face. Dr. Hutton may be excused for suggesting this as a short cut to national progress involving no change or very little in the political and economic systems under which he serves and we live. The *Spectator* is very simple when it suggests that the Japanese Government should distribute birth control appliances free among its subjects in order to avert the menace to Europe of the rapid growth of Japan's population. From the true nationalist standpoint, an increase of population should be a source of strength and not one of weakness. If the birthrate is appreciably lowered, the death rate remaining what it is, the Indian population will be very soon on its way to extinction. In passing, it is surprising that the modern invention of methods of rejuvenation, which is calculated to increase the population at the other end of the age scale, has escaped the censure of the Census Commissioner. The most valuable part of his contribution to the population problem is that which we quoted in our leading article on the 21st. October The rise of the standard of life in the West has led to the progressive decrease in the birthrate. Dr. Hutton, rather incomprehensibly, understands the standard of life to mean access to adequate supplies of food and goes on to show that this by itself would not be enough. The standard of life does not consist in the amount of the feed. We do not speak of the standard of life of cows and horses although some animals are well-fed and others are on the verge of starvation. The standard of life concerns directly the higher emotional and intellectual nature of man more than the food he eats. Over-feeding is often a cause of sterility. Nature takes the problem into its own hands in such cases. The underlying reason for the large increase of low standards in human life, is that indicated in a pregnant observation by one of the characters of George Eliot. Men to whom the higher pleasures are denied needs must fall back on the lower animal ones. A low standard of life is the denial of the higher intellectual and aesthetic instincts. The sexual act is the sole diversion in which the illiterate masses can indulge. Birth control propaganda is likely to do harm by obscuring this important need of national policy.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA—IX.

MODERN TRENDS IN WORLD RELIGIONS.

The Haskell lectures were to begin on the 31st July. Before that I was asked to speak at the Institute, also a part of the same foundation, on "Modern Trends in World Religions." There were four heads into which the subject was divided. The first was "World Religions and Modern Scientific Thinking." There were six speakers, one on each religion: Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism. Professor Edward Ames read a short paper on the position of Christianity, which was published in the *Reformer* of the 2nd September. The first and last sentences of his admirable paper, gave me the clue to what I should say, speaking for Hinduism. What is modern scientific thinking? Professor Ames defined it in his opening sentence. "Scientific thinking," he said, "is a definite, conscious, method of examining facts in a given field in the most objective and impartial manner possible, interpreting them in the light of the hypotheses which these facts themselves suggest, and seeking further relevant facts and more adequate hypotheses." This is the experimental method as distinguished from the dogmatic methods associated in the West with religion.* In my twenty minutes' speech, I pointed out that the antithesis between the two methods did not exist in Hinduism which held that religious truths were quite as demonstrable as scientific truths. When some one asked Ramakrishna Paramahamsa whether he had seen God, he replied that not only had he seen God but he could show Him to the questioner. The *Gita* declares that the religion it is proclaiming is demonstrable—*pratyakshagamayam*. Professor Ames concluded: "Just as different languages and literatures may be translated into one another, so the great faiths when scientifically understood not only become intelligible to one another but become co-operative forces in the spiritual life of mankind." This was the conclusion of Science. It was, I said, the starting-point of Hinduism. All religions, to the Hindu, were so many different aspects of Truth and all were entitled to reverence, though, to most men, the particular religion in which they were born and brought up, offered the easiest way of spiritual development.

The subject for the second day was: "World Religions and Modern Social Economic Problems." I was the first speaker. I interpreted "Social", to refer to problems concerning the relation of men and women and consequent changes in the attitude to marriage and family life. Hindu reformers, I said, have for a hundred years been engaged in promoting reforms in these spheres in response to modern influence but not in imitation of the West. In all problems, except the political where the West is unreservedly accepted as the pioneer Indian reformers sought and generally obtained light from ancient sources. Nearly all social reforms advocated by them had been accepted by the people and the old bitter opposition had disappeared. But Indian reformers were handicapped by the absence of legislative and administrative powers without which they could not make their reforms effective in the life of the community. This was one of the strongest reasons underlying the demand for self-government.

In the Economic sphere none of the Indian religious cultures had a chance of producing their own reactions to modern influences, as the economic policy of the country was imposed on it from without. At the same time, it has been all along evident that if they had had the opportunity, the Indian cultures, and the Hindu particularly, would not have evolved Free Trade, for instance, as the most suitable fiscal policy for this country. Notwithstanding the protests of Indian opinion, Free Trade, which has now been unceremoniously discarded in its birthplace, was forced upon India. The present political movement in India was distinguished from its predecessors by the large amount of support it derived from the commercial classes. Just as in the case of social progress, in economic matters also the want of self-governing powers was felt to be a great handicap. As a striking illustration of the industrial policy followed, I instanced our railways. There were some forty thousand miles of them but we were still importing locomotive engines. India for a hundred years, I summed up, has been developed for consuming and not for producing purposes. She has been treated as a market and not as a nation with an ancient culture.

The other subject I had to speak on was "The Task of Modern Religion." Religion has succeeded in humanising individual conduct but it has so far not seriously attempted to humanise the conduct of nations towards each other. Its task now I said, was to get mankind to extend the ethical principles which governed the conduct of individuals in civilised communities to dealings also of nations with one another.

The proceedings of the Institute were taken down on a typewriter in shorthand. I noticed a gentleman sitting in the front playing leisurely on a typewriter before him and took him to be a student who was taking notes of the lectures. On the second or third day I happened to meet him and referred to his taking notes on his typewriter. He told me that the machine which he was using was fitted with shorthand types and he was taking down the proceedings verbatim. I do not remember to have seen a machine of this kind in India. The machine was practically silent and did not disturb the speakers in the least.

In the Institute all the religions except Islam were represented by persons to whom they were wholly or largely their spiritual heritage. Judaism was ably represented by Professor Mordecai Kaplan, Professor Abraham Cronbach and Rabbi Solomon Goldman. We, in India, have no idea of the great developments in Hebrew religious thought in these days. We have ancient Jewish communities in India but they are wedded to the old ideas and ritual and are not taking part in the great contributions which Jewish thinkers in other lands are making to religious ideology. The Jews who came later to India are immersed in finance and the race course, and do not count in the intellectual field. What is of especial interest to Hindu thinkers is that the modern developments in Hebrew religious thought are closely parallel to the movements in Indian religious thought. Between liberal Judaism and liberal Hinduism there is a very close resemblance amounting almost to affinity. This was the impression which I formed from listening to the addresses of the Jewish speakers, particulary to that of the Rabbi, Goldman, at the Institute.

The Christian point of view was most ably presented by masters like Professor Ames, Professor Hocking, Bishop McConnell and Professor Taylor of Vanderbilt University. They are all in the front ranks of religious and philosophic thought and the sentences which I have quoted from Professor Ames' paper, are fairly representative of the trend of progressive American thought in religion. Here, again, I felt gladdened by the approximation of modern religious thought

* The Hebrew Psalmist applies the experimental method to religion when he exhorts: "O, taste and see that the Lord is good." (34, VIII.)

to the religio-philosophic movement among us, so abundantly evident in their contributions. Co-operation and not competition among religions, was the keynote of them all.

The point of view of Buddhism was presented most sympathetically by Professor James Bissett Pratt, a lifelong student of Eastern religions, especially Buddhism. Professor Hideo Kishimoto of Harvard University also spoke from the Buddhist point of view on "The Task of Modern Religion." Both speakers seemed to be agreed that Buddhism in China and Japan was not reacting vigorously to modern influences as shown by the tendency in these lands to take over Western ideas and institutions without any attempt at adaptation.

Dr. Hu Shih was the principal representative of Confucianism. He had evidently little faith in religion as a means of national regeneration and his exposition of Confucianism was rather an exposure of its utter failure in China. Dr. Hu Shih has been called the father of Chinese Nationalism. He is a very brilliant product of American universities and bears no resemblance whatever to the traditional Chinese scholar. Compared to Dr. Hu Shih, Professor Lewis Hodous who also spoke for Confucianism took a more hopeful view of its possibilities as a factor of Chinese progress.

The speakers on Islam, Professor Martin Sprengler and Professor Henry Allen were both very sympathetic but they drew their conclusions mainly from Turkey and Egypt and almost totally ignored the important contributions which Indian Islam has made to religious thought. Owing chiefly to their preoccupation with politics, the leaders of Islam in India are letting valuable opportunities pass by for taking their place in the momentous movement of thought in our time.

The task of presenting the Hindu point of view was ably shared by Professor S. L. Joshi who, though a professing Christian, very enthusiastically defended Hindu culture and philosophy against the attacks made on it by missionaries and others. I met several Indian Christian young men in America and it was pleasing to find that almost every one of them shared Professor Joshi's views in regard to their ancestral faith. This is partly due to the national movement in this country. It is also to some extent due to the fact that everyone who goes from India is known as a Hindu and grows to think of himself as a Hindu. The communal spirit which is so painfully evident in India is totally absent among Indians in America. The only Indian Muslim student whom I met there was as staunch a nationalist as any of his fellows of other creeds.

The occasion for my meeting this young Indian Muslim was itself significant. He was actively promoting a scheme for a scholarship to enable an Indian woman student to be sent to Chicago. The University authorities, he told me, were likely to give her a free scholarship and he was trying to raise the money needed for her expenses. For this purpose, he and other Indian students with the help of America friends were getting up a performance of the *Mricchakatika* or "Toy Cart" an anoient Indian play in English. We attended the performance and were struck by the enthusiasm shown by the several characters, mostly Americans, in their respective parts. The exhibition of Indian dancing by an American girl who took part in the performance, evoked general applause. I was asked to say a few words at the end. I expressed my surprise and admiration at the understanding with which the several parts were presented and, particularly, of the excellent exhibition of Indian dancing. I understood later that the performance had resulted in a substantial contribution to the scholarship scheme. K. N.

A "SYNTHETIC" CHRIST.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It is reported that once when Mahatma Gandhi was asked what would be the best way to further Christianity in India, he said, "You must practise your religion without adulterating it or toning it down."

Among the intelligentsia in India there is growing apace a desire for an international religion. They are turning to Jesus Christ as a centre around whom they can all rally, but their writings upon this subject display a great lack of comprehension.

Jesus Christ is God Almighty Incarnate.

God, in Jesus Christ, Himself hung and suffered upon the Cross.

In the Mystery of the Redemption God—Jesus Christ—the Cross—are inseparable entities.

Jesus Christ can have no rival; *but He is the fulfilment of the Spiritual aspirations of all time and of all the world.*

Christianity has its articles of faith, which are not those of Hinduism. Truly, in the high altitudes of Mysticism adherents of all creeds can meet on a common ground. But Mysticism is not a working Faith. Such must have some dogma and fundamentals; and in the foundations of Christianity and Hinduism will be found little mutual reciprocity.

A "synthetic" Christ may be adapted who will usefully serve as a figurehead for a new "composite" religion, but its inaugurators must be under no illusion that this will be either the Jesus Christ of the Gospels, or of history, or of the Christian Faith.

Cambridge, October 16, 1933. } Yours etc., I. J. PITT.

ECCLESIASTICAL LIQOUR PROPAGANDA *

Intemperate language is very often the sign of a troubled conscience, and someone writing in *The Bombay Diocesan Magazine* for November over the signature of 'Chaplain' employs such intemperate language that we do not propose to follow his example. He is deeply disturbed that a weighty publication in Geneva should attach importance to our Liquor Memorandum of June 15 and 22 and that some part of the Christian Church and Missions in India should be agitating against the existence of the drink traffic in India as stated in our issue of October 5. Our friend is clearly a diligent reader of the *Dnyanodaya* for he also draws his ammunition from our issue of May 11 when we commented on a liquor advertisement in our *Diocesan* contemporary. The purpose of our columns is neither polemical nor the free advertisement of what we regard as a most irreverent view concerning our Lord and the connection between temptation and sacramental observance. We therefore refrain from quoting the intemperate terms he uses regarding 'the intemperate temperance advocated by the *Dnyanodaya*' except to say that we believe a fuller knowledge of Jewish customs in the time of our Lord would have restrained him from using the word 'sacrilege' in the connection in which he uses it. We are ashamed to say that *The Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, 'published with the sanction of the Lord Bishop,' is still advertising 'all qualities of Wines, Whiskies, Rums, Beers' and that the very same advertisement is still appearing every week also in the Roman Catholic weekly *Examiner*, both of which ecclesiastical journals are soliciting 'trial orders' for these intoxicating liquors. And yet some people wonder why the message of Jesus Christ is so slow in its-

* From *Dnyanodaya*.

progress among the educated people of Western India, though these latter have said repeatedly that they cannot understand how the disciples of Jesus can help on liquor propaganda in any shape or form. Hundreds of millions of people pray daily, as instructed by Jesus, 'Lead us not into temptation' but such advertisements in Romanist and Anglican journals lead their readers straight into temptation. We can assure our contemporaries it affords us no pleasure to write like this, and we feel certain that if they knew how they are hindering the kingdom of Christ with many of India's worthiest people they would cleanse their otherwise useful pages of these 'offences'.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

(SECTION 68 AGAIN.)

The religious persecution of Panchamas under this formidable penal provision of the Christian marriage law by no means ended with the Ellore Sessions case which was reported and commented upon in the *Reformer* of 29th November and 6th December 1930 and 10th to 31st January 1931.

Close on its heels, in February 1931, came the Sessions case at Coimbatore resulting in the conviction of the Arumaigar, an elderly Pariah priest of 75 winters, who officiated at the Hindu wedding of a Christian at his request.

In May last an enterprising Roman Catholic functionary of Trichinopoly got the Police to club this Marriage Act Section with the notorious "preventive" Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to expel by force from the local Public Hall a wedding party arranged by the leaders of the "Self-Respect" movement, who once belonged to the Minkulam Christian community but had long left the Church as a protest against the tyranny of the clergy.

And now comes the news of another Sessions case decided in Guntur recently on 20th October 1933 under the same Section of the Christian Marriage Act coupled with the "abetment" section 114 of the Indian Penal Code.

The gist of the offence under Section 68 of Act XV of 1872 is the solemnizing of the marriage of a Christian by one not authorised under section 5 of the Act to do it. The maximum punishment provided for the offence is transportation or rigorous imprisonment for 10 years besides fine. The occurrence which usually calls forth this Section into action in the Madras Presidency is the performance of a marriage with Hindu ritual between a Christian and a Hindu, which is not uncommon among the Depressed Classes of this Province.

A valid custom of this kind has been recognised to exist among these classes even by the Madras High Court on the Civil side of its jurisdiction and the Hindu marriage ritual ordinarily used was held to effectuate a valid conversion to Hinduism as well as a valid Hindu marriage simultaneously (1910 I. L. R. 33 Madras 342). But on its Criminal side the same High Court has held by a Full Bench in 1916 that the performance of it is an offence under the Christian Marriage Act. This is the governing law of our criminal courts in Madras to-day, though the High Courts in North India call the Madras ruling an error. (I. L. R. 40 Madras 1030 and 40 Allahabad 393.)

The complainant is usually a Christian clergyman. Whether European or Indian, he has only to write a letter of complaint to the District Magistrate or D. S. P., or Police Sub-Inspector to be sure of getting whole families of innocent "offenders" arrested and charged before a Sub-Magistrate, who in turn is sure to commit them for trial to the Sessions Court whatever may be the Defence plea. In the present case the complainant was an Indian gentleman connected with the American Lutheran Evangelical Mission. He was not only a Christian Marriage Registrar but also Supervisor of Christian congregations in Repalli Taluk (Guntur District).

Along with the Hindu priest who is supposed, by a legal fiction arising from a lawless necessity, to be the principal offender, for other persons dubbed as his "abettors" were hauled up as the accused, namely, the Hindu bridegroom, his father, his paternal uncle and the alleged 'Christian' bride's father,—all of the *Mdld* community of Depressed Classes.

One fact however must be noted at once with lively gratitude. It is that neither the Christian bride, nor her mother, nor her Hindu mother-in-law nor any other woman was dragged in the net and thrown into the dock. It may be owing to the Christian charity of the complainant or the Hindu stupidity of the Police who worked up the Prosecution. But the fact itself is in pleasing relief, when we recall that in the Ellore case of 1930 in which the complainant was the high-minded European manager of the United Lutheron Church Mission of Rajamundry, the accused, of whom there were six included among them not only the 'Christian' bride of barely 14 years but also the Hindu bridegroom's *step-mother*. The bride's mother and the bridegroom's own mother were happily dead by that time.

The charge sheet laid at the instance of the Wesleyan Indian Clergyman in the Coimbatore Sessions caseof 1931 discloses an even more severe self-restraint. It was directed against the Hindu priest alone. This wise generosity had its own tactical advantages. The Christian bridegroom who had strayed from his duty to the church could be won back to its side by being chosed as Prosecution witness along with his bride instead of being made a co-accused with the luckless man whose priestly services they had themselves voluntarily requisitioned. The courts took it for granted that the Christian remains still a Christian in intention as well as in law when he went through the Hindu marriage ritual of his own accord, and therefore gave him no trouble to explain how it came about. The unfriended old priest left in Jail on remand for over 6 weeks had no option but to "repent". He pleaded guilty and threw himself upon the mercy of the Sessions Judge who then compassionately let him off with a light sentence of imprisonment till the rising of the court and a small fine of ten rupees in view of his extreme old age and absence of any personal motive or deception on his part

In the Ellore and Guntur cases however the accused were all acquitted in the Sessions court unanimously by the Assessors and the Judge. The ground for acquittal was that the bride who was alleged to have been a Christian was not a Christian, at all events, at the time when the Hindu marriage ritual was administered to her. It was admitted by the prosecution witnesses in the Ellore case that the father of the bride had on his own behalf and on behalf of his minor daughter openly declared to the church authorities more than a month before the marriage that they would come to the church no more and that he was bent on having a Hindu marriage for her. The learned sessions Judge held thereupon that that was sufficient to establish their renunciation of the Christian faith from the moment the declaration was made, since there was no particular formality prescribed by the law as condition precedent to a Christian abandoning the faith. In the Guntur case there were two circum-

stances in favour of the accused. The Christian father had admittedly presented a written petition to the church authorities no less than three months prior to the marriage in question asking them to remove the name of his minor daughter from the roll of Christians as she was being brought up as a Hindu by her Hindu grandmother. But the church authorities persisted in retaining her name in the church register. She had also a conversion ceremony performed to her with Arya Samaj rites one day prior to the marriage. These two facts were held by the Court to prove beyond question that the bride was not a professing Christian at the time of her Hindu marriage.

To the man-in-the-street who is elated by the passing triumphs of the moment without looking deep into the tragedy of the preceding trials, it may seem that these happy acquittals are proof that the penal law of the Christian marriage Act is innocuous in practice and no anxiety need be felt about the safety and freedom of the ignorant Panchama people, Hindu and Christian, living under its shadow.

But with a little sympathetic insight it is easy to grasp that the prospect of possible acquittal in the Sessions Court cannot be a comfort to these poor men and women whom it is so easy for an offended Christian official to drag through a harassing course of arrest, Police charge, magisterial inquiry, Committal and Sessions trial involving untold hardships to whole families for several months together, for no other fault than that they wish to marry the person they like with whatever ritual may appeal to their hearts. It is the clear duty of every friend of the voiceless Depressed Classes to investigate into the legal, moral and spiritual justification for such tyranny by one community over another in the name of religion. The obvious illegality of the Madras High Court interpretation of Section 68 was exposed long ago by the Allahabad High Court and is not respected in North India. It is for the oppressors to enlighten us on the moral and spiritual justifications of their cruel action. We have reason to know that they themselves feel they have no justification from the true Christian standpoint to use any other weapon than Christian church discipline in such cases. But they are tempted by the terrible engine which the Full Bench of 40 Madras has absent-mindedly placed in their hands to drive a steam-roller over heathen slums for the offence of exercising their free will in their own domestic concerns without heeding Pastoral admonitions.

No one in India wishes to be unfair to Christian missionaries or belittling the good that Christian missions have done to Panchamas under their spiritual care. But we believe that fact gives no moral or legal right to them to harm those who may not be yielding and submissive in every detail of life. At any rate it is the bounden duty of every Indian of whatever creed to wake up betimes and satisfy himself by diligent inquiry whether those who delight to apply the fire of Section 68 to poor Indian homes are taking care to see that the missionary standpoint coincides exactly with the true Christian standpoint, which we believe is also the humanitarian standpoint.

We know there are numerous Christian Missionaries and Clergymen, justly proud of their noble calling, who love to glorify their Master and his Church by purely spiritual means and who disdain to employ any but spiritual weapons to secure and retain the allegiance of his flock. We respectfully invite them to speak out their minds on the worthiness or otherwise of the use being made of the penal Section 68 as a Christian instrument for the guidance of their village workers. This is absolutely necessary in fairness to themselves and in the interest of inter-communal amity.

Here is a call also to men of good will everywhere who wish well of the "untouchables" with no partisan motive of exalting Hinduism or Christianity to the discredit of the other but with a pure desire to protect their freedom in the exercise of their rights. They have to do much organised propaganda among them and give legal help. At present the only legal advice the ignorant get in their villages is from the Christian pastor and his agents whose sole purpose is to dissuade them from having their own way with the marriage ritual, when it implies defection from the Church, by threats of prosecution and punishment in Criminal Courts. They are not told how they can have their own chosen ritual and yet be safe from legal molestation. It is for their well-wishers to make them understand that it is good for themselves to get such mixed marriages registered first as Civil marriages under the Christian Marriage Act (XV of 1872), which does not interfere with the religious faith of either party, before proceeding with whatever religious ceremony they may choose. Such registration not only disarms the Christian fanatic panting for religious reprisal under Section 68 but secures for the bride a better status as wedded wife among the Depressed Classes than mere Hindu ceremonial can do. If the Christian party to the marriage is willing definitely to declare himself or herself as professing the Hindu religion, whether understood in its narrow aspect or its broadest sense, nothing could be better for the parties to do than to register the marriage under Dr. Gour's amendment to the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872). This gives even a better status to the bride by securing for her rights of monogamy, and rights of inheritance under the Succession Act, more unassailable than under Act XV of 1872, by reason of certain provisions which are lacking in the latter. One may go further and say that it would be altogether to the good if the friends of the untouchables could persuade them to adopt as a general custom the practice of registering all their ordinary marriages as well under Dr. Gour's Act before or along with their religious ceremony. It will at once give a uniformity and respectability to the wedded life of these heterogeneous classes which it lacks at present and will free it from the evils of "promiscuity" and "easy divorce" spoken of by some Christian workers as existing among them.

Whether, however, we succeed in bringing about this large reform or not, we can at least befriend these classes by impressing upon them that it is absolutely necessary, in all mixed marriages between a Christian and a Hindu where Hindu ritual alone is contemplated, to place it beyond the ingenuity of the pastor and the police to pretend that the Christian party was legally still a Christian at the time of the marriage. The Ellore and Guntur cases have shown that neither the oral and written declarations of renunciation made to the church officials, nor even a conversion ceremony performed distinctly prior to the marriage, could avail to check the persecuting power of Section 68 up to the Sessions Court. Evidently some more efficacious method of publicity must be adopted, such as a declaration made before a magistrate and attested by him and publication in the papers or the Gazette before the performance of the marriage. The poor, illiterate, ignorant, timid and uninfluential people who are the usual victims of the penal section need all the vigilant attention and self-less care which educated friends can give them to ensure complete immunity by correct procedure.

But after all is said and done, however, it is painfully certain that it is an almost impossible task to

reach every distressed family with timely advice and help. Unless the law itself is made perfectly safe for them, no help that propagandists can give will really avail. It is hopeless to expect that the Madras High Court will go out of its way to rectify the error of its Full Bench ruling of 1916. There is no reason why the fair interpretation put in North India on the scope of Section 68 as limited only to "marriages purporting to be Christian marriages" should not prevail even in the Madras Presidency under an Act which applies to all India. All that is required is to make that section fool-proof by inserting those express terms in the section so as to make it unmistakably clear that marriages solemnised by non-Christian priests with their own ritual cannot be brought under its mischief. Immediate legislation is therefore the best remedy for the present evil in this Province. We earnestly appeal to all friends and "servants" of the Depressed Classes to put their heads together, hold an inquiry to acquaint themselves with the actual facts of the situation and take quickly the necessary steps to an amending legislation. K. R.

THE BRAHMO-SAMAJ.*

(By Dr. T. C. Khandwala.)

The ancestors of the Hindus were the Aryans who emigrated into India from Central Asia. The Aryan scriptures were the Vedas, which consisted of three parts, each representing a stage in their development. Of these, the third or latest was the most important. It was called the *Upanishads*. The Upanishads represent the height of the spiritual thought of the Aryans. The thinkers or seers of the Upanishads went through a process of evolution in their conception of the Ultimate Reality or *Brahma* by which it rose step by step, stage by stage, from *matter* to *Life*, from *Life* to *Mind*, from *Mind* to *Reason*, from *Reason* to *Love*. *Love* is the highest Reality. It is the sustaining power of everything. In modern phraseology this idea can be paraphrased as "God is Love."

Brahma is the One Reality, who is in fire and water, and who dwells in the whole universe. He is One Power, who moves the sun, the moon and the stars. He is the one All-pervading Reality that dwells in the soul of all. He is the Indwelling Presence. He is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, the eye of the eye, the life of life, the soul of our soul. He is beyond the reach of the senses and the mind, and is Incomprehensible in His fulness through the majesty of His Infinitude, yet He is Knowable in a way, not by any merely intellectual process, but by the discipline of the senses, purity of life and earnest meditation. The Upanishads emphatically assert: "One whose inmost self has been purified, he sees the Holy One in meditation. Yet whomsoever He elects, by him He is attainable." The attainment of God is the free gift of God. Here is the genesis of the doctrine of Grace or Divine Mercy. God-vision is not the end, but a means to an end. The final goal is Immortality. Immortality is rising above sorrow, suffering and sin, and dwelling in eternal peace and happiness in the company of God, who is Bliss and Love.

Pari passu with this conception of divinity, the conception of humanity in the Upanishads was equally high. The human soul is a spirit. This spirit the sword cannot pierce, nor fire burn, nor water drown. In its very essence it is free, holy, pure and perfect. It is eternal and immortal. It is a mirror of divinity. It is the image of God. It is the embodiment of the nature of God. It has kinship with God. It is a scattered ray of the Divine Light and Love. It has the germ of divinity within itself. With a bold outreach of thought, the Upanishads declare the human soul to have identity with the World Spirit, as expressed in the celebrated passage "Thou art That", that is to say "The human soul is one with the Supreme Soul".

As such the human soul has the potential capacity for infinite expansion and evolution, into the fulness of its divine attributes and perfection of itself. The goal of humanity is to attain this perfection. It is the mission of man's life to endeavour to reach this goal. He must struggle to reach an ever higher stage of life, of purity, of love, triumphing over the baser elements that drag life downwards and conquering selfish passions.

The Bhagavad-Gita is the compendium of the Upanishads. Its teaching is that man should live his life after the manner of the lotus. The lotus-plant grows in ponds. Its roots spread widely in the mud and slime at the bottom of the pool, but its leaves and its beautiful flowers keep above the water undefiled. So man must live his life in the midst of the impurities of the world but without being stained by them, keeping his heart always turned towards God. He must live a life of purity in the midst of the impurities and evils about him.

This conception of God and man had its reflex in social life. The seers of India laid down three social principles:

(1) This created world is one family. Humanity is a brotherhood, of which God is the Universal Father and Mother; therefore

(2) It is the privilege and the duty of man to see himself reflected in his brother-man and to see his brother-man reflected in himself, to recognize the complete identity or kinship of the soul of his brother-man with his own and his co-partnership with him in the gift of the divine nature; therefore

(3) Man should look upon his fellow-man with the eye of love and friendship.

Such are the teachings of the Upanishads. These, in summary, constitute the Vedanta. The Vedanta in turn was the basis of the Brahmo-Samaj.

The Vedanta emphasizes the worship of God through communion with him. This communion with God is called Yoga. The path to it is threefold. The first way is knowledge, *i. e.* spiritual knowledge that comes to souls through purity, meditation, intuition and revelation. The second way is through action, *i. e.* deeds pleasing to God. The third way is love. The path of Knowledge is halting without being joined with the paths of Action and Love, and the paths of Action and Love are blind without being joined with the path of Knowledge. The most commendable course is to combine the three, and this the Brahmo-Samaj has done.

Brahmo-Samaj has accepted the basic truths or the eternal verities, embodied in the Hindu Scriptures. These eternal verities of the Hindu Scriptures have found expression also in the historic religions of the world. Not that one has borrowed them from the other; they are independent out-pourings of inspired souls. Every religion expounds, interprets and amplifies these eternal verities, and seeks their applications in life, in its own way according to the stage of the human development, and associated environments of the period of its promulgation.

Hinduism is an evolutionary faith, so is its daughter Brahmaism. Through the inspiration of its leaders, especially Maharshi Devendranatha Tagore, and Brahmanand Keshab C. Sen it has assimilated whatever it found to be good in the systems of faith and philosophy, encircling it. It has accepted the discipleship of the seers of the Vedas, and Upanishads, of Lord Shrikrishna of the Bhagavad-Gita,

* An address delivered at the Fellowship of Faiths, Chicago.

of Lord Buddha, of love and pity for the animate creation, and of inward purity, of Lord Jesus, the Apostle of Love of God, and man, of Shri Chaitanya, Kabir, Tukaram and other medieval saints of India, all spiritual gurus or masters of the world.

The achievements of the Brahmo-Samaj during its life of a little more than one hundred years are in all fields of life, religious, moral, social, and political. Its sphere of influence was first felt among the Hindus.

The Hindus worshipped idols, but it should never for a moment be thought that they believed that sticks and stones were divinities in themselves. They used them for the concentration of their mind on the unseen power behind them. This unseen power they worshipped. The contact of the Brahmo lives, and the influence of the Brahmo teachings has emphasised this attitude of the Hindu mind. And although idol worship is not eradicated, behind all rituals, and behind all worship of images, there is the attitude of the belief in One Universal, All-pervading Spirit. The spirit of Brahmoism has so far penetrated the masses, and worked as a leaven that, although Brahmoism has not been accepted as the creed of the masses, and is even opposed, its hymns are sung in orthodox homes.....and even in othodox temples, and it has created a spiritual atmosphere round the lives of the masses. And no wonder that it has done so, for Brahma Dharma has its roots in the spiritual soil of the Upanishads and the Gita of the hoary Hindu religion.

This spiritual atmosphere has erected a highly elevating moral atmosphere. The corrupt ideas of a century ago, have undergone a transformation and the good, the true, and the beautiful are having their proper values in life.

All this has had the effect of purifying home and social life and institutions. A century ago Hindu Society was beset with many social evils, such as child-marriage, polygamy, Purda system, prohibition of widow-remarriage, Suttee, the rigid caste system, prejudice against literacy of the female sex etc. The Brahma-Samaj took the lead in the campaign against all these. It pleaded for education, and the introduction of the English language in the public schools and through it, English literature, and the Western sciences. It laid special emphasis on female education, and for the emancipation of woman, and her uplift in the social scale, giving her an equality with men in all the fields of life. The endeavours of the Brahma-Samaj had their repercussions on Hindu Society and at present, Hindu Society is on its way to its old status of the freedom from these social evils.

The ideals of the Brahma-Samaj have remodelled not only the spiritual and moral life of the Hindus but they have had their repercussions on the liberal thought of the sister communities of India and also the religious spirit of the West which has found in them a fresh way of the interpretations of its old tenets and there is now a firm ground of hope that the streams of the spiritual thought of the West and the East, now running parallel, would converge and meet and fertilise a new world, a heaven on earth.

Through a realisation of such a Catholic conception of God and men, and human relationships will come the real renunciation of hatreds and jealousies, conflicts of interest and wars and in their place, a lofty spirit of fellowship and co-operation will come to lift up the world out of the slough of depression, into which it has fallen, and glorify the words of Lord Buddha, *viz.* "Love conquers hate", the rule of life of Mahatma Gandhi. May this day soon come.

A LIQUOR SHOP IN THE MILL AREA.

(By N. N. Menon)

A notice has been put up in Rustom Building, on the Ferguson Road, Lower Parel, to the effect that a new retail Foreign Liquor Shop will shortly be opened in that building. The Ferguson Road area is entirely inhabited by the workers. There are about seven mills on this road besides the B. B. & C. I. Railway Work Shops in the close vicinity. There are already four country liquor shops, two toddy shops and two Bars, Foreign Liquor shops, on this road besides innumerable others within easy reach from this place. In short for every furlong there is a liquor shop and still the Government have sanctioned the opening of one more shop on the Road. Even the existing shops present enough temptation to the residents of the locality mostly workers in the Mills and the Railway Workshops. Consequently, the workers are driven deeper and deeper into poverty and misery and the locality presents a dismal scene of constant quarrels, murders and accidents. Being under the influence of liquor always due to the tempting facilities afforded, there is naturally derelection of duty on the part of the workers in the Mills close by for which the workers are too often fined by the Mill authorities resulting in the reduction of their monthly earnings. In the face of all these facts the Government have had no compunction to sanction the location of one more shop on this locality, which is unnecessary and uncalled for.

Further, the sanction accorded is in direct contravention of a definite undertaking given by the Government that no liquor shops will be located anywhere near a Mill or School or place of Public Worship. The proposed shop is to be located just in front of the Prahlad Mills. Besides this there are seven mills on this road in close proximity. There are a number of Municipal Schools on this Road. There is also a Mohammedan Mosque and one or two temples. All these are within arm's length from the place where the new shop is to be opened. Therefore this shop will constitute another menace to the Schools and places of public worship.

Not only this. The Government of Bombay openly declared in the Legislative Council in most definite and unequivocal terms that the Government stood for the policy of Prohibition within twenty years. Later events have, however, shown that the Government whatever their intentions when they made this declaration, are not carrying out that policy. Making Excise a transferred subject and putting it under the control of a Minister responsible to the Legislature has had no effect in changing the policy of the Government.

The Bombay Government's activities in this field have been actuated by a single thought, more by financial considerations than by the interests of the people. As matters stand at present there is not a ray of hope of the Government altering their policy a bit in the interest of the masses. Of the total number of shops in this City, an overwhelming majority of them are located in areas inhabited by the poor workers quite disproportionate to the requirements of the place.

There is no reason to expect the Government to do anything now or ever to do away with the drink evil. That is no reason, however, why other responsible public bodies and the leaders of public opinion should view the problem with equanimity. The removal of the drink evil itself will relieve the victims much of the rigour of a miserable life, improve their economic condition, health and physic, reduce sickness and death rate among them, make them more sober and sensible enough to think of

and work for a better and more promising future and last but not the least important, enable them to lead a life much nearer to that of a human being, thereby building up a better society. But so long as the Government persist in following their present Excise Policy, there is no hope of salvation for the workers. Therefore it is high time that the leaders of all shades of public opinion and all responsible public bodies rose to the occasion and making this a common issue offered a united front against the attempt of the Government to stultify their own avowed policy of Total Prohibition with a view to eradicate the evil of drink from the country. As this evil is more rampant among the workers it is the bounden duty of all the labour leaders and the Trade Unions in the Bombay City to unite on this question and to effectively counteract the menace in right earnest without any further delay. The growing poverty among the masses and the growing strength of the unemployed day by day with facilities and opportunities to keep them always under the influence of liquor is creating a situation which is rapidly heading to a crisis quite detrimental to the interest of society which will no doubt be put out of gear.

THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT IDEA.*

(BY GUSTAVE CARUS.)

Monday, September 11, 1893. The World's First Parliament of Religions. Made Opening Address of Welcome. Scene and proceedings majestic and awe inspiring beyond Words.

This is the notation in the diary of the Honorable Charles Carroll Bonney on that memorable eleventh day of September when men and women representing all the religions sat together in brotherly unison on the same platform, each one to present the greatest and best of his faith. The Parliament of Religions was the chief one among some two hundred congresses held that summer in Chicago in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, and its tremendous success made it a landmark in the history of religion.

The plan of holding a series of congresses which would represent the spirit or soul of the material exhibits of the Exposition was originated by Mr. Bonney, one of the foremost western lawyers at that time. Mr. Bonney proposed the congresses to show the achievements of the human mind in science, literature, education, religion, and other departments of human activity. The plan was adopted, and he was made President of the World's Congress Auxiliary. The motto adopted by this committee was "Not matter, but mind; not things, but men." For two years the committee worked with endless patience and tact to realize their plans.

There was a congress devoted to social reform, to women, to labour, to the various sciences, professions, and businesses. Religion was represented by forty-one denominational and inter-denominational conventions which were followed by what become the centre of interest, the World's First Parliament of Religions. Great religious gatherings had taken place before, but none equalled this. The Council of Nicea included only Christians. The Congress summoned at Patliputra (now Patna) was composed entirely of Buddhists. The Emperor Akbar attempted to bring together the leaders and teachers of all the religions of his realm, but he was summoning them as ruler and prophet of his new religion. Now for the first time in history, the exponents of all religions came together in a spirit of brotherhood, not to argue and dispute, but to meet in friendly fellowship. The invitations stated that the purpose was "not to denounce but to announce, not to debate but to confer, not to decree but to consult." The rules provided that "the speakers will..... state their own beliefs and reasons for them with the greatest frankness, without however employing unfriendly criticism of other faiths."

With a few exceptions the whole world accepted the invitation. The only important men who declined to participate or to be represented were the Archbishop of Canterberry, Primate of All England, and the Sultan of Turkey, in his capacity of Caliph or Moslem Primate. The opposition of the Sultan caused little surprise, but it was regretted because a number of Islamic scholars who had hoped to participate, felt compelled to remain absent, and the Bishops of the Greek and Armenian churches in the Turkish Empire were much embarrassed by his attitude. The opposition of the Archbishop, however, was unexpected, for he not only refused to accept the invitation, but even refused to write a letter expressing his approval of the Parliament. His chief reason was that, since he considered Christianity the one religion, taking part in the congress would be admitting the equality of others and the parity of their position and claims. The Committee regretted this attitude, for they had no intention of committing the participants in the congress to admitting the equality of religions or the parity of claims; they merely wished to have all creeds meet in parliamentary equality.

Father Hyacinth in the *Contemporary* (July, 1892) entered fully into the spirit of the invitation where he wrote, "It is not true that all religions are equally good but neither is it true that all religions except one are no good at all." While the Parliament was in preparation, misgivings were felt even by those who were friendly to the idea, for it seemed that the difficulties in the way would prove too great. *The New York Tribune* said on July 8, that the coming Parliament "can hardly expect the success it deserves .....many Christians refuse to have anything to do with it, while many of these who will take part in it look upon it as a tournament in which it *is* to be the duty of Christianity to prove that no other religion has in it any element of truth or usefulness. Such a spirit is unfortunate and must seriously interfere with the good result of the gathering...But if the tangible results of the Parliament of Religions should not be as great as expected, the fact that it was held at all, will mark an era in the religious history of the world. It will diffuse a truer knowledge of the religious problem and will tend to make the adherents of all religions more charitable in their judgments of other faiths."

The final great success of the Parliament was perhaps due more than anything else to the fortunate combination of the two leaders Mr. Charles Carroll Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and Dr. John Henry Barrows, the Chairman of the Parliament of Religions. Both were men of deeply religious character, with judicial minds, firmness, and fact. Then also, the time was right, and the occasion was auspicious.

The Parliament was held in the Columbus Hall of the Art Institute before an audience of four thousand people. The spirit of good will and brotherhood in the exchange of religious thoughts predominated overwhelmingly over both delegates and listeners. There were only a few discordant notes but these were handled with such diplomacy and tact by the Chairman that no quarrels or hard feeling resulted. The liberal, tolerant, and gentle spirit of the Oriental religions did much to soften the aggressive religions, "breathing the brotherhood of man as well as the fatherhood of God." A

* Reprinted from the *Open Court*.

platform was sought which would be broad enough to embrace all the religions. There were many present who, before the Parliament, knew very little about Brahma or the religion of Buddha, and this was their first introduction to a knowledge of comparative religions. To many, too, it was a shock to learn that the introduction of Christianity by the missions was often demoralizing, and that the spirit of the missionaries was not always one of meekness and unselfishness. Throughout the entire session there were evidences of a change in the attitude from dogmatic religions and iron-bound creeds towards unity of all nature and the brotherhood of man.

After the close of the Parliament, in order to keep the spirit it had fostered alive, the Religious Parliament Extension was organized. Mr. Bonney was President and Dr. Paul Carus, the late editor of the *Open Court*, was Secretary. Dr. Carus was in close sympathy with the ideals of the Parliament, The *Open Court* stood for "Liberty of Thought, Freedom of Conscience, the earnest pursuit of the Truth, and loyalty to the Truth under all circumstances. In 1900, a closer bond was made, and the Open Court devoted its pages not only to The Science of Religion and the Religion of Science, but also to the "Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea."

A direct outcome of the Parliament of Religion was the founding of the John Henry Barrows Lectures and the Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago, and also the establishing of a centre at Greenacre, Eliot, Maine by Miss Farmer where for many years a group of men and women carried on the work begun in Chicago.

The Religious Parliament Idea is still active after forty years. This past July the Haskell Institute on Modern Trends in World Religions met in the Assembly Room of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago and scholars representing the six great world religions, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism, under the able leadership of Professor A. Eustace Haydon, presented the tendencies in these religions today toward modern scientific thinking, and in adapting themselves to changing social and economic conditions. It was generally conceded that the liberal religions of the Orient had less adjustment to make in meeting the requirements of scientific thought and social change.

With the same spirit but with a different approach, the World's Fellowship of Faiths is seeking to "unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of Man's Present Problems," in a "Second Parliament of Religions." From August 27 to September 17, at an afternoon and evening session eminent leaders of thought from all over the world are speaking on these problems. Great credit must be given to the two chief executives of this organization Mr. Charles Weller and Mr. Kedernath Das Gupta, for making possible these meetings in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties. The proceedings, if collected and published, would give a unique picture of conditions today from widely varied points of view.

Perhaps, however, the greatest and most important result of the First Parliament of Religions is that intangible, unorganized spirit of toleration and mutual understanding which has spread so widely and gained so many adherents since that memorable event forty years ago.

A BOMBAY GOVERNMENT PRESS NOTE.*

The Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay having received an application for his permission under Section 440 of the City of Bombay Municipal Act to cremate the remains of the late Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel at Chowpatty has submitted the request for the orders of Government under Subsection (2) of Section 440 of the Act. For the reasons stated below, the Government of Bombay have decided to refuse their sanction to the grant of permission.

The application is probably based on the precedent created by the cremation at Chowpatty of the remains of the late Mr. B. G. Tilak. On that occasion permission was necessarily given at very short notice and without sufficient time for full consideration of the implications and consequences of granting the permission. The Government decision on the present occasion is based on experience gained subsequent to the cremation of Mr. Tilak's remains.

After the cremation of Mr. Tilak's body, complaints and rumours were current that the scene of the cremation had been desecrated. Whether true or false, the rumours indicated the unsuitability of an open public site for cremation purposes in a city like Bombay, especially in cases where the deceased had been prominent in public life.

When permission was given for the cremation of the body of Mr. Tilak it was granted on the understanding that no enclosure should be made or memorial erected. Later, it was found impracticable to maintain this condition. In May 1924, the Municipal Corporation of Bombay requested that the site of the cremation should be properly protected by means of an iron railng. In response to this request Government directed that the site of the cremation should be protected by an iron railing but the President of the Corporation was informed that this was done on the clear understanding that the case was not to be taken as a precedent and that it would not be possible for Government to consider favourably any further requests of a similar nature. In the following year, however, the Municipal Corporation again approached Government for permission that the site should be used for the erection of a memorial of Mr. Tilak. This permission was also granted. The Committee in charge of the arrangements thereupon made a further request for an additional area of roughly 100 square yards for the purpose of erecting a monument, and ultimately an additional area for this purpose was granted as well.

It is evident, therefore, that, although the present application makes no request for a memorial on the site of the cremation nevertheless if permission were granted for the cremation of the remains of the late Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel at Chowpatty, requests are likely to follow that the site should be fenced off and that permission to erect a memorial on it should be given. It might be difficult not to grant these requests.

With a second precedent for the cremation of a prominent Hindu political leader on Chowpatty sands and possibly the erection later on the site of a monument or memorial, similar requests would probably be made on similar occasions in the future and the tendency would be for their scope to be enlarged. It would be difficult also to refuse similar permission if asked for in the case of a Hindu prominent in spheres other than politics, for example, philanthropy or industry. In any event, it would inevitably be a delicate matter in each case for Government to decide whether or not permission

* On the application to have the body of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel cremated on Chowpathy foreshore.

for cremation should be granted. There would also be a tendency in each case for the friends of the deceased to ask permission for the erection of a memorial on the site of the cremation. The place would, therefore, tend to become not only a Hindu burning ground but also a Hindu mausoleum.

In the opinion of Government it is undesirable to encourage any tendency to convert the Chowpatty foreshore to these purposes. It has long been a popular resort of all classes and creeds in Bombay and its area is limited. The convenience and sentiments of the residents in the locality must also be taken into consideration. Finally, it is undesirable that questions connected with the disposal of the remains of prominent Hindus should, in any respect, become a subject of discussion to be decided by Government. If a second public cremation were now permitted at Chowpatty, questions of this kind are bound to recur. Government are satisfied that due respect to prominent members of the Hindu community can be adequately and suitably paid after death on all occasions without the special use of the foreshore at Chowpatty. In these circumstances, they have decided not to grant permission for the public cremation of the remains of the late Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel on the Chowpatty foreshore.

It may be added that there are circumstances and conditions connected with the admission of a dead body into India and the opening of a coffin after arrival which might make it desirable or necessary to refuse permission for opening the coffin or cremating the remains in a public place. In view of the reasons given above, it has not been considered necessary to deal with this aspect of the present case in a press note.

GERMANY AND INDIA.

The Ceylon correspondent of the *Times of India* writes:—

One of the most furious controversies in Ceylon—in the press, on the platform, in the State Council and no doubt, in the parlour, raged during the whole of last month over the proposed colour-bar legislation in Germany.

The participants in it were Reuters, the Ceylon State Council, the German Consul for Ceylon and South India, Herr Von Pochhammer, and a countless number of press correspondents, both Ceylonese and Germans. The controversy started when Reuters wired a brief message from Berlin "that the Prussian Minister for Justice had declared in a Memorandum that marriages between Germans and coloured people could be made a punishable offence and included in the German Penal Code."

As soon as this was published there was a tremendous uproar in Ceylon. Mr. George de Silva, State Council Member for Kandy, gave notice to introduce a motion which read "in view of the racial and colour legislation that is being introduced into Germany, in the opinion of this Council, the sale and importation of German goods into this island should be forthwith banned and prohibited."

Press correspondents signing themselves "Black Aryans" or "Native Patriot" or such resounding titles criticised the German action and the editors of the local papers were hard pressed for space for the extraordinary number of letters they received and had to use their editorial prerogatives with a prominent "This correspondence is now closed."

When the German Battleship Koeln was in Colombo the Captain held a social function to which he had invited about 60 Ceylonese, but (as he told me in the interview) only about 30 attended the function, the others kept away.

The excitement rose to such heights that the Consul had to take the unprecedented step of writing a letter to the Ceylon Government explaining the real state of affairs in Germany and requesting them to place the facts before the members of State Council before any motion for boycott of German goods were passed.

The Times of India representative had an exclusive interview with the German Consul in which Herr Von Pochhammer traced at length the colour bar question in Germany.

The Reuters' version was that "The proposal that future marriages between Germans and non-Aryans should be declared invalid whilst intimate relations between a German man or woman and member of non-Aryan race should be a punishable offence for both parties is made by the Prussian Minister of Justice in a memorandum on the necessity for a German penal code on Nazi lines."

The Consul remarking upon this said that such legislation was only *proposed* and had not been passed and if at all it is to be passed it would be done not before 1934.

Asked to explain if there was any foundation for such a report, he said that in Germany at present the Central Legislature had appointed many committees to enquire into different questions. One of these was the committee of some expert lawyers charged with the task of making a new penal code for Germany.

Many German organizations had submitted memorandums to these Commissions, and one of these memorandums had been submitted by the German Association of the National-Socialistic Lawyers, which held its annual meeting this year at Leipzig.

Among the other topics discussed in this meeting, the question was discussed whether or how far the demands of racial eugenics could possibly become the subject of future legislation. As a contribution to these discussions Herr Kerrl the Prussian Minister of Justice presented to the gathering a memorandum dealing with the eventual reform of the German penal code.

Some of the suggestions contained in it had been the cause of the Reuter's message. The memorandum dealing with social intercourse merely suggested to forbid it in "as far as the natural sentiments of the population would be hurt or unseemly behaviour of either party in public."

He emphatically denied that this law to forbid social intercourse between Germans and coloured people constituted any part of the German legislation as yet.

Questioned whether, if such a legislation was passed, it would be applied to Indians and others, he said that the legislation was primarily directed against two types of people in Germany and had no reference outside.

First of all there were the Jews who were not considered Aryans, secondly there were Negroes settled in Germany. The legislation was directed against these two.

As an explanation to the presence of the Negroes, the consul said, "After the Great War Negro soldiers who had bravely fought for Germany in East Africa applied to our Home Government, requesting that they might be allowed to settle in Germany, as East Africa had become distasteful to them after their defeat. When the Negro soldiers arrived in Germany they were mostly given Government jobs in all parts of Germany. They became very popular."

The decree when it is passed will only be directed against these nationals and not against any one else.

NAZI REVOLUTION.

Dr. Heinz Nitzschke, speaking on the German revolution at Calcutta, said that it was neither sudden nor unexpected. He compared the present German

revolution to the historic French revolution. He warned his hearers against believing that the German revolution was merely political in character. "The aim of the present regime," explained the speaker, "is to establish a corporate State where sectional interests are entirely subjected to the supreme interests of the whole."

Discussing the causes of the present upheaval, Dr. Nitzschke remarked that they were both external and internal. Among the former were the Versailles treaty and the Reparations agreement which he averred were "unbearable and lowered the self-respect of the German nation." The internal causes of the revolution were (1) the postwar German youths' attitude, (2) the danger of communism, and (3) the supremacy established in every sphere of life by Jews and other outsiders. The speaker admitted that these alone could not explain the completeness of the change. Dr. Nitzschke told "The Hindu" representative that his visit to India, which was under the German Indian Academy's auspices, was undertaken with the object of the promotion of a better understanding between the youths of the two countries and the study of Indian conditions generally. He added that his intention was to take back with him a number of Indian students to enable them to study Germany first hand.

SWAMI YATISWARANANDA.

Swami Yatiswarananda sailed from Bombay by *S. S. Conte Rossa* on the 23rd of October last for Wiesbaden in Germany. Some time ago, a group of sincere souls appealed to the Ramakrishna Mission for sending a Vedanta teacher for guidance and instructions in their spiritual life. The authorities of the Mission selected Swami Yatiswarananda and have sent him as a Vedanta teacher and their representative.

The Swami joined the Ramakrishna Order in 1911 and became a monastic member at the Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. He worked there with untiring zeal for a number of years and came in close contact with the towering personality of Swami Brahmananda, the first President of the Order. In 1920, he came to Benares and got the privilege of serving and intimately mixing with Swami Turiyananda, a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna. In 1921, he was asked to be editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* which he conducted with great ability for about four years. After that, he took charge of the Ramakrishna Math, Bombay and put it on a secure basis. In 1926, he again went to Madras—this time as President of the Ramakrishna Math and the Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home, Madras. He edited the *Vedanta Kesari* for several years with considerable succes, and greatly increased the number of publications of the Ramakrishna Math, Madras. In 1929, he became a member of the Governing Body of the Ramakrishna Mission.

The Swami is endowed with a good many quaillities of head and heart. He is a scholar, versed in Western and Eastern philosophy. He is a fine speaker and an able writer. His deep spirituality, winning manners, feeling heart and catholic views have won for him numerous friends and admirers in India and abroad. His monastic career is full of activities for the good of mankind. We feel sure, a spiritual person like him will act as a torch-bearer to many in his new field of activity. Our sincere good wishes and prayer for his noble mission abroad!—*The Prabuddha Bharata.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Persuasive Method:—We publish in another column a report of Gandhiji's visit to Deoli, a village near Nagpur, in the course of his present tour on behalf of the removal of untouchability. On a show of hands—a very unsatisfactory way of ascertaining public sentiment in a question of this kind—Gandhiji found that a large majority of the crowd that had come to welcome him favoured the admission of untouchables to the local temple. But he was not satisfied that this was sufficient sanction for effecting the reform then and there and wisely advised the trustees to convince their colleagues who dissented from them of the rightness of their own view in favour of temple entry. This is the right attitude to take and Gandhiji's forbearance would secure the approbation of reformers who, like ourselves, are intensely sceptical of the efficacy of some earlier methods. By this act the Sanatanists, as they like to call themselves, have been put on their defence. The Hindu community as a whole is intellectually convinced of the urgency of this and other reforms having for their object the complete removal of untouchability. It was somewhat alarmed by the iconoclastic methods which find favour with some leaders. Now that Gandhiji has shown that he relies solely on persuasion and will have nothing to do with coercive ideas, the Sanatanists who seek to obstruct the reform by such silly tactics as those adopted at Deoli, will receive no sympathy from the great mass of Hindus. If they do not understand that by their opposition they are imperilling the integrity of the Hindu religion which they profess with so little reason to defend, their knowledge of the world forces at work to regenerate society is seriously defective. Gandhiji's programme on the present lines has our whole-hearted support and we should consider it a national misfortune if it does not achieve the object with which it is undertaken at no little personal discomfort so soon after his recent protracted convalescence.

Pandit Jawaharlal and the Hindu Mahasabha: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the students of the Hindu University at Benares bitterly attacked the Hindu Mahasabha for the resolution which it passed at Ajmere invoking the help of the League of Nations in securing their rights to the Hindus in the new Indian Constitution. This, as we pointed out at the time, is wholly misconceived. The League's prestige is at its lowest ebb—Signor Mussolini described it as absurd this week—and it is the very last body to which a body like the Mahasabha should turn for help. The Hindu community is an overwhelming majority of the population and if it is competently led, no power on earth can prevent it from being the determining factor in Indian life. The first thing to do is to give up looking to outside help, whether of the League of Nations or of British politicians. The Hindu Mahasabha has a great task before it and we are not without hope that its leaders will soon realise that the main need of the Hindus at the moment are not to be secured by political methods. Pandit Jawaharlal's denunciation of the Mahasabha as run by a clique and of the leaders as enemies of nationalism, is unjust and improper. As for the Mahasabha representing only a small minority of Hindus, the Pandit, it may be retorted, represents a still smaller minority as his views on religion are such as can be shared only by persons who are known as Hindus because they cannot be called by any other name.

Bombay's Mill Industry.—Governors' speeches are too often platitudinous. They say much but mean little. There are occasional exceptions, of course. The speech which Sir Fredrick Sykes made in reply to the toast of his health at the farewell banquet given to him by the Millowners' Association, is one of them. We are sure that there are millowners who can appreciate the frankness with which His Excellency laid his finger on the weak spots of their policy of self-complaisance. When the excise duty on cotton cloth manufactured by them had to be attacked they made full use of the slogan of national industries. At other times they have sailed under other flags. This the country

has found out and hence the jealousy with which Bombay industrialists are regarded in other provinces. Sir Fredrick Sykes is laying down his office next month and it would have been pleasanter for him, and for his hosts, to have confined his remarks to conventional compliments. That he did not do so, and spoke as he did, is the best proof of his abiding interest in the welfare of the Bombay industry. We doubt, however, if His Excellency did well in holding out hopes of a revival of prosperity for Bombay mills. Nearly twenty years ago, the late Sir Dorab Tata advised that no more mills should be erected in Bombay, as the conditions which made the industry prosperous in this city, had nearly all disappeared, or would soon disappear. He advised that all future mills should be erected in the districts.

Jews in Germany:—We reproduce today at some length the important parts of the report of the Foreign Policy Association of New York on the position of Jews in Germany. There has been so much of the propagandistic element in the allegations which have been made during recent months, that fair-minded persons hesitated to accept them without independent testimony to corroborate them. The Foreign Policy Association's reports, as we have had occasion often to mention, are models of dispassionate and impartial statement. The report on the position of German Jews as usual, is carefully decumented though some of the authorities are not official. Some, perhaps several, of the measures adopted by the German Government against the Jews have analogies in other countries, not excluding our own. But all of them taken together, form a cumulative indictment which Germany will find it difficult to justify to the world. We are glad that, as the result of the overwhelming support which the German Government has received from the people by their votes on the referendum, the Chancellor has found himself in a position to order a general amnesty for political prisoners and is said to be contemplating an early revision of the measures against Jews. An important Jewish commercial association has declared that it is the duty of Jews to co-operate with Government in restoring German prosperity. We trust that the present tension between Nazis and Jews will soon be replaced by mutual trust and that Germany will revert to her traditional and, we may add, Aryan policy of equality of treatment of all religious communities.

Professor Conger:—Professor George P. Conger who has kindly contributed his first thoughts on this country, under the heading "Some obstacles to Social Reform" is Professor of Philosophy in Minnesota University. He is not a stranger to Asia as he was engaged in relief work in China and Siberia some years ago. He is now on study leave most of which he intends to spend in India. He is very much interested in the contemporary relations between philosophy and religion, and his recent writings, Professor Gilkey considers, are a definite contribution to American philosophical thinking. Mrs. Conger who accompanies her husband, is a student of Arts and Crafts and has already made a good beginning in her researches on these lines in Bombay.

Purdah Nuns:—The *Examiner* is mistaken in thinking that our observations about the importation of cloistered nuns into this country arose from its description of them as "purdah" nuns. Its explanation that they are only a small body and that they have assumed the purdah voluntarily does not meet our criticism. The point of it was that for probably the first time India will now have in her midst western women who regard seclusion from men's vision as an act sanctified by the Christian religion.

Hitler and Vivisection:—*Progress Today*, the well-known anti-vivisection paper of England, writes:—"The stirring news which was published in the European and American Press in August naturally roused feelings of exhilaration and gratitude in the hearts of all those who regard vivisection, not only as cruel and degrading, but as a definite obstacle to progress in the art of healing. *Vivisection forbidden in Prussia!* thus ran the message telegraphed from Berlin announcing that the Premier of Prussia, General Göring, had issued an Order forbidding vivisection in Prussia and providing imprisonment in Concentration Camps for anyone who in defiance of the Order continued the practice. "Too good to be true," was the reflection of those really conversant with the strength and ramifications of the prevailing system of vivisectional research, a system which is backed and maintained by powerful and well organised financial interests. The sequel to the first Order, a modification and reversal, which finally reduced the "prohibition" to mild restriction has shown that the fears were well justified. Numerous letters from German friends rejoicing in the Order reached the Offices of the Society in London and in Geneva. Many pointed out that Hitler is a friend of animals and a vegetarian and drew attention to his statement, made in a letter to Dr. Eckhard, of Hanover (Chairman of the German Medical Anti-Vivisection Union), that in the new Germany vivisectional cruelties would not be tolerated."

Concluded from page 179.

tion of the imperialist methods of the past. In the circumstances it is inspiring to learn that the number of internationally minded—we prefer the word to cosmopolitan—men is larger than before. For a long time to come, however, their work and influence will be largely outside politics. We do not think that the entire world will turn socialist. Nor would that end be an entirely desirable one.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1933.

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.

Present-day Europe stands today as near to war as she has ever come before. The League of Nations which was originally formed with the purpose of preventing war, and as an instrument of arbitration in international disputes, has doubtless achieved signal success in the social sphere but the failure of the Disarmament Conference marks its shortcomings. The European situation is changing rapidly from day to day and it is difficult if not impossible to present an analysis at any particular point. Mr. and Mrs. Cole's recent publication, "The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe To-day,"* has to a certain extent been left behind by the rapid development of events. As an analysis of the trends of modern European thought, however, "The Intelligent Man's Review" is an admirable production. In estimating the contribution of Fascist Italy to the Labour question, the Coles remark that wages have fallen and that the industrial worker in Italy has, therefore, very little to congratulate himself on. A corrective to this viewpoint, however, is furnished in Mr. Knickerbocker's recent book, "Can Europe recover?" Commenting on the Italian situation, he writes that only about 2% are unemployed in Italy, that the average Italian is eating more and better food today that he has ever done in history, that beggars have disappeared and that the currency is stable. An interview, which he had with Rossoni, a Fascist labour leader and Mussolini's right-hand man in Italy, throws some light on the position of labour under the Fascist Regime. The working men, as he points out in contrast to the impression conveyed by "The Intelligent Man's Review," are more strongly Fascist than the bourgeoisie. "If it is true", writes Mr. Knickerbocker, "that Fascism is a system of insurance whereby the capitalist pays a premium to the Government for security of property, it appears that the Government here, at any rate, has turned the premium over to labour." One thing is clear. The authors have their own political theories which lend a bias particularly to those sections of the book which deal with Italian Fascism or German Nazism. In the presentation of facts this bias is kept well under control. In the estimate of contributions to the cultural and economic development of Europe, no secret is made of their aversion to these systems.

Europe for the purposes of the "Intelligent Man's Review" is divided politically in three parts: Great Britain, Soviet Russia and the rest. The countries of Continental Europe have presented a united front to Bolshevik Russia. As for the Communism which exists in Soviet Russia the Coles point out that it is most unlikely to become "the instrument of social transformation in the west." Even as a system capable of adaptation to the needs of other countries the authors dismiss any prospect of European acceptance by the remark that their methods create a danger of nationalist reaction in the shape of Fascism. The ideal solution to the problems of modern Europe is "an international socialism, a force making definitely for world peace an international collaboration." The Coles are under no delusion as to the practical methods through which the end is to be worked for. They assert that the recovery of capitalism can only be brought about at a cost far exceeding its value, but they point out also that though the capitalist state must be broken, the socialists of the world will have to work, at any rate for some time to come, within the framework of these states. To achieve progress in the direction of socialism it is necessary to convey to the masses of the world the importance of socialism as the only desirable ideal. That doubtless is the object behind this stupendous volume. Yet to the impartial reader it must necessarily be borne in that in their analysis of European movements the authors have not made due allowance for the national socialism which is fast gaining ground. It is possibly true that only capitalism in its decay brings forth Communism or Fascism. Yet both these political theories present more energetic programmes than the barren creed of international commonsense.

That European statesman are unable at present to think in wider terms than those of their nations, has been proved by the failure of the various world conferences that have been summoned in the past. The advice contained in the concluding part of the "Intelligent Man's Review," "Displace imperialism and set the world to formulate on the path towards fuller use of the productive resources at its command; and the mental reversion of national hatred and suspicion will at once disappear, setting the world free to embark upon the course of constructive collaboration," may be the moral of the present situation in Europe. It is very unlikely to be acted upon, however, for a long time to come. The "Intelligent Man's Review" is a well-conceived introduction to European politics. It gives the historical background in the earlier chapters and concludes with a detailed survey of modern trends. For all that, however, there is one defect which must strike even the casual reader. Europe today can only be understood against the background of Asia and America. American intervention in the war has roused the European consciousness of her citizens who tend more and more to look to the countries from which their ancestors migrated. Besides, there is the debt question. The Asiatic colonies of some European powers have helped temporarily at any rate to stave off the present crisis. All there contribute towards a continua-

*By G. D. H. Cole and M. I. Cole. Publishers, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London. Price 6/-

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OUR TRIP TO AMERICA.—X.

Social Movements in Modern India.

The Haskell Lectureship was founded with the object of promoting a true understanding of the East by the West. Its counterpart, the Barrows Lectureship, was expected to help the East to understand the West. There were two Haskell lecturers this time, Dr. Hu Shi from China and myself for India. Till recently the object of the lectureships was sought to be advanced by a comparative presentation of the several religions. It was a step forward when it was decided to extend the scope of the lectures to the reactions of the religious communities of Asia to western ideas and influence.

Unlike at the Institute where I was speaking for Hinduism, in the Haskell lectures I was speaking for India, that is, for all the religious communities of India. It was possible for me to do this because there has been a remarkable continuity in the social evolution of India notwithstanding political convulsions and foreign conquest. Not only has there been this continuity, which is the keynote of Indian history, but, and, in fact, as a consequence of it, there was also an equally remarkable underlying unity in respect of all important social problems created by contact with the west. This was the theme of my first lecture and it was enforced and illustrated in the other lectures with reference to each of these problems.

Lord Acton has said that there was a sharp line of demarcation between the history of modern and medieval Europe. There was no such distinction between ancient, medieval and modern Indian history. Up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest foreign invaders and immigrants were absorbed into Hindu society. Moslem rule did not materially affect the social life of the people. Modern ideas operated in India through three main channels: British administration, English education and Christian Missions. The idealistic side of Western culture appealed to the Indian mind more than its materialistic aspects. The English language and literature were eagerly studied as being the language and literature of freedom. The life and teachings of Jesus Christ were accepted but organised Christianity was rejected as incompatible with Indian tradition. Social movements in India have remained fudamentally religious. The great Indian leaders were leaders of social as well as religious reform.

The second lecture was devoted to a description of the structure of Indian society, which was substantially similar in all communities and caste. The caste system was Hindu in its origin, but it has greatly influenced all the other communities in India. The Indian Moslems were divided into castes and the Christians were not free from them. The Parsis and the Jews were castes, *i. e.*, they do not admit of converts and they do not intermarry with other communities. Even in other matters, there is a great deal in common between communities, for instance, the Age of Consent Committee found that child marriages prevailed among Moslems and Christians, though to a less extent than among Hindus. The prohibition against widow re-marriage was observed among the higher class Muslims, which the late Begum of Bhopal explained as an old Afghan tradition. Caste, at the present day, has ceased to possess most of its old powers and has become mainly an endogamous group.

In the third lecture, I described the untouchables, their position in different parts of the country and the movements for their uplift and Mahatma Gandhi's part in them. It was just previous to this lecture that I had word from an Indian friend that my opinion of there being no racial difference between caste Hindus and untouchables, need not be pressed in my exposition of this reform.

The fourth lecture dealt with the principal reforms connected with the position of women, the abolition of the restriction of re-marriage of Hindu widows, the raising of the marriageable age, education, abolition of purdah, the amendment of the laws of property relating to women, abolition of prostitution, the devadasi system, and the importance of the women's movement in India.

In the fifth lecture, I dwelt on certain subsidiary reforms, such as the removal of the ban on foreign travel, Temperance and Social Purity. Incidentally I referred to the repeal of the Prohibition law in the United States. Though the conditions in India and the States were entirely different owing to the difference in the public sentiment on the question, opponents of Prohibition would make the most of America's backsliding as an argument against Prohibition in India. In the last lecture, I gave a brief account of the lives of eminent leaders of the Indian social reform movement beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The Haskell lectures are to be published by the University of Chicago. I have very briefly indicated here the main heads of my observations. The first lecture was delivered on the 31st July. Professor Frederick Woodward, Vice-President of the University, took the chair and introduced me in a few words. It was a hot day and referring to it he remarked that it was no more than what the Hocking Commission, of which he was a member, encountered when they landed in Bombay.

One great obstacle, in fact I may say the greatest, to an understanding of India by the West is the misconception amongst the latter that the people of India are entirely different in their outlook from themselves. This is particularly widespread in America. I did my best to remove this misimpression by telling the people there that the people of India were neither more spiritual nor less materialistic than the people of America. Indians may talk more of religion and Americans more of wealth; but in practical life the chief pre-occupation of both was how to get on in life. Mention has been made of some of the occasions when I had to repudiate the notion that I was a prince. I had also to make it clear that I was not a Swami, or a Sadhu or a Yogi or a fortune-teller. It is most unfortunate that the idea of Indians being metaphysicians and mystics has taken a strong hold of the American mind.

At the conclusion of my last lecture two or three women from the audience came up to me, and requested me to deliver some lectures to their group on Metaphysics. I told them that I knew very little of the subject but, as they seemed to think that I was too modest and that every man from India was an expert metaphysician, I further added that in any case I had not the time to spare as I was leaving Chicago the next day.

As usual, Professor Haydon drove us back to our hotel. Kamakoti was inside the car with Mrs. Haydon and I sat next to the driver's seat. Kamakoti learnt from Mrs. Haydon that their home was in Canada and that they were leaving for Canada on the next day. She told me this, whereupon Professor Haydon exclaimed "The same Empire." There would be no Indian problem if there was a common citizenship for all who belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

One of the most interesting visits during our stay in Chicago was to the Everetts in their home at Hinsdale some 25 miles from the city. Mr. Everett is one of the leading lawyers of Chicago. Mrs. Everett is a fervent Buddhist of the Zen sect and has a beautiful little shrine with a bronze image of the Sakyamuni at the centre, which reminded me of the similar but larger shrine in Dr. Nair's home in Lamington Road. She was to have gone to Japan last month to spend the next eight months in a cottage which she has taken near the principal temple of the sect. She spoke with great reverence of the Japanese sage who was her guru and under whose guidance she would practice the tenets of Zen (Sanskrit, dhyana) in seclusion. The Everetts have a charming daughter, a typical American girl, who will accompany her mother to Japan. We were rather a large party and what particularly struck us was the easy grace with which we, Indians and Americans alike, were made welcome. Mr. Everett showed us all over the house except the shrine which was reserved as Mrs. Everett's province.

There was a large attendance of guests of various nationalities at a dinner at the International House to which we were invited by the Superintendent, Mr. Dixon, and Mrs. Dixon. After dinner a Korean boy played with great feeling on a violincello. I was told that the Koreans have taken to western music with much zest. I made a short speech dwelling on the value of these International Homes for promoting good will among nations.

Another International centre in Chicago is Brent Hall presided over by Miss Biller. We were invited to tea at this place. There were quite a number of Indians present. Miss Biller is held in high esteem by our people there and several of them told me that they were grateful to her for her uniform friendliness to Indian students. One incident of this function has stuck in my memory. An Indian student of the Theological College here sang a Tamil hymn. I asked him where it was from. He said, it was from the Shiva Puran. This is another instance of Indian Christians in America cherishing the culture of their ancestral faith.

Dr. Manshardt of Neighbourhood House at Byculla had given me letters of introduction to several of his friends in Chicago where he had himself been a student and Professor for some time. Owing to the great pressure of our engagements I could deliver none of them. But we had the privilege of being the guests of one of these friends at Chicago. Mr. Rowell with his wife and daughter, the latter a student of Comparative Religion and well up in the literature of Hinduism, had come on purpose from Hinsdale as we were unable to visit them at their home owing to another engagement. We cherish among the most valued memories of our stay in Chicago, our visit to Hull House, the world famous centre of social service. Miss Jane Addams was not in town but, when she learnt of our desire to call on her, she came down to Chicago. We were shown all round the place by one of her assistants, a college graduate, who told us that she had come to work under Miss Addams during the summer vacation. We had tea with Miss Addams and she spoke of her visit to India some years ago. We were deeply dimpressed by the reverence in which Miss Addams is held by all classes. A large crowd was waiting to have what we in India call *darshan* of the lady who ranks among the pioneers of the Woman's Movement.

K. N.

SERVANTS OF THE UNTOUCHABLES SOCIETY.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Maharashtra Provincial Board of the Servants of the Untouchables Society have appointed Mr. B. J. Marathey, B.A., of Nasik as the full time Secretary of the Board from the first of November 1933, Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Hon. Secretary having resigned. He is now taking charge of the Office in Poona. He is advised by the President to get into touch with all the District Committees as well as the Central and the Bombay Boards. The District Committees are requested to write to him in the matter of Harijan work that is being done or is likely to be undertaken in the near future. The new Secretary has been instructed to visit all the District Branches of the Maharashtra Provincial Board with a view to further the activities of the Board on well-regulated lines. He will soon in consultation with the President arrange his tour programme and inform the District Committees of it. All the District Branches are requested to whole-heartedly co-operate with him with a view to promote the Harijan cause and explain to him the difficulties of work they have been experiencing. He has also been advised among other things to discuss with the people in Maharashtra. (1) the need of holding a training class for Harijan workers, (2) the advisability of calling a conference of workers in the Marathi-speaking District comprising of the Board; (3) the desirability of starting a small Magazine in marathi to promote the Harijan cause and (4) in fact such other matters that may ultimately lead to the formulation of an organised and uniform programme of work throughout Maharashtra.

Poona,
November 9, 1933

Yours etc.,
G. K. Devadhar.
(President.)

THE BARROWS LECTURES.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,-May I through the columns of your paper inform the general public that Dr. Shailer Mathews, the 8th Barrows Lecturer, will arrive in Calcutta on the 21st of November. Dr. Shailer Mathews is being sent by the University of Chicago to deliver a course of lectures in a few of the leading cities of India on "Christianity and Social Process." He is a Doctor of Divinity of Colby, Oberlin, Brown and Miami, U. S. A., of Glasgow, Scotland, and of Paris Universities; and LL.D. of Pennsylvania and Rochester. He has been special Lecturer at many well-known universities. He is author of 23 volumes. His itinerary in India is as follows:—

Rangoon November 7th–18th; Calcutta November 21st–22nd; Benares November 23rd–24th; Lucknow November 25th–30th; Aligarh November 30th–December 2nd; Agra December 2nd–6th; Allahabad December 6th–15th; Lahore December 29th–January 11th; Delhi January 13th–17th; Bombay January 19th–27th; Calcutta January 29th–February 8th; Waltair February 9th–11th; Madras February 12th–18th; and Madura February 19th–25th. The arrangements for lectures in each place are in the hands of a local Committee of Arrangements and it is hoped that the public will take advantage of this opportunity to listen to a well-known speaker and author of the U. S. A.

Yours etc.,
B. L. RALLIARAM.
Chairman,
Central Committee of Arrangement India.

Lahore,
November 7, 1933.

SOME OBSTACLES TO SOCIAL REFORM.

(By Prof. George P. Conger of Minnesota University).

My only excuse for offering these brief reflections concerning social reform is that during my first few days in India they have been suggested principally by questions which have been asked me about America. When compared with India it seems absurd to call anything in America old, but I suppose it will be admitted, after all, that America is older than India when it is a question of experience with some political institutions and social movements.

When I think of America's experience I am impressed first by the fact that a social reform is not achieved when its principle is triumphantly written into the statutes. The Negro problem in America, for instance, was not solved when Lincoln proclaimed emancipation, nor when the Civil War was won on that issue. One would think that this experience would have been enough to drive the lesson home, but the recent fiasco of prohibition legislation shows the same weak reliance upon documents and enacted formulae. Perhaps since America has failed twice to see the point, it may not be amiss that Indian reformers, struggling with their own problems, should be urged to think about it carefully.

Another reflection concerns liberty, whether he has it or not, none of us understands liberty very well. As a student of logic, I have often maintained that any kind of freedom, be it political, social, economic, personal, or academic, while it can be indicated or denoted, can, strictly speaking, not be fully or precisely described, and in the latter sense can not be defined. Defining is much like confining, and, especially with such a concept as "liberty," the attempt to define it always leaves a penumbra or margin not reducible to the confines of the description. It is no wonder, then, that we lack clear formulations of the principle of liberty, but in view of this very fact, it is always wise, while loving liberty and living for it, not to press liberty of any sort too far. We are most loyal to its own nature when we are content to "leave a little margin."

An Indian friend, in a recent conversation, suggested that I should understand the caste system as essentially a division of labor, a specialization of function within the social organism. We may, I think, carry this analogy further, and say that some abuses of caste in India can be understood as a disease of the social organism—I am tempted to say, a hardening of the arteries! This, again, suggests that one great difficulty in the way of truly scientific, as distinct from spasmodic, social reform in the West has been the lack of an adequate basic understanding and theory of what a society really is.

The organismic theory of society which flourished, especially in France and Germany, about the year 1900 defeated its own purposes by its extravagant analogies between organisms and societies. It was succeeded by the psychological theories which interpreted society not as an organic unit but as the manifold product of human intelligence. The latter theory has lent itself easily to pragmatic philosophies and humanistic enthusiasms, but these, I think, show signs of playing out and to-day in the West there are indications of a return to better articulated structural views—the kind of understanding of society which, in spite of misinterpretations and abuses, India has apparently never left.

The other day in an Indian village school a young man, thinking no doubt of Gandhiji's influence in India, asked me if we had any saints in American public life! (Only those who are familiar with American politics will realize how grotesque the question sounded to me). I was all the more impressed by what some one else said concerning Gandhiji—"he has spiritualised Indian politics". I asked myself the question, who has spiritualised, or who can, spiritualize American politics? Sometimes we think of Lincoln as a great spiritual force, but we see him through the vista of two generations and forget that his contemporaries piled upon him ridicule and abuse. Some of us thought at one time that Wilson had the qualities of spiritual leadership, but it appears now that if he had them he lacked the gift of imparting them. The chief obstacle to social reform here, there, and everywhere, seems to be selfishness, and the world needs to be enkindled with a flame of the spirit which will purge selfishness away.

THE ALL INDIA SWADESHI SANGHA.

The following communication has been issued to the press by the All India Swadeshi Sangha:—

When Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Chairman of the All-India Swadeshi Sangha, was in Bombay in August 1938, he called several meetings of various Swadeshi Propagandist Institutions in the town. After carefully considering the whole position, it was felt that Benares was not as suitable for locating the headquarters of the All India Swadeshi Sangha as important industrial centres like Calcutta or Bombay. It was ultimately decided that it would be more convenient and geographically more central to have the headquarters of the All India Swadeshi Sangha in Bombay and certain members from Bombay were added to the Committee in order to facilitate the rapid despatch of work. The present personnel of the Committee is as follows:—

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta Joint Hon. Secretaries, and Messrs. Purshotam Jivandas, Jal A. D. Naoroji, Madhavlal Makanji Bhatt, Velji Lakhamsey Nappoo, K. Natarajan, and Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, members.

The Committee has now begun its work in Bombay and two of the Honorary General Secretaries who are in Bombay Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and Mr. V. L. Mehta, request people interested in Swadeshi work all over the country to write to the temporary headquarters of the All India Swadeshi Sangha, Swadeshi Market, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, informing the Secretaries of what Swadeshi propaganda is being done in particular districts and advancing any suggestions they might have for a new active programme for the dissemination of the Swadeshi ideal.

It is proposed to start immediately either a weekly or fortnightly Swadeshi magazine of a popular character in which articles by well-known industrial and political leaders will be published under the editorship of an experienced editor. This will enable the All India Swadeshi Sangha to get into close touch, both directly and indirectly, with Swadeshi work in all parts of the country. After getting into touch with other provinces it is proposed to appoint sub-committees:

(1) For the co-ordination of arrangements for the certifying of goods as Swadeshi and the publication of directories;

(2) For the control and arrangement of dates of Swadeshi Exhibitions;

(3) For collecting information regarding the difficulties of manufacturers, dealers, etc., in Swadeshi goods.

From time to time travelling representatives will be sent out by these committees in order to collect information first hand. After the period of organisation which is likely to take at least six months, it is hoped that prominent members of the Sangha Committee and other friends will make tours in different directions throughout the country pointing out to the people the desirability and necessity of practising Swadeshi in its various forms. In addition to these activities a special committee will be appointed which will attend to the starting of affiliated provincial and local organisations and to the creation of a chain of Swadeshi co-operative societies of manufacturers, dealers and consumers throughout the country. An Industrial Advisory Board will also be started. The function of this Board will be to collect detailed information about various minor industries which will be carefully checked up by experts in each particular line and made available to capitalists or co-operative societies wishing to set up industries in various parts of the country.

It should scarcely be necessary for a Swadeshi propagandist body in 1933 to explain to educated Indians the paramount duty of practising Swadeshi, but unfortunately it is still very necessary to carry on propaganda among this class. It is this need which has brought the Sangha into being and the members of the Sangha are bound to go on working, successfully or unsuccessfully, until this need no longer exists. With full belief in the ultimate success of our efforts which in turn should mean the successful achievement of economic self-sufficiency for the country, we appeal to those interested persons who have not joined hands with us to do so. We feel that in India today all that is required is a lead on some organised lines and when this lead is once given thousands of workers will come forward to do their best and to sacrifice their time and money in order to achieve the common end of every thinking Indian. Any one who reads this press note and is interested or even curious is requested to communicate with the Joint Secretaries.

THE BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM.

The necessity for defending the right of free thinking and free speech in the midst of a changing world order was emphasised by Sir Michael Sadler at a meeting at Rhodes House, Oxford, in connexion with relief for refugees from German Universities.

Sir Michael said a considerable part of his thinking during the last nine months had led him decisively towards the left. The present economic system was proving itself daily less able to grapple with the whole problem of applying abundance to relief and the well-being of all humanity, and was beginning to wear upon its face signs of decay.

In those who represented most fully the present economic system he recognized and profoundly respected a steadiness of judgment and a real desire to help other people and a certain mellowness of judgment. On the other hand he could not believe that the economic system, as we now saw it, would alone be the economic system of the future. "I believe although the economic system, under which we live, will continue to exist, it will become more and more reduced in importance and side by side with it will be something that will consist in the communal distribution of things needed and in return for which the community will require labour and service.

"When one considered some of the cruel things that were happening in dark corners of Europe today, one began to wonder whether there was not some strange new influenza of mind abroad in Europe. Were we sure that it was not infectious and that it was not breeding something which even we in England might at some time catch. We had never been so free to speak our own minds as we now were in this country, yet it should not be forgotten that this tradition of freedom extended backwards for at most a century and a half. Was it certain that the earlier condition of things would not recur?"

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN TRAVANCORE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The Travancore constituency of the All India Women's Conference held its annual session last evening at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall.

The attendance was large and influential, as Muslim purdha women also were present.

In welcoming the audience Mrs. Velayudhan Tampi expressed her great regret at the unavoidable absence of Miss (Dr.) E. K. Janaki Ammal, who had promised to take the chair. She surveyed the educational problems which would be placed before them for their consideration. The large gathering of ladies present in the hall was ample proof of the great interest the women of Travancore were evincing in the very important and serious subject of women's education in the State. It gave further evidence of the fact that their sisters can join together and rise equal to the occasion when necessary.

It was announced that Miss. Janaki Ammal, could not be present as it was thought that women officers should not participate in the discussion concerning the recommendations of the Statham Committee. Miss D. H. Watts, retired Principal, Women's First Grade College, was proposed to the chair. But she also regretted her inability to comply with their request. Mrs. V. Sri Velayudhan Tampi, was proposed to the chair, which she accepted.

Mrs. G. Raman Pillai, moved a resolution expressing the regret of the conference that the women of the land were not consulted by the Committee in shaping their proposal on women's Education in Travancore. Travancore has the proud boast of highest literacy in India of female education. They have several women's organisations including the Travancore constituency of the All India Women's Association. The evidence of women was taken by such Government bodies as the Public Service Commission, the Temple Entry Committee and the Co-operative Committee. Yet they were not consulted on the vital subject of women's education in the State. The resolution was unanimously passed.

Lady Rajagopalachari (wife of the late Sir. P. Rajagopalachari) moved a resolution protesting against the abolition of degree classes in the Women's College. She said:—

"The problems that confront us today are of vital importance and unless and until we wake up from our agelong slumber, muster our forces and mould our destinies along proper channels, we shall fall a prey to the visionary ideals of men, who are anxious to introduce drastic changes in the present system of the education in this State. In my view the authors of the Education Reform Committee have deplorably neglected the study of our social and economic conditions and have tried to introduce ideals and institutions which, however suitable in Western countries, is not conducive to the spread and progress of the education of our women. Women's education is still in its infancy in Travancore and many of the recommendations of the Statham Committee

are calculated to retard the progress hitherto achieved. I deplore the view taken by the Committee that the first Grade Women's College is unnecessary in Trivandrum. A first Grade College for Women was a long-felt want in Travancore and I believe that, during the short period of its existence, it has sufficiently justified its existence. To-day there is a craze for novelty and however much people may talk of the advantages of co-education, I believe that every one will admit that the girls who take refuge in men's Colleges will find that their freedom is considerably curtailed and that they are deprived of the pleasures and blessings of real collegiate life. I believe strongly that this recommendation of the Committee is fraught with great danger to the spread of higher education and real culture among women. In the cause of the spread of higher education among our women and in order to give them full facilities in athletics and extra-class activities and to develop their corporate life, I implore you to accept the resolution and to raise your unanimous voice of protest against the recommendation of the Statham Committee to convert a First Grade Women's College."

It was duly seconded and supported and passed *nem con.*

There was a long and heated discussion on married women and their entertainment in the Education Department, on the motion of Mrs. Anna Chandy, High Court Vakil and M. L. C. The Committee has recommended the non-entertainment in the higher grades of the Service of women who are married, especially in the Administrative branch. There is also a rider that those with a service of 10 years and under should be sent away. The speaker strongly condemned the proposal and could not understand the rationale of employing married women in the Primary Schools and preventing their employment in the higher grades. The reason urged, that *viz.*, that such a source of action would prevent unemployment was un-understandable. On the contrary, it would increase unemployment. Further, the social and economic conditions of the country were quite different from the west where marriage was not so much insisted on as in India. If unmarried women alone were employed, it would lead to so many undesirable results in several directions which ought to be prevented in the Educational Department. At present married women were in so many departments, especially in the Medical and Educational Departments and their work has not been in any way less efficient than that of unmarried women or even other men. No change of a revolutionary character should be made until there was absolute need for it.

Mrs. G. Sankara Pillai speaking in Malayalam observed that, if the proposal of the Committee is sanctioned, unemployment among women would largely increase. At present there are in Travancore 177 women employed out of 1000 as against 383 in Baroda and 888 in Mysore. Women in Travancore are mostly employed in the Medical and Education Departments. Out of 4,000 women employees in the State Service 3,270 are in the Education Department. Taking married women, in Travancore, girls about 15 years old are mostly married, the actual figures being 900 out of every 1000 as against 44 for the whole of India. The proposed ban on married women, if carried out, would check the expansion of general culture and education among women and would ultimately result in the substantial shrinkage of educated women in the land.

Srimathy Narayani Anma M. L. A., moved a resolution to prevent professional begging in the towns and appealed to Government to put a stop to it and requested the Corporation of the public in cradicating the evil by proper legislation and provision of suitable poor houses. This was duly seconded and supported and passed unanimously.

Mrs. A. G. Mathew moved a resolution which was adopted about the highly insanitary condition of certain roads and lanes and said that public latrines in sufficient number should be constructed to enforce the strict observance of the rules and regulations and thus prevent misuse of public places.

Mrs. Tharium moved the resolution urging the need of educating the masses by adopting a scheme of adult education which received the hearty support of the conference.

The last resolution was to object to the proposal to restrict admissions in Schools and Colleges by various means and to raise the expenses of education by the increase of fees. This was proposed by Miss Rajam and duly seconded and supported and passed.

MILLOWNERS AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Representatives of the textile industry and businessmen prominent in the city's commercial and industrial life were present at the dinner given by the Bombay Millowners' Association at the Willingdon Sports Club, Bombay, on Monday, in honour of the Governor of Bombay.

The Governor in addressing the gathering, said:

"During the past five years I have had many opportunities of seeing you both individually and in your representative capacity, and it is with real regret that I reflect that this will probably be the last occasion on which I shall meet you before I leave India. We have had many important problems to discuss, and, while it is true that latterly those discussions have been conducted in the more rarefied atmosphere of the hills, yet the results of them must be reflected in the future of this city.

"I have often thought that a millowner and Tantalus have much in common. Always you seem to be reaching for a reward that eludes your grasp. Always just one little thing appears necessary to secure prosperity, and yet, when you have obtained it, it is found that something else has intervened and your striving has been in vain.

"A year or so ago tariffs were regarded as a cure for all your ills. You have your tariffs, but I do not hear any cries of gratitude from a happy and opulent industry! Five years ago we were assured that a substantial reduction in labour costs would set the industry firmly on its feet. To-day the earnings of labour have been reduced, yet dividends are few and far between.

"It would not, however, be fair to liken your industry to Mr. Micawber, who was always waiting for something to turn up. You do not follow that gentleman's example of placid contentment. You are always working and striving to bring about the rehabilitation of your industry. In fact, you seem to have something in common with Sisyphus and to share with him that exasperated sense of frustration he must have felt every time the stone started to roll down hill again.

"I am aware that Government also has been accused of adopting a Micawber-like attitude in financial matters, but you will be glad to hear that we have been able to illustrate that gentleman's profound economic theory—evolved, it is true, after unfortunate experience—and to balance our budget!

"The textile industry in this city has many peculiarities and to those of us who are unacquainted

with its intricacies there are many puzzles. Why is it, for instance, that a tax of a rupee a bale on cotton, so we are told, should be a more serious matter for the industry then fluctuations of Rs. 50/- a bale in the cotton market, or that a tax of 75 per cent imposed on the products of your competitors is negligible compared with a tax of 2½ per cent. on machinery and stores? But I must deal only very generally with the profound and peculiar conditions inherent in the industry you represent, and will not attempt to suggest any ready-made or doctrinaire solution of your problems.

"As you know, I and my Government have always done our best to promote your interests and to support your suggestions; but I am not sure that there is not perhaps a tendency to rely too much on tariffs and not enough on self-help. Seven years ago the Noyce Committee pointed out defects in organisation and management, all of which have not yet been put right. Then the Fawcett Committee and the Whitley Commission made recommendations in other directions – recommendations which, to some extent, depended upon prosperity—but some of which involve no expenditure and yet they have not been adopted.

"I would only say in this connection that we cannot rely for ever on protection, and we cannot expect the consumer to continue paying higher prices than those which would obtain in an open market. The consumer, too, is not unlikely to view with some concern cuts in wages and any forcing down of the standard of life of the worker.

"There is another class of community whose interests we must never forget and who deserve great consideration. I refer to the cotton grower, whom the economic depression has hit particularly badly. The price of Broach cotton last year, as we know, was barely 75 percent. of the pre-war price, and whereas during the pre-war period Indian cotton growers exported cotton worth 33 crores—a figure which rose to 65 crores during the post-war period—in 1931-32 they realised only 23 crores, and in 1932-33 only 20 crores.

"Obviously this contraction in the purchasing power of the grower must react to some extent on your industry. Moreover, attempts to help you at one time threatened to prejudice the exporter of cotton. Any contraction in foreign demand is bound to react further on prices and to make the lot of the grower still more difficult.

"I may appear to have struck a somewhat gloomy note, and yet I do not feel that we need be downhearted. You have traditions, you have a government that does not turn a deaf ear to your demands, you have a labour force, which is not less efficient than that of your competitors in this country. But there is no doubt that you will have to be ruthless in the excision of all that is unhealthy and clogging in the life of the industry you represent. If you do this I am sure the Bombay mill industry, which has admittedly fallen upon evil days, will once more improve. The discussions and agreements that you have entered into with producers in other countries can do nothing but good, and I congratulate you on the results already achieved.

"There is, however, one result of the present condition of the industry which personally fills me with regret, and that is that circumstances have prevented an expansion of welfare work which I am sure your Association would actively promote, if the necessary funds were available. There is much to be done, as will be obvious when it is realised that there are a few mills that have no dispensary and quite a number which still do not provide creches for their women workers.

"May I also say a word on village improvement. We all know how close is the association between industrial and agricultural workers. The great army of industrial workers is, I feel, a potential propagandist force for the cause of village improvement, because the ideals of welfare in its widest sense can be more easily inculcated in industrial centres, where large numbers of workpeople live in a small area and are more susceptible to influence in the mass.

"The industrialists of this Presidency, therefore, can exert a definite influence towards improving the lot of those working on the countryside and be a powerful factor in the cause of village betterment by creating amongst their workers a desire for cleanliness and hygiene—a gospel that these workers would preach when they return to their villages."

SANATANISTS AND TEMPLE ENTRY.

The Wardha correspondent of the *Free Press Journal* writes to that paper under date November 11.—

Mahatmaji with his party arrived here at 7 a. m. from Nagpur. He was received by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mrs. Bajaj at the railway station. Arrangements for his morning ablutions and breakfast were made at the railway station by Mr. Bajaj.

Mahatmaji was ready within forty minutes to start.

At about 7-45 a.m. along with Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Mahatmaji went to a village named Deoli which is about ten miles from Wardha and returned from it at 11-5 a.m.

An interesting incident took place at today's public meeting held at Deoli village. There is a temple established in the memory of a Vaishnav Mussalman saint who was a carder by profession. The trustees of the temple had decided by a majority that if the surrounding savarna Hindus by a majority desired the opening of the temple to Harijans they would gladly allow it.

The vote of the savarna Hindu public, representing some 25 villages, as ascertained at the meeting was unanimously in favour of opening the temple, hardly two or three persons dissenting. But when Mahatmaji reached the meeting place he found a group of Sanatanists who had come from the north ready to oppose the entry of Harijans by lying prostrate in front of the temple. They continued to disturb the meeting by shouting their slogans.

The police who were present at the meeting arrested them. A shastri from the Deccan who was present asked to be allowed to address the meeting. On being allowed, he said, the trustees were not unanimous and the temple entry question which was admitted by Mahatmaji to be a purely religious question could only be decided in accordance with the tenets of religion. Mahatmaji inquired the people present, who were 8000 in number, (apart from Harijans) as to what they had to say. A forest of hands was raised in favour of opening the temple to Harijans. There were nearly a hundred votes against opening the temple.

Mahatmaji asked if the trustees were present at the meeting. Getting the answer "Yes" he asked the trustees to signify their opinion. It was revealed that two of the trustees absented themselves from the meeting of the trustees. One of the trustees who was present did not vote and the remaining three who were acting under the inspiration of the Deccan Shastri and his friends decided to give their opinion against the opening.

In the circumstances Mahatmaji said he would not take the responsibility of declaring the temple open

to the Harijans though technically the majority of the trustees had the right to give effect to their opinion. He said he would not shoulder the responsibility given to him. He advised the majority to confer with the minority and try to secure an agreement, and understand their objection.

Mahatmaji continuing said, that he had no desire to unnecessarily divide Hindu opinion. He considered the attitude of those who came to prostrate themselves in front of the temple as unreasonable and unseemly. But if they persisted, he said he would advise the reformers not to seek police assistance nor force entry. Worshippers would lose nothing by forbearance. Prostration could not go on eternally. He hoped that both the reformers and the sanatanists would act in a religious spirit tolerating each other's views.

Concluding Mahatmaji declared that he could have no desire to have anybody arrested. He hoped that those who were arrested would be released and that the temple would be opened to Harijans without delay peacefully.

THE POSITION OF JEWS IN GERMANY

(By Mildred S. Wertheimer)

According to the last German census for which figures are available, June 16, 1925, the total population of the Reich was 62, 410, 619, of which 564,379 were Jews, who thus comprised 9/10ths of one per cent. The anti-Jewish measures of the Nazis, however, affect not only those listed as Jews, but also a newly created class of "non-Aryans". Although no official figures are available it is estimated that this "non-Aryan" category comprises approximately two million Germans, making a total of 2½ million persons in the Reich who, according to Nazi standards, are classified as Jews. In analyzing the role of the Jews both under the Empire and the Republic, the available data concerns only those officially listed as Jews.

In Imperial Germany almost no Jews held posts as officials in the civil service, the army or the navy. As a result of their position, the largest number of Jews turned to commerce, industry and banking. Those Jews desirous of entering professional life became for the most part doctors or lawyers, the two branches most readily open to them, which accounts in part for the relatively greater percentage of Jews in the liberal professions. During the war 96,327 Jews, or 17·3 per cent of the Jewish population, served in the German army and navy. The percentage of Germans with the colours was slightly higher, 18·73 per cent, but the fact that the Jewish birth-rate had been falling steadily for some time was apparently responsible for the existence of fewer Jewish than non-Jewish males of military age. Of the 96,000 enlisted Jewish soldiers and sailors, approximately 12,000 were killed, 78 per cent were at the front, and 12 per cent of those with the colours were volunteers. These figures are particularly important in view of the Nazi contention that most of the Jews who fought in the war held soft posts behind the lines.

The establishment of the Weimar Republic undoubtedly improved the status of the Jews. The largest proportion still found its way into commerce and industry, although many more than formerly entered the public administration. There are no reliable figures available for the occupational distribution of the Jews in the entire Reich. For Prussia, however—a state comprising three-fourths of Germany—statistics compiled from official sources give a full picture of the situation. Of the Jews in Germany in 1925, 71·6 per cent lived in Prussia, where they formed 1·5 per cent of the population as compared with the 9-10th of one per cent in the Reich as a whole.

The percentage of Jews in commerce and in the liberal profession is higher than their relation to the total population. They comprise, however, only 3·4 per cent of all persons engaged in commerce and business in Prussia, and 2·3 per cent of the professional classes. The Jews in public administration and government, on which the Nazis have laid so much emphasis, comprise only ·32 of one per cent of all officials in Prussia.

In their anti-Semitic agitation the Nazis have continually stressed the fact that great numbers of Eastern Jews (*Ostjuden*) have entered Germany during and since the war and, in a period of severe economic crisis, have secured good jobs which should have gone to deserving Germans. Whether or not this Nazi charge can be substantiated, undoubtedly a large number of Jewish emigrants came into the Reich after the war, many, if not most of them coming from territory which had formerly been German. Thus between 1910 and 1925 the number of Jews in Prussia increased by 37,093 despite the war, the economic difficulties and a continually falling Jewish birth-rate. There were, in 1925, 601,779 non-citizens in Prussia; of this number 76,387 were Jewish. According to figures prepared by the Nazis, 12, 5000 Eastern Jews became citizens in Prussia between 1919 and 1931.

Despite the relatively small percentage of Jews in the Reich, Hitler has told his followers for ten years and more that the Jews are responsible for all German difficulties, and promised that once in power he would eliminate "Jewish influence" from all phases of German life. The most important measure concerning the Jews which has been enacted by the Hitler government is the law for the "restoration of the professional civil service," for this has been the model on which all subsequent anti-Semitic action has been based. The Civil Service Law was promulgated on April 7, 1933 and went into force on the following day. Since then the Ministers of Finance and the Interior have issued several decrees designed to carry out the law and defining its provisions exactly. Even when they conflict with previously existing laws, the law and the suplementary decrees are stated to apply to all officials of the Reich, the states and the municipalities, including not only the regular civil servants but also employees in semi-public enterprises and undertakings in which the government has a 50 per cent or larger financial interest. It applies as well to employees in the social services having the rights and duties of officials, while the Reich Bank and the German Railway Company are empowered to enforce its provisions. Furthermore, the following persons are included in the German civil service: judges; all courts officials; notaries; teachers in schools, including teachers and instructors in scientific universities (Hochschulen); all professors; officials of the old and new army (Wehrmacht); members of the police forces of the states, not including officers, army doctors or veternarians; elected municipal officials; and office employees and workers in public enterprises.

The Civil Service Law provides that "officials who are of non-Aryan descent must be retired; in so far as concerns honorary officials, the latter must be dismissed from their positions." A "non-Aryan" is then defined as "a person descended from non-Aryan, particularly Jewish, parents or grandparents. It suffices if one parent or grandparent is a non-Aryan. This applies especially if one parent or grandparent has professed the Jewish religion."

"Summarised from the *Foreign Policy Report* Vol. IX. No. 16.

Besides stipulating immediate dismissal of "non-Aryan" officials, the Civil Service Law contains other far-reaching provisions.

In order to comprehend the radical changes effected by the new civil Service Law, it is necessary to recall that in Germany under both the Empire and the Republic officials held a specially favoured position and the public administration always enjoyed an enviable reputation for integrity, efficiency and stability. Before the war, in practice if not in law, higher officials were recruited from the upper classes of society and few Jews were admitted. Under the democratic Republic, however, the Weimar Constitution laid down the principle that "citizens without discrimination shall be eligible for public office in accordance with the laws and their capacities and merits." It stated that "officials shall be appointed for life except as otherwise provided by law," and specified the rights and protective measures applying to them. The Weimar instrument declared that "officials are servants of the whole community and not of a party," and granted them "freedom of political opinion and freedom of association."

At the time of the general boycott Jewish judges and lawyers were excluded from the courts although the procedure adopted varied in different sections of the Reich. The situation in regard to the medical profession is similar to that of the legal profession, since the Jews have been especially prominent in both fields.

The measures enacted by the Nazis against "non-Aryan" lawyers and doctors have had far-reaching effects on the status of law and medicine in the Reich, but the real foundations of the Third Reich are being laid in the realm of education. Not only will the rising generation be taught by "pure" Aryans, but there will be no possibility for German youth to become tainted by exposure to the hated doctrines of liberalism and democracy. Instruction will be given in racial questions. Great emphasis is to be laid on the glorious history of Germany and the "shame" of the years 1919 to 1932; "Wehr sport," *i. e.*, military sports, are to have a prominent place in the curriculum for both students and teachers; and youth is to be imbued with real fighting spirit and extreme nationalism as the primary object of education. Fact-finding, painstaking research is no more; the Nazis, it is reported by competent authorities, "must think with their blood."

A further indication of this "safeguarding" of the German spirit is to be found in the law ousting all Jewish actors, directors, producers, cameramen, authors and conductors from the German film industry and the German theatre. Most "non-Aryans" have been expelled from orchestras, both as conductors and as musicians, and in principle no "non-Aryan" soloists may appear in concerts or on the radio; so-called Jewish influence has thus been removed from music, literature and art. In the field of journalism, many eminent writers have been dismissed because of their race, and confiscation of the entire Socialist and Communist press has thrown large numbers out of work. Furthermore, during the process of "co-ordinating" the non-Nazi press, numerous "non-Aryans" have been ousted.

Nazi opposition to Jewish "intelligence" is apparent in these measures which not only make it practically impossible for Jews in the liberal professions to earn a living, but also limit the possibilities, especially in higher education, for "non-Aryan" youth to acquire training and knowledge. The fear and hatred of the Hitlerites for so-called Jewish business acumen is undoubtedly just as great, as indicated by their constant references to "Jewish materialism." The thoroughness with which the Nazis have acted in economic life is perhaps not quite so marked as in the professions where definite laws have been promulgated regulating Jewish participation. While the measures taken in regard to business have been far-reaching, there are some indications that concern over the grave economic situation may for the present have tempered Nazi ardour to "cleanse" business.

On October 2 the Hitler Government promulgated the Herditary Homestead Law creating a "peasant aristocracy," which is to consist of "Germans, Aryan and honourable." Under this law, "Aryans" are those whose families have been free of Jewish blood since 1800. While very few Jews in the Reich are engaged in agriculture, this is nevertheless a significant move.

The problem of citizenship for German Jews has already received the attention of the Hitler government, which has thus acted in accordance with the official programme of the National Socialist party. On July 14, 1933, the Reich Cabinet decided to withdraw German citizenship at its discretion from "undesirables" naturalized within the last fifteen years—between November 9, 1918 and January 30, 1933.

THE REFORMER AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

"There are few Indian journals we read with more pleasure, profit and approval than *The Indian Social Reformer*. On one subject, however, we are quite sure our able Bombay contemporary does less than its usual justice. We write in no spirit of controversy when we draw attention to the *Reformer's* statement on Nov. 11 that 'Christian Missions are primarily proselytising agencies' and 'Missions exist to prosyletise.' Since we are quite certain the serious misunderstanding arises from either ambiguity of terms or from absence of definition, we will say that the clearest definition of this much-discussed term we have seen is given by the Rev. P. N. F. Young, M. A., Chaplain of Simla, in the current *Young Men of India* thus: 'To try to win converts by depreciating the faith of others, by any kind of pressure, or any kind of bribery, however subtle; anything, in a word, that does violence to the personality of others.' To avoid this is the ideal of Christian Missions, though individuals may occasionally faill in achieving the ideal. If our noble contemporary will accept this assurance once for all, not only does it make the rest of the paragraph on Nov. 11 unnecessary, but it will help the *Reformer* to understand better many of its most earnest readers, to co-operate with whom we are sure has been one of the *Reformer's* most treasured aims through its 44 years of remarkable service. Christian Missions are in India for the purpose of presenting to India Jesus Christ as Example and Saviour and of sharing with India their own experience of His peace and power. Sir James Young Simpson, the great scientist, the discoverer of chloroform, was once, his daughter tells us, being interviewed. "And what," asked the interviewer pencil in hand, 'what do you consider the greatest discovery you ever made?' 'That I have a Saviour,' was Sir James Simpson's answer. Missionaries have made that discovery and they have come to India to announce it to others.

"Closely connected with this misunderstanding about the missionary aim is a similar misunderstanding about the missionary dynamic and method, and following on this comes a misunderstanding about the attitude many missionaries have regretfully been compelled to adopt towards the Hocking Commission Report. In an unsigned article on November 4 the *Reformer* stated: 'The modern leaders of

India have noticed with great amazement the hostile attitude taken by certain American Christian denominations towards that epoch-making Report of the Hocking Commission in regard to the need of change in the principles and methods of Christian propaganda.' One possible reply out of many is that the Hocking Report met with a far more 'hostile attitude' in Britain that in America, and still more so from that great oriental Christian leader, Kagawa of Japan. Why?"

INDIA'S KEY POSITION.*

Rev. F. W. Norwood, Pastor, City Temple, London, who is now in Madras, addressed a weekly meeting of the Madras Rotary Club on "India's key position."

Dr. Norwood began by saying that, in his early years, he remembered having read in a book on the life of Napoleon, that India held a key position in the world and that every nation that had possessed it had possessed it at the apex of its strength, and after these long years he was of opinion that it was a prophetic statement. The lure of India had been great in the past and history revealed that it was this lure that led to the discovery of the major portion of the world. It was this lure that had led the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the French and the British to undertake risky ventures and in a century the whole world belonged to the nations of Europe.

But the times were changing now and it seemed to Dr. Norwood that Europe had come to a halt. Europe had no longer that economic power, and that mechanical power which had made her great in the past. Those powers were now shared by all other countries. A little country, Japan, was flaunting the Western nations. Tremendous changes were also being made in China and one could not guess where it would end. India was situated midway between the East and the West and her future position was very important. For the sake of world peace, it was imperative for the contending nations in the East and in the West to come to a mutual understanding and to drop into the background their ambitions, so that the great treasures of the East might be poured into a common receptacle and so that, together, they might find greater wealth, greater happiness, greater unity and greater splendour than they had found hitherto.

In reply to a question, Dr. Norwood said India was also changing and excessive nationalism was one of the manifestations of that change. But that was not the only manifestation of that change.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF INDIA.

That a Japanese Trade Mission should now visit India is the opinion expressed in an interview granted to the Associated Press by Mr. Kadono, who leaves for Calcutta *en route* to Japan. Mr. Kadono was the adviser to the Japanese Delegation at the World Economic Conference and was asked to proceed to India to assist the Japanese Delegations in their negotiations with the Indian Government. He said: "I am glad to have had the chance of coming to India and doing a bit to promote better understanding between two countries. I have had an opportunity of meeting all people, both official and unofficial, and have received uniform courtesy and charming hospitality. I am happy to hear from all sides reports regarding the impression made by Mr. Sawada and Mr. Kurata on all with whom they have come in contact. We were happy to have been represented by such eminent leaders in these negotiations.

"As regards the outcome of these talks, I have every confidence that satisfactory arrangements will be made. Life consists of compromise as much in the personal and the national sphere as in the international. Although the agreement is not yet complete in all details, everything conducive towards it has been done and I am leaving with the hope that we have seen the end of our labours."

Mr. Kadono remarked that this visit had been a great education to him. He said, "I confess my ignorance about India and in fact I am very surprised with what I have seen in these five or six weeks. I see a great deal of trade possibilities between the two countries and I hope my countrymen will also come and see it. It will be very good if Japanese businessmen formed a trade mission and came here. I confess I did not realise how huge a country India was. I knew you had 350 million people but I thought the country was over-crowded. When I go into figures it is only half of ours in relation to population per area. I also thought the country was terribly hot all the year round. I find it is not.

"As regards the Indians whom I have met, I am amazed. They speak English so beautifully that I think Indians make better linguists than we Japanese. Judging by those with whom I have come into contact, Indians have great talents and capacity and if they show more enterprise they should be able to improve the economic resources of their country and raise their standard of living." Mr. Kadono visited Indian bazars and saw their method of business.

He said: "I find that Japanese textiles fill a good space in your shops but as regards other materials I am surprised to find the extent to which Czechoslovakian goods find a market in India. Considering the hold this European country has on the Indian market, I think it is hard on poor Japan to be made to suffer. The system in Indian bazars is different from that in Japan. I suppose the climate has a lot to do with it." Mr. Kadono finally referred to the result of the present visit. He said: "Over forty of us who have come this time will go back having understood India better."

WAR AND TERRORISM.

Speaking at the Armistice Day Dinner at the Grand Hotel, Calcutta, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, said:

"The evidence that you have given me of your continued confidence and support cannot fail to be a source of encouragement and strength to the Head of a Government engaged in a struggle which though it could not possibly be dignified by the name of war has something of the character of an armed conflict. I have sometimes amused myself in the leisure moments which a Governor enjoys by comparing the sort of fight which my Government is carrying on against terrorism with war as we knew it. It seems to me that there are points of resemblance as well as of difference. In real war you know for certain who are your friends and who your enemies. In this conflict it is some times difficult to draw the distinction. That is a point of difference. In both, non-combatants sometimes get in the way and can be a source of embarrassment to those whom they would reckon as their friends. But there is this that can be said and I say it with confidence if we bring to this local conflict of ours the qualities that carried you to victory in the great war the firmness, the resolution, the calm and balanced judgment, a refusal to be deflected from one set course by panic counsels, to be either unduly cast down by temporary

*From the *Hindu*.

reverses or to be unduly elated by successes, the issue cannot possibly be in doubt. Such a conflict, like any war great or small, is ultimately a test of quality."

AFGHANISTAN TO-DAY.

Afghanistan to-day represents a united country where, in every direction, one sees signs of a new awakening, and where all those in power are engaged in drawing up a carefully thought-out programme of work that has to be accomplished before the next stage of reforms is reached, state Sir Syed Maswood, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Sir M. Iqbal, in the course of a statement issued on their return from Afghanistan whither they had proceeded to advise the Afghan authorities on the proposed Afghan University.

They add: "We have come back from Afghanistan convinced of the fact that if those at present in power are given an opportunity of working in peace for another ten years, the future prosperity of the country will have been assured." The signatories further say that there is complete safety of life and property in the country, and that they were impressed by the very earnest manner in which all the Ministers were discharging their duties.

Sir Mohomed Iqbal, in the course of an interview, observed that the Afghan Government was determined to maintain law and order and friendly relations with the neighbouring countries.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Purdah and the Cloister:—Our quotation from the *Bengalese* of the phrase "Purdah Nuns" was evidently an error of judgment. *The Indian Social Reformer* has taken the phrase literally, and writes: "We do not think that this importation of purdah women from the West will seriously interfere with the movement of women's emancipation in India. But it will be certainly welcomed by opponents of the reform, as showing that purdah has the sanction of Christianity." This only shows how careful one has to be in adopting Noncatholic terms for Catholic things. It is only a few religious orders that keep strict enclosure; women who enter these orders do so quite voluntarily; and there is no physical compulsion to keep them within their enclosure. This shows how entirely different is the "Purdah" which has the sanction of the Catholic Church from the universal social custom that Indian reformers rightly criticise. There is no comparison between a very exceptional and always voluntary religious vocation and a general custom imposed indiscriminately on all womenfolk.—*The Examiner.*

Calcutta Hostel for Deserted Girls:—A training hostel for girls above a certain age, who are often found deserted in a big city like Calcutta, has been a long-felt want, although the problem has not been tackled with the diligence and care that it deserves. It has therefore been considered essential to establish a hostel, which will provide the necessary training to a girl to earn her living. The rigours of caste and creed also stand in the way of an enterprise of this sort. It is understood that the All-Bengal Women's Union, of which Her Highness Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj is the president, has taken up the matter in all earnestness and has been collecting funds to found such an institution for Indian girls of over 16 years of age without any restrictions of caste or creed. A sum of over Rs. 8,000 has been collected for the purpose. Plans for the home have almost been completed and it is hoped that the hostel will be opened by the middle of this month in one of the old military barracks at Dum-Dum. The training will include weaving, basket-making, plain needle-work, embroidery, sweets and cake making, carpet making and fine laundry work.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

An Academic War:—A foretaste of what we might expect from the proposed partitioning of British India into eleven statutory provinces, is furnished by the unedifying quarrel between the Madras and Bombay Universities over the admission of students in their respective colleges. It would seem that an undergraduate from Bombay was refused admission in the Mangalore College affiliated to the Madras University. The University insisted on testing the student's qualification independently of his status gained in the Bombay University. He seem to have complained to the Bombay University, which thereupon protested to the Madras University. The latter seems to have maintained that it had the right to decide for itself, whether a student, who sought admission to any College affiliated to it was qualified to follow the instruction imparted in it, and that the Bombay University could not interfere with its discretion. The Bombay University resented this as a violation of the principle of reciprocity, and passed a resolution debarring students from Madras from being admitted to any of the Bombay Colleges. The Bombay University, however, has declared what really is a boycott of Madras students. At the same time, it is certainly a hardship that several Madras men who came to Poona or Bombay expecting to be admitted to the institutions here, should be suddenly told that owing to the difference between the Madras and Bombay Universities, they were not eligible to study in institutions in Bombay. This controversy, recalling the Jenkins' Ear War, is what one may expect to see repeated in many directions, and on a larger scale, when the Indian Provinces undergo the operation contemplated of in the new Reforms.

Balkanising India:—Sir Henry Lawrence, a member of the Indian Civil Service, India who rose to be an Acting Governor of Bombay, has issued a statement which we reprint today, against what he calls the 'balkanisation of India" involved in the White Paper scheme of splitting up British India into eleven provinces. "Europe," he writes, "is busy attempting to wipe out the barriers to prosperity caused by the uprising of so many petty states and their interjealousy. Are we not now in India repeating the same disastrous error in the creation of new small states, which can have no hope whatever of establishing stable and competent government?" This is a very pertinent question, which we have ourselves more than once asked. We cannot help thinking that the scheme of cutting up British India into eleven statutory provinces can have only one idea behind it, and that is "after me the deluge". Sir Henry Lawrence wants the provinces of India to be made larger, and not smaller. He says that a financial breakdown can be averted only by reducing the number of separate governments "with their inevitable tendency to profit by extravagance." We have no objection to this suggestion. Sir Henry Lawrence does not make it clear whether he wants British India to continue to be a unitary government as it is now. If he does, we think the scheme is not a bad one, though we should think that it is not necessary to undertake the re-distribution of provinces as a preliminary condition to constitutional reform. If he does not, our objections to the division proposed in the White Paper will equally apply to his proposal also.

Communal Problems:—We referred in a leading article in the *Reformer* of October 7 to Lord Reading's observations regarding the relations between the religious communities of India, in his article on "Constitutional Reform" in the American Quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. In that article the ex-Viceroy spoke of "deep and fundamental antagonisms between the great communities of the country." We referred in reply to the statement of the Census Commissioner of India that, in several places in the Punjab, it is difficult to distinguish between Hindus and Muhammadans. The Punjab is a predominantly Muslim province. In other provinces where Muslims are minorities, the difficulty is still greater. Muslims speak the same language, the same vernacular as the Hindus, they dress in the same way, and follow the same or similar customs in their social life. The ex-Viceroy said in his

article that "for generations and centuries these great communities have remained sharply seperate from each other in many of the most vital things of life." Scores of instances can be given where, in vital matters, the Hindu and Mahommedan communities were and are closely associated. One of the most remarkable instances is in the sphere of music. In the tomb of Nizamuddin, near Delhi, Hindu and Musalman musicians hold a weekly musical concert in honour of the saint. Another instance is furnished by the annual Tansen festival in Gwalior, which was celebrated a few days ago, and a short report of which we publish in another column. At this festival, Hindu and Musalman musicians participated and as the report says; the festival began with a *harikatha*, which is a story from the Hindu Puranas told to the accompaniment of music, and ended with Muslim prayers. Fundamental religious differences are not incompatible with communities living together in peace and harmony, as has been the case in India. On the other hand, fundamental religious agreement between the Jews and Christians, and Jews and Musalmans, have not prevented them from occasional clashes as in Germany and in Palestine.

Prof. Einstein and War:—Prof. Einstein, it would seem, has revised his opinion of militarism and war, in view apparently of the anti-Jewish policy pursued in Germany. We print elsewhere an open letter to him published as a leader in *World Tomorrow* of New York. Referring to his unconditional opposition to War in 1929, *World Tomorrow* writes: "They were sane in 1929, they are sane in 1933. Their rationality thousands of war resisters, the world round, unshaken, will continue to attest. Without bitterness, though with profound sorrow, these men and women will cease to follow you. They will, on the contrary, equip themselves even more vigorously, unblinded against militarism and war: militarism, as international as disease; war as ubiquitous as death."

"At War":—We reprinted last week a passage from the speech made by Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, at the Armistice Day Dinner at Calcutta. So far from claiming that his measures for the suppression of terrorism have been successful, His Excellency described his Government as engaged in a war, with the difference that, while in a war you knew who your enemies were, in the campaign against terrorism you did not. The Government of Bengal, because of this difference, has considered itself justified in treating Hindus as such in the affected areas as its enemies, actual or potential, and in imposing galling restrictions on their movements. The Secretary of State for India cited the Queen's Proclamation, which has been almost forgotten, in justification of according Dominion subjects a privileged position in India under the Reforms. There is a clause in that Proclamation which runs as follows: "We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances." It is true that most of the anarchists are Hindus. But what proportion do they form of the total Hindu population? If many anarchists are Hindus does it follow that all Hindus are anarchists? How else can you justify measures subjecting all Hindus as such in the areas concerned to harassing restrictions? The Secretary of State evidently concurs with the Bengal Government in this logical perversion, for he told the House of Commons on the 13th inst. in reply to a question about the measures taken to cope with anarchic violence in Bengal, "that steps have been taken to control the movement of Hindu youths."

Tagore in Bombay:—Dr Rabindranath Tagore who arrived in Bombay on Thursday with some students from Shantiniketan with a view to giving dramatic performances, has issued an appeal in which he explains that he has undertaken the present visit with the purpose of raising funds for his international university, Viswa-Bharati. He writes:—"I have done all in my power and, therefore, have the right to claim help from my countrymen by way of relieving me from a burden that is daily growing painful for me to bear. Year after year I am called upon to meet large deficits from my nearly exhausted resources supplemented by casual donations collected at the risk of my health and of an utter neglect of my vocation as a literary man. We have even been driven to curtail the expenditure of our institution almost to the verge of mutilating some of its important features." Viswa-Bharati has attained world fame as a centre of Indian culture and we trust the Bombay public will respond generously to the appeal of the Poet.

American Recognition of Russia:—The recognition by the United States Government of the Soviet regime in Russia, is an event of much significance. Ten years ago Russia was untouchable, unspeakable, unapproachable to Europe and America. Every attempt was made by the latter to isolate and destroy the Soviet Government. Its complete collapse was confidently predicted and hourly expected. Every method of propaganda was employed to discredit Russian leaders. It is surely a proof at least of the tenacity of these men that in spite of all this they have won recognition at the hands of her worst distractors. Something like this has also happened in the case of the Fascists in Italy. It is sure to be the same with the Nazi regime in Germany. The great thing is to pay no attention to vilification, misrepresentation and abuse and to persevere in the course marked out by ourselves without allowing ourselves to be distracted an inch to the right or to the left. "Take your stand upon a great idea", said Emerson, "all the world will come to you." History amply attests the truth of this great saying.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1933.

CHRISTIANITY AND MISSIONS.

A valuable contribution to the subject of the future of Missions in India has been made by Dr. Clifford Manshardt, of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, in his new book "Christianity In A Changing India."* Dr. Manshardt recognises that "Christianity has in time past been too much of a dividing force and too little of a co-operator." "We have worked upon the assumption that we alone carry the medicine to cure the world's ills, and we have refused to call in experts of the non-Christian religion for consultation. We have too often," he writes, "and we must confess it in humility, chosen the wrong way of making Christian converts. We have offered inducements to men to accept our religion, and we have violated individual personalities." He protests against the money handed out by some missionaries to outcaste converts, condemning it as another link in the chain of dependence. The church, too often in India, has been the creation of foreign enterprise and foreign capital. Dr. Manshardt, as one who is anxious to see that Indian Christians are Indian as well as Christian, places emphasis on the need for self-support and Indianisation of worship. Approaching the subject from the point of view of the advanced missionary thinker, Dr. Manshardt, on questions of architecture, music and worship, takes up an almost identical stand to that of the author of the "Chinese Appeal to Christendom" to which we have referred in these columns. Dr. Manshardt points out that the scope of mission work has been considerably extended. It now includes, for instance, rural reconstruction work. The book in the main is an effort to popularise the the conclusions of the Hocking Report and in in one point it makes the same mistake.

Dr. Manshardt, as an American mission worker in India, has found a method of working in this country in co-operation with men of other religions and he points out that this has chiefly been possible, because the co-operator places emphasis not upon winning men to his faith but upon helping them to live the good life. It is difficult, however, to understand his analysis of the American missionary's "unenviable position in India". "He was there", he writes, "as a guest of the British Government, and as aguest, he had certain obligations to his host. Each American missionary, before entering India, must sign a declaration of neutrality in regard to political affairs." The position, Dr. Manshardt points out, is further complicated by Government grants-in-aid received by several mission institutions on their educational side. It is, perhaps this which has caused the American missionary worker to regard himself as a guest of the British Government rather than of the Indian people. A strict observance of the principle of neutrality would imply total abstention from the political activities of the country in which the worker has launched his activities. Dr. Manshardt's interpretation of neutrality was, he tells us, evolved out of a discussion with an acting Governor of Bombay, who defined it as "being as fair to the Government as to the Nationalists". We do not see why a social and religious worker should feel called upon to express an opinion on any side. Politics, we should have said, lay very much outside his sphere of activities and the moment he feels inclined to enter into the political life of the country, his utility as a mission worker is bound to depreciate. We have no reason to expect, on the other hand, that all missionaries will as a group follow the same political ideals in India any more than they do in their own countries. But here the conditions now prevelant make it easier for workers to throw in their lot with the Government. The active help some of them render in the shape of propaganda in their own country has tended to make the group suspect among nationalists. It is conceivable, of course, that a missionary may feel called upon to condemn particular actions of both Government and the Nationalists. But this generally speaking is rare and we agree with Dr. Manshardt that too often the mission worker is overanxious to commit himself to one side or the other.

Father Basenach on Birth Control:—In his speech at the Madras Rotary Club, which is reprinted elsewhere, Rev. Father Basenach, Madras, has not repeated his argument at the Catholic meeting, some weeks back, that Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Franklin would not have been born if their parents had practised birth-control. At the Madras Rotary Club, the Reverend Father took a broader line, and one which it is easier for ordinary people to follow. We are unable, however, to agree with him that birth-control should be discussed more as a religious and moral act than from the economic point of view. The real cause of the high birth rate in India is, as suggested by Dr. Hutton himself, the very low standard of life of the people. In Europe, as the Census Commissioner has shown, the rate has fallen progressively with the rise of the standard of life. The same thing, as he himself suggests, will happen in India. But instead of pleading for measures to raise the economic and educational condition of the people, the Census Commissioner has recommended the curtailment of the population by means of birth-control! This is very like fitting the head to the cap. The contention of "Mother" whose article on the same subject we reproduce from the *Hitavada* that the problems of too frequent pregnancies is an acute one amongst middle class families, is precisely what we pointed out in our leading article in the *Reformer* of the 11th November.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA—XI.

The State of Illinois has three Universities. These are the University of Chicago, the North-Western University and the University of Illinois. Professor Bradon kindly took me to the North Western University which is about thirty miles distant from Chicago. He is the author of an interesting book recently published dealing with the latest developments in India and the Far East in a broad sympathetic spirit. The North Western University has a College of Journalism which is regarded as one of the best in the United States. When I was in America I read of a scheme to amalgamate this with the School of Journalism of Chicago University. We met a number of people much interested in India at Professor Bradon's home. The University has a large and well-equipped Library where for the first time I saw the bulk of the work of fetching and carrying books being done by machinery. A slip of paper with the names of the books required is inserted in a tube which carries it to the floor below or above where the books are kept. In a few minutes they are brought up and deposited on a counter by a grid moving on a revolving band. As I was standing, several volumes of the *Indian Social Reformer* were tumbled on the table by this means. The Library has all the important newspapers and magazines of India filed. I noticed among them the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Leader* of Allahabad, the *Tribune* of Lahore and the *Liberty* of Calcutta. The *Modern Review* has a prominent place among Indian periodicals. The Library has also the latest Indian books. In fact it seems to specialise in India. I have since suggested to students, Indian and American, that the Library of the North Western University is the best place where they can get up-to-date information on Indian affairs. There are a good few of them engaged in studies relating to India. I recall a girl graduate at Chicago calling on me for elucidation of several passages in articles in the *Reformer* ranging over many years. She was writing a thesis on India based principally, she told me, on materials furnished by the *Reformer*. Dr. Bradon in his book has also quoted freely from the *Reformer*. Many friends in America spoke in appreciation of the non-partisan attitude of the *Reformer* on all questions of the day and its wide range of interest. Dr. Fisher wrote that the *Indian Social Reformer* is having a profound influence in select circles in America.

I made a courtesy call on the Mayor of Chicago before leaving. I expected, in view of the shooting to death of his immediate predecessor, that the vast Municipal Buildings would be closely guarded by armed police. But I did not see a single armed man about the place. We were taken through a number of rooms into a large hall where a group of persons were sitting round a table chatting. I took them to be persons who like myself had come to see the Mayor and calculated how long I would have to wait till he would be able to receive me after disposing of these earlier callers. I had hardly waited for a couple of minutes, however, when one of the group came towards me. He was the Mayor. He was a gigantic man with an Irish name, Kelly, if I mistake not, and he made a short speech of welcome as he shook hands with me. After a few formal words I left. A messenger followed us and wanted to know to whom in India the Mayor should write acknowledging the courtesy of this visit. Das Gupta laughingly told him that the Mayor should write to the Viceroy of India as Gandhiji was in jail!

Marshall Field's is perhaps the largest Emporium of its kind in America. Its premises extend over many acres and its different sections are as large as streets, and are, I think numbered as such. Anything and everything can be had here from a toy worth a few cents to articles worth many thousands of dollars. The Superintendent who kindly accompanied us during one of our visits to this great emporium, told us that their payroll on the busy season ran up to fifteen thousand while in ordinary times they had 10,000 employees. We saw eight or nine women engaged in merely taking down the names and addresses of customers in order to keep in touch with them. There are innumerable elevators, ordinary and express, to take you to the different floors. But the escalator was a new thing which we saw here. It is a staircase which you have no need to climb as it revolves and puts you down where you want. One can spend several hours watching the people getting up and down the escalators—it is so like a picture.

Kedarnath Das Gupta is one of the outstanding figures in our recollections of Chicago. He has his headquarters in London and New York dividing his time between the two continents. He has been absent from India for sixteen years. When the news of Mr. Sen-Gupta's death reached America, Das Gupta said that he was the last friend he had in India and his death broke the only link he had with it. Das Gupta was with us every morning and on most evenings. He does not like to speak of past events but he gave me glimpses of his varied career and his contacts with many of the eminent men of India. He had amusing stories to tell of many of them but there was not a trace of censoriousness in any of them. He has centres all over Europe and the United States which have for their object the promotion of interest in and knowledge of Indian culture. American friends spoke with respect and even affection of him in Chicago as also in New York. He is a devotee, if I may say so, of Gandhiji and, as the outward sign of the inward grace, he wears a Gandhi cap. Since coming to India we sent him a consignment of these cheap and convenient head coverings which he wanted for his friends. Das Gupta was the moving spirit of the World Fellowship of Faiths. Amidst many difficulties and discouragements he persevered and, with the help of his colleague Mr. Charles F. Weller, carried it to success. His friendly services to us did not cease when we left Chicago. He made arrangements for our visit to Washington; and, during our second stay in New York, much of our programme was drawn up by him. We are deeply indebted to Kedarnath Das Gupta for his invaluable friendly offices to us during the latter half of our visit to America.

We were delighted to see our old friend, Dr. T. C. Khandwala, in Chicago. He was as active in his intellectual interests as ever and had made a wide circle of friends and acquaintances amongst University Professors and students, during his four years domicile in different parts of the country. He had visited several States and had acquired an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in them. He had made himself independent of hotels and boarding houses by preparing every day his *khichdi* (with peas in default of *dhal*) which with milk, curds and fruit furnished him with all he needed by way of meals. He was looking healthier and happier than when I saw him last in Bombay.

Professor S. L. Joshi came up to Chicago for the Haskell Institute. He is, I believe, one of the few Indians who are full Professors in an American University. He is doing much directly and indirectly to diffuse interest in Indian culture in America. I found his suggestions very helpful though we did not agree in all matters. Professor Joshi urged Kamakoti to remain behind for six months assuring her that she could do a lot of work for India in the States.

Susette is a naturalised French girl who became Kamakoti's constant companion in Chicago. She went

about with us in an Indian sari with the kunkum mark on her forehead. At first Kamakoti was rather doubtful as to how the transformation would be taken by the people around us. There was little need for it, however, for every one seemed quite pleased with the new costume. Some other girls wanted to be initiated in the mysteries of the sari. Susette learnt the art in a couple of days and she is in a position to carry on the sartorial propaganda among the young women of Chicago. She regularly attended the lectures. She told us one day that a lady who sat next to her was under the impression that my turban was meant to cover complete baldness. I wish it were true as it would save the trouble of having a hair-cut every two or three weeks.

Mr. Hamblin was a Missionary in a village near Kolhapur some years ago. He used to come to see me and we had long talks on Indian problems including that of Christian Missions in this country. One day he wrote to me that he had made up his mind to retire from the Mission. He said he would much like to come back to India but without Mission affiliations. He called on me at Chicago. His first remark was: "You were against Missions to your country but you have yourself come on a mission to my country." I replied I was not there to make proselytes! Mr. Hamblin told me he had a Church in Michigan and a congregation of liberal-minded people. We much regretted in the pressure of engagements we missed the pleasure of seeing the Hamblins in their home some fifty miles from Chicago.

One of the new acquaintances I made at Chicago was the Rev. Alvah Hugh Laurence, Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Brook, Indiana. He has devised a scheme which he calls "A Project in Character Training." He explained it to me and sent me a copy of a booklet or deseribing it. He thinks that the scheme can be adopted in all countries. I had a general notion that American Pastors outside the great cities were too self-centred to take any interest in the world outside. Mr. Laurence did much to remove this prejudice. He was a broad-minded man intent on helping all humanity by his scheme.

The Chinese are excluded from the States by the Emigration law. But they seem to play an indispensable part in Auerican economy, chiefly as laundrymen. But for them New York and Chicago will go unwashed. There is a China Town in both cities and Chinese restaurants are much patronised by American. We went to one of these for our meals in Chicago. The room was full of guests. Hume asked for chopsticks but the Manager smilingly pleaded that they had none on the premises.

The weather was very hot in Chicago. Deaths from heat were reported from New York. We asked the Hotel for fans. They were very sorry hut they had tried but could not find any in all Chicago!

I was talking to a well-informed American friend about Presidential elections in the United States. I asked him if it was possible for a poor man in this great Democracy to become President. He replied, it would be very difficult, adding, after a moment's thought, that there have been some cases of men who were not wealthy being elected to the office, for instance, President Wilson. "What happens in such cases?" I asked. He replied, "Their friends help them." I reminded him of the attacks made on Mr. Ramsay Macdonald during his first Premiership for having accepted the gift of a motor car from a wealthy friend. The American view, I added, seemed to be different in such matters. My friend laid his hand on my shoulder and said: "The only difference is that what we do openly here they do privately in the old country."

We were sorry we could not accept several invitations amongst them a very kind one to visit Harvard.

K. N.

MY DEBT TO DR. R. A. HUME.

(By Wilbur S. Deming)

We are living in days of great perplexity and the Christian missionary is finding that his sphere of work is not separate from the general situation of uncertainty. The industrial depression has worked havoc with missionary finances. The giving up of fruitful projects is not an easy task for those who have given their lives to the building up of such projects. National introspection in the West has led, among other factors, to a gradual decrease in missionary interest. The rising tide of communalism in India, and, to some extent, of nationalism, offers new developments that claim attention and necessitate readjustments. At a time like this, it is helpful to recall to the mind certain fundamental attitudes that are just as essential today as they were a hundred years ago.

During the past two and a half years, it has been the writer's privilege to reside in the bungalow where Dr. R. A. Hume lived and worked for half a century. To follow in such a tradition and to attempt to carry out his ideals, as a community missionary, have not been easy. But to have a share in the fruitage of his work has been a constant inspiration and a continuing challenge. Dr. Hume was not only a great missionary; he was also a man with a great heart, and his influence is ever fresh in the minds of those who knew and loved him. I am glad to acknowledge my daily indebtedness to Dr. Hume, and I desire to share with readers of the *Reformer* some of his outstanding qualities that have meant so much to me.

One of Dr. Hume's greatest gifts was his spirit of friendliness. Every one was quickly swept into the circle of his genial kindliness, whether people in positions of leadership or those living in obscurity. His contacts were world-wide but never officious. He was the ideal peace-maker, consistently seeking to bridge the gaps of misunderstanding and prejudice. He once made the remark that he wished that the word 'peace-maker' might be written on his tombstone. It was because Dr. Hume saw the good in people that he was able to minister to them so effectively and to bring the good out of them.

My first week in India, in November 1912, was spent in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Hume. From that day to this, their home has always been to me the symbol of beauty and culture. The front door was ever open with its hospitable welcome, and no one could spend a few hours in that home without being lifted to a higher plane of spiritual living. The writer recalls, with a smile, numerous instances when casual Indian visitors were brought to the table at short notice and asked to share the family meal. Momentary embarrassment quickly disappeared in the atmosphere of good fellowship. Some years ago a young missionary couple spent the first few months of their Indian sojourn in the Hume home, while studying Marathi. They later bore testimony to the fact that during all that time never once had they heard disparaging remarks made concerning fellow-workers. Who could measure the spiritual influence of such a home?

Another vivid memory is that of Dr. Hume's intellectual eagerness. I frequently sought opportunities to visit the Hume home in order that I might peruse the new books which would invariably be found on the living room table. They would be books concerning religion, theology, poetry, history and kindred subjects. My first introduction to the study of

Indian religions was through Dr. Hume whose enthusiasm for such studies was contagious. No subject seemed outside his range of thought. Whether it was a question of missionary policy or an important event in world politics, Dr. Hume maintained an attitude of eager interest. The writer always found him ready to receive new suggestions. He thus symbolized for me the *open mind*, continually growing, and never satisfied with the *status quo*.

A third quality which always impressed me was his loyalty to conviction. I do not recall that Dr. Hume ever hesitated to express his honest opinion, no matter how difficult the occasion might be. He had the capacity for leadership to a rare degree and was prepared to defend his viewpoint against opposition. During one of his furlough periods in America he became the centre of controversy because of some outspoken remarks about the Christian message to India. Yet through it all he kept his poise and did not allow himself to become bitter when subjected to criticism. He knew that he had a mission in life and his loyalty to this mission never wavered. Yet he was ever ready to reach reasonable adjustments with others, firmly believing that practical compromises are the path of wisdom.

A fourth well-known characteristic of Dr. Hume was his sense of humour. For him to see the funny side of an incident was a perfectly natural process. By expression, gesture or word, he could keep his audience convulsed, his ample fund of stories being always available. Many of these stories a re still doing yeoman service throughout his circle of friends. Undoubtedly his ready wit endeared him to his associates, and his ability to enjoy a good joke smoothed the path of many a conference.

Fifth, I have often drawn inspiration from Dr. Hume's breadth of outlook. He maintained no mental compartments. With officials it was his custom to be on friendly terms. He fraternized with people of every community and found time to support a variety of good causes. When the question of church union came to the front, he threw himself enthusiastically into the task of organizing the North India United Church, becoming its first moderator. The National Missionary Society owed much to his wise counsel and sympathetic interest. Free from cramping prejudice, and anxious to share in all wholesome movements Dr. Hume could be counted upon to lend a helping hand.

Sixth, this brief appreciation would not be complete without a reference to the simplicity of his prayer life. The story goes that once at the dinner table, after saying grace, he was reminded by an absent-minded member of the family that grace had not yet been said. 'All right', he remarked, 'we will say another', and proceeded to do so, without affectation. He could drop into prayer without the slightest effort, carrying others with him into the presence of His Heavenly Father. Possessing a Christ-like spirit it was but natural that he should live close to his Father and seek His guidance at all times. It was because he had found God that he could share Him with others. Whether by interview or with pen, he had a genius for personal evangelism. Dr. Mabie of the Baptist Board once remarked to the writer that Dr. Hume had no peer in the art of getting close to the Indian heart.

If I were asked to sum up Dr. Hume's notable qualities and the significance of his contribution to India, I would apply to him, I think, the term forward-looking. He was a pioneer, calling to the rest of us to join him in the search for the good life. His readiness to witness for his Master did not impair his appreciation of concrete realities and, as a result, two rows of new houses stand across the street as a testimony to his interest in better housing. If Dr. Hume were alive today, he would doubtless be an active member of the international fellowship which is doing its best to break down communal prejudices. Those of us who are attempting to pass on the torch dare not ignore our debt to those who have preceded us. Dr. Hume's influence in Ahmednagar continues to be a stimulating force, urging us forward to that day when the abundant life, of which Jesus told us, may find more adequate expression in the lives of men and women everywhere.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have read with great interest the article in your issue of November 11th on the 'Indian Christian Marriage Act' and also the previous articles to which reference is made. Most Christians will sympathise with the writer in his plea that Section 68 of the Act should not be used for purposes of persecution or as an aid to proselytism. I am afraid, however, that the writer has not fully understood the reasons which have led missionaries to take up cases under this section. In the first place it must be admitted that every community has certain rules of order to which its members should subscribe and if they deliberately break these rules, which have been framed in the interest of the community itself, they can hardly expect to escape the consequences. Just as in the case of the Sarda Act many high-minded individuals believe that they are called upon to bring to the notice of the courts breaches in this Act because of their disastrous consequences to Hindu Society, so missionaries and Indian Christian leaders believe that deliberate contraventions of Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act have disastrous consequences for Christian Society and so cannot be easily condoned. For the few cases that come before the courts there are many more cases in which the parties unwittingly offended which are not dealt with in this way.

In the second place it must be remembered that a breach of the Act renders the marriage null and void and entails consequences on the parties themselves that may lead to great evils. They do not always realise them at the time but I have come across cases when the validity of a marriage has been questioned for this reason.

Further, if the bride is a Christian it is necessary for her own protection that the sanction of the Act should be held in reserve. In some of the communities from which Christians come the marriage tie is not so powerful as in the higher Hindu castes and we have found that if a Christian girl marries a Hindu according to Hindu usage she has no protection against desertion as the State does not recognise the marriage. There is no doubt at all that if the missionaries were to acquiesce in a wholesale evasion of Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act it would be disastrous for many Christian girls who have no knowledge of the consequences of their action and who are forced by their parents, often against their own will, into a Hindu marriage.

I have read carefully the decisions of the Allahabad and Madras High Courts on this matter and it has always seemed to me that from the point of view of the Act itself the Madras High Court decision is the correct one. As long as the law remains as it is, it is surely not to be expected that the Christian Church should condone a serious breach of the law which would in their opinion result not only in general laxity in regard to marriage but also in disastrous consequences for many Christian girls.

Surely the remedy is in the hands of Hindu Society if it would only agree to a general civil marriage act making necessary the registration of all marriages by a civil authority and securing monogamy.

In that case there would be no need for a special legislation for different religious communities and the one Act would govern all the communities and give the civil protection necessary to both parties and to the children of the marriage. The Christian church cannot consent to the abolition of the protection afforded by this Act so long as the whole position in regard to marriage remains so uncertain as it is today for large sections of Hindu society.

If all the parties to the marriage have made it perfectly clear that they are no longer members of the Christian church and there is no question of the girl, who is usually a minor, being compelled against her will to accept the Hindu form of marriage, I do not think the church has any right to invoke the aid of Section 68 and I feel sure that Christian opinion will generally agree with the writer of the Articles in his contention upon this point. If in other cases the parties wish to remain in the Christian church, as is usually the case in my experience, and at the same time contravene the church's rule and the State's laws regarding marriage, it is surely unjust to blame missionaries for resorting to the courts to stop a practice which they believe will be disastrous to the parties and to the community generally.

I have always had a great admiration for the *Indian Social Reformer* and have been a regular subscriber for the past 25 years and I feel sure that you will understand that the position is not so simple as the writer of the article makes out.

Erode, 15 November 1933. } Yours etc., H. A. POPLEY.

THE ACTIVE LEAGUE.

(By B. BRADFIELD.)

While the Disarmament Conference goes slowly for a while, due to the check given to it by Germany, other activities of the League of Nations move apace.

League men are setting about various tasks with no less vigour than before, perhaps even more. A well-known public man of America is immediately to take up his duties as High Commissioner for the refugees from Germany, to assist them in finding means of livelihood; an Irishman is making preparations for his three years job as High Commissioner of Danzig, a very delicate post just now; five notable men—English, French, Italian, Spanish and Mexican—are on their way to the Gran Chaco to restore peace to Bolivia and Paraguay while five others are already in Leticia on the same mission for Colombia and Peru. These are amongst some of the most recent appointments to the army of League men at work in various parts of the world.

At the present moment the Mandates Commission is in session, putting its usual searching questions to the representatives of the Mandatory Powers on the internal affairs and the well-being of the inhabitants of Syria and the Lebanon, of the Cameroons and Togoland, of certain Pacific Islands and of Iraq up to last Autumn. The Central Opium Board is also in session dealing with stocks of raw opium, with exports of narcotics, and with seizure of smuggled goods. An Inter-Governmental Conference is engaged in drawing up an agreement for providing refugees—Russian, Armenian, Syrian and others—with more secured positions in the countries where they find themselves, with access to courts, the right to education, liability to taxation and so on, and also the granting of Nansen passports.

Obviously there is no slacking down of the League's general machinery, the committees and conferences of each week being all designed to one and the same end, the friendly co-operation between nations which will make arms obsolete.

WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE CONVENTION AT CAWNPORE.

(By M. S. V. PERRILL.)

The 37th annual meeting of the United Provinces Division of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was held in Cawnpore on November 9th and 10th, at the Presbyterian Church. Thirty-six delegates and officers were present representing the local Unions in Agra, Aligarh, Hardoi, Budaon, Kasganj, Meerut, Muttra, Moradabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow, and reports were also received from Almora, Jhansi and Pithoragarh. In several places, Hindus and Moslems have joined forces with the Christians in Temperance effort, notably Pithoragarh, Moradabad and Lucknow.

Several new methods of arousing public opinion in Temperance work were reported, such as the wearing of coloured badges by the Temperance crusaders, the signing of the total abstinence pledge, the teaching of Temperance in schools in connection with the subject of Hygiene, and the use of scouts in helping to prepare petitions for the closing of obnoxious liquor shops.

The reports of the ways in which money was collected revealed great sacrifice and ingenuity. The money had been collected in annas and pice from the poor; by the giving of Temperance dramas, story-telling contests, concerts; and by personal solicitation from friends of the Temperance cause.

Lectures given by Mr. S. P. Andrews-Dube, of the Servants of India Society, and Dr. F. M. Perrill, Editor of the *Indian Witness*, were greatly appreciated.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:—

President:	Mrs. N. Jordan: Moradabad.
Vice-President:	Mrs. F. M. Perrill: Lucknow.
Recording Secretary:	Mrs. M. C. Singh: Cawnpore.
Corresponding Secretary:	Miss P. Phillips: Budaon.
Treasurer:	Mrs. C. D. Rockey: Bareilly.

A Resolution was passed urging the introduction of compulsory scientific Temperance instruction into the schools of the Province. The National W. C. T. U. was memorialized to arrange a gradation of the annual dues to be paid according to the financial ability of the members.

Next year's Convention is to be held in Lucknow.

TANSEN ANNIVERSARY.

The death anniversary of Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar's court, is celebrated every year at his tomb near Gwalior. This year, writes a correspondent in the *Hindustan Times*, the celebrations began on the 12th November and lasted till 14th. On the first day the proceedings began with Hari Katha by Pandit Shajapurker. Then the students and teachers of the two local music institutions, the Madhav Music College and the Shanker Gandharva Vidyalaya gave a musical performance which lasted till 12 in the night and was much appreciated by the audience.

Next day a 'chaddar' was brought in procession from Gwalior and put on the tombs of Muhammad Ghaus and Tansen. Then the dancing girls of the city and other places who come here every year to pay homage to this great master of music, showed their skill in singing and dancing. One of the descendants of Tansen, Fida Hussain Khan had

specially come for the occasion from Jaipur and gave a performance on his Satar.

On the afternoon of the 14th the proceedings which had begun with Hari Katha terminated with Maulud and Fatiha.

BIRTH CONTROL.

I. What An Indian Woman Thinks.

So at last the men have begun talking and writing freely about Birth Control! At the Women's Conference at Bhandara, the proposer of the resolution on Birth Control received an interesting message from someone in the audience afrer her speech was over. "Where is the need of convincing the women? Don't we realise all this? But who is to deal with the men?" I suppose the proposer was somewhat in a fix. But she ought to find out a way now.

It is also a healthy sign that the main opposition to the spread of information about Birth Control has come, so far, from a particular religious point of view only. If it always remains limited to that narrow circle, one need not bother much about it. Haven't we already had sufficient experience of a particular kind of hybrid culture and pseudo religious outlook?

It is all very well for indifferent people to engage in wordy and lofty discussions about whether a thing is right or not. Lost in their empty abstractions, they have no time to think of the agonies that hundreds and hundreds of women of, say, the lower middle class are suffering from day to day. Only a few days ago, there happened an incident in one of the Maternity Homes in Nagpur which ought to be a pungent eye-opener to all those who have any vision left. A woman went there for her fifth or sixth delivery. Her husband was a clerk. There was no other elderly person in the house. A kindly neighbour had taken charge of the rest of the children, the youngest being just above a year. It was a hard job for the neighbour and not a very pleasant thing for the child too. The mother lay in the hospital, comfortable for all appearances but with her mind being torn to pieces with thoughts about the children she had left behind, their little comforts, their hazy future, the bare maintenance that her husband could afford, and one day she burst into tears. "Is there no way to stop this?" The poor thing enquired. A more enlightened lady was near her. She gave her her address, asked her to see her when she was up, once more assured her that there was a way out. The harassed mother was so overcome with gratitude that she fell at the feet of her more enlightened sister. This is not the only incident of its kind. There are so many girls in the same boat.

That some refuse to undertake the responsibilities of parenthood because they want to be free to 'enjoy' life, is no argument against the spread of the knowledge about contraceptives. There is no justice in compelling the majority to remain in darkness and procreate like cats and dogs, because some might escape from their responsibility altogether. The same about the problem of the spread of immorality. The rise of immorality did not wait for the discovery of contraceptives. It has been there always, and however strictly the purists may ban contraceptives, those who are inclined that way will get the latest about them. The chances are that they will do more harm to themselves and to others, by getting at them by the back door. There can be no greater condemnation of our present code of morals and ideas of decency than this, that just those that ought to know everything about sex and its significance, are debarred from it. It is an intolerable insult to all decent folk to say that their morals are based on their ignorance about how to sin without being found out.

—*Hitavada.*

2. A Catholic View.

Rev. Father Basenach S. J. delivered an interesting address at the weekly meeting of the Madras Rotary Club on "Birth Control."

Rev. Father Basenach prefaced his remarks by saying that Malthus had only one idea. He saw large numbers of poverty-stricken and unhappy people herded in slums round the newly built factories. He hated misery and vice—and, of course, vice inevitably went with poverty. Contemplating the dreary scene he was moved to effect a remedy. It was the theory of Malthus that the population always tended to outstrip the means of subsistence and that the human race was neither ingenious enough nor active enough to increase its means of subsistence in adequate proportion. How he knew this for an incontestable fact, he never told them; nor was he able to refute Godwin who said that it was nonsense to talk about not being able to maintain a population until we had tried. Being a religious man, in fact a parson by profession, he felt bound to ensure that any means he might suggest for limiting the population would be in keeping with his religious principles. He insisted upon delayed marriages and strict continency or chastity in the unmarried. Francis Place accepted Malthus' thesis and went one worse. He proposed the logical and practical means of restricting population—contraception. Continuing, the speaker said: "The doctrines of Malthus and Place have not only the character of the cure-all, they have also the distinctive mark of all evil sociology and legislation. They have as their only basis, expediency."

"It is also certain that social conditions ought not to impose moral heroism or ask, as ours do, martyrdom from half the population. But it is not my purpose here to criticise either our social conditions abominable as they are, nor even to point out that nearly the whole contraceptional problem is due to them, and therefore, due to that graft and grab which is at the back of nearly all that is socially wrong; nor even, to point out that contraception is at best but a palliative of social wrongs—a mopping up of water when the tap is left running. Neither shall I waste time about the nonsense that is talked about over-population (I am not saying that no sense is ever talked) especially in continents like Australia, India or South America. Nor yet, about standards of life, where an insane snobbishness operates even more evilly than mere desire for comfortableness. No doubt the problem may be considered from all sorts of angles—medical, psychological, economical, political, historical, artistic. But ultimately the scientific discussion resolves itself into a question of a philosophy.

"We have to take the whole man into account, who feels, thinks, and can choose. So even were medical opinion to tell me that contraceptive practices did no harm to the body as such nor even to the nervous system (though fewer and fewer risk saying anything of the sort), I still would say that the point had not been reached, because the human creature was not yet being surveyed as a whole. Doctors specialise in one corner of the world—the sick one, but one corner of life can never be taken as giving us the whole of it and therefore we have to appeal to that science which regards the whole of human activity in the light of its ultimate purpose. But since the majority of people still rule their conduct on a principle of religion, the question becomes chiefly a

religious one; a matter in which guidance is expected and sought from some religious authority.

"Speaking before men, most of whom owe no allegiance to the teaching authority of the Catholic Church, I must try to discuss the subject from a standpoint which is common to all Christians. I believe naturally that pretty well every Christian doctrine is needed by anyone who wants to understand human nature, let alone to manage it. So long, for example, as people exclude the certainty of God's existence, of man's obligation, and of sin, they are bound to make a mess of things, because they seek for a solution amid material which provides none.

"We Catholics hold birth prevention to be wrong for everybody, not merely for Catholics; we base our argument not on authority, but on reason, which binds all men, not only Catholics; we hold it as wrong for a non-Catholic to practise it as for Catholics. It is a thing forbidden by the moral law which governs human nature; it is wrong with a wrongness that is antecedent to any ecclesiastical law. The sum total of duties whose knowledge we derive from the understanding of our nature and of our relations to all other beings, is the moral law, that is, the natural law for man. Every act contrary to those duties is a violation of God's plan. It would indeed be an extraordinary thing that God should intend certain purposes to be realised by endowing certain natures with definite functions and potencies, and that nevertheless man should be able, without moral fault, to thwart that plan. Now the nature of our faculties is manifested to us in the mode of their necessary activities; and their purpose is revealed by the good they necessarily achieve by their normal activities.

"Now there are certainly some actions which every man and woman, taking them as normal beings in possession of their faculties, admit to be contrary to rational nature, that is, morally wrong. No one would defend the kidnapping of a child. If any individual invades the right of parents to offspring we say with truth that he is offending against a basic natural right not merely against a legal or conventional right. A man should be convinced of this if it is considered for a moment that it would be impossible for families, his own family included, or the State, to persist, if a mother could be deprived of her child. To say this is just to say that the kidnapper is violating the law of his own human nature, for he is acting irrationally, contrary to nature's postulates and dictates.

"Now the processes and the exercise of our mental and bodily faculties have quite definite purposes. We know that this is so from experience and observation. The function of sex has a fixed fundamental purpose, namely to pass on life, when natural conditions are favourable. A man would therefore be acting irrationally if he used his sexual function in such a way, that by some artificial contrivance, mechanical chemical or otherwise, he prevented that faculty from doing precisely that very thing which it alone is designed to achieve. Sexual intercourse is a particular, well-defined act. It is this act, and no other, which God, in Nature, uses to propagate the human race. It is this act, and no other, which God has designed as the full physical expression of love between man and wife. It is this act and no other, which Nature has fashioned to fulfil animal sexual desire. All these purposes in nature (and probably others of which we are ignorant) are fulfilled together by this very definite particularised act. But, the contraceptive act is not this natural well-defined act of sexual intercourse. It is an act of man's own fashioning; he uses the function and at the same time, blocks the direction of that function. According to the classical tradition of thought, from Plato and Aristotle, through Aquinas, to Spinoza, Leibnitz, Hegel, from the standpoint of scientific Ethics, pleasure is not the constitutive part of human activity, but a property flowing from it. It is not something in itself but the accompaniment of doing something. If that something is good then the pleasure is good; if that something is bad, then the pleasure is bad. Consequently the rightness or wrongness of a particular pleasure can only be determined by reference to the goodness or badness of the act to which it attaches. The deliberate performance of the sexual act apart from its due circumstances or with a direct and positive exclusion of its natural end, namely procreation, is a perversion or frustration of nature and therefore morally and intrinsically wrong; pleasure, however refined, can do nothing to legitimatise it. On the contrary, the accompanying pleasure will be bad. In the contraceptive act man is indulging in a sham, an isolated aspect deliberately divorced from the wholeness of a human situation, a nervous excitement instead of the living union of two in one flesh.

"To attempt by artificial means to frustrate the natural dynamism of act and end is of necessity to introduce a conflict in the material and in the moral order. To the reality of this conflict—and of the injury it causes—all sound science, gynæcology and psychology bears witness. In the decline and fall of empires lies the record of this law. Its operation in our own society and in our own time is obvious in the extremities of error and action into which they have been led who refuse obedience to the natural rule. Men and women who started as advocates of birth prevention are now engaged in open war on life. The war they wage takes many forms: upon the sources of life in men and women which is sterilisation; upon life in potentiality, which is birth prevention; upon life unborn, which is abortion; upon life in being which is Euthanasia; or, in simple speech, murder and suicide. We are told that the Christian idea is opposed to the modern world; this is true, we are opposed to it, but only to the extent that the modern world is inhuman. And the reason why the Catholic Church condemns contraception is that it is inhuman, a thing wrong in itself, an unnatural vice, a course of action which is contrary to the divine will and therefore an evil for man, the state and the race.

"People are apt to neglect the worldwide aspects and effects of birth prevention and to concentrate on the hard cases in married life....But are the hardest cases in married life harder than the plight of the young, whose financial or other circumstances make matrimony impossible for them? Can it be maintained that, taking one thing with another, the difficulties of the married to-day are harder than they were in generations past? Is it not that perhaps we are softer, rather than the cases are harder? Still we do have for such cases the most genuine sympathy and understanding; but the position that contraception is wrong in itself, and to be condemned as an unnatural practice is not weakened in the least by the existence of extremely hard cases within marriage, any more than the position that dishonesty or lying is a sin by the existence of similarly hard cases in business or private life."

Concluding the speaker said:—

"It appears to be constantly assumed that the ordinary Christian or disciple of Christ cannot be expected to conform to a discipline which is very hard and which he or she may feel to be intolerable. This I must meet with a flat negative. It is quite true that Christ never taught us to seek pain for its own sake; but he certainly did tell us that, if we would be His disciples, we must be prepared for even the

extreme of sacrifice—even the sacrifice of life itself—by martyrdom. To be a Christian is to accept an unlimited liability; and even the hardest case may not affect his loyalty to His Master and God. Christianity has never been a religion of escape. Every age demands martyrdom of some kind and our age calls for martyrs who are willing to suffer for the sake of morality."

—*Hindu*

DEAR DOCTOR EINSTEIN.*

Sixteen years ago, the people of the United States were engaged in a war, as most of them believed, to preserve democracy and freedom from annihilation at the hands of a ruthless German government. We were among the minority who opposed that war, not merely because we could not share the prevailing view of the Allied nations as innocent and the Central Powers as solely to blame, but even more because we believed the war method could never eradicate militarism from Germany or save democracy for the world. Today, notwithstanding the Allies' victory, German militarism is again in the saddle and democracy is everywhere in jeopardy.

Such an outcome was not readily discernible in 1917 to the eyes of those who desperately feared a German conquest. As the pressure of that fear descended over the nation, weighted by official propaganda, we saw one pacifist comrade after another swept into support of the war by the tide of military violence. Many of these had long protested their pacifism and had preached the doctrine of love for enemies; but they could not withstand by a general faith the concrete appeal of war and the presence of a menacing foe.

You will forgive us, then, if we say that we felt a similar loss when you, who so nobly served the pacifist cause by your open espousal of it under any and all conditions, recently shifted your position. When you anticipated that Belgian war resisters would be "greatly astonished" by what you were about to write them, you were correct; for even if you had come to that crossroads of the mind where honest men can only speak with frankness, pacifists had the right to expect from you the most cogent of reasons, the most profound of arguments. Yet you wrote as follows:

'A little while ago one could have hoped to fight militarism in Europe successfully by individually refusing to serve in the army. But today we are in the presence of entirely different circumstances. There is in the centre a state (Germany) which publicly is preparing for war by every means. Under these conditions some countries, particularly France and Belgium, find themselves in very great danger and they can only count upon their own preparation.....That is why I tell you frankly, "If I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would, on the contrary, accept it with a clear conscience with the sentiment of a contribution toward securing European civilization." This does not mean that I renounce my previous opinion. I desire nothing more than to see the moment come when refusal of military service will be the means for an efficacious struggle for the progress of humanity.'

What your letter declares is centrally this: that war resistance of individuals is to be considered purely as an individual influence; that its social utility is limited to those periods and circumstances when there is no serious threat from a reckless antagonist; that military victory, so futile 15 years ago, would in 1933 accomplish towards the security of Europe what it failed so signally to do before.

Stirred by regret rather than irritation, we are compelled to say in utter candour that this is no argument at all. It constitutes, instead, an incredibly naive evasion of every important issue. As you extraordinarily have forgotten, war resisters never expected individual war resistance to stop wars or prevent them; yet the brave men who have resisted the war system through their unflinching opposition have been of the greatest pragmatic value in keeping alive the method of uncompromising non-co-operation with war and paving the way for the adoption of that method by important labour, religious, and educational organizations throughout the world. These, even with their present strength and partial conviction, have already on several occasions prevented wars which might have developed into ghastly conflicts of large dimensions.

We hold no brief, of course, for Hitlerism. But what created Hitlerism so much as those very policies of increased armaments, enforcement of unfair judgments, rampant militarism, and stern vindictiveness which have characterized the programme of enbattled France? That German public which follows the flashing will-o'-the-wisp of the hooked cross is simply carrying to absurdity (or rather, pathology) the selfsame principles which have been urged consistently since the war on the French and Belgian people by their governments. Even now, a war for any reason might eliminate Hitler; but it could never wipe out Hitlerism.

In 1929 you revealed a courage which we know you still posses, but an insight we fear you have temporarily lost, when you stated in the suppressed Czech-journal, *Die Wahrheit*, that in another war you would

> "unconditionally refuse to do war service, direct or indirect, and would try to persuade my friends to take the same stand, regardless of how the cause of the war should be judged."

We commend to you the clarity of those views. They were sane in 1929; they are sane in 1933. Their rationality thousands of war resisters the world around, unshaken, will continue to attest. Without bitterness, though with profound sorrow, these men and women will cease to follow you. They will, on the contrary, pit themselves even more vigorously, unblinded, against militarism and war: militarism, as international as disease; war, as ubiquitous as death.

* Reprinted from *The World To-morrow.*

GANDHIJI ON HIS MISSION.*

"POLITICS IS NOTHING TO ME."

Addressing a huge gathering at Amraoti last week, Gandhiji said: "I have visited many places throughout the length and breadth of this country, and such big meetings are to me the manifestations of the grace of God. I believe that with God's favour alone can we conduct such huge assemblies. With His grace also, I have taken up the Harijan work. It is a religious work, and should therefore be done with truth, peace and sacrifice. It would not be done otherwise. If we want to expiate for the injustice done to the Harijans, and if we want to atone for the wrongs, we, the Savarna Hindus, are still doing them, we must get down from the shoulders of those poor people. We must treat them as we treat the Savarna Hindus. I would like to tell you all that, unless we behave with them on equal terms, there is no chance of our own improvement either. I visited the Harijan quarters with the help of Dr. Patwardhan, and have now heard the address read out to me by the Municipal Committee, here. If the Municipality of this place could not do anything in this matter, it could not be blamed. I have seen many other Muni-

* From the *Free Press Journal.*

cipal committees, and the conditions are just the same all over. But I must say that now, even the western scientists after their research, have come to the conclusion that if we leave any particular section of our society out of our fold, we are sure to be down economically.

"After 25 years' of observation my belief is being strengthened that wealth should always go hand in hand with religion. There should be harmony between religion and wealth. I have come to realise from my Harijan work that one, who tries for wealth in accordance with religion, gets both. I believe it to be the duty of every Savarna Hindu that he should try to take up the Harijan into his fold.

"If we do our duty towards the Harijans, all of us, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians will live peacefully. To my mind there is no better way to unity of these people than Harijan work. Now I must tell you what every one of you can do in this respect. The Harijan movement is a great "Yagnya," and each of you can put his little bit in it. Those who have money can give it for this cause. Those who have the leisure and intelligence, can teach the Harijan boys and give them lessons in personal hygiene and cleanliness. Congressmen are doing the work at present. But the masses of India are like a sea. I know that all these people are not Congressmen. Still they can come and do this work. It is not any social kind of work. It is the religious duty of every one of you.

"I do not value politics as much as I value this work. Politics is nothing to me. It is my belief that, if we do this work with religious faith, everything will be obtained. I am not travelling with any other intention in this work. And when I see people assembling in such huge numbers I hope that they will stand by me in this work. In July last, the Harijan Seva Sangh was started, and some of you must have taken the vow to wipe out this curse of untouchability. It is the birth-right of Harijans to make use of public institutions and to enter into the temples. But as long as there is a single soul boycotted as being a Harijan I shall not regard untouchability as being wiped out totally. It is up to you, therefore that you should change your hearts and take the Harijans as your own.

"The Harijan Seva Sangh is composed of people of different schools of thought but they can do this together. Workers in this field should not aspire after any kind of honour or title. They should not have the slightest tinge of personal interest or selfish motives. This work should also be free from any sort of political colour. There is no doubt that it will have some political meaning, but I do not value political things as much as this. Harijan work is a purification of the Hindu religion. I have great hopes in this matter. I have always been an optimist, and my optimism in this case is increasing every day but even if I fail it remains my duty to continue this work. Very few pure workers have so far come forward. I therefore pray to God that He should give you all the necessary strength and guidance to do your duty in this respect.

"Some of the women of this place have offered me ornaments and the little children gave me a small silver casket which I wish to put for auction. I shall accept money from you all; be it even a cowree, but it should be given with a pure heart. I assure you that it will do you good and will be helpful to the Harijan."

Indian President of Oxford Union:— Mr. D. F. Karaka has been elected president of the Oxford Union Society for the next term. He is the first Indian to be elected as the president of the Oxford Union. His great grandfather, the late Dosabhoy Framji Karaka. C. S. I., was the author of a standard work 'The History of Parsis.'

"BALKANISING" INDIA.

In a statement headed "The Balkanisation of India" Sir Henry Lawrence, who once acted as Governor of Bombay, and was for a number of years Commissioner in Sind, writes:—

The report of the Joint Select Committee should become one of the historical documents of the British transcending the Durham report on Canada of a century ago. The scheme of the White Paper appears to be gravely affected by considerations arising out of the Hindu-Moslem conflict. While it is impossible to ignore that conflict, it is fatal to allow it to override reason and justice. Fear is paralysing Europe now. We must not let it paralyse our action in India. As Sir Austen Chamberlain has said in the House, now and again in the affairs of men there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence.

In the light of the tragical mistakes made at Versailles, and the consequent chaos in Europe, the Joint Select Committee has an opportunity now of pointing out the right road to take in India, and to protest against its Balkanisation.

Europe is busy attempting to wipe out the barriers to prosperity caused by the uprising of so many petty states and their inter jealousies. Are we not now in India repeating the same disastrous error in the creation of new small states which can have no hope whatever of establishing stable and competent government?

The present territorial divisions of India were formed haphazard through accidents of wars at different periods. Is not this a heaven-sent opportunity to reform and redress these accidents of fate? For example, why was Sind attached to the province of Bombay? Because Sir Charles Napier conquered Sind in 1842 and at that time the Punjab was not within the British Empire. Sir Charles Napier took his army from Poona and the conquest gained by the Bombay army fell to the sphere of the Bombay Government. Similar chances ruled over the creation of the Central Provinces and Orissa.

No man can foretell what period may elapse before the Princes have determined to sign their agreement on entry into the Federation, and before the Federation itself comes into active operation. Between the publication of Lord Durham's report and the passing of the North America Act there intervened a period of 28 years, between 1839 and 1867.

Let us look ahead. It may be that the final decision of these vast Indian problems may rest with the next generation. In all the mosaic of the provinces in India no part is so amorphous as the Central Provinces, and none has shown more clearly the inability of its population to set up a government. If now we consider the lesson presented by the course of recent events in Central and South Eastern Europe, we will recognise ths importance of avoiding disruption into non-economic or non-political units.

The White Paper proposes to increase the number of governments to 11, whereas the opportunity should be taken both on financial and administrative grounds to reduce the number as far as possible. It is sufficient to enunciate the principle without defining precisely the areas and boundaries which can only be determined after an adhoc enquiry, but it may be suggested tentatively that the Central Provinces, Assam, Sind, Orissa and perhaps the North West Frontier Province, should all be amalgamated into larger entities. The redistribution of areas is indeed no novelty in the Indian history of the last century, nor should such a proposal disturb statesmen who have seen the redistribution of Europe within the last few years albeit that redistribution has proceeded on the wrong lines, in the

wrong direction, under the fatal slogan, adopted for war purposes, of self-determination. This slogan denies the whole process of civilization through the centuries and would revert the United Kingdom itself to the conditions of the Heptarchy.

It is recognised in the White Paper (*vide* paragraphs 32 and 60 of the Proposals) that the breakdown of the finances may require the re-consideration of the whole scheme. It is clear that all financial authorities are very seriously disturbed as to the dangers of such a breakdown, and no step should be omitted which can improve the financial situation. The most obvious step is to reduce the number of separate Governments with their inevitable tendency to profligate extravagances and to restrict the experiment to areas which are likely to produce Indian statesmen of the necessary enlightenment and ability. The hope of securing statesmen of this description in the four areas which I have named is very slight. The basis of these reforms is a confidence that India can produce such statesmen; and it is the function of this Committee to establish the conditions in which that confidence can be fulfilled.

BORDERLINES OF FAITHS. *

(By Dr. J. H. Hutton.)

It is not in its devotional aspect that the census is concerned with religion, but in its social, and it cannot be denied that society in India is still largely organised on a basis of caste and religion, and social conduct is much influenced by practices which may not be in themselves religious but which are subject to religious sanctions. . . . The social importance of religious difference is reflected in the controversial disputes about religious terminology for census purposes. The census terms are:—Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Zoroastrian, Jew, Muslim, Christian, Tribal and Others. This is the most practical division available, but is admittedly not satisfactory since difficulty arises in the case of many of these terms, particularly so in that of the term *Hindu* which is not entirely exclusive of some of the other terms used.

Many Hindus, for instance, claim that Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists are also Hindu in as much as their faiths had their origin in the Hindu religion. On the other hand, this claim is stoutly repudiated by the great majority of Sikhs and it was therefore necessary to treat the terms Hindu and Sikh as mutually exclusive. In the case of Jains many, but by no means all, regard themselves as Hindu and orders were issued that any Jain who wished to record the fact that he was also Hindu could do so and the tables would show in a footnote the number of Jains who consider themselves Hindus. In the United Provinces the Census Superintendent reports that the present tendency among Jains is toward segregation from rather than amalgamation with Hindus and that intermarriage with Hindu families is becoming more unpopular, though there is less objection to taking Hindu wives than to giving brides to Hindu males. It was claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha that a few Buddhists adopted the same position as Jains who regard themselves as Hindus, but from Buddhists as well as Jains protests were received against the possibility of their being classified as Hindus. In order to get round the ambiguity it was also ordered that Buddhists might likewise describe themselves as Hindu, and the totals of Buddhists who so regard themselves will be found in footnotes. In all 12,326 out of a total for India of 1,252,631 Jains, and 70 Buddhists out of 12,786,831 described themselves as being Hindus, and of these 526 Jains and Buddhists actually appear as Hindus in the statistical tables.

Some other schismatics have similarly an ambiguous position. In 1881 Kabirpanthi and Satnami were shown as religions separate from Hinduism. Since that year, they have been incorporated with Hindus and on this occasion they have been similarly treated except in Bombay where a few Kabirpanthis and Dadupanthis who did not return themselves as Hindu have been shown under "Others". It would be natural to suppose that the remaining religions might at any rate be regarded as quite distinct yet while the border line between tribal religions and some aspects of Hinduism is not at all easy to draw, it is often just as hard to define it between Hinduism and Islam, and even between Hinduism and Christianity, in the case of a number of intermediate sects which offer points of identity with both.

Except for a body in Tinnevelly that claims to be both Jew and Christian, the Jews remain a much more clearly defined body, and in their case Hindu influence would seem to go no further than inducing the Beni-Israel to add a Hindu or a Hinduised second name to the Hebraic one, but the Indian Christians of South India go further. Caste is admittedly observed by Catholics, while some Protestants who profess not to observe it do admit a ban on commensality. The Catholics appear to use caste marks in some cases, and there was a *cause celebre* in the Madras courts in which an overzealous imported priest, who had destroyed as unchristian the wall which ran the length of the aisle to separate the caste from the outcaste Christians, was prosecuted by his flock in consequence. The Catholics, besides observing caste even to conventional privileges in dress and ornaments, use the *tali* instead of a ring in marriage and permit the retention of other customs, such as a tabu "for reasons of hygiene" on contacts with persons polluted by childbirth.

On the other hand certain features of the Lingayat belief seem to have been borrowed from Christianity, as a doctrine of immaculate conception and the practice of burying the dead. A forest tribe in North Kanara, now Hindu, has family names of Christian origin. In the case of Islam, however, the border line is much less definite. Even saints of Christianity, Islam and Judaism are themselves subject to some confusion. In the Near East Elijah, al-Khidr (The Green One) and St. George are confused or identified generally, while boys born on St. Demetrius' Day are called Kasim. Confusion of this kind is probably to be found among Indian outcastes such as Lelbegis, but it goes still further with the Chet-Rami sect of the Punjab, who worship the Christian Trinity plus a Hindu-Muslim trinity consisting of Allah the Creator, Parmeshwar the Preserver, and Khuda the Destroyer. There is thus a very real difficulty sometimes in deciding whether a particular body is Muslim or Hindu, and since the census actually took place there have been some searchings of heart as to the Sathpantis or Pirpantis of Gujarat, Kachh and Khandesh. These people are Mathia Kunbis by caste, and an offshoot of the Leva Kunbis, and seem to have been returned at the census as Hindus; they are said to follow the Atharva Veda, which is perhaps more magical than religious, and they worship at the tombs of Muslim saints at Pirana and elsewhere, from which they get the alternative name for their sect, and they observe as their sacred book a collection of the precepts of Imam Shah the Pir of Pirana; they observe the Ramazan, repeat the *kalima* and bury their dead with both Muslim and Hindu prayers. On the other hand, they keep the *holi* and *diwali* and their marriages are conducted by Brahmans, so that they appear, on the whole, to be Hindus socially but rather Muslims by religion. This position is emphasised by the fact that while a religious authority, the Shankaracharya of the Sankeshwar and Karavir

* Reprinted from the "Census of India, 1931"

Maths, pronounces them to be without the pale of Hinduism, the Hindu Mahasabha, a frankly communal organisation, proclaims that they are within it. Another Hindu organisation has urged these Mathias to abandon the worship of Muslim saints. But in truth mere worship at the burial places of holy men is hardly a test of religion at all, since there are many shrines holy to more than one faith, and the holy ones of one religion often survive the superimposition of another and adapt themselves to the change as Badar Makan, the shrine of a Muslim pir in Chittagong, becomes Buddha Makan to an Arakan Buddhist. So in Paphos the Cypriot peasant worships even the Virgin Herself as Panchagia Aphroditessa. The truth is that the shrines of the dead are places impregnated with the fertilising soul-matter of the departed great ones and the cult of them goes back to a totally pre-Hindu phase, which is still represented in the tribal religions, and appears in other practices of some Muslims, the implications of which have been forgotten though the practices remain, as the case of tombstones of phallic design, which may be seen even in the Khyber Pass, for instance; while the Muslims of Malay use stone ones of different but likewise significant designs for the different sexes. A case not unlike that of the Mathia Kunbis is to be seen in that of the Nayitas of Malwa who "share in equal degree the Muslim and Hindu religious beliefs," worshipping Ganesh as well as Allah, using Hindu names and dress and observing Hindu festivals. It may also be found in the Kuvachandas of Sind and again in the Hussaini Brahmans, who like the Mathias are more or less converted to Islam in faith, but retain Brahmanical practices and claim to eat only with the Sayyids among Muslims. The Malkanas of the United Provinces are another somewhat similar group of Rajput, Jat and Bania origin observing both Hindu and Muslim ceremonies. Many became definitely Hindu as a result of the *shuddhi* movement, and others returned themselves as Muslim at the census, but the bulk apparently continue to halt between two opinions, and in 1926, when the *shuddhi* and *tanzim* movements were at their height these Malkanas started taking money for conversion and it is said that they made considerable sums by conversion and reconversion to and from Hinduism, Islam and Christianity for which communal zealots were then at any rate able to find money. Bengal affords a number of instances of border-line sects such as that of the Bhagwania or Satyadharma community, recruited from both Hindus and Muslims, though even within the sect there is no intermarriage, while the Nagarchis of Bakarganj, the Kirtanies of Pabna and Maimansingh and the Chitrakars or Patuas of West Bengal are in the nature of castes rather than sects, whose religion and customs have both Hindu and Muslim features as in the case of the Mathia Kunbis. A fresh movement aimed at the reconciliation of Hinduism and Islam was started during the decade under review by a man who claimed to be an incarnation of Channabasaveswara, but his teachings, though they gained some adherents, aroused much antagonism among the Virasaivas of Mysore State, where the movement started, and led to its suppression.

Another aspect of the confused border line between Islam and Hinduism is to be seen in the customs of the outcastes of the Punjab, where Chuhras, for instance, take Muslim names and even utilise the services of mullahs where they serve Muslim villages or wards, though in the eastern Punjab generally they follow Hindu customs and use Hindu names. Yet there is no such marked difference between one Chuhra and the other that a valid distinction between these two religions can be drawn in his case.

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BOMBAY & MADRAS.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Tagore in Bombay :—Rabindranath Tagore has been having a wonderful reception in Bombay. The public has been moved by the sight of the venerable figure patiently sitting in front of the stage watching the audience as the enchanting world of light and colour and sound and rhythmic movement of his creation, unfolded itself before its enraptured vision. The Excelsior theatre has been crowded from floor to ceiling every day. It is pleasant to know that the Viswabharati's burden would be appreciably lightened by the success of the plays. The poet has been in great demand in other directions also. The students of Bombay have been able to persuade him amidst his incessant engagements to give them an address the first part of which we reproduce today. The Exhibition of paintings in the Town Hall has called attention to the many sided activities of the great international institution which the genius of the Poet has raised at Bolpur. About this time last year, Bombay was holding its breath in suspense awaiting the issue of Gandhiji's fast at Yerravda. It has had a veritable feast of the soul in the visions of beauty and the words of profound insight which the Poet has given us in this memorable week.

Nila Nagini Devi:—For many days past nothing was heard of Nila Nagini Devi. She was all the time in the American Mission House at Meerut. From her statement published in the papers it would appear that she has benefitted by her short stay in the Mission House more than by her much longer stay in the defunct Ashram. Her case is an awful warning against empiricism in dealing with human problems.

Indo-Japanese Trade Negotiations :—Referring to the Conference between Japan and India, regarding the trade relations, we observed in the "Reformer" that, whatever its result, it formed a precedent of considerable significance. The course which the negotiations have taken seems so far, however, to have been calculated to prevent it. The published reports would seem to suggest that the conversations between the Indian and Japanese delegations gave rise occasionally to heat more than to light. This to some extent was to be expected. The Japanese are famous for their courtesy, whereas the latter-day Indian businessmen, especially in Bombay, have cultivated a peremptory manner, which has not commended them even to their own countrymen in other parts of the country. It would be most unfortunate if the relations between India and Japan were made to depend upon negotiations between businessmen. There are far deeper things to be considered than the amount of trade between the two countries. Japan and India are connected by ancient ties of culture and religion, and they both share, to a large extent, the disabilities attaching to Asiatics. It is surprising that while the Lancashire delegation, which came to India at about the same time as the Japanese, perhaps a little later, departed two weeks ago with a Pact with which it seems to be completely satisfied, negotiations with Japan are painfully protracted. It would almost seen that the Government of India are more conscious of their responsibility as an Asiatic power than Indian businessmen.

Indian Prisoners :—The Howard League for Penal Reform has issued a pamphlet entitled "Indian Prisoners" by Mr. Horace G. Aledander at twopence, stating the case for an inquiry into the conditions of Indian penal administration. Mr. Alexander who is well-known in India, has culled his information from the Indian press. He has, however, confined his attention to definite instances. Mr. Alexander demands, in the first place, a sharp distinction between penal and political prisoners. He recommends that political offenders should be located in separate prisons, that living conditions in such "civil disobedience prisons" be improved and that the practice of whipping boys be given up. He suggests an independent investigation into the question of jail administration by experienced penologists of international repute as the only way by which the Government of India can clear its reputation. A refusal to grant such a demand, he asserts, will tend to confirm the worst beliefs. Mr. Alexander has considered the point of view

of political prisoners in the main. Miss Craven, Secretary of the Howard League, however, has in her foreword pointed out that a wider question is involved. Penal reform, she writes, is everywhere held up by public ignorance of the realities of prison life. It is only with imprisonment for political opinions that opportunity arises for reliable reviews of the prison system. She, therefore, supports Mr. Alexander's bill for an independent inquiry into the entire question as a step towards advancing the cause of the Howard League. "If India were independent," she writes, "and decided to brutalize her penal laws we should regret it but feel no direct responsibility. So long as the British Raj continues, we ought at least maintain the standards of decency and humanity that were established when Macaulay drafted the Indian Penal Code."

Whipping.—Writing of the treatment of political juvenile offenders in India Mr. Alexander remarks, "It must be here noted with satisfaction that in some Indian provinces young men and boys under 21 years of age have been sent to reformatories instead of to ordinary jail life. But this, though preferable on the whole to prison sentences, is not the general practical, and against it must be set the practice—apparently the growing practice—of whipping or flogging boys. Indians, if one may safely generalize of any people who number hundreds of millions, are a peculiarly sensitive people. Very often they are not physically strong. What is more important, their tradition is not a tradition of the rough-and-tumble of the playground and the sports field, but a tradition of gentleness and non violence. From a fairly extensive knowledge of young Indians and of their proud and sensitive nature, I should say without hesitation that the effect of whipping or flogging an Indian youth must be, in nine cases out of ten, to inflict on his mind a wound that will never heal, without some miraculous counter-treatment of love and gentleness. Corporal punishment of Indian youths is, I venture to say, a most effective means of breeding bitterness and violence in India."

What is the Remedy:—The *Dnyanodaya* in an editorial writes: "That Hinduism offers suffering India no real remedy is clear from the fact that, to quote Mr. K. Natarajan, 'Among its (Hinduism's) *avatars* was Buddha who was silent about God, and included in the Hindu cannon was the non-theistic Sankhya philosophy whose founder Kapila' was viewed by the *Gita* as 'the greatest of perfected ones.' True religion according to Jesus is to 'love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself.'" Is the *Dnyanodaya* so sure that Christianity has relieved suffering Europe and suffering America of all their troubles?

The League's New Home:—Mr. B. Bradfield writes from Geneva:—"The continued vitality of the League of Nations, in spite of all set-backs, found vivid expression recently when the League formally received from the hands of the builders its new home. Not for eighteen months yet will it be ready for use but the building is erected and roofed and on its topmost point stands the little tree which it is the custom here always to set up at the moment when a main structure is completed. It was a moment for rejoicing; something had been attempted and something done; and, symbolic of other achievements, it came at a moment well-timed. A number of guests, Genevese and international, were invited by the five building firms to take part in the little ceremony and a feast for the workmen, with the gift to each of a day's pay, followed. The building is vast, as befits the purpose for which it is destined. It is long and (comparatively) low, like the Jura mountains which form its background. It is of white freestone (from three different countries) and from its flat roof the panorama is magnificent. It is a concrete expression of what the League must mean to the world of the future, a meaning which is being worked out now in the daily tasks of peaceful international organisation which are being pursued without pause or interruption. The Mandates Commission, the Opium Commission the Health Committee, the inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees and others have all been carrying on their work undismayed by such spectacular events as Germany's withdrawal. In these day-to-day activities the strength of the League lies, and the new building which so soon will give them house-room is a splendid reminder of what they may achieve." League supporters as it would appear from this communication, have at last realised that its real sphere of operations is outside politics. Most of the important political events in Europe have occurred without the League's influence.

Bombay Women's Meeting:—Women's organisations in this presidency are apparently concentrating their efforts in opposing reactionary attempts to repeal social legislation. An announcement has been made that a public meeting of the women of Bombay is to be held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, on Thursday the 7th December 1933, at the Wilson College Hall, Chowpatty, at 4-30 p. m. to protest against any legislative proposals to repeal or relax the prohibition against early marriage, and to support Bills for 'Protection of Minor Girls," and the "Bill to prevent the Dedication of Women to serve in Hindu Temples." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has consented to preside over the meeting. All members of the Women's Council are invited to be present, and to bring as many members of the public as are in sympathy with the object of the meeting. After the meeting an "At home" will be held. All women interested in this question though not members of the Council are invited.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 2, 1933.

IS INDIA OVER-POPULATED?

It has been widely assumed that the last census of India shows that there is over-population in India in relation to food supply, and that the Census Commissioner recommended an official propaganda in favour of Birth Control as the only means of controlling the increase of population. There is little in the Census Commissioner's report to justify this impression. The actual increase of population in India since 1921 was 10·6% on the population of the previous census, that is of the census of 1921, and 39% on the population of India fifty years ago. The increase of population since the 1924 census was 15% in the United States, 18% in Ceylon, 20% in Java and 26% in the outer islands of the Nederlands Indies. The increase of population of England and Wales in the last fifty years was 53·8%. The density of the population for the whole of India is 195 persons to the square mile as against 685 persons per square mile in England and Wales and 127 persons per square mile in Europe as a whole. Thus we see that the increase of population in India during the ten years, 1921 to 1931, was much exceeded by the increase in other countries, and that the increase of population during the last fifty years has been higher in England and Wales and other countries than in India. The Census Commissioner expressly refutes the belief that the population of India will soon outgrow its food production. Referring to the argument of recent Indian writers on the population question that any further increase of population is bound to result in an insufficiency of the food supply, he observes: "Recent experience, however, throws doubt on this theory; the general slump in the prices of food and the difficulty found by cultivators in selling their produce suggest that the danger of a shortage of the food supply is not the most serious aspect of the question." "The present problem in India," he further observes, "would seem to be less the actual total increase of population than the increase of that total population, by far the greater part of course which is occupied in agriculture and allied pursuits; and an additional complication of the problem appears in the fact that cultivating classes in India generally lack the capital required for the extension of cultivation beyond the existing margin." The implication of this statement is clearly brought out by the Census Superintendent of Bengal, whose remarks on population problems are reproduced as an Appendix to the Indian Census report. He writes:— "Like the rest of India Bengal is notable for its undeveloped resources and the inefficiency with which such resources as it has are exploited...It has been estimated that improved methods would result in a reasonable expectation of increased food output of 30% throughout the whole of India." He is of opinion that "the potentialities of development are such that pessimism at a future condition of its population if a considerable increase takes place is not necessarily justified." In fact, the arguments used by the Census Commissioner of India, as well as the Superintendent of Bengal, point rather to the need of an early development of industries than to the adoption of Birth Control as a solution to the economic problem. It may also be pointed out that India at present is to support not only its own population but also nearly one-fourth of the population of the United Kingdom, approximating to about 12 millions, on a much higher standard of life than the people of India. This is the plain meaning of Lord Rothermere's estimate, which has not been contradicted, that 5 shillings in the pound of the income of every inhabitant of great Britain comes from India.

The advocates of Birth Control in India are not concerned so much with the economic problem as with the hardships of frequent child-bearing by immature wives married at an early age. We have ourselves pointed out that such cases do exist. But adult marriage is the rule among the great majority of the people of India. Child marriages prevail principally among the minority of the well to-do classes the steady rise in the marriage age of the girls supplemented by the educational influence of the Sarda Act will reduce early marriages among this section of the population. It is well established that the birth rate falls with every additional year in the age of the mother at the child bearing ages. One authority estimated that if in England the age of all women at marriage were advanced by five years, the child-bearing period, and presumably the number of births, will be diminished by 16·3%. This seems to us to be the right solution in the population problem of India, so far as there is one. The propaganda for a universal adoption of contraceptives is injurious, as it diverts attention from the industrial, social and political issues, which are at the root of the question. The Census Superintendent of Bengal puts the objection to this propaganda in a nut-shell. He writes:— "They are repugnant to common sentiments in this country, the methods are so expensive as to be beyond the reach of the great majority of the inhabitants of and it is probably true to say that there are as yet none which can be relied upon as being absolutely certain and satisfactory." We commend the extract from the Bengal Census Report, appended to Chapter I of the Indian Census Report, to the careful perusal of Birth Control enthusiasts. We do not certainly object to the use of contraceptives in individual cases as a means of protecting the mother's health, or even as an economic measure. What we are opposed to is the attempt practically to force the whole population to adopt artificial methods of Birth Control as a normal feature of their lives.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA—XII.

Ann Arbor.

Our two days' visit to Ann Arbor was among the pleasantest of our experiences in America. The first thing which strikes one in Ann Arbor is the appropriateness of the name to the place. It is set amidst grass and trees and its streets are glades refreshing to body and spirit. Ann Arbor is virtually a University town. The Michigan University dominates the scene and pervades the atmosphere of the place. We went there at the invitation of Bishop and Mrs. Fisher and the time we spent under their roof was every moment of it rich in experience and instruction. We were met at the railway station by Mr. Halstead who had to leave India where he was a Professor in the Lucknow Christian College, because he received some Congress-minded friends at his home. With him was a slight figure in sari, Miss Joshi, a Bombay girl who is taking a post graduate course in Agriculture in one of the American Universities. They took us to the Bishop's home where Dr. and Mrs. Fisher gave us a gracious welcome. Bishop Fisher, it will be remembered, retired from India as he found that he could not completely fulfil his duties as a Christian Minister in the conditions by which they are beset in this country. The first visitor soon after our arrival at the Bishop's place was a local journalist. I gave him a short account of my work and a general view of the Indian situation. I added that India was very appreciative of American goodwill but she did not need and did not expect anything more from the American people. When I said that, Dr. Fisher who was standing at a little distance, turned sharply and remarked that it was strange that Gandhiji said the same thing in a letter which he received a few days ago.

Mr. Halstead took us to see a farm near by. It was one of about a hundred acres. It was managed entirely by the owner and his wife with the help of one hired labourer. Practically all the work of cultivation was done by machinery. The farmer had gone out but his wife showed us over the homestead. In addition to raising crops, they bred pigs and poultry. They also reared bees and made honey. Pigs are regarded as unclean beasts in India. It gave me a little shock, therefore, to see the children playing with a little pig as if it were a puppy. When I read the news of the holocaust of four million pigs in a single day as a part of President Roosevelt's National Recovery Plan I thought of the little pig which was pulling at the skirts of the girl in the farm at Ann Arbor. The Mosaic prohibition of pig's meat and the Hindu prohibition of cow's flesh, had, perhaps, the same object as the ordered slaughter, but how much more humane! The farmer's wife had heard of Gandhiji and the subject of the removal of untouchability was referred to in connection with his recent fast. The mother did not know who or what the untouchables were, whereupon her little daughter chimed in with: "Mother, they are a class in India with whom others are not allowed to speak." Surprised at this child's information, I asked her how she got to know about it. "We had a talk about this subject in our school last week," she explained. The girl was about eight years of age and the school she attended was an elementary school. It struck me as remarkable that children in an elementary school should be encouraged to think and talk about social conditions in a far distant country which was in no way connected with their own. This is a small incident but it is typical of the American outlook which, even in its most self-centred moods, realizes that there is a world beyond and that it is in some way related to it. Certainly we met more people in America who talked more or less intelligently about world affairs as distinguished from their own, than in any other country we passed through.

As we were taking leave of the family, the farmer's wife put out her hand and asked if I could tell her fortune! I was completely taken aback and so was Halstead. As she seemed to be quite serious, I told her that I did not know and could not tell my own fortune and how could I tell hers!

There were two luncheon parties on the day of our arrival. One was given by the women of Ann Arbor to Kamakoti; the other by Indian students to me. Kamakoti was called upon to speak and spoke, so I heard, for over half an hour, and was heard with appreciation. I also had to speak. I had to speak again to the students of the Summer School that afternoon and later in the drawing room after dinner, for which Mrs. Fisher had a large and very interesting party.

Next morning we walked to a great estate, the property of a wealthy inventor. An extensive area had been laid out as a park. In another part of the estate, there was a large industry comprising cattle breeding and a dairy. There were several cows and some bulls, one of the latter a huge animal said to be the parent and grandparent of many of the younger animals. The Indian cow is a gentle animal with almost human eyes evolved through centuries of human comradeship. There is no sight more interesting in India than the cows returning at dusk from pasture. As they pass along the street each one breaks off at the approach to her house and enters it as if she were a relative or friend of the family. The cow in the West is ungainly in appearance and uncertain in temper.

What impressed us most here was that the son of the millionaire proprietor of the estate, a University student home for the summer holiday, was working on the farm. His sister showed us round, knew every detail about the cattle farm. The pedigree of each of the animals was carefully recorded in a register. We examined one of these books. As we closed the book, Dr. Fisher said, "You see, we maintain a more careful record of the pedigree of our animals than of our human beings!"

We were shown a tall unfinished Bahai temple in Ann Arbor. It is planned on elaborate lines but work has had to be suspended on account of the depression. It seemed probable that the work may be resumed soon. The Temple when finished will be a worthy monument of the zeal of the Bahaites who, it seems, form a considerable group in the United States, as well as an addition to the institutions of Ann Arbour in harmony with its atmosphere of science and religion.

But the most delectable part of the Ann Arbor, was the Fishers' company and conversation. I remember particularly our walk to the Goss estate and the quiet twenty minutes with Dr. Fisher under a sheltering rock above the artificial lotus pool there. He spoke very little of religion but pervading all his remarks on things great and small was the illumination, the charity and the wisdom, the distilled essence of religion. He is one of India's truest friends. But he deprecates extreme professions and is convinced that her cause, in the justice of which he believes wholeheartedly, has most to gain by moderation and strict adherence to truth. Michigan University has about thirty Indian students. This is larger than the number of them at any other American University. This is due to vicinity of the Ford and other factories in Detroit which is one of America's big industrial centres where remunerative work is available during vacation time to students. Notwithstanding the handicap of having to earn their living, Indian students as a class have earned a reputation for intelligence, hard

work and excellent conduct. The Michigan University has for several years past offered a scholarship to women of the Orient. A number of girls from India have secured the scholarship and form a golden link between India and America.

Dr. Fisher took me to see his Church. It is a great influence in the life of the University and many students' activities have their centre there. I was also shown the Unitarian Church of which Dr. Sunderland was Minister till recently.

Washington was a little out of the way for us but we could not leave America without seeing its capital city. It is nearer to the Mason-Dixon line separating the northern from the southern states where the colour bar is rigid. Washington itself, we were told, was less free from colour prejudice than New York and Chicago. We did not notice it. At the Willard Hotel we found a lady in a sari coming out as we entered. Kamakoti at once went up to her and found that she was from the Punjab travelling with her husband.

Dr. F. Homer Curtiss, who acted as our guide in Washington, is a most interesting personality. He is a very learned man and the author of many books on the spiritual life. Mrs. Curtiss shared his interests and most of the books bear her name jointly with his. She is now dead but Dr. Curtiss is still, so he assured us, in communication with her and is guided by her advice in all his work. He very kindly took us to his home where he lives alone. Every arrangement in the house suggests the presence of Mrs. Curtiss. When Dr. Curtiss left us for a few minutes I felt as if the lady of the house would walk in to greet us. Dr. Curtiss holds that life and death are not separated but two rooms in the same house. The Curtiss books, says an inscription on the cover of one of them, "dispel the mists from mysticism." Dr. Curtiss is very active and spends a large part of his time travelling about in connection with his mission, driving his own car at a speed, on one occasion of which he told us, at 80 miles an hour. Few young men in India would be able to emulate this veteran in this fact. It was a great advantage to us to have his vast and detailed knowledge of Washington in our peregrinations in that city.

Washington is not in the least like New York or Chicago. It is planned on the lines of an European city. But it is still in the making. Large improvements are being carried out, as a part of the scheme for finding employment for the unemployed, to make Washington the grandest capital in the world. We saw most of the show places. The Senate and the House of Representatives, by comparison with the New Delhi pomposities, are altogether commonplace. They are only now building a suitable building for the Supreme Court. The White House had a swimming pool recently added to it (by subscription from journalists) to enable President Roosevelt to take the only form of exercise which he is able to take. Everything about Washington is workmanlike. There is very little which is merely decorative or intended to impress the populace. A group of cherry trees presented by the Japanese Government as a token of goodwill, is a distinguished feature of the glorious Potomac landscape. The monument of Abraham Lincoln is in its simplicity and nobility intensely moving. The driver of our car remarked as we were discussing what we should see: "You would wish to see your own Embassy, Sir". "Our Embassy!" "The British Embassy. It is the ugliest group of buildings here, but," he added to soften his censure "I admire it as the symbol of the strength and stability of Britain." It is a general belief among Indians in America that when the present Emigration Act was passed the American Government intended to put India on the quota basis like European nations, but that it was dissuaded by the advice of the British Ambassador.

It was late when we returned to our Hotel and I was tired. But they insisted on my speaking at a gathering which had been called. I am afraid that what I said could not have been quite palatable to my friends. British feeling is apt to assume the mask of sympathy with India and Indians in America have to be on guard against it.

K. N.

A SWADESHI WORKERS' CONFERENCE.

The Secretary of the All India Swadeshi Sangha, writes:—

From the various replies that we have received to the circular recently addressed by us to Swadeshi Sanghas or Buy Indian Leagues in different parts of India, we find that there is a general feeling that some steps should be taken to bring together workers before deciding upon an intensive programme for the propaganda of Swadeshi. The Executive Committee, therefore, propose to convene an informal Conference of the Swadeshi Workers on 28th and 29th December 1933. The following are some of the important subjects which we propose to place before the Conference for consideration:—

(1) Co-ordination in respect of the holding of exhibitions and the laying down of rules for the guidance of promoters of exhibitions.

(2) Examination of the possibilities of the All India Swadeshi Sangha functioning as an All India Swadeshi Certifying Board and the co-ordination of the present arrangements for the issue of certificates obtaining in various provinces, to manufacturers and distributors.

(3) Assistance in the organization of stores for the sale of certified Swadeshi articles and the starting of an All India Swadeshi Store for the purpose of distribution of such articles.

We may add that the All India Swadeshi Sangha is not in a position to spend any money in defraying the travelling expenses of delegates. Nevertheless, we trust that your Sangha League will be in a position to depute at least one or two of your permanent members to attend the Conference and to participate in the deliberation. It is likely that besides the subjects mentioned above there will be in your opinion subjects of all India interest which could be considered at the Conference. If so, will you please communicate your suggestions before the end of this month to enable us to circulate these amongst other Sanghas or the Buy Indian Leagues?

The exact time and place of the holding of the Conference will be announced later.

The attention of the Committee of the All-India Swadeshi Sangha has been drawn to the fact that much inconvenience and confusion is caused owing to the holding of Swadeshi Exhibitions often clashing with one another. The suggestion has been made that as the Central Swadeshi Organization in the country, the All India Swadeshi Sangha should guide the promoters of exhibitions by co-ordinating this form of useful activity and placing its machinery at the disposal of the workers in various centres. Circular letters were addressed by the All India Swadeshi Sangha last year inviting attention to the need of co-ordinating arrangements in respect of the holding of exhibitions, but although a year has elapsed since this action was taken, there has been no progress in developing the arrangements for co-ordination.

It is necessary that the promoters of the exhibitions should intimate their intention to the All India Swadeshi Sangha (Swadeshi Market Kalbadevi, Bombay 2), and the Committee of the Sangha should try to see that there is no clash with regard to the dates of the Exhibitions.

THE CHALLENGE OF JUDGMENT—I.*

(By Rabindranath Tagore.)

The young generation of men in the East are everywhere attracted by what they imagine is modern. And they have convinced themselves that Western life is modern. They are seeking from its manners and mentality the magic formula of how to grow modern. They believe that what is called modern represents the principle of indefinite growth and freedom, that it is youth, it is life.

If that is the definition of modern, then we must know that its essential element does not consist in a particular time, but in a particular truth, lacking which a thing of the latest pattern and polish may in reality be out of date and condemned to perish. A number of nations have so perished who were too late in realising that the raft of time, to which they clung believing it to be modern, had already become a thing of the past. Are we sure that the same thing has not happened to the West, and that the atmosphere of turmoil which we find there is not due to the conflict between their present history, which is no longer modern, and the messenger of the future, which has come with its sovereign claim?

Even the paling darkness of the dawn is immensely distant from the morning light though they are in immediate contact; and who knows if the present history of the West is not already as old as the day of the deluge!

All that is deeply human is never old. It has the perpetual freshness of imperishable life. Only the acquisitiveness which is not of growth but of hoarding, the cleverness which wins in the game of life with false cards up its sleeve, is crabbed and wrinkled. The business of slave hunting, however up-to-date in form and profitable in practice is old; cannibalism, crude or subtle, direct or indirect, with Christian surname or heathen, is never modern.

How can we ever believe that the spirit of the hungry Nation from the West, which for over a century has robbed and humiliated us in the eastern hemisphere, has found the secret of everlasting life in its reckless power? Have we lost all faith in the teaching of the wise; that the passions which mock the eternal and things that definitely grow out of proportion with their surroundings, can never be lasting?

However that may be, the fact cannot be denied that the outstanding feature of the present age is the way in which the West has spread its physical dominance over the whole world, and is still imposing its mind upon other continents. All the great countries of the East in some period or other of their history, had to submit to foreign invasion and foreign rule, but such alien contact was either milder in its driving force, or was more in harmony with local tradition and environment, and therefore did not attack the inner bonds of unity which maintained the personality of the people.

A complete change of condition has been brought about by the easy means of communication effected by modern science. It is no longer some resourceful individual, who comes like a comet with a host of mercenary soldiers forming his tail, suddenly crossing the path of a strange people and eventually getting entangled and assimilated; but an entire predatory nation which is able to clutch in its titanic grip the vitals of other races for whom it has no feeling of kinship.

Men who do not come as representatives of som organisation, political, commercial or religious, have their simple human sentiments; they are not like ghosts who haunt human habitations and yet do not dwell in them, who obsess living beings and yet do not live their life. Such real individuals naturally tend to establish personal relationships with their neighbours and gradually attain their common unity. But Europe's connection with Asiatic countries has not yet developed that personal character in its organisations, it is like the pressure of some callous outgrowth of her nature, which has not the creative touch of life, but only mechanical skilfulness.

The West has come to us like an engineer who lays stone-paved roads across our meadows and orchards, over our trampled verdure, with the primary object of making easy his work of exploitation. However marvellous and convenient this may be, the overwhelming dominance of mere method and skill in our surroundings is demoralising. It so often makes us forget that, compared to life, the machine is too simple, its action too obvious, its results measurable in an indubitably definite manner, its concentrated influence directed only towards the surface of our nature.

For the same reason we often witness in western countries the demonstration of immense esteem, approaching hero-worship, for some winner in a game of skill or strength. This has increased to such an inordinate degree, that a professional organiser of such games can claim better remuneration than a cultured teacher, even in an educational institution.

The barbarous in us occupies a large place in human nature; it is idolatrous in its instincts, ready to prostrate itself before all representations of power that are external, that compel us to acknowledge them through our greed, or our fear, or our primitive crudity of thought and feeling. In fact the constant sight and contemplation of any success that has colossal magnitude produces the same mentality in us, as in the savage does the fetish, made emphatically apparent by its barbarity of decoration.

However the West, which has thrust itself upon us, is the utilitarian adventurer, imbued with the idolatry of the Nation; it carries an elaborate paraphernalia of self-worship and claims other continents for its victims of sacrifice. The loudest of all the messages that it has brought to ourselves is: You are none of us. For this reason, even its best gifts carry for us an insult, and it is for this very reason that, when we cannot help accepting them, we feel so small. The West has hurt us deeply with the shock of its greatness. Its very magnificence faces us with its stony gesture of refusal.

The moral distance which we impose upon men to whose physical proximity we come for exploitation is immense. This makes them appear so ridiculously diminutive as to be but dimly recognisable by our conscience, it smooths our path of self-seeking to be able to think that others are absolutely other than ourselves, that their human value is represented in coins that have an utterly different mintage from those which we claim for our own. The West, in its relationship with non-western peoples, has for its constant meditation the text—They are radically and eternally different from ourselves. Its cult of separateness, which is the cult of the Nation, bristles with doctrines of disdain. It displays its system of canine teeth in the barbed wire fencing round its inhospitable world in the name of the inborn right to be supercilious, characteristic of a superior civilisation.

Asia in its dignity of age-long tradition, at first refused to acknowledge Europe's claim of superiority. But gradually it had to own defeat at the hands of the organised power and indomitable self-assertion of the Nation, the latest-born progeny of the West. The

*A lecture delivered in Bombay, at the Regal Theatre, on November 24.

spectacle of gigantic success with its unsheathed claws and teeth sank deeper and deeper into Eastern consciousness. The contemptuous sneer, which accompanied it rankled in Asia's heart, never allowing it for a moment to remain in forgetfulness of this apparition; till a day has arrived when Asia overcome by the stupendous coil of muscle has gradually yielded itself to the licking tongue of this monster, Organisation of Power.

There has been related in one of our Bengali epics the legend of a merchant who was a devout worshipper of Shiva the God, the pure Shiva who represents the principle of renunciation and the power of self-control. This man was perpetually persecuted by a deity, the fierce Snake-goddess, who in order to divert his allegiance to herself inflicted the endless resources of her malignance upon her victim. Through a series of failures, deaths and disasters he was at last compelled to acknowledge the superior merit of the divinity of frightfulness. The tragedy does not lie in the external fact of the transfer of homage from one shrine to the other, but in the moral defeat implied in the ascribing of a higher value of truth to the goddess of success, the personification of unscrupulous egotism, rather than to the god of moral perfection.

So long as the West herself believed in this latest evolution of her indomitable self-assertion and was certain that it was going to give her an indefinite extension of the monopoly of all earthly privileges, we in Asia also humbly believed in her. The Western people convinced us at the point of their bayonets that they were the chosen people of God, and that the right to inherit the earth was inherent in their race because of a quality which was contrary to that of meekness. We bowed our head to the belief that external success was the ultimate criterion of truth.

At that time it was difficult for Western people to realise that there was anything lacking in their civilisation,—for they were so fatuously prosperous and comfortable, so smugly respectable in their behaviour among their own kinsmen. They were never tired of smiling at themselves and saying that they were good, because their drawing rooms were crowded with irrelevancy, their roads geometrically straight, their minds clever, methods efficient, arrangements convenient; because their women had pet dogs, pet schemes of benevolence and head-dress for which creatures of rare beauty from the most inaccessible regions of the earth had paid toll with their lives.

We, who belong to other continents than theirs, dwell in the obscurity of their shadow, which swallows up our hemisphere, giving us very little chance to bask in the sunshine of their success. For the attitude of success is exclusive, it is by nature suspicious and arrogant. They do not care to come into the heart of our humanity, for it is not needful for their purpose; and they can be excruciatingly funny when they talk about the peculiarity of the smell of our dwelling places, the inscrutability of our countenances, some mannerisms in our code of behaviour, or any exaggerations in our language or gesture which are different from the exaggerations customary with them. Even after this they become sincerely amazed when their energetic acquaintance with us fails to evoke in our mind a grateful feeling of adoration, or when their victims show signs of unhappiness. These they ascribe either to the machination of some interested third party, or to the incomprehensible idiosyncrasies of the people with whom they deal.

It is because we are so imperfectly real to them that they try to boast of their beneficience by making a long list of the railway lines, telegraph posts, coal mines, tea plantations, and the law and order inflicted upon our lands. Their minds are so densely callous to the needs of our humanity that they are ready to punish us when we do not bless them for what they have done to ourselves, in the way of helping us with commodities which we hardly need and which they vomit forth because they are a great deal more than they can consume themselves.

Let me quote some lines from an article on "Christian Missions", which came to my notice sometime ago:

"The last century has contained instance after instance in the Far East, and in Africa, in which the preaching of the Gospel has seemed to the natives only preliminary to political or economic outrage. Sometimes the two have gone hand in hand."

About the political relations of West and East the writer quotes Tyler Dennet who says:

'No nation has escaped the valid charge of bad faith. The guilt of all parties being clearly proved, it has seemed profitless to continue the discussion of guilt with a view to determining the relative degree of wickedness. Each nation, the United States not excepted, has made its contribution to the welter of evil which now comprises the Far Eastern question.'

Speaking of economic exploitation, the same writer observes:

'The ruthless manner in which the ancient handicrafts of India were destroyed to favour the mill-owners of England is a matter of parliamentary record. And the tale of the developing industrial life of India, China, and Africa is being written in blood. Western business demands, and secures all sorts of governmental exemptions and favours to ensure its profits when it goes abroad. And again and again, when there, it follows a policy of inhuman hours and starvation wages that is sowing the wind against the future. It is probable that the West thinks of Sir John Bowring —when it thinks of him at all—as the man who wrote:—

In the Cross of Christ I glory
Towering o'er the wrecks of time.

But the East remembers him as the indefatigable diplomat whose labours contributed so much to the legalisation of the opium traffic in China.

I agree with the author when he says that "this is the sort of international sin that most grievously besets the future—political injustice, economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and material standards of success."

But what to my mind is the source of a greater mischief is the fact that bribery on a prodigious scale is being used to persuade whole people in the East to sell their future. As the opium has shackled the mind of the coming generation of China in fetters of stuper the silver narcotic injected into the people's constitution is creating a chronic national helplessness, including a habit which will make the motherland sell her own children. The bribery which has the sanctimonious appearance of benevolence is the most dangerous form of banditry; for through its unctuous exuberance a huge load of ransom noiselessly drags the country to a bottomless insolvency.

Vivisection Banned in Germany:—A new law for the protection of dumb animals has been promulgated in Germany. It threatens two years' imprisonment or transportation, which causes pain or damage, for anyone found guilty of torturing or maltreating dumb animals and prohibits anyone from compelling an animal to do work beyond its strength. Nor may cats, foxes or other animals be used in training dogs. Vivisection is forbidden in principle, though public institutions or mortuaries, for strictly scientific purposes, are permitted to use live animals if certain hitherto unproven results are likely to be achieved from experiement. Persons not licensed to conduct vivisection are liable to imprisonment up to six months.

IN AN EAST END SETTLEMENT.

(By Shanta Sukhtanker.)

A foggy drizzling evening ushered me into the East End Settlement, which was to be my home for four weeks. The first month of my summer holidays had been spent amidst the splendours of Paris. The previous evening I had strolled down the dazzling avenue of the Champs Elysee and watched the blazing fountains of the Place de La Concorde.

I looked out of the bus window. Fish and chip shops were filled with people and smoke. Wet greasy papers lined the gutters on either side of the road, and grew into little ghostly heaps in front of each chip shop. Knots of men with pale worried faces stood about at street corners. The day had brought no luck, and they still belonged to the unhappy ranks of the unemployed. Children were playing about the pavement, their faces grimy and their shoes full of holes.

The fog grew denser and the drizzle was now an uncomfortable rain. Little did I imagine as I stepped out of the bus into a puddle, that at the end of the month, I should be genuinely sorry to say goodbye to Bethnal Green.

Next morning Settlement life began in earnest. Three hundred children between the ages of 6 and 14 came to be looked over by two nurses before they could be passed for their country holidays. My job was to keep the children in order as they passed from the nurses to the table at which the treasurers were taking in the penny for the nurse and the last little instalment of the sum the parents had been able to contribute towards the child's holiday.

Much labour and planning lay behind this arrangement—forms for each child containing necessary information; laborious investigations and tiresome committee meetings. But what perhaps impressed me most, was the effort made by the organizers to satisfy the children's wishes as to their companions for the holidays. This was no easy task. Jimmy, for instance, would earlier in the week go with no one but Jackie. Today he suddenly announces that nothing will persuade him to go within miles of Jackie. They have had a fight; and he now wants to go with Bob. Bob isn't quite sure if he wants Jimmy. However he dislikes Jackie and agrees to the arrangement. The organizer breathes a sigh of relief—a sigh breathed too soon, for by the afternoon, a truce has been sealed between Jimmy and Jakie, based largely on a fight with Bob. And so it goes on till the day they leave for the country—and they all left with smiling faces. On the Friday morning each one of the Settlement workers pinned on her red C. C. H. F. (Children's Country Holiday Fund) badge, and armed with little piles of tickets, sallied forth with her special charge consisting of from 4 to 35 children, each with an identity card tied round his or her neck. And the day was spent in the tremendous business of conveying the batches from tram to tube-station and from the tube to the station of departure, where the children were locked in, squealing with excitement, in carriages reserved for them. The children were surprisingly orderly—except when they caught sight of a chocolate machine.

Their holidays were to last a fortnight. Meanwhile we were kept busy. Three times a week, there were the morning and afternoon play centres for children who had finished their holidays or who had not been able to go away. At ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, in they came—about eighty of them—little toddlers with dirty faces, others older and clean but ragged, others prettily dressed by the hands of contriving mothers.

The babies were separated from the rest and provided with woolly toys. The older ones formed two groups. One half played organised games, the other half did sewing or painting or raffia work. In about five minutes the place was resounding with—"Miss-Miss", "Miss I want more paper", "Miss-more brushes", "Look Miss she's spoilt my painting," "Miss Oh-Miss"!

Once a week mostly in the afternoon, there was a Mothers' Meeting—quite an intellectual affair. Books were read and discussed. Sometimes there were speakers. One week I was asked to tell them something about India.

Another evening I went to an "Unemployed Men's Club". I do not think I have ever spent a more delightful evening. One only had to suggest that the present system was not as bad as it might have been and there followed stormy arguments and vigorous reference to "'istory" that were nothing less than a treat. When one party could not make the other stop talking, they pointed to me and reminded the opponent that "This 'ere young lady 'as come to 'ear sense". I was agreeably surprised at the interest and knowledge they showed on Indian questions. What seemed to puzzle them most, was "untouchability". "What's the great idea of not touching them?" they asked. "What indeed." I thought to myself. However I tried to explain and also told them about the efforts that were being made to remove what was regarded by all progressively minded people as a social evil. They were pleased to hear that. At the end of the meeting they emphatically agreed that India was "all-right"—whatever that meant. And I was asked to come and see them again at their Occupational Centre for Unemployed men where they did little jobs of woodwork and cobbling. I, of course, accepted the invitation with much pleasure.

The children's holiday fortnight was now over, and we again donned our C. C. H. F. badges and received orders as to the parties we were to bring home.

My first party was to be met at Paddington. The train steamed in. "You can 'ear 'em if you can't see 'em," said a guard with a broad grin on his face, as a babel of voices rose from the centre carriages of the train. Out they poured, with their tickets round their necks, hundreds of them, sunburnt and laughing. Parties were sorted out and we proceeded to the Tube Station. Our progress was slow, for their luggage had been doubled and in some cases trebled. Presents had been brought home for every member of the family. The mother's present consisted usually of a bag of potatoes or apples. Bunches of wild flowers were clutched tightly in little hot hands. Baskets of pet rabbits were very popular. A minor tragedy occurred when a box of live snails collapsed on to the platform, and the owner refused to budge until every snail had been picked up. However, we got home at last, with blisters on our hands, and I thought this had been even jollier than seeing them off.

I still had another ten days in the Settlement, and was sent on visits to various institutions for social work, including one to the Charity Organisation Society, which co-ordinates the various charities and prevents neglect or over-lapping of cases; and one to the juvenile department of a Labour Exchange, conducted by a Juvenile Advisory Committee. I was much impressed especially by the latter.

I cannot resist, however, mentioning the peculiar and unsophisticated friendliness I came across so frequently in the East End. It was sometimes almost startling. One day I was changing library books for a sick ward in a Workhouse, when a little wizened old man came up, and firmly planting his hand on my shoulder said "Do you know—I like you". Almost every time as I stood waiting for a bus, some woman passing by would smile and say "A nice morning, darling." And so it was with real reluctance that I left my newly made acquintances. My consolation was that a member of the "Unemployed Club" came to the station to see me off.

TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

"It is my hope and desire to utilise for the benefit of the State the knowledge and experience that I have gained during my brief sojourn in the West." This is what His Highness the Maharajah said in his reply to the citizens' address presented to him at the public reception at Trivandrum Railway Station on His Highness' return from Europe last August. Since then several schemes of public utility have made remarkable progress. The plan of road improvements which for years had never emerged from the period of incubation is now being put into action, no doubt, as a result of His Highness' observations in the cities of the European Continent and in the United Kingdom. The widening of the road from the Kowdiyar Palace to the Public Offices has been a longfelt want on account of the marvellous and rapid advance in motor traffic in the State, which is equal to a third of the total volume of the motor traffic in the whole of the Madras Presidency The passenger buses and pleasure cars plying in the direction of the Kowdiyar Palace towards Nedumangad, Shencotta, etc., etc., are so numerous that it is a wonder how the narrow road served its purpose. The improvement carried out has come none too early. The pathways provided on the two sides are conceived with the best idea of ur-ban decoration with the avenue of trees for shade and comfort. The open spaces are to be converted into parks. The fountains put up in the convenient squares are literally an ornament to the town, designed artisticaly.

AN INDUSTRIAL EPOCH.

The industrialisation of the State is one of the great and working ambitions of His Highness. One of the best means of carrying out this idea was to initiate the Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Scheme. Any one could see in this huge undertaking the hand of one who had something to do with the Pykara Scheme which ushered in an era of plenty and prosperity. But for the statesman and constitutional lawyer, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, this Palliavasal scheme would not have been taken up by rigidly conservative Travancore. The bold initiative and courage with which Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer inoculated the timid authorities in the State have been largely responsible for the start the project had. The estimate is for Rs. 70 lakhs, for which ample provision has been found through his unparalleled resourcefulness. It is expected to usher in a new era of industrial progress and prosperity. For Alleppy, the commercial capital of Travancore, will be soon electrified and the industrial centres will be vastly benefited by electric power, which could be brought home to the very door of the villager. Travancore has several cottage industries such as coir making, weaving, etc., and all these will receive a new impetus and stimulus when electric power is made available. In addition to the industrial advancement, agriculture will vastly benefit as large tracts of virgin land could be irrigated under this scheme. The preliminary operations have already been taken in hand and tunnelling work commenced by an expert Russian engineer. The whole scheme is expected to be completed by 1936.

A RUBBER FACTORY.

Another enterprise that has been sanctioned just now is the opening of a rubber factory in Travancore. When Mr. N. K. Padmanabha Pillai, the Director of Industries, was on tour in Northern India, he came in personal contact with a Rubber Factory at Karachi. He then reported to Government that in view of the large quantities of raw material in the shape of rubber in many forms, an estimate of cost may be called for from Mr. J. Helen of Karachi for establishing a rubber factory in Travancore. Government have accepted this proposal of the Director of Industries and Mr. Helen has been invited to Travancore. The idea is to see that such manufactured articles as solid rubber tyres, cycle and car inner tubes, rubber tyres, rubber tubes for the laboratory purposes, rubber matting and rubber coated materials are made here. It is a well known fact that Travancore produces more than two-thirds of the rubber exported from India. The various rubber estates have of late suffered a good deal on account of the unsatisfactory condition of the rubber market in the world. Important developments are expected from this project leading to the establishment of a new industry for the export of manufactured articles. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the area under rubber cultivation in the State during the year 1931–32, was 64,113 acres. According to the export trade statistics of the Alleppy Chamber of Commerce for the quarter ending with September 1933 there seems to be a good demand for rubber as is seen from the fact that 88,824 lbs. of rubber left the shores of the State through the Alleppy port in 1933 when compared to only 15,000 lbs. last year. Ceylon was the only country which indented for Travancore rubber. From these figures, it will be seen that Travancore has forged ahead in an important line of industrial development with far-reaching implications.

THE NEW DEWAN.

The appointment of Sir Mahommed Habibullah as Dewan of Travancore marks an epoch-making event in the history of the State. The post of Dewan has for centuries been held by caste Hindus owing to the peculiar theocratic form of Government under which the Maharaja is only the *Dasa* or vassal of the tutelary deity of State, Sri Padmanabha Swamy. This ancient and historic tradition was broken by Her Highness the Maharani Regent when for the first time a non-Hindu was appointed Dewan. He was followed by a Brahmin Dewan, but was again succeeded by Mr. T. Austin, I. C. S. Now a Muhammadan has been appointed who will be the first Muslim to fill that high and responsible post. Apart from the good old tradition, it has to be said that the choice is an excellent one on which His Highness the Maharajah should be congratulated. In the present communal conditions of the State no better selection could be made. The association of an ex-member of the Viceroy's Council with the Dewanship of the State is bound to raise its status and position and on that account the selection deserves high praise at a time like this when important constitutional, fiscal and administrative problems are under consideration in the India-to-be.

INDIANS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I wish to thank "S.D.N." for courteously pointing out in the Reformer of October 14th an error of which I was guilty, in making the sweeping assertion that there was no one in England who asserted that India would never be fit for self-government.

I mistakenly assumed that it would be understood that my "no-one" referred to all those who "count." The opinion of those in the past or present who do not "count" in this matter, may be regarded as negligible. I should have constructed my sentence as follows:

No one of influential opinion connected with the framing of the new Constitution would assert that India would never be fit for self-government.

Cambridge, October 30th, 1933. } Yours etc., I. J. PITT.

HINDU CHEMISTRY.

The first of a series of the Annamalali University Extension Lectures was delivered by Sir P. C. Ray of Calcutta, in the Inter-Physics Hall, with Rao Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, M. A., I. E. S., Vice-Chancellor, in the chair. The hall was packed to overflowing. Mrs. Ranganathan, Mrs. Chakravarthy, and Mrs. Balakrishna Nair were among those that were present.

The President, in a short speech, extended a cordial welcome to the distinguished scientist and paid a glowing tribute to the spirit of service and youthful enthusiasm evinced by Sir P. C. Ray.

Rising amidst cheers, Sir P. C. Ray thanked the Vice-Chancellor for his cordial welcome. Sir P. C. Ray then spoke on "The Antiquity of Hindu Chemistry." The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

He began by saying that there was much truth in the proverb "there is nothing new under the sun." This was amply proved by the recent excavations of Mahenjo Daro. That city had bath rooms with glazed tiles and underground drainage systems which many a modern city cannot boast of. That in ancient India, there have been voteries of the physical sciences could be clearly seen from books in old libraries like the famous manscript library at Tanjore and in some of the Feudatory States like Alwar, Kashmir, etc. There were also Siddhas or Alchemists. Among the sixteen systems of philosophy, there was one, Raseswara, the science of mercury. There was a disease called Philanroga (syphilis) for which preparations like Rasa Karpura, camphor of mercury were given. Kajjoli or black sulphide of mercury was prescribed as early as the 8th or 9th century A. D. Makaradhuja was prepared by subliming it. In ancient India, such simple operations like distillation and sublimation were much in vogue. They used to distil and sublime mercury and zinc, in retorts and subliming vessels. Partington in his "Everyday Chemistry" has mentioned the Hindu method of sublimation as introduced by the great Buddhist leader Nagarjuna who was considered to be one of the most eminent adepts of chemical science, wherefore he was called Siddha Nagarjuna. The Calcutta University had instituted a prize 12 years ago in his name for the candidate who would furnish the best piece of original work in Chemistry.

The importance attached to experimental evidence would be clearly seen by a perusal of a Sanskrit work on Alchemy called "Rasendra Chintamani" wherein it is written "they are the real teachers who prove by experiment what they teach and they are the real pupils who can reproduce the experiments they learn." Then again in a treatise on "Games and Minerals" the method recommended for the purification of adulterated mercury, or for that matter adulterated products, was distillation, a method which held the field even to-day.

The great physical chemist Arrhenius, Director of the Nobel Institute, Stockholm, who was an authority on the history of chemistry assigned the palm of priority to the Hindus. He accepts that Indian teachings had influenced the Greeks through the medium of Persia. Sir P. C. Ray narrated an interesting story. He published his book on "Hindu Chemistry" in 1902. In 1904, he was deputed by the Government of Bengal to visit the various laboratories of Europe. In the London Chemical Society he came across the German book entitled "The History of Pharmacy". He opened it and found to his surprise elaborate extracts from his own book printed therein, especially, pages about ancient "Hindu Chemistry."

Proceeding, Sir P. C. Ray spoke about Tamil Alchemy also and exhorted those young men to take up the study of Tamil chemistry and got through the works of adepts, and Sidhas and supplement our present knowledge about the subject. In the Tibetan Encyclopaedia we find mention of Indian Alchemical treatises. Many such works were in the manuscript library of Lhasa. Some of them are now with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and some are with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Santaniketan. Even as arithmetic and algebra had their origin in India, India was also the home of chemical science. That it was zealously pursued in those olden times that it flourished even during the ascendancy of Buddhism was proved by Nagarjuna's book, Rasa Ratnakara or a Treatise on Mercury. There was a Sanskrit copy of the book in the Kashmir Palace Library wherein a devottee of chemistry praying to the Goddess of Truth says, "for twelve tedious years have I performed austere penance at Thy Feet (*viz.* practised Alchemy). Do unfold unto me O, Goddess, the precious lore of Alchemy."

There were some metallurgical serrets in the olden days which have indeed died out now. Sir Robert Hadfield visited the iron Pillar near Kutub Minar, in Delhi. This iron pillar has resisted corrosion though made of wrought iron only. It has withstood the onslaughts of moisture carbon-dioxide, oxygen, etc., for centuries together. This is an ample proof of the metallurgical skill of ancient India. But the science was lost to the world for ever. He exhorted the young men present to emulate the noble example of India's greatest scientists so that India may occupy a pre-eminent place in the comity of nations in the field of science also.

AGRICULTURAL RELIEF SCHEME.

The Democratic Swaraj Party has issued the following statement:—Pursuant to a resolution passed at the Session of the All Maharashtra Political Conference on the 29th October 1938, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, President of the Party, has appointed the following Committee: Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Chairman) Bombay, Prof. V. G. Kale, and Messrs. J. S. Karandikar, Poona, Mr. V. R. Kothari, Sholapur, Mr. C. M. Saptarshi, Ahamadnagar, and Messrs. Anandji Haridas, R. R. Bakhale, and S. C. Joshi, Bombay. Mr. V. L. Mehta, Manager, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd., has consented to help the Committee in an advisory capacity in all matters concerning the Co-operative Movement.

The following are the terms of reference:—

1. To examine with special reference to the Bombay Presidency the scheme for the relief of agricultural indebtedness outlined in the speech of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All Maharashtra Political Conference held on the 28th & 29th October 1938 at Bombay.
2. To suggest alternatives and modifications if any, and
3. To make recommendations.

The following is the relevent extract from Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta's speech in which the scheme is outlined:—

"The Poverty of the vast masses of India has called aloud for relief during the hundred and seventy five years of British Rule; the misery into which the tillers of the soil have sunk is harrowing in the extreme. They have suffered from the uncertainties of monsoons and harvests with heroic courage, they have borne the crushing burdens of land taxes with a quiet resignation and they have toiled and drudged to meet the calls of usury, have carried the dead weight of an unshakable enormous indebtedness until they have reached the stage of utter economic collapse. I estimate the total indebtedness of the ryot

in this country to be in the neighbourhood 1,200 crores of rupees. This is made up as much of principal as of interest capitalised at the compound rate. The rate of interest has varied from 10% to 15% and often higher. In some cases it is altogether monstrous being hundred per cent for eight months, 150% p. a. The existence of co-operative societies has made but negligible difference. Nothing can help the peasant to return to prosperity while this debt remains in the present form. I have prepared a scheme for relieving agricultural indebtedness which I propose to submit for your consideration tomorrow.

"I am not, therefore, going through its details in this speech. The principle on which the scheme is based is that the State should take over this debt and convert the sowcar's loans into its own at a moderate rate of interest and sinking fund. Any sowcar who can establish a debt due from an agriculturist before a properly constituted authority within a specified period should get bonds for an amount equivalent to his loan. The bonds should have a currency of sixty years and should be issued at four per cent interest. One per cent more should be added to this for the amortisation and the service of the debt and the State should recover this from the peasant as land revenue, so that no separate expense need be incurred for collecting it. While the loan remains unpaid the peasant should not be permitted to alienate his land in favour of a sowcar. This in a nutshell is my scheme. Its details will have to be varied in different parts of the country as local conditions require."

The Conference having considered this scheme passed the following resolution and in pursuance thereof this Committee is appointed :—

Resolved that the outlines of the scheme for relieving agricultural indebtedness envisaged by Jamnadas Mehta in his speech delivered as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference are accepted in principle and the detailed preparation of a full scheme is hereby referred for consideration and report to a committee.

The Committee is anxious to seek the co-operation of all those who are interested in this question of national importance and will welcome any offer from public bodies as well as individuals of written or oral evidence or statements on the question of agricultural indebtedness and measures necessary for securing a substantial relief for the peasantry from this heavy incubus.

ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES.

The Adult Education Classes, Wilson College, Bombay have commenced their work for the new term (November 20 to February 28) in the last week of November. After the experimental work of four terms during the last two years, this activity has come to have a place in the civic life of Bombay. The Adult Classes claim now about 220 past students enrolled for instruction in different subjects. The co-operation of the members of the staffs of the different colleges in Bombay has been mainly responsible for the success of these classes.

For the fresh term the Adult Education Classes Committee have introduced a few more courses of study. One novel feature is to have more than one course almost every day to meet the demand of the Adult students. All classes meet from 6-30 to 7-30 p. m.

A course of ten lectures will be delivered in each subject and a minimum fee of Rupee one is charged for enrolment. The Committee is prepared to consider the advisability of opening classes for more subjects if there is a sufficient demand.

MAHOMMEDAN WOMEN AND DIVORCE.

Mr. Khalil-uz-Zaman Siddique, Bar-at-Law and member of the Hyderabad Legislative Council, introduced on the 19th instant a new bill in the Hyderabad Council for conferring the right of divorce and separation on married women professing the Mahommedan law, in addition to the circumstances under which they are now entitled to sue for divorce or separation. The Bill is a piece of progressive legislation, in keeping with the times, and seeks to confer on Mahommedan women greater rights than in British India or any other Indian State. The following are the grounds (in addition to those already existing) on which they can claim the right of divorce through a court of law :—

1. If the husband is suffering from an incurable or contagious disease, or from any disease which is protracted for more than one year, or from any ailment under which marital life is rendered impossible.

2. If the disease from which the husband is suffering is such a nature that there is danger to the health of the wife or is calculated to cause her hardship.

Provided in either case that if the wife knew or had reason to know at the time of her marriage that he was suffering from such a disease, she will not be entitled to her dowry.

3. If the whereabouts of the husband are not known, or if, he is sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

Provided that, if the husband has left sufficient means of existence for her maintenance, the wife shall not be entitled to her right of divorce for a period of four years.

And provided further that in cases in which it is alleged that the whereabouts of the husband are not known, the Court shall record evidence of the husband's relations in support of the allegation.

4. The Court may grant divorce for alleged ill-treatment or cruelty, the husband's refusal to live with his wife or unwillingness or inability to maintain her being regarded as amounting to cruelty.

5. The Bill provides also that the husband may divorce his wife on the ground of her contagious or incurable disease at the time of the marriage, provided he shall pay her nominal dowry.

It is provided that where a marriage has taken place between parties who have not attained their majority, and the persons responsible for such a marriage are other than their fathers and grandfather, such a marriage will not be considered valid until it is ratified and accepted by the parties after they have attained majority.

Where a marriage has been performed by the father or grand-father of a party during the latter's minority, and where the married party claims the right of divorce on attaining majority and where further the Court considers such a marriage injurious to the interests of the petitioner, an order for divorce may be passed ; but where the party has attained majority without repudiation of the marriage, such a party will not be entitled to divorce and if the petitioner is the wife, she will forego her claim to any dowry.

It is also provided that where the husband or wife changes his or her religion not bonafide but solely with a view to escape from matrimonial responsibilities, such a conversion will be a ground for granting the relief of divorce.

The mover of the Bill has appended a long statement of objects and reasons for the Bill in the course of which he points out that the rights of the husband or wife are on a par. The Quran provides that a husband should treat his wife well or else divorce her. In the leading case of Mubarak-un-Nisa

Begum vs. Syed Ashram, Nawab Siddique Yar Jung, J. of the Hyderabad High Court, laid down that if divorce is not granted on the ground of cruelty, it would be against the provisions of the Mahomedan Law. And it is for the same reason that the Quazi is empowered to grant separation of the wife from the husband. Mr. Siddique points out that in the case above mentioned Pandit Giri Rao (now Raja Bahadur and a member of the Judicial Committee) sitting as a Sessions Judge had held that, as laid down by Mr. Amir Law in his treatise on Mahomedan Law, the Quazi has the right of granting divorce. On appeal to the High Court the judgment was reversed, but on the wife's appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Babe-Hukumath, Mr. Giri Rao's judgment was upheld. There is judicial authority, therefore for accepting the Bill. The mover of the Bill next refers to the fact that enlightened Mahomedan women have given their whole hearted support to the initiation of such legislation. The All-India Ladies' Conference which has branches all over India, including Hyderabad, has supported the measures, and in the 11th session, which was held in Hyderabad under the presidentship of Lady Asman Jah, Abru Begum Saheba has pointed out that the law relating to divorce by Mahomedan women is not in conformity with the religious laws of the earlier times, and that in consequence lakhs of married women are going about without maintenance. The present Bill is in response to a suggestion made at that Conference for such legislation. In consequence of want of legislation the husband has been allowed to deprive his wife of maintenance, as a direct result of which Mahomedan women have been compelled to change their religion and thereby escape domestic tyranny. Mr. Siddique submits that the Bill in no way contravenes the provisions of Islamic injunctions.

AT HITLER'S MOUNTAIN HOME.

Chancellor Hitler has granted me the privilege never before accorded any journalist, of visiting his mountain home in his absence and speaking to the woman he loves best in the world—his sister Agnes, who has played the role of mother to him with unfailing constancy through the years of strife, the woman to whom he speaks on the telephone from wherever he happens to be—Berlin, Hanover, Cologne—every day says Pembroke Stephens, the "Daily Express" special correspondent, in a message to his paper from Berchtesgaden dated October 29.

For a week I have laid siege to the house in the mountains where Storm Troop sentries keep guard night and day, and where faithful servants answer every inquiry: "Madam is not at home." No Minister would give me an introduction to Hitler's sister who has orders from her brother to receive no one in his absence. To-day permission came from the Chancellor, and the fortress fell. Imagine the most beautiful prospect you have ever seen—snow-capped mountains, russet-coloured forests, green plains and hills, and you will understand why Hitler chose the Haus Wachenselb, near the romantically named little Bavarian village of Berchtesgaden, for his home.

Down in the valley, only a dozen miles away, gleams the mighty castle and magic city of Salzburg, Austria—Hitler's native land. His birth place, Braunau, on the border, is just out of view.

Hitle'r sister—her name is Frau Raubal—is a tall, stately woman, with a strong, kindly face greying hair and frank blue eyes better—looking than her brother, witty, full of charm. She was dressed in black and wore a Swastika scarfpin, a present from her brother, at her throat. She is two years older than her brother.

"That did not prevent him trying to order me about during our childhood at Braunau," she told me with a twinkle in her eyes. "As a grown-up girl I could not bear to be ordered about by a little boy. We quarrelled and fought nearly all the time. I married in Linz, but my husband was killed at the front. I was left alone with three children" she said with tears in her eyes. "It is terrible to be all alone in life. I think Hitler realised this. He came back from the war safe and sound. At once we were friends. He asked me to go to his favorite Bavarian village of Berchtesgaden, and then I met the early leaders of his movement. It was a dangerous time for the beginners, who went in fear of prosecution, ready to make a dash for it over the border out of harm's way. Hitler asked me if I would keep house with him if he bought Haus Wachenselb which is near Moritz.

"I was very happy. I accepted gladly and here for the past five years my brother and I have made our home. He never talked to me of politics and always wrestled with his defeats and trials alone. Nevertheless, this house represents all Adolf Hitler, the man, has in the world. He has no wife, no children, no hobbies. Two years ago he gave up eating meat. 'I must not poison my nerves with nicotine and alcohol,' he said. Before he gave up meat he used to suffer pain, but he has never been so fit as he is now. When he comes here to rest he lies in bed reading all the morning while thousands of people from all over the country stand waiting in the road outside hour after hour to catch a glimpse of him at the balcony or when he goes out. He arrives here pale and worn out. He lies down for an hour and comes downstairs red in the face and happy, whistling and singing as merrily as a bird. I do not think he will ever marry, but sometimes when he sees pretty blond-headed children—he loves blond hair—he sighs, and says: 'It is a pity I am not married. I should like to have children like that.' At other times he will say: 'I am wedded to politics. No wife would stand for that.' My brother has had no time in his life to think about marriage. First he was young. Then came the war. Since 1918 he has been busy with politics all the time."

A SOCIAL REFORM MARRIAGE.

A notable social reform wedding took place on Tuesday night at Patna. The bridegroom was Sjt. Kanhaiya Prasad Verma, brother of Babu Phulan Prasad Verma, Advocate, Patna High Court and the bride was the widowed niece of Mr. D. L. Nandkeolyar Advocate, of the Patna High Court. Both parties occupy high position in the Kayastha Community. The importance of this marriage lay in the fact that it was a three-fold social reform. Babu Phulan Prasad Verma belongs to the Srivastava sub-sect and the bride to the Ambasta sub-section of the Kayasthas. It was, therefore, one of the very few instances of intersub-sect marriages among the Kayasthas. It was a social reform in another sense also because it was possibly the first instance in Behar of a widow re-marriage among the Kayasthas. It was a marriage reform also in the sense that there was no stipulation regarding tilak or dowry. The marriage created such an interest in the Hindu society that not only all leading members of the Kayastha-community (both official and non-official) for example such personages as Mr. Justice Kulwant Sahay, Mr. Sachchitanand Sinha, Rai Bahadur Durga Prasad but also leading members of other castes and communities joined in the marriage procession and attended the ceremony giving their blessing to the married couple. The guests were treated to a sumptuous dinner by Mr. D. L. Nan-

dkeolyar, the host, who was all attention to them. It may be noted that the bridegroom is a member of the Marriage Reform League, Patna, which has been responsible for many social reform marriages without tilak during the past two or three years.

NILA NAGINI DEVI.

A message from Muttra states that Nila Nagini Devi (Miss Cram Cook) was interviewed by a Press representative in the American Mission House. She said that, she had not made up her mind as to when she would leave the Mission House, but might do so any time. She mentioned that she had an offer from a flim company to star in one of the flims depicting the Moghul Period.

She said that she had to leave Gandhiji's Ashram, as she could not stand it any longer. One day Gandhiji had stated that he had not put up a fence round the Ashram and any girl who wish to leave the Ashram could do so. She had been approached to return to the Ashram, but she once again wanted to enjoy the thrills of independent life. She said: "I want to hear the orchestra and fly by aeroplane. My mind is all for speed."

As regards her life at the Sabarmati Ashram, Miss Cram-Cook said that difficulty arose because she tried to fulfil her vows literally, as for instance, she slept on a bed of bricks without blankets for months.

She also made the mistake of communicating to Gandhiji every little detail of her life in the Ashram, and her actions which led to complications. She did not wish to be uncharitable to the Ashramits or to Gandhiji. She would rather forget her previous life and revert to her "American freedom."

She did not know how her dreams would be realised again, but felt certain that she would be having thrilling experiences shortly. She did not care what others thought of her and said that the Mission people had done all they could to make her comfortable.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

The Harijan:—In view of the unlikelihood of the weekly journals, *Young India*, *Navajivan*, and *Hindi Navajivan* resuming publication in the near future, the subscribers of these journals are informed that the balance of their subscriptions will be refunded to them if they so desire and if they reject the choice of the following alternatives offered to them:—

(1) To receive the *Harijan*, *Harijan Bandhu* or *Harijan Sevak* respectively in place of *Young India*, *Navajivan* or *Hindi Navajivan*, for the balance due or,

(2) To receive any of the books published or sold by the Navajivan publishing House that may cover the value of the balances due, the choice to be left to each subscriber, or

(3) To donate it to the Harijan fund which is being raised by Mahatmaji, or

(4) To donate it for the Khaddar work to the All-India Spinners' Association.

The subscriptions of those subscribers who fail to make the choice and desire the balance of their subscriptions to be paid back shall communicate their wishes not later than 15-1-34. Failling the receipt of such intimation the subscribers will be deemed to have accepted the first alternative and their balance will be transfererred to the managements of the *Harijan* journals answering the subscriptions.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya:—The Chief Justice at the Bombay High Court on Tuesday granted a "decree nisi" in favour of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya on her petition for divorce aganist Mr. Harindranath Chattopadhya. It was further directed that the petitioner's costs would be borne by the respondent. The petitioner's counsel, Mr. G. C. O'Garman, applied for custody of their son aged 10 years. His Lordship said that the "decree nisi" included custody of the child. The petition was uncontested.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Birth Control Polemics :—We publish today two letters on our views on the subject of birth control in this country. Mr. G. R. G.'s deals with the question from the population point of view with which the present discussion started. The assumption that there is over-population at present or there is likely to be one in the near future, is contradicted by the Census Commissioner of India and even more strongly by the Census Suprintendent of Bengal in the passages which we quoted in our leading article last week. Dr. Hutton's view is not that there is overpopulation but that the agricultural industry has too many people depending on it. Relief in this sphere is to be secured by promoting industrial occupation to take off the surplus cultivators. This is one of the issues from which attention is diverted by the present cry for contraceptives. Mr. Venkatrama Sastry's letter lightly passes over this broad issue and lays most stress on the hardship to families of having to bring up more children than they conveniently provide for. His remedy is to reduce the number of children. Others demand that there should be a more equitable distribution of wealth. We have the greatest respect for Mr. Sastry. From the point of view he takes he is doubtless right. But there are larger considerations involvedwhich we are sure Mr. Sastry will admit. The main difference between Mr. Sastry and ourselves, however, is in our conception of the family. He regards it as an economic entity like a joint stock company although on even this ground his arguments are not wholly tenable. A joint stock company can be wound up when it ceases to pay dividends though many such companies go on working in the hope that better time may come. The family is really a social and, if we may say so, a spiritual unit which cannot be regulated by the law of demand and supply. If no one should have a child unless he is able to balance his budget, millions in this and other countries be doomed to a childless existence. We can at once think of at least half a dozen of eminent Indians whose parents were never able to balance their budgets during their lifetime. Others who could have balanced several scores of budgets besides their own, have had to go to their graves without the children their hearts yearned for. According to the economic school, the rich man should have most children, and the poor man few if any. Demography, however, follows a different law. Even if a man had a dozen children we have never known him welcome the death of five of them as he should if the economic structure of the family is the chief thing that mattered. Mr. Sastry too readily assumes that the paradox of starvation amidst plenty which we see around us, is a natural and unchangeable condition. Children with hands to work will not have to be content for all time with the sight of food which makes their mouths water. They will use their hands to take it, if society does not stir itself betimes to bring about a rational distribution of the necessities of life.

Change of Governors :—The relinquishment of office by a retiring governor and its assumption by a new one, was not so very long ago a notable event in Bombay, and excited considerable public interest. Little interest, however, is now felt and the public views with indifference these transitional phases in the administration. The reason seems to be that the public have lost faith in the capacity of governors to do anything which has any bearing upon their every-day life. It must also be said that there have been few great governors for a long time past and that the gentlemen sent out as such have had no previous record worth consideration in their own country. The real work of a governor is done through his Council, and, therefore, it often happens that he is best known by his Ministers. An able minister reflects credit on his chief, while the choice of a third-rate man, with no previous record of public service, has a contrary result.

A German Minister's Explanation :—The German Minister of Interior, has issued a statement with the object of allaying the apprehensions expressed in the Japanese and Indian press regarding the implications of

certain recent legislative proposals bearing on the future association of Germans and Asiatic races. He points out that people of other races can now as formerly still earn their living in Germany. German schools, he further mentions, are still open to foreign students. It appears from Dr. Fricke's statement that the chief restriction which may be introduced will relate to inter-marriages. Germany desires to ensure purity of blood in her people and, without disparaging other races and civilizations, intends to prevent the dilution of German blood. Dr. Fricke invokes the similar tendency among other nations, especially those of Asia, in defence of this policy. Inter communal marriages have been always repugnant to Indian social polity founded on caste. The hero of the Mahabharat war gives the confusion of races which would result from the carnage on both sides as his main reason for refusing to fight with his kindred. The Hindu caste system is based on the principle of race purity and other races and religions in this country have also adopted it in practice. If Germany thinks an adaptation of the caste system is the true remedy for her trouble at the present day, it does not lie in our mouth to condem her policy. We do not think that there is any considerable section or class in this country who would regard a German bann on inter-marriages as a national grievance though having regard to the insignificant number of such inter-marriages, they may feel it an unprovoked slur on their race and religion.

U. S. A. and Asiatic Immigration:—The *Free Press Journal* published on Wednesday the recent ruling of the United States Department of Labour on a point of great importance to Indian students. Many of our students in America used to earn the money needed to maintain themselves by working during their spare time. This was prohibited by the post-war Emigration and Labour laws and some Indian students were deported for engaging in remunerative occupations. This rule is not now strictly enforced and some Indian students are still supporting themselves by part time work in factories and in households, mainly owing to the sympathetic attitude of Universities' authorities. But so long as the ruling was not changed, such students were liable at any moment to be deported from the country. The question has been pressed on the attention of the Roosevelt Government which is in close contact with University opinion. The Labour Department has issued a new ruling which virtually restores the freedom which students in the United States enjoyed in the pre-war period. The same issue of the *Free Press Journal* publishes the news that the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has approved the extension of the quota system to Asiatic peoples. The strongest opposition to Asiatic immigration came from California and, therefore, the action of the San Francisco Chamber has a special significance.

An Industrial Anomaly:—The *India & Witness*, an American Missionary organ, has some pertinent comments on the negotiations now taking place about the import of cotton piece goods. "That India should be importing such large quantities of cotton, goods and at the same time exporting raw cotton," it observes, "indicates that something is wrong somewhere. America has raw cotton for sale but we have not heard that America imports raw cotton. (India imports raw cotton from Egypt and latterly from America since the fall in the value of the dollar.) She is ready to sell what is not needed. The same should be true in India. The most logical market for Indian raw cotton is India and those interested should give their attention to this phase of the problem and there will be some hope that a solution will be found." An even more pertinent question is, why should India go on producing a much larger quantity of cotton than she can herself use? America is giving a bonus to cultivators for curtailing the cultivation of cotton, in order to raise prices. But India goes on over-producing this commodity in the interests of other countries, and to her own detriment. We are indeed a peculiar people. We do exactly what no one else does and apparently for that reason. All other countries jealously conserve their gold. We freely export them. Others devaluate their currency; we keep ours at an abnormal level at a great sacrifice. Others raise their tariffs to protect their industries. We lower them to enable the industries of other countries to prosper!

Cow Dung Cure for Cholera:—Science has found that cow dung possesses the power of eating up disease germs. In a paper read at the Malabar Medical Association, for a summary of which we are indebted to the *Hindu*, Lt. Col. Webb, Director of Public Health in Madras, reported that success had attended the experiment of using 'phages' derived from cow dung as a preventive against cholera. His attention was attracted to this remedy by noticing that, in spite of deliveries taking place in some of the squalid and dirty quarters of several poor Indians (which are almost universally smeared over with fresh cow-dung every day) and the use of cow-dung as an external application of wounds and inflammations, several cases were found to be improving without any rise in temperature. Dr. Ashashroff investigated and found that cow-dung contained bacterophages. Thus another India 'superstition' is seen to have sound reason behind it. It was proved many years ago that the water of the Ganges river, held in reverence by Hindus, had also the property of destroying bacilli. There is, says Bacon, a superstition in avoiding superstitions. We have lost much by indulging in this superior kind of superstition, instead of investigating old practices and modifying them to suit new conditions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 9, 1933.

ANARCHISM A HINDU MOVEMENT.

We published in the *Reformer* of 18th November the speech which the Governor of Bengal made at the Armistice dinner at Calcutta. Sir John Anderson said in that speech that he 'amused' himself by trying to discover the difference between War in its normal sense and the War which his Government was waging against anarchism in Bengal. His Excellency found that the main difference was that while in the former case you knew who the enemy was, in the latter you were unable to distinguish between friend and foe. Speaking at the St. Andrews' dinner at Calcutta three weeks later Sir John Anderson definitely declared that the anarchist movement was a Hindu movement. He allowed that some Hindus were not anarchists but these were apparently the exceptions which justified his grand generalizations. This declaration has created much resentment and some severe criticisms have been passed on it. The *Tribune* of Lahore takes it to be a reflection on the Hindu religion. This, of course, would be absurd. The other day an Afghan youth shot King Nadir Shah, and political murders are not unknown in Christian countries. The Prime Minister of Buddhist Japan was killed sometime ago. No religion has proved to be a prophylactic against political distemper. Sir John Anderson probably knows nothing and cares less for Hinduism. But he must be surely aware of the broad facts of history. The anarchist movement is a Hindu movement only in the sense in which nearly all the reactions to modern thought—good, bad and indifferent—in this country, whether in religion, social life, industry, arts or politics, are and have to be Hindu. The Himalayan Hindu mass is exposed to the first impact in all their fury of outside forces before these pass on to other communities much modulated by the impact against the mighty barrier. Understood in this sense—and it is the only sense in which it is intelligible—there is nothing for Hindus to resent in Sir John's characterisation of anarchism in Bengal as a Hindu movement. At the same time, a sweeping generalisation of the kind by a person in Sir John Anderson's position, is bound to affect the way in which Hindus and Britishers regard each other not only in but far outside Bengal. It is also calculated to cast distrust on the impartiality of Sir John Anderson's Government in questions concerning Hindus: For instance, the Secretary of State's reply to a question in the House of Commons about the abduction of Hindu girls, that the Government of Bengal did not take a serious view of the matter.

In his Armistice speech, Sir John gave the impression that his measures had not succeeded so far. In a rather flamboyant peroration, he told his audience that if they brought to this local conflict the qualities which carried them to victory in the great war, the issue could not possibly be in doubt. At the St. Andrews' banquet, he assured his hearers that the anarchist movement had been controlled. A few days before the opening of negotiations with the Irish leaders, Mr. Lloyd George declared at a Guildhall banquet: "We have murder by the throat." Nevertheless, the Coalition Cabinet decided upon a settlement with the Irish by negotiation because the alternative, in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, then a Minister, in his "World Crisis," was: "In order to paralyse the activities of a few thousand persons the entire population must when required be made to account for every hour of their time." Sir John Anderson notwithstanding that he claimed to have anarchism under control, wanted more power. The movements of the Hindu population in Midnapore and Chittagong are already rigorously restricted and the demand for more powers is evidently made in order to restrict them still more. The task from which the Coalition Government shrunk in the case of Ireland, His Excellency is apparently determined to carry out in the affected districts. Fourteen years ago the uncontrolled acts of the Governor of the Punjab led to a political conflagaration which extended to the whole country. Sir John Anderson's methods, instead of circumscribing the limits of the trouble in Bengal, are calculated to drag the whole country into a turmoil. "The issue," His Excellency said, "could not possibly be in doubt." That also is our conviction. Anarchism is a state of unstable equilibrium. It must die of itself even if it is not quelled by extreme measures involving the whole population. The statesman should beware that, in dealing with a local and ephemeral phase, his words and acts do not sow the seeds of a wide and permanent ill feeling between two peoples. The Irish settlement has failed to appease the bitterness which the events which preceded it created in Irish minds. "It would have been possible in 1883," Mr. Churchill sadly observes, "to have reached a solution on a basis infinitely less perilous both to Ireland and to Great Britain than that to which we were ultimately drawn." If the Governor of Bengal is too preoccupied with his own immediate problem to think of the larger bearings of his words and measures, it is for those above him to see that they do not impinge on weightier matters. As for the Hindus, they have survived far more powerful onslaughts in the past, and are not likely to succumb to Sir John Anderson's fulmination. We are surprised at this outburst for last year Sir John Anderson, as one heard from reliable sources, was the only Governor who took strong exception to the communal bias of present-day policy.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA—XIII.

The Other Half New York.

From Washington to New York is a four-hours' journey by the express trains, of which there are several. We took a train at about 8 o'clock in the morning and were in New York at 12-30 the same day. Miss Hattie Bagansky and Mr. William Bridge received us at the station and took us to the Hotel "New Yorker" where they had arranged rooms for us. We were on the thirty-seventh floor, from which the streets below dwindled into small dimensions. Right opposite my window towered the Empire State Building, said to be the tallest building in the world. A special feature in this hotel was that in every room we had, in addition to the usual equipment, a switch at a turn of which we could hear the radio programmes of half the world. If one had nothing else to do, one could while away the whole day from morning to midnight by turning on the radio to the different stations. The management was exceedingly efficient and obliging and responded to every call made on them by us with promptitude.

Miss Bagansky was in charge of the New York headquarters of Mr. Das Gupta's organisation. He had spoken to us of her as a gem of a girl. She certainly deserved the compliment. She was an expert stenographer, drove a car with great skill amidst the crowded New York traffic, had a fine head for figures, was in touch with every group in New York interested in India and was a born New Yorker. She is Polish by origin—some of her relatives to whom we were introduced can only speak the Polish language—and intensely proud of her motherland. It is not too much to say that during the four crowded days that we spent in New York this time, we were greatly helped by her kind attention.

Mr. William Bridge is also one of Mr. Das Gupta's colleagues in his many international activities. He is a quiet, cultured man who keeps himself in the backgronnd as much as possible while all the time he is doing something or other to promote good will among nations and races, which is the great object of his life. We are indebted to him too for many good offices during our stay in New York.

A letter was awaiting us at the hotel from Dr. Sunderland, fixing the next day for our visit to him at Poughkeepsie. His son, Prof. Sunderland of Michigan University, met us at Ann Arbor, and wrote to his father apprising him of our desire to visit him before leaving America. Dr. Sunderland lives for the greater part of the year with his son at Ann Arbor, and spends three or four months with his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Bolton, at Poughkeepsie. We left the next morning by train and reached Poughkeepsie at about noon. Dr. Sunderland himself (he is 93 years old) with Mr. and Mrs. Bolton was on the platform to receive us.

Poughkeepsie was beflagged for President Roosevelt whose home, Hyde Park, is nearby and whose private office was just opposite the hotel where we were Dr. Sunderland's guests for luncheon. The President had visited Poughkeepsie the previous day and hence the decorations. At the hotel, I had to make a statement to the representative of one of the local newspapers. There are three newspapers in this small town, and he told me that they were going to have a fourth one soon. Every town in America, large and small, has its local newspapers, at least two of them. My statement to the Poughkeepsie paper was reproduced in the *Reformer* of September 16. We had to go to Mount Kisco, some 50 or 60 miles from Poughkeepsie, in the afternoon, and the Boltons had kindly offered to take us there in their car. When Mrs. Bolton brought round the car for us to leave, I turned to bid good-bye to Dr. Sunderland, scarcely expecting him to undertake this long drive in a hot summer day. But he shook his head and said that he was also going with us! Throughout, he was quite alert and active, pointing out to us the various noteworthy places along the road. One of these, just near Poughkeepsie, is the Vassar College, the famous college for women in America. It has a large library where Dr. Sunderland every day at a new book which he is writing. I had met Dr. Sunderland in Bombay several years ago, and I have a group photograph in which he is the central figure taken at the Prarthana Samaj. But I had then no opportunity to speak to him at any length.

Dr. Sunderland told me at Poughkeepsie how he came to be interested in India. He said he first visited India many years ago with the ordinary outlook of a Christian Missionary but when he met Indian leaders and came to know India at first hand his opinions changed and he became, what he has always and consistently been since, the most ardent and outspoken champion of India in the United States. His famous book, "India in Bondage", has gone though three editions and he had distributed at his own expense copies of it to all the libraries in America and several in Europe. Dr. Sunderland has never met Mahatma Gandhi. He has a profound regard for him. He gave me a message to Gandhiji, which I take this means of conveying to him, wishing him all success in his noble work for the regeneration of India.

Mount Kisco is beautifully situated on the river Hudson. Our rendezvous was an old house, once George Washington's country house, now leased for an international centre by Kedarnath Das Gupta and his friends. Mr. Bridge lives here and he has nearly always staying with him visitors of almost every nationality under the sun. Conspicuous among these at the time of our visit was a Russian Professor of Moscow University, a man of wide culture and vigorous personality. There was a gathering of about a hundred people and they were all delighted to see Dr. Sunderland with us. As we were having tea some one mentioned that Kamakoti had been to prison twice in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement. Dr. Sunderland who was sitting at a little distance from her, at once took off his hat and extended his hand to her saying: "Let me have the privilege of shaking you by the hand." Kamakoti was deeply moved but managed to say she felt this to be a great moment in her life. I could say nothing.

There were speeches, the principal topic being the Fellowship of Faiths. It was at this gathering that, speaking after me, the Moscow Professor acknowledged that the Soviet policy relating to religion had no application to the Hinduistic outlook with its stress upon attitude of mind and not upon dogma. Dr. Sunderland spoke a few words, in which he commended the *Modern Review* and the *Indian Social Reformer* as weighty exponents of Indian opinion, which deserved to be widely read in America. He left after a couple of hours with Mr. and Mrs. Bolton for Poughkeepsie. In all human probability we shall not meet again in this life. The few hours that I spent with him were a great inspiration. There are few men who feel for India and who have done so much for her as Dr. Sunderland. I was greatly impressed and encouraged by his noble example of work even at his great age. It is a rebuke to those of us who seek to shirk the duties and responsibilities of life on the plea that they are getting on in years. In many

ways, we regard and cherish our visit to Dr. Sunderland as the crowning incident of our trip to America.

Miss Bagansky drove us in her car to a near-by railway station from where we reached New York late in the evening.

The ambition to build tall buildings has been present in the minds of conquerors and kings from ancient times. The Tower of Babel was intended as a refuge to human beings at any later deluge. It could not be completed, not because of the confusion of tongues among its builders but because they had not the mechanical equipment to proceed higher than a few hundred feet. Hindu kings erected solid pillars in granite or iron to commemorate their victories. Mahommedan rulers of India improved upon this and built towers for the same purpose. The Kutab Minar in Delhi is the most famous of these. The Kutab Minar really is a hollow pillar with a winding staircase inside. There is no other use for it except to impress those who see it with its height and symmetry. The Kutab Minar, however, is only 150 feet high and only young and energetie people can make the complete ascent at a stretch. The Empire State Building in New York is more than a thousand feet in height and has 102 stories. The ascent is made by means of three shifts of elevators, one covering about 50 stories, the other about 30, and the last the remaining 20. On the top-most story is an observatory commanding a very wide horizon. All the other floors are filled with offices and shops. The building illuminated in the night is very imposing. The initiative in raising this stupendous structure as a symbol of the supremacy of the New York State was taken by Mr. Al Smith, who was a candidate for the Presidentship against President Hoover. Mr. Smith was born in very lowly circmstances and in an autobiographical article which I read in one of the American magazines, he wrote that his education was chiefly in the streets of New York. He has risen to be one of the powerful figures in America by dint of energy and ability. His own office is in the Empire State Building. He seems to be a universal favourite and every one is proud of him.

One of the shops which we visited in New York this time, makes a specialty of collecting butterflies from all parts of the world and utilises their wings in jewellery of all kinds. The man in charge had a beatific vision of India as "a God-given land" and expressed great reverence for Gandhiji but he did not seem to realise that his butterfly business was fundamently opposed to the Gandhian gospel of Ahimsa.

I had promised Dr. Finley, the Editor of the *New York Times*, to give a statement for publication on the conolusion of my visit to America. I called at the *Times* office and Dr. Finley promptly handed me over to his chief news editor. The statement duly appeared in that paper and was reproduced in the *Reformer*.

There are three Indian restaurants in New York. To one of these Miss Bagansky took us for dinner one evening. All that I can say about the place is that it is a very praiseworthy effort to give the Americans some idea of Indian culinary preparations.

I sat up late at night on the day previous to our departure listening on the radio to the speeches made at the Paoific Nations Conference, which began its sittings on the 14th August. Among the speakers was my Chinese friend, Dr. Hu Suih, who concluded a vigorous address by pleading that the world should be made safe for humanity. He was followed by the Japanese representative, if I remember aright the eminent statesman Viscount Ishii, whose speech struck a very high note, and who, in effect, declared that Japan was striving not only for her own advantage but for the good of humanity. The speech of the British delegate, Sir Herbert Samuel, was also impressive. I particularly remember his peroration. "Let us go out" he said, "under the skies and behold the stars. Who can go to war after looking at a star?" It was nearly midnight when the speeches ended. I waited a few minutes after twelve and went to Kamakoti's room to express my greetings on her birthday. She was writing farewell letters to her friends. We were both touched at the thought of a birthday greeting so far away from India.

This was the last day of our stay in New York and it was crowded with engagements. The Rev. Walter Foley and his wife had invited us to their residence in Long Island but owing to the distance and the short time at our disposal, I requested them instead to be our guests, and they were good enough to come. Dr. Foley was in India not long ago and he had written occasionally in the *Indian Social Reformer*. His views are always characterised by great breadth and liberality, and we were delighted to see him and his wife before we left America.

The centres of Sanskrit culture established by Mr. J. C. Chatterjee in Europe and America, are free from the mystical associations of some other Indian cultural propoganda. Its membership consists largely of scholars. The head of the New York centre is Mrs, Othilie Bergner who had kindly invited us to have our last meals in America with her. There were besides our hostess, Dr. (Miss) Ella Leidheuser and Dr. Fred J. Neveling, all Germans to their finger-tips. They were keen students of Indian philosophy and culture, arts and crafts. We were much interested in hearing their views on recent events in Germany. They defended the Hitler regime with vehemence. "We are Germans first and Americans afterwards." They told me that several German families settled in America for generations, still spoke German as their mother-tongue. They were passionately devoted to the German language. For India and Indians they had a very warm corner in their hearts. They accompanied us to the North German Lloyd boat, the "Bremen" and stayed with us till a late hour. Mrs. Bergner took me to the Captain and spoke to him in German, which she explained to me to mean that he should be particularly regardful of our comfort, otherwise she would report him to the President of the Company whom she knew well! Whether due to this threat or not, they were very attentive to our wants in the boat, and on the last day the chief steward suggested that I should write a letter to the captain.

The only German I had met before was Prof. G. Oppert, Professor of Sanskrit at the Madras Presidency College, where I studied a few months in the Matriculation class. He was a most phlegmatic man in the literal sense of the term. And the impression I had then formed of Germans as a phlegmatic people was completely removed when I met this group in New York. We have never met more vivacious people. An hour before the ship sailed our cabin steward entered with a seven foot cardboard box addressed to Miss K. Natarajan. It was sent from a florist and contained a beautiful vase and a fine assortment of flowers which kept their freshness right through our voyage to Italy. There we consigned them to the sea. The vase remains with us as a precious memento of our visit.

I received a telephone message in the morning from one of the radio stations that I was to broadcast for about fifteen minutes that evening at 7-15 on the National Recovery Plan. I told Miss

Bagansky to inform the people that I was much pressed for time and moreover had only a very general idea of the subject. The reply was that it was all arranged from Chicago and that it would cause considerable dislocation to their arrangements if I did not keep the engagement at the stated hour. It occurred to me that as this would be my last function in America it would be a good opportunity for me to make my farewell acknowledgments to our friends for their kindness to us and their goodwill towards India. From the Bragner's dinner we went to the radio office five minutes before the appointed time. Someone else was at the microphone inside. Punctually at 7-15 I was rushed into the room and set before a clocklike machine at one table. There was a similar one at the other table at which Mr. Bridge took his seat and introduced me briefly to the invisible audience. The moment he left I had to begin. I said that when I came to America I had doubts about democracy but what had happened there had done much to remove them. A democracy cannot formulate policies. It can only choose men to guide its destinies and when it chooses the right man it has justified itself. I had heard many friends in America say that, although they had voted against Roosevelt at the Presidential elections, they now regarded him as the one man equal to the duties of the Presidentship at the present crisis. I had not studied the National Recovery Plan in detail but the underlying principle of it, namely that America should first get her own house in order before she could undertake to help the world, was a sound common sense one which if followed in every country would go far to ensure the peace of the world. I added a word of warning that there were bound to be setbacks in such a vast undertaking and against the tendency to make the President solely responsible for its success as unless the whole country supported him his best efforts will not prove adequate. I concluded by conveying our grateful appreciation of the hospitality shown to us in America. When I emerged from the radio sanctum they all told me that my speech was just what it should be both as regards time and substance.

K. N.

P. S.—The first word in the last sentence in last week's article in this series should read 'Anti-British' and not 'British' as it was printed.

BIRTH-CONTROL.

I

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue of November 18, it was properly contended that the cause of India's over-population is the low standard of living of the masses, for a low standard of living restricts the masses' choice of occupation in leisure hours with the result that purely sexual pleasures, being the cheapest, are over-indulged in and an excessive number of children are born. (This state of affairs is not peculiar to India and may be seen in any European slum or poor peasant region.) As a possible solution of the problem a growing body of responsible men and women are advocating the extensive teaching of contraceptive methods (witness the great public interest shown recently in Madras Presidency) while a perhaps equally responsible body of opinion objects to this proposed remedy as attacking the effect and not the cause, and demands that the masses' standard of living be raised, not their families reduced, at the same time with seeming paradoxicalness declaring that a higher standard of living would automatically reduce the population. When we get down to practical action, how is the standard of living of the masses to be raised, bearing in mind the restricted resources available today in public and private purses? Surely the widespread use of contraceptive methods would itself assist to raise the standard of living, for a smaller family means that there is more to go round for each member of it, which in turn means better hygienic and educational opportunities. The two things are reciprocal; smaller families bring a higher standard of living and birth control will enable the masses to produce smaller families; while a higher standard of living tends to reduce the size of families, as the history of the European upper classes conclusively shows. And in India, at any rate, there is no immediate fear that the country will become under-populated for many generations.

A final point: certain groups of people maintain that the use of contraceptives lowers the *moral* tone of the user and they thus condemn it on social grounds. Is there, however, any evidence that immorality and crime are commoner among the upper classes, among whom birth control is fairly frequent, than among the slum dwellers, where contraceptives are almost unknown? Those who object to birth control on religious grounds cannot be argued with; faith is not subject to reason.

Bangalore,
November 30, 1933. } Yours etc.,
G. R. G.

II.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

You have touched on this topic in your issues of the 21st October, 4th and 11th November. I understand you to object to Birth Control as it diverts the attention of the public and the State from the primary duty of providing work for all and improving the economic condition of the country. I hope I have understood you aright in thus summarising your view. If I am right, is it not like saying that a man who balances his budget and lives within his means is doing wrong as that diverts his attention from improving his economic condition? For the State as for the individual it is not impossible to make all efforts to improve the condition of the individuals in their charge and *at the same time* calculate the amount of burden they can properly bear in their own interests, individual and collective.

You maintain in the true Henry Georgiyn style that every new birth is not only a mouth to feed but an additional pair of hands to work. We can starve on plenty as we now know to our cost. The pair of hands may only add to the number of unemployed and the mouth that waters at the very sight of food may not be able to reach it. With all the goodwill of individuals and of States, there is just now no certain advantage from indiscriminate addition to pairs of hands.

In any case can it be maintained that there are limits to the endurance of the ills of too frequent maternity and to the bringing up in efficiency of many children and yet there should be no limits to procreation and the greater the population the better it is for the State? It is only a calculation of advantage in the event of war, which we shall only make certain by over population and clamour for space in other lands. We should not hesitate to act in our own interests because foreigners in their interests may also commend it to us.

You say "If birth rate is appreciably lowered, the death rate remaining what it is, the Indian population

will soon be on its way to extinction." That is pure arithmetic but the assumption is wrong. The death rate cannot remain. You cannot say that a family which had twelve births of which five died would have had the same number of deaths if the births had been only seven. All might have survived and in any case five would not have died. "If the death rate remained"—is a wrong assumption.

It is said that birth control is impossible for the lower classes. No one denies difficulties. People who are out to secure perfect self-control and are willing to do patient work for achieving their ends and are not prepared to recognise anything as a serious difficulty or mpossibility—why do they plead that this is impossible and not to be worked for?

Madras,
December 5, 1933. } Yours etc.,
T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRI.

THE CHALLENGE OF JUDGMENT—II

(BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

We have seen in the late War that moral camouflage creates a useful delusion not only in the minds of the opponents but in those of one's own party, and for the same reason a vast ethical department is necessary as an adjunct to the organisation of exploitation. For the hand that draws blood is greatly helped if it is guided by the idea that it is translating some Sunday School lesson in a beautiful practice. In olden times there were tribes of men who throve upon other people's possessions. Not having that sense of decency which wears a protective decoration they used very little material or moral clothing. They are described in history as savage tribes with criminal tendencies. They remained isolated; no respectable peoples copied their manners. Such narrowness of seclusion itself made their mischievous power short-lived and restricted it to a small area.

In modern times they have changed their names and methods, and even while a great portion of the world is being ripped open by the iron claws of their organisation they have no hesitation in believing in the sure foundation of their civilisation and the perfection of its superstructure. It produces such a moral confusion that even we, who are their victims, are willing to copy them.

In fact, we are begining to be ashamed of our trust in what we call dharma, the sovereignty of the inner world of ideals. We think that it is a sign of the possession of some brand-new type of cleverness, shiningly up-to-date to be able to join in the chorus of cynical laughter at a faith in the reality of moral truth.

So we watched for long the outer horizon and there saw no portent of storm-clouds overtaking the fair weather in the West; in fact, all our meteorological misgivings pointed their arrow-heads to the thunder-bearing forces from the West carrying menace in other directions. We had been witnessing far too long the triumph in human history of the law of natural selection prevalent in the biological world, the elbowing out of the less offensive by the aggressive pressure of a superior noxiousness. All our calculations came to be based upon the working of that law, till, at last, the man in us made his final obeisance to the brute in us and uttered in awe; Hail, unholy Might.

While such a hymn of praise was being raised in all the countries of the world, both by the victors and the vanquished, while the races favoured by fortune dreamt of nothing else but the sharpening of their military fangs and the lengthening of their commercial suckers; while the defeated peoples were cherishing the hope, and secretly preparing to be able one day to contribute their own share of deviltry to the political nightmare of the modern cult of nationalism; the most devastating war that ever happened tore into tatters the enormous self-satisfaction of Europe. She has lately been startled into realising that its origin was not from outside.

Up to this moment she had been at the zenith of her power and brilliancy; to outward seeming she had conquered endless time for her boundless prosperity, while she had been moulding with a pitiless success the destiny of millions of alien people to fashion her own footstool and kept it permanently secure. The barometer which recorded the external condition of the atmosphere foreboded a perpetual monotony of fair weather. There had been, no doubt, angry flashes of lightning from the friction created by colliding greeds, but it was firmly believed that the promptings of intelligent self-interest were in themselves sufficient to check any of these violent gestures from ending in a catastrophe.

Then came the day when everything that had given her supremacy in the world seemed to turn against her and the science which she had tamed for a hunting expedition tore ugly rents in her own limbs, which still show no sign of healing. So her proud mind has had to come to the conclusion that her present suffering is not due to any lack of intellectual attainment or material advantage, but to some cancerous growth within her own moral nature.

This has, at length, given us in Asia the opportunity of judging Europe with our mind freed from the hypnotism of success,—an opportunity necessary for our own salvation. This judgment must not be in a spirit of retaliation, which chuckles at the chance of hurling back at the West some part of the evil-smelling mud which she was never tired of flinging at the unprotected Orient. Nevertheless we must have the courage to judge. For the standard of moral judgment is the true helm of our life. Lately it has been laughed at by the modern young person for being stationary, and our hold upon it has been slackened. We must regain our confidence in it, knowing that this helm is more necessary for us to-day than ever before, because we are overtaken by a current that is sudden and swift, by winds that are changing, and because we must move among breakers

Fight there must be in this world. We cannot make truce with impunity. Our evolution towards the perfect has been and has to be through a series of fights. Our moral judgment is the best weapon we have in the warfare for the preservation of humanity. With it we have to resist and even to hurt, for the cause of justice.

Have we not noticed in the modern East how the people who have a highly developed instinct for turning out things of perfect beauty for their daily life show utter crudity in their selection of Western articles for show or for use? They completely forget the dignity of the true born aristocracy which they possess in the world of craftsmanship when they try to acquire or imitate the furniture and other Western appliances that bear the brand of the outcast. They carelessly allow the aggressive weeds into their garden where flowers had been nourished by the love and the sensitive understanding of generations of their forefathers. It has been made possible because they have blindly surrendered their judgment of excellence overwhelmed by the spectacle of robust success. In their infatuation they rob Apollo of his homage in order to offer it to the image of Hercules.

My heart was filled with shame and pain when I passed by the ruined mounds of the Summer Palace of Pekin, brought to the dust by those who were

furiously loud in their condemnation of the destruction of some ancient cathedrals of Europe by their enemies. Yet they can be forgiven for they know not what they had been doing. They merely personated an unintelligent storm of fury which had a scientific thoroughness of brutality, and they want only destroyed buildings, pictures and objects of art the like of which was never seen before nor will be in the future.

But it fills my heart with despair when I realise that the modern Chinese are themselves helping in the devastation of the genius of China, daily growing used to things of creative touch which their fingers have acquired. It shows an apathy which is uncivilised. True civilisation knows the value of things that belong to the higher nature of man and is ever ready to take trouble to produce them, use them, and maintain them in their excellence. To succumb to the temptation of cheap production is the sign of the shallow mind that seeks its release from the strenuous claim of high aspiration in the vulgar comfort of standardised respectability. The educated China of to-day seems to have surrendered its judgment of taste and through this defeat is threatened with a desert of white monotony swallowing up the colours and features of its civilisation.

The surrender of moral judgment is also a defeat through which the invasion of the West is laying its stony road across the soul of the East, leading most of its traffic of ideas to the gambling-den of commerce and politics, to the furious competition of suicide in the arena of military lunacy. Shady paths that ran into various avenues of life carrying the call of co-operation, are one by one being closed. This also is helping the monotonous extension of that aspect of the West which is not fruit-bearing.

But we must not allow this to go on. We must find our voice to be able to say to the West; "You may force your things into our homes, you may obstruct our prospects of life,—but we judge you. You may ignore our judgment. Materially it will not injure you, nor check you in your climbing up the dizzy precipice of profit and power, but it will save us from moral degradation. We refuse to humiliate ourselves by saying that you are worthy of obedience because you are strong, worthy of respect because you are rich."

What I have discussed above only shows that in its relation to the Eastern peoples the aspect of Western character which has come uppermost is not only insulting to us but to the West itself. Nothing could have been more unfortunate in the history of man than this. For all meetings of men should reveal some great truth which is worthy of a permanent memorial such as, for instance, had been the case of India's meeting with China in ancient times.

At the moment when the West came to our door, the whole of Asia was asleep, the darkness of night had fallen over her life. Her lights were dim, her voice mute. She had stored up in her vaults her treasure, no longer growing. She had her wisdom shut in her books. She was not producing living thoughts or fresh forms of beauty. She was not moving forward but endlessly revolving round her past. She was not ready to receive the West in all her majesty of soul.

The best in us attracts the best in others; our weakness attracts violence to our neighbourhood, as thinness in the air attracts a storm. To remain in the fulness of our manifestation is our duty not only for ourselves but for others. We have not been great in the West because we have failed to bring out the greatness that we have in us and we delude ourselves into thinking that we can hide this deficiency behind borrowed feathers.

Yet through all our shame and our suffering, we have to acknowledge that the West is great. With her science she has offered a grand illumination to the path of reason. Some people in the East are in the habit of reviling science, calling it materialistic. They may as well say that incendiarism is in the fire. Science is truth. It is immaterial. It gives us freedom in the realm of matter. It brings our mind into touch with the eternal at the uttermost brink of the finite. What if science can help some temperaments to cultivate materialism—cannot religion do the same? We have witnessed in the East the grossest form of materialism and the cruellest form of inhumanity stalking abroad in our society wearing the uniform of spiritual culture. We constantly see the epicureanism of religious emotion, indulged in by self-centred individuals, admired by simple-minded people as piety in full blossom.

On the other hand, the usual form of spiritual expression we find in the lives of the best individuals in Western countries is their love of humanity, their spirit working through their character, their keen intellect and their indomitable will leaguing together for human welfare. In their individuals it reveals itself in loyalty to the cause of truth for which so many of them are ready to suffer martyrdom, often standing heroically alone against some fury of their national insanity.

When their wide human interest, which is intellectual, takes a moral direction it grows into a fulness of intelligent service of man that can ignore all geographical limits and racial habits of tradition. The goodness which is undaunted in chivalrous adventure, and love of truth, variedly active and widespread in its ministration, we do not see in the East.

But because in their individual lives the Western peoples have raised the tower of their moral standard so high, the ravage of their national unrighteousness at the base is fraught with dangerous consequence. Bespattering the whole world with their diplomatic lies, continually adding to the number of victims for their man-eating prosperity, scientifically crushing the human rights of large continents of races, spreading a contagion of ugly carbuncles all over the earth with the impurity of their utilitarian touch, keeping their snarling nastiness bared at the entrance of their miserly national mansion,—they have, in all these, an ever increasing gravitational pull against the top to their greatness. The fall will be terrific.

But what is most unfortunate for us in Asia is the fact that the advent of the West into our continent has been accompanied not only by science, which is truth and therefore welcome, but by an impious use of truth for the violent purpose of self-seeking which converts it into a disruptive force. It is producing in the countries with which it is in contact a diseased mentality that refuses moral ideals, considering them to be unworthy of those who aspire to be rulers of men, and who must furiously cultivate their fitness to survive. That such a philosophy of survival, fit for the world of tigers, cannot but bring a fatal catastrophe in the human world they do not see. They become violently angry at those who protest against it, fearing that such a protest might weaken in them the animal that should be allowed to survive for eternity.

Doctors know that the infusion of animal blood into human veins does not give vigour to man but produces death, and the intrusion of the animal into humanity will never be for its survival. But faith in man is weakening even in the East, for we have seen

what scientific power has enabled the inhuman to prosper, the machine to rule in the place of Dharma. Therefore in order to save us from the anarchy of weak faith we must stand up to-day and judge the West.

But we must guard against antipathy that produces blindness. We must not disable ourselves from receiving truth. For the West has appeared before the present day world not only with her dynamite of passion and cargo of things but with her gift of truth. Until we fully accept it in a right spirit we shall never even discover what is true in our own civilization and make it generously fruitful by offering it to the world. The culture and the humanity of the West do not belong to the Nation but to the people.

While nations fight for their exclusive possessions the peoples share with one another their true wealth. And the highest spirit of the peoples of the West, their loyal love of truth and active love of man, we must try to make our own in order to impart to our life a movement and to our ideals a vitality that shall give them the impulse to produce new flower and fruit.

IF I WERE TWENTY AGAIN.—I *

(By J. T. SUNDERLAND.)

In regarding the question before us, it takes only a very little thinking to make several things clear.

One is that none of us can go back and become twenty again, when once we have passed that very inspiring time in human life. There are no eddies of backward currents in the stream of time. We may pray never so persistently,

"Backward, turn backward, O Time in thy flight,
Make me a child again just for to-night,"

but the fight of time is only onward.

A second thing that is clear is, that if we *could* go back to our past, unless we could have greater wisdom than we had then, or be differently circumstanced (in which case it would hardly be our past), we probably should not do very differently from what we did. So that it would be idle to wish to have a chance to try life over again, unless we could do it with the help of greater wisdom or better advantages.

Still a third thing grows clear. There probably isn't one of us who has passed on beyond youth who has not found life bringing to him gifts which he would not, on any consideration, consent to surrender, even for the privilege of going back and being young again. Where is the father or mother who would give up his or her children? Where is the true husband or wife who would give up the other, the dearer self? Where is the man or woman who does not have friendships which have grown and deepened and taken on added sacredness with the years, until they could of no condition be parted with?

All this helps us to see that youth does not possess all the good there is in life, or all these attractiveness. Youth has its own charm, as the spring has. And it is a very rare charm. But one would not want the year to be all spring. It is better that summer and autumm and winter should come in their place. Each brings its own great wealth of good, and its own satisfactions.

The truth is, the glory of life lies in the full roundness of it—in going through all the rich and precious experiences of every season of life, from the earliest spring-time to the latest autumn—from light-hearted childhood in the nursery as life's morning sun begins to climb the eastern sky, to peaceful old age by the fireside, as life's evening sun sinks in the west.

With this much by way of introduction, to prevent misunderstanding, let me come to the question that is before me, "If I were twenty again, what would I do?" Let me suppose it possible to go back to that age, and begin life again at the point with my present knowledge and experience. How would I shape my life? In what respects would I do differently from what I have done? What rules or principles of life would I adopt?

Of course these are large questions which can only be imperfectly answered. But perhaps we may be able to get some thoughts on the subject not wholly without value. Let me speak first of one thing that I would *not* do.

If I were twenty again, I would *not be in a hurry*. Perhaps there is no time in life when one is more likely to feel in haste than at twenty. Youth is gone; manhood and womanhood are upon us. We begin to feel stirring within us strange new powers and ambitions. We grow eager to get out into the world—to plunge into its battles, to work out careers for ourselves. We begin to feel old. I doubt if I have ever felt so old since, as I did at twenty or twenty-one. I now see how very young I was.

The reason why I would not be in a hurry if I were twenty again, is, that that independent, responsible life upon which one is soon to enter, is so large, so many-sided, so serious a thing, that one needs the largest and best possible preparation for it—a preparation much larger and deeper and more thorough than anyone can possibly get who rushes into it in haste.

It so happens that some of the greatest and most momentous decisions in life have to be made soon after one sets out upon an independent career.

One of these is the business or calling in life that one is to follow. It is immensely important that he shall choose that business or calling wisely. Success or failure is likely to hang upon the decision. It is plain then that in so serious a matter there should be no undue haste. In the case of some young persons, the choice of a calling seems to make itself—if I may use the expression. That is to say, the young person very early develops a decided taste for some calling, or shows a strong aptitude in a certain direction, which is nature's way of pointing out to him what he can do best. In some respects young persons are fortu nate who are born with such a natural bent or taste or aptitude. They are saved the anxiety and risk of making a choice of a calling for themselves.

But in many, perhaps a majority of cases, young people are not aided to a choice of a vocation by any such clear and decided indication in themselves. They have to canvas the whole field of calling open, study their own nature as best they can, study the nature and the possibilities of the various callings, and thus decide between them. It is not an easy matter. In many cases it is exceedingly difficult. A false step taken in haste or ignorance may prove a life-long disaster.

Hence the importance of waiting before taking the step, until one has some maturity of judgment, and some knowledge of himself and the world. Here comes in the value of the years spent in schools. What is a course of high school study? What is a course of college study? Each is a voyage of discovery, made with two distinct objects in view. One object is, that the student may discover nature—I mean, find out all possible about the world he lives in; the other is that he may discover himself—I mean, find out and

* Reprinted from *Prabuddha Bharata*.

develop as fully as possible his own faculties and powers. Now when a young man has made honestly and earnestly one or both of these voyages of discovery, and thus found out what they have to reveal to him about himself, the world, and human life, do you not see how much better prepared he is to make intelligently and wisely such a great decision as that of what his career or work in life shall be?

But a choice of a vocation is not the only one that he has to make. *Other* decisions almost as important follow. Shall he marry? If so, whom shall he marry? No decisions can be more serious than these. How great is the need of wisdom, maturity of judgment, knowledge of human nature, knowledge of one's self, in order to make them safely!

Nor yet may we stop. Launching out upon independent life not only means decisions to be made as to one's calling, and concerning marriage and the home, but much else. Life's many-sided responsibilities at once confront him. He must take his independent place in the community. He must assume the duties of citizenship. He must become a member of the social order, and adjust his life accordingly. If he is to be a business man, will he set his standard of business high, and hence do something to maintain a standard of honour and integrity in business circles around him? In society will he be an integer, or a cypher? Will he become a factor in the community for the elevation of its intellectual and social life? Or will he simply drift with the tide? As to religion, what will he do? Will he support and help it, or will he be an indifferent? Or, will he sneer at and oppose it? And if he supports religion, will he support a kind that is most enlightened, most elevating, and best, or a kind that is allied with ignorance and that tyrannizes over the human mind?

These are some of the questions of grave import, both to himself and to society, which crowd upon a young man when he launches out upon independent life. He must meet them and in some fashion settle them. Shall he settle them wisely, or foolishly?

You see how great is the need of intelligence. You see how serious a matter it is for him to hurry into life before he has the intellectual furnishing of knowledge and judgment to enable him to settle them properly. You see the need of that discipline of mind and that knowledge of the world, of human nature and of himself, which the school and the college are calculated to give. You see why I said that if I were at twenty, with my present experience, I would not be in a hurry to get into the work and responsibilities of life, until I was as well as possible prepared,

If I were twenty again, while setting out to give my intellect the best training possible, I would not neglect those other kinds of training that are equally important, namely, taining of the will, the conscience, and the heart.

As to the will, I would discipline myself to the making of prompt decisions, and clear and strong resolves, not to be shaken.

As to conscience, I would say, it shall be my king. What it clearly commands, that I am to obey without question. Integrity, even in the smallest things, is to be the inviolable rule of my life.

As to the heart, I would set out to keep all its holy fountains of love and sympathy, open, that their waters may make green the waste places of life, for myself and all with whom I have to do.

If I were twenty I would look out very carefully what habits I formed.

Habits are like a statue that an artist moulds in clay. While it is fresh it is plastic: he can change it as he pleases. Let it stand a while and it hardens, and changes become very difficult. In early life it is comparatively easy to correct bad habits, or to form good ones. The young person who is wise will look very carefully to the habits which he allows to fasten themselves upon him.

If I were twenty, I would set out to keep clean lips and a clean heart, as not less important than a clean face or clean clothing. I would try to provide myself always with pure air to breathe. But at the same time I would try to remember that it is quite as necessary to have the moral atmosphere one breathes sweet and wholesome, as to have the physical atmosphere so. I would as much shun the moral poison of unworthy companionships, as I would the physical poison of malarial swamps and pest-houses.

If I were twenty again what would I read?

I would not be narrow in may reading, and yet I would not read indiscriminately, and certainly I would try to exercise some common sense in my reading. Is there anything more amazing than to see men and women all around us who would not think of eating and drinking everything they saw, wholesome or unwholesome, fit to be eaten or filthy, yet *reading* absolutely *everything* that comes in their way, no matter how worthless or how debasing it may be? If I were twenty again and didn't have a vein of idiocy or lunacy running through me, I don't believe I would do that. I don't believe I would fill my mind with the weak and worthless and often wicked stuff that offers itself to us in so many of the popular books of the time, especially the novels, and in our great daily papers. If I thought my stomach too good to be filled with trash I think I would regard my head as too good to be similarly filled. Of course I do not mean that I would discard all newspaper reading, but I do mean that I would try to read only the best; and I would limit myself. I would no more allow myself to read habitually the sensational records of scandal and gossip and vice and crime and prize-fights that crowd and blacken the pages of some of our great dailies, than I would allow myself habitually to drink from a sewer.

Beyond a limited amount of periodical reading, I would be a reader of *books*, I do not know that I would absolutely adopt Emerson's rule to read no book until it is a year old; but I would not read books merely because Mrs. Grundy was talking about them. Above all, I would read *great* books. My motto should be few books and noble. I would choose a few great minds—the greatest—and these I would know as I know my nearest friend. If I were to select three books out from among all the rest in the world, they should be the Bible, Shakespeare and Emerson; the Bible as the world's greatest book of religion, and the book woven into all our civilization as no other is; Shakespeare as an epitome of the whole world in one glorious volume; and Emerson as the greatest seer and illuminator of life that God has given to our modern times. To be at home in these three books is to possess the best culture known to man.

THE BENGAL GOVERNOR ON THE WAR PATH.

Speaking at St. Andrew's Day Dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal disagreed with those who held that methods adopted for dealing with terrorism had demonstrably failed. The general position with regard to terrorism to-day, as compared with a year ago, showed a very decided improvement. There had been a marked reduction in the number of outrages and in quite a number of cases there had been a most welcome disposition on the part of the

public to join forces with the Government in rounding up those believed to be culprits.

He was convinced that steady pressure rather than any spectacular demonstration of force was the true remedy and the process of eradication inevitably would be gradual. Experience showed that the law might still have to be strengthened in certain respects. That matter was in hand. Desperate characters undoubtedly were still at large in various parts of the province but the Government meant to go steadily on without relaxing the pressure until the movement was definitely and finally brought under control. "I believe we have got its measure."

His Excellency added that the terrorist movement was essentially a Hindu movement although that did not mean that the whole Hindu community should be stigmatised. The reason why it had made so strong an appeal to a limited section of the Hindus was perhaps the general atmosphere favourable to the propagation of subversive doctrines. Opinions might differ, but personally His Excellency thought part of the reason was to be found in the gloomy tinge that the outlook, both political and economic, was apt to assume by Hindu intelligentsia. For the development of democratic institutions wherein they avowed their faith, the Hindus could not hope as a minority community in Bengal to maintain intact the privileged position which in the past they undoubtedly enjoyed under British rule. His Excellency, however, felt that under the new constitutional arrangements Hindus would not and could not be deprived of opportunity of taking their part and pulling their weight in the public affairs of the country except in so far as they might themselves spurn that opportunity. In his judgment, therefore, their political outlook was not as black as it was sometimes painted.

Referring to the economic outlook His Excellency said hitherto it had been the Hindu who was most seriously affected by the problem of middle-class unemployment but as his community advanced the Moslem would be more and more concerned. It was no condonation of aims or methods of the terrorist to say that it was little wonder that many young people fell an easy prey to his insidious propaganda. That, in His Excellency's opinion, was the crux of the problem. Solution would not brook delay. The province was not poor either in natural resources or in manpower but there must be some maladjustment somewhere in the system which kept the vast agricultural population groaning under the load of debt eking out a penurious existence and yet in most districts lacking useful occupation nearly for nine months out of twelve. The Government was convinced of the necessity of making a sustained effort to solve the problem of reorganisation of the rural economy of the province. They were satisfied that in that direction only did the salvation lie. It was on agriculture, Bengal's staple industry, that they must concentrate. As a first step to facilitate co-operation between the Government and outside opinion a Board of Economic Enquiry would forthwith be set up in order to deal effectively with the problem of existing indebtedness and to attempt to build up for the future a sound system of agricultural finance.

Proposing the toast of the "Viceroy and the land we live in" His Excellency observed, if his predecessors had made a mistake of deserting Calcutta for Delhi. His Excellency was doing his best to repair the error, and he knew Calcutta would always be glad to give him a royal welcome.

CHOLERA AND COWDUNG.

A special meeting of the Malabar Medical Association was held at the Paran Hall, Calicut when Lieut-Col. J. R. D. Webb, Director of Public Health, delivered a lecture on "Bacteriophage" writes the correspondent of the *Hindu*.

It was in 1927 when he attended the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine Congress held at Calcutta that he had the opportunity of learning something about the Phages, and about the importance of the use of Bacteriophage specially in cases of dysentery. When the speaker went to England in 1931, he had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Ashashroff on board the ship when the latter was found to claim all kinds of things for phages. He wanted the question of immunity to be seriously investigated as it was a marvel to him that in spite of deliveries taking place in some of the squalid and dirty quarters of several poor Indians and the use of cowdung as an external application for wounds and inflamations several cases were found to be improving without any rise in temperature. Dr. Ashashroff investigated and found that cowdung contained Bacteriphages. Dr. Ashashroff went to France and there he was joined by an Indian doctor and his wife (who also happened to be a doctor) and they were able to separate three strains of phages which they called "A, B and C."

When the speaker returned to India in July 1931, and joined duty at Madras he had a talk with Major King, Director of the King's Institute, Guindy, and they decided to try the efficacy of phages on a mass scale during important festivals in the presidency. When a patient recovered from cholera he developed phages in his body. Cholera Bacteriophages passed from individuals to individuals. Dr. Pandit of Madras demonstrated at Guindy the effect of Cholera-vibrio and phages mixed together. They were able to prepare different strains of phages as "A, B, C, D, E, and F." These phages were put in 20 cubic centimetre bottles which were fit for use for a period of three months. This concentrated phages were mixed with water and used for drinking purposes. During the last festival at Godavari, there was cholera infection in the neighbouring place of Bhadrachallam where a smaller festival was going on. To prevent the spread of cholera at Godavari festival, the Public Health authorities put phages in wells, barrels and other vessels in which water was stored for drinkirg purposes. They were astonished to find that there was no case of cholera during that festival. Soeptics and statisticians attributed it to accident. At Rajahmundry they drank only water heavily dosed with phages. Again there was no cholera. The statisticians once again said that it so happened sometimes.

In December 1932, Major King and the speaker attended the Research Workers' Conference at Caloutta. There was a battle royal between the two parties, one party demanding the closing down of the phage enquiry and the other appealing to continue the very useful and humanitarian work. Those in favour of the Phage Enquiry won the day. Under the auspices of the Research Association Dr. Ashashroff in Patna, Col. Morrison in Assam and Col. King in Madras, continued the work. Dr. Pandit from the King Institute, Guindy, was sent to Patna for training for a month before the Kumbakonam festival. Before the commencement of the festival at Kumbakonam all water sources were heavily dosed with phages. They had also fitted up a field laboratory at Kumbakonam for testing the efficacy of phages. Any case of suspected

cholera or diarrhoea was tested to ascertain whether it was a true case of cholera. There was not a single case of genuine cholera. At a third festival in Kistna in July 1933 phages were again introduced. Just before the festival, cholera was prevalent in East Godavari and West Godavari. It was then thought that cholera was sure to effect the festival at Kistna. It was surprising to note that there was not a single case of cholera throughout the festival. In North Arcot District the use of phages was tested in a municipality with controlled cases and it was found that there was no cholera cases among the people who used water into which phages were mixed and there were cholera cases where phages were not introduced in the municipal area.

As a curative agent this was introduced in the Infectious Hospital, Madras, with very good results. Col. Morrison from Assam also reported the same results.

In conclusion the speaker said that so far the use of phages have been proved successful as a preventive measure and as a curative the presumptive evidence was so far good. He appealed to the doctors present to try this experiment either in specified localities or in alternate cases keeping a correct record of results.

GERMANY AND ASIATICS.*

Dr. Frick, Minister of the Interior, in a statement to *Reuter's* correspondent, in view of the anxiety created in some Eastern countries by the plans of the German Government in regard to the racial question, said :—

"On behalf of the German Government, I declare that there is no foundation whatever for the fears expressed in the Japanese and Indian Press that Germany intends to 'de-class' members of foreign races and to treat them differently from members of the German race.

"The National Socialists" racial legislation is based on the idea that the maintenance of racial purity is of decisive importance for the future of the German people. A similar tendency has also been noticed amongst other nations, especially those of Asia.

"In Germany, the Jewish race is the strongest among the foreign races. Although the numerical share of the Jewish population in Germany is only 1·5 per cent., in the last decade, specially since 1918, by the influx of Jews from the Near East, it has gained enormous influence in the economic, financial, cultural and political spheres.

"To give two examples. I may recall," said the Minister, "that the number of Jewish lawyers in Prussia alone was 3,515, out of a total of ,11,814, namely, 29·8 per cent. Amongst public notaries, there were 1,945 Jews, out of a total of 6,226, namely, 31·2 per cent. Sill greater was this influence in all German Universities, where Jewish teachers numbered on an average 30 per cent. of the total. In the medical colleges of the Universities of Berlin and Breslau, they even numbered 45 per cent. To put a check on this exessive alien influence had become a question of life and death for the German people, so that this racial legislation represents only an act of self-defence and not of hate.

"In addition, it is the aim of the German Government to foster the racial qualities of the German people and assure their purity. Government, by their efforts in this respect, have no idea of trying to pronounce judgment on the quality of other races. They are absolutely conscious of the fact that many races, which are different from the German race, represent old and high civilisations. The German people and Government have not the slightest intention of disparaging those races.

"In this connection, I should particularly like to point out that members of an alien race can now, as formerly, still earn a living in Germany and that German schools are still open to their youth.

"It cannot cause a surprise in view of the importance of the racial question for the German peoples of the future and the passionate interest of the population in this question that the suggestions and wishes regarding legislation on an entire social problem, amongst others, the question of mixed marriages, have been submitted from all sides to the Government. If this has led to alarming rumours abroad about the German racial legislation, either mistaken or deliberate distortions of facts have been made, or existing regulations have either been falsely interpreted or mere suggestions distorted from the real meaning have been represented either as definite or as imminent facts."

* Reuter's Message from Berlin dated December 6.

FOREIGN STUDENTS AND ASIATICS IN U. S. A.

The most recent ruling of the Department of Labour affecting "gainful labour" by "bona fide" foreign students is that, if he has some means but not sufficient income to cover necessary expenses he will be permitted to accept sufficient employment to meet necessary expenses. A student having no means will also be permitted to work to earn sufficient funds to pay necessary expenses. But in no case will a student be allowed to accept employment of a nature to interfere with his full course of studies.

A "bona fide" student is defined as follows : (1) an alien at least 15 years of age who presents a valid non-quota immigration visa duly issued by an American consular officer and designating the alien as a student ; (2) who is qualified to enter and has definitely arranged to enter an accredited school, college, or university particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labour ; (3) who seeks to enter the United States temporarily for the purpose of pursuing a definite course of study in such institution and will carry a full course of studies in day classes ; and (4) who intends to depart voluntarily from the United States upon the completion of such course of study or upon failure to maintain the status of student.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce endorses the extension of the quota system to Asian peoples. It approves the removal of the present discriminatory and provocative rule of Asian exclusion established by the United States immigration law. This enlightened policy of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce is also endorsed by the California Council of Pacific Relations, which is carrying on a vigorous campaing of public education. It is pointed out that if Japan, India, China or any other country adopted the policy of American exclusion, the American people would certainly resent it.

Under the proposed quota, it is felt, the practical objects of Asian exclusion would be accomplished. This is made obvious in the fact that under the quota only 185 Japanese, 105 Chinese, and not over 50 Indians would be admissiblea nnually. Indeed, the "San Francisco Chronicle" asserts that fewer Japanese would have entered the country under the quota rule than have entered since the adoption of the unfortunate exclusion law of 1924.

The "Chicago Daily Tribune" says that objections to the admission of Japan and China to the quota system is not based on practical considerations, and ought not to prevail against the considerations

which support the quota principle. "The substantial interest both economic and social, which exclusion protests cannot be inquired by the adoption of the quota, whereas a reasonable cause of offence to the Japanese and Chinese would be removed. That it should be removed as soon as possible is in the interest of the Pacific Coast as of the rest of the country."

Vivekananda Society School:—The new building of the school run by the Vivekananda Society, Colombo, was declared open by the Hon. Mr. F. G. Tyrrell, the Officer Administering the Government, in November writes the *Hindu Organ*. Mr. Tyrrell cut the floral festoon which was drawn across the entrance and declaring the building open entered it followed by the large gathering of members and guests present. Mr. A. Mahadeva, President of the Society, after extending a welcome to the Acting Governor said that the Vivekananda Society had before them the high ideals the Swami preached in his lifetime, and if they might even achieve a small fraction of those ideals they would feel deeply thankful that they had done so. The membership of the Society began with about fifty and today they had 1,400 on the roll, drawn from the professional classes, the Government service and the mercantile community. They purchased a centrally located property as the home of the Society and opened a school for those children who attended no school whatever. They had at the start 50 children and two teachers, and the number was now 350 children with seven teachers. The school received recognition from the Department of Education and was now earning a Government grant. Through the generosity of the Hindu public they were able to erect the new buildings which would serve the needs of the school more efficiently.

Roosevelt Denounces Lynching:—A strong condemnation of lynching was made by President Roosevelt in a broadcast address to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He described the recent cases of lynching as a vile form of collective murder, called the lynch law. He added: "We cannot excuse those in high or low places, who condone such practices."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Impressions of Japan:—Sir Lallubhai Samaldas visited Japan in the middle of this year and has published his impressions of that country and its people in a neatly printed volume (Taraporevala, Sons & Co.). The author has exceptional qualifications as an observer and interpreter of conditions in a foreign country. He combines in himself the experience of a scholar, administrator and businessman—not an ordinay combination. The very first thing that struck him in Japan, and that is the impression which is conveyed by the very first sentence, is the cleanliness of the people. Sir Lallubhai paid particular attention to the position of women and to industrial conditions in Japan. He is of opinion that Japanese women exercise less influence on public life in that country than Indian women do here. Facilities for higher education for them are few. There is no purdah, but, says Sir Lallubhai, "the wives do not mix with their husbands' male friends and as a result the husbands and their friends, when they want to have a good time of it or when they want to entertain guests, invite them to a Japanese restaurant where geisha girls act not only as waitresses but as entertainers." Sir Lallubhai, however, formed a very high opinion of the charm of Japanese women. Speaking of religion Sir Lallubhai confirms the general belief in this country that the religion of modern Japan is nationalism. He emphasises the absolute identity of mind between the Japanese Government and the people as the mainspring of the wonderful progress of that country. Sir Lallubhai gives an interesting account of the research hospital at Beppu near which are some hot springs. He himself underwent a day's treatment for which he paid only one yen, about fourteen annas. He calculates that he would have had to pay nearly fourteen rupees in Bombay for similar treatment. The book is enlivened with excellent pictures. That of the author at Kagen Falls is a very fine portrait.

Facts for Birth Controllers:—Economists who advocate birth control by artificial methods as a remedy for overpopulation by reducing the birth-rate, should take note of the experience of Soviet Russia. Notwithstanding the State encouragement of birth control propaganda and the legalisation of abortion, the population continues to increase at a rate exceeding the Indian rate which has frightened them so much. So writes Fannina Halle, an excellent English translation of whose very interesting book "Women in Soviet Russia" has just been published: "Nowhere in the world do you see so many pregnant women as in Moscow, in Soviet Russia, in the whole Soviet Union; nowhere are there so many children. The annual increase of the population is estimated at three and a half millions. Before long a sixth of the earth will be mainly peopled by those who first saw the light in the land of the revolution." The object of the Soviet Government is to improve the quality of the population and birth control is one of the means to this end, the other being measures for the protection of motherhood and childhood which is officially declared to be "the path to the new socialist 'byt' (life)." A Russian Laboratary is said to be perfecting a cheap contraceptive, more efficacious than any yet devised, from buttermilk. This is a book which should be read by students of social science as it gives a vivid account of the far-reaching social reconstruction which Soviet leaders have taken on hand and of which the outside public gets only partial and too often prejudiced pictures. What is possible in and good for Russia, is not necessarily possible in and good for other countries. Still, there is much which can be learnt from this stupendous endeavour to construct a social order entirely different from any that prevails in Europe or Asia.

Dominion Surrenders Status:—While we in India are aspiring to Dominion Status, Newfoundland, the oldest of the British self-governing Dominions, has found the burden too heavy and has become a Crown Colony. The *New Statesman* thus summarises the report of the Royal Commission which investigated the affairs of this Dominion: "Newfoundland is bankrupt and a pauper. Its budget has been unbalanced for twelve years; the debt of the

country has been doubled, its resources plundered and squandered. The majority of its inhabitants are living or dying pitiably—at subsistence level. Greed, graft and corruption are rampant, the "spoils system" is practised in its crudest form; politician is a synonym for crook." Newfoundland is a wholly British settlement. The British, wherever they go, are supposed to carry with them their capacity for self-government. How they came to deteriorate as they seem to have done in Newfoundland is a suitable subject for historical research. The moralist may point to the event as the inevitable sequel to the ruthless extermination of the native inhabitants, the Boethucks which preceded the settlement.

Indians and British Ships:—Mr. Shoran S. Singha has written a letter to the *Spectator* of the 24th November calling attention to the treatment of Indians in the P. and O. steamers. He says, "The general tenor of the experience of students on the voyage from Bombay to Tillbury is that their presence is not acceptable to their fellow passengers. Cases of gross incivility and downright rudeness are by no means infrequent. While on the way out matters are worse." He asks some searching questions: "Why do some of the British, more often than not, get up and walk away if an Indian happens to sit on the same sofa or in a chair near to them in the lounge or the smokeroom? Why must a a Frenchwoman who only very recently boarded a boat at Port Said, be told that she must not talk to the Indians, or discuss her paintings of Oriental scenes with them, or sit at their table as she would be letting down White prestige?" Mr. Singha winds up with a home-thrust. "Why," he asks, "do British passengers quite gladly fraternise with the Indian on the Continental lines where no discrimination is either allowed or tolerated, when those very people would be aloof and even overbearing when the Union Jack flies over the steamer?" He adds that the broad fact remains that Indians generally find the atmosphere on an English boat less conducive to happiness than on an Italian one. As the result of several years' experience Mr. Singha avers that unnecessary and unfortunate bitterness against Britain is being created in many hearts owing to incivil treatment on British boats.

Fascist or Communist:—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru is reported in the Free Press Journal to have informed some foreign correspondents whom he addressed at Delhi that as between Fascism and Communism he inclined to the former. In some former utterances he gave the impression of having a leaning the other way. We do not mention this as a reflection but as a proof of the Pandit's openness of mind. But is it necessary that one should declare himself to be either a Fascist or a Bolshevok? May not one appreciate the good points of Fascism without accepting it as a whole and without decrying the other? Sovietism has succeeded in Russia and Fascism in Italy. This is due to the historical conditions and the national character of the two peoples. The system that will suit India has yet to be evolved. It will have to start from our historical conditions and be moulded by Indian character which is opposed to extremes and is rooted in continuity.

Strangled by Red Tape:—A communique issued by the Punjab Government on December 5th throws light on the administration of the Lahore Central Jail. A prisoner had been sentenced to death by the Sessions Court and his appeal to the High Court had been rejected, as also his petitions for mercy to the Governor-in-Council and the Governor-General-in-Council. The date for his execution was fixed by the Jail authorities for the 21st of November. On the 19th instant of that month a telegram was received in the Secretariat, so the communique informs us, from the father of the condemned prisoner, stating that he proposed to file an appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and on receipt of the telegram, the usual order directing the postponement of execution was drawn up and despatched to the Central Jail by a special messenger "on the morning of November 20 - 19th November being a holiday." The cover containing these orders was duly received in the Jail office, but "was not opened or placed before the Superintendent until November 21 by which time the execution had been carried out." The Government communique further informs us that an enquiry is now being held by a responsible officer under the directions of Government with the object of fixing the blame for this most unfortunate occurrence and determining whether there is any defect requiring amendment in the rules regulating the procedure to be adopted in such cases. The communique on the face of it seems already to "fix" the blame on the individual, if there is such a one, whose duty it is to "open the post" of the Superintendent. One glaring defect in the procedure which strikes even a casual reader is the precedence which holidays apparently take over important matters of life and death.

Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference:—In a letter to the press Gandhiji, with reference to his position on the communal question at the Round Table Conference, says "I told my Muslim friends that Dr. Ansari held my conscience on Muslim matters in his pocket and that, therefore, they should coperate with me in securing his presence at the conference. To this they would not agree unless I would first accept their demands." We do not quite understand this point. The Congress was assigned fifteen seats in the Round Table Conference and it is not quite clear why there should have been an appeal to the Muslim delegation to get Dr. Ansari who could have gone as a Congress delegate to the Conference.

Notice:—Newspapers sent in exchange may henceforth be addressed to Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay 20.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 16, 1933.

INDIA 1931-32.

An annual review of Indian affairs is published under the authority of the Government of India and with the general approval of the Secretary of State. The reader is warned in a prefatory note that "it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion." As neither of the authorities gives even by analogy any indication of the particular expressions of opinion to which their approval should not be extended, the reservation virtually amounts to repudiation of responsibility for the whole report. Who then is responsible for it or for those expressions of opinion which may be disapproved by the Government of India? In previous issues the name of the Director of Information for the time being was given as that of the author of the review. In this issue there is no name. If there is any misstatement or expression of opinion which is not justified by facts, no responsibility is incurred either by the authorities under whose aegis the review is published or by the person who wrote or edited it. While editors of newspapers are obliged by the law to print their names in every issue of their journals, the author of this review is privileged to remain anonymous and irresponsible for anything that he may say and which the Government of India may not approve. This can be hardly regarded as a satisfactory position, particularly as this review is the chief source of information on Indian affairs to people outside India.

The opening chapter of the review on "Politics and Administration" is the only part of it which will be read by the generality of readers. It deals with topics on which there has been much controversy. The author referring to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and its ratification by the Karachi Congress makes out that, while Mr. Gandhi was perfectly sincere in his desire to give effect to its terms, his followers used or misused it to enhance the prestige of the Congress at the expense of Government. The trend of his narrative is that Lord Irwin was a well-meaning but weak-minded man and that Gandhiji was powerless to control the extremism of his followers and lieutenants. That the Pact was distasteful to many Congressmen is true. Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi both knew the fact. In view of Lord Irwin's statements since his retirement from the Viceroyalty it is not for anyone else to criticise the reviewer's estimate of his policy in bringing about the Pact. As for Gandhiji, if he thought that his lieutenants were seeking to evade the terms of the Pact, he did not certainly show it in his conduct. On the contrary, he made himself their spokesman and almost gave up the idea of attending the Round Table Conference which Lord Irwin was most anxious that he should. Then, again it is hard to understand how in the light of subsequent developments the reviewer tries to make out that there had been no breaches of the terms of the Pact by Local Governments. Just as many Congressmen were against the Pact so many Provincial Governments were far from enthusiatic about it and the complaints formulated in the Congress "charge-sheet" were not disposed of so lightly as the reviewer suggests.

According to the author the prospect of Indian States coming immediately into the Federation accentuated the apprehensions of the minority communities, particularly the Muslims. The decision of the Princes brought responsibility at the Centre within early reach and Muslims would not have responsibility at the Centre unless their demands were conceded. We doubt if this is a correct description of the Muslim position: it does not seem to be consistent with the often repeated declarations of Muslim leaders. On another important point the author is equally vague. He does not seem to have clearly understood Gandhiji's attitude to the representation of the depressed classes. The question of separate electorates for the depressed classes did not arise until Gandhiji opposed the reservation of seats for them and would not have arisen but for his opposition. Many friends, including Congressmen, were surprised at Gandhiji's uncompromising opposition to reservation of seats for the depressed classes. The Poona Pact which was necessitated by the consequences of this unfortunate opposition, has not avoided separate electorates but only restricted them to the primary election of persons who may stand as candidates at the general election. The Pact has been criticised on other grounds also and it is probable that it will have to be modified.

The refusal of the Viceroy to receive Gandhiji and discuss with him the political situation has been regarded as most unfortunate by almost every one who has commented on it. The reviewer boldly avers that it received a large measure of public support. His laboured justification of the Viceroy's refusal is unlikely to make many converts to his view. He says that the Viceroy could treat Gandhiji only as the representative of the Congress (and not as a friend as Gandhiji wished) and that unless Gandhiji dissociated himself from Congress activities—that is, repudiated the Congress—His Excellency could not receive him. This may be officially the correct attitude but statesmanship cannot be held in bondage by red tape. Mr. De Valera was not obliged to repudiate the Republican organization when he was invited by Mr. Lloyd George to confer on the settlement of the Irish problem. The only difference between the two cases is that the Irish unlike the Indian leader did not profess non-violence. Mr. Rushbrook Williams, in more than one of the annual reviews which he wrote, acknowledged that whenever the non-violent movement flourished the violent revolutionary movement hid its head. The author, however,

regards it as a fortunate accident that terrorism has, as an organised movement, been confined to Bengal. But is it really an accident? May not it be evidence of the depth to which the sentiment in favour of non-violence had permeated the masses? If the Viceroy had realised, as perhaps Lord Irwin did, what great service Gandhiji has rendered to India and the world by his propaganda of non-violence, His Excellency would have overlooked whatever technical objections there might have been to his receiving Gandhiji. The history of the last two years, in that case, would have been different. Mistakes have been made on both sides. Lord Willingdon has said that he is sincerely anxious to make India fully self-governing as soon as possible and Gandhiji has repeatedly declared his readiness to co-operate with Government to attain this end. We do not accept the view that if Gandhiji is satisfied the whole country will be satisfied, and that the only thing to do, therefore, is to settle with him. This may or may not have been true two years ago but public opinion today would insist on exercising its own independent judgment on constitutional reform. A settlement with Gandhiji is, however, important as it would smooth the way for a discussion of the political issue solely on its merits.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA—XIV.

To Paris

The "Bremen" was a very fine ship. The "Victoria" and the "Rex" were also the best of their kind, but I thought the "Bremen" was in some respects superior to them. It was roomy, well-ventilated and without superfluous fittings while everything necessary for convenience and comfort was provided. It was a constant entertainment to watch the sea racing past. The speed was terrific. The ship's clocks were put forward one hour—58 minutes to be exact—every day. The voyage was uneventful. There were the usual cinema shows, the "horse-races", the concerts, the unending round of meals, the incessant chatter. Once the ship's siren gave forth five or six agonised blasts in quick succession. It was for a life-belt drill. Before we could find the belts and don them and go to our appointed stations it was all over. Voyages in modern liners have become so safe that these appliances are no longer regarded necessary. A day before we were due to reach France, the mails were "catapulted" in a small plane which was shot out of the topmost deck. We had to climb up early morning to see this done. Two men were in the plane which was shot into the sky as from a cannon. It flew straight ahead for a short distance, then curved gently and disappeared beyond the horizon.

On the night before we were to land the crew and passengers crowded on deck to see the "Bremen's" sistership "Europa" pass by. She came quite close with all her lights up and glided swiftly away on her long voyage. Passing another ship at sea is an event and a ship so closely related to ours was naturally regarded as a great event.

The Atlantic showed its temper once or twice. Once a huge wave swept over our table and drenched us as we were having our meals. At another time it flooded our cabin through the porthole. Otherwise the giant ship went on her way unperturbed.

There was besides us only one Indian on the "Bremen". He was Mr. Karunakaran, a Rockfeller scholar from Travancore, returning after completing his course of research studies in bacteriology at Washington.

Kamakoti introduced me to a Swiss lady on the boat. She was connected, she told me, with a group of bankers who would like to start industries in partnership with Indians in this country. She wanted to know whether and how this could be done. I told her that I was not a business man and could not give her any helpful information. But I knew something of the temper of the people, and at present it was much too disturbed to entertain any such proposal without suspicion of a fresh attempt at exploitation. When the political situation settled down they would have a better chance of being judged on their merits. The lady thanked me and said that was exactly what her friends felt.

Our tickets were made out for Southampton. But the news from India made us change our mind. Southampton is about two or three hours voyage from Cherbourg and there is an extra charge to be paid for landing at the French port. The "Bremen" stopped some distance from the pier, and passengers and their luggage were put down on a large open launch. There was a drizzle which in the early morning was not very pleasant. To compensate for this we had a nearly complete circle of the rainbow right to the west. The colours were quite bright. We were glad to see this ancient symbol of hope and faith at that moment. Under this glorious arch the noble ship which brought us sailed away. She was soon lost in the mist which hung over the sea at Cherbourg that morning.

The Customs inspection in France is rather more strict than in other countries but we had no reason to complain of it. A French woman inspector asked Kamakoti about our things. She asked her to open a handbag and, after a glance at its contents, chalk-marked it as also the rest of our luggage. The man whose things were next to ours had to open all his trunks and submit to a meticulous examination of their contents. Perhaps, he was a German!

The North German Lloyds have their own special train to Paris and we had our places reserved in it. With our recent experience of the admirably ordered American railways, we found the journey by this French railway rather irksome. But the scenery on either side of the route was very pretty. Small neat houses, well-cultivated farms, thriving townships, passed quickly across one's vision. Our first view of the pleasant land of France! At about noon the train stops. We are in Paris!

Like the train, the hotel where we put up, seemed cramped in comparison with American hotels. The arrangements here were entirely different. The waiters wore long black coats and one felt that to order anything of these men would be offering them an indignity.

In the evening we went out for a stroll and stepped into a bookshop to get a map of Paris. While Kamakoti was selecting the map, I looked over the books and pictures outside. On the top of the bookstall was lying a volume with the title, in French, "Unexpurgated Edition of the Kamashastra of Katyayana" to whom, by the way, such an authority as Havelock Ellis refers with great respect as one of the pioneer explorers in the science of sex. Evidently it is more read in Europe

than in India at the present day. In an adjoining shelf there were numerous pictures of Parisian interest. Among these were some of women in a state of complete nudity. This is not regarded as obscene in Europe. The European view in matters of sex relationship is markedly different from that of Christian preachers and more nearly the same as that of the Indian people. Our missionary friends have exercised a sort of moral terrorism on Indian minds for the best part of a century while all the time they knew that things were much the same in their own homelands, if, indeed, not a little worse from their point of view. Their doctrine of sin flows like water off a duck's back in Western minds. With far less reason, it has a lowering effect on Asiatics disciplined by centuries of faith in an unseen Principle. An Indian friend domiciled in the United States is never tired of telling his friends in America, that if the Negroes had adopted Islam instead of Christianity lynching would never have been thought of. He himself is a Christian.

Unlike the natives of other European cities, the Frenchman as a rule shows no disposition to help out the stranger in his streets who does not know his language. "Parlez vous francaise?" he asks. When you say no—he shrugs his shoulders and spreads his hands as much as to say nothing can be done for you. It is remarkable that although France is England's next door neighbour and her ally in the War, so few Frenchmen could or would speak English as compared with the other countries of Europe which we visited.

From our hotel in the heart of Paris we were able to see a good deal in the short time we were there. Paris is a noble city with its parks and palaces. There was an air of preoccupation, however, and even anxiety about the people in the streets, and but little of the gaiety which is associated with the French capital in other countries. Was it the resuscitation of the German spirit by Herr Hitler?

Going to our rooms in the evening I heard the strains of a vina and on enquiry learnt that a prince of Nepal and his family were there and that they were frequent guests in the Hotel Mirabeau.

We left Paris by the Rome Express and were at Genoa next afternoon. We were by now fairly familiar with localities in this city and declined the services of the guide who showed us round on our first visit. This man was born and educated in America but for some reason had come to Italy which was the land of his forbears. An American priest—Irish Catholic—told me on the voyage to New York that his guide in Rome recognised him as the Reverend Father who ministered to him when he was an inmate of Sing Sing.

K. N.

A COMMUNIST UTOPIA.

Mr. Emile Burns in his recent book, "Capitalism Communism and the Transition" (Publishers, Victor Gollancz Ltd., Price 5/-), explains the advantages which the Communist state of the future will possess over the capitalist state of the present day. What is more he regards Communism as the only method of solving the present economic tangle. Capitalism, he points out, carries within itself the germs of destruction. Most economists are agreed that progress in the methods of production has far outstripped the prevailing system of distribution. Every government in Europe and in America concerns itself to-day largely with the question of remedying this defect. Mr. Burns' argument that Communism will develop as naturally out of the proleterian struggle with a decaying Capitalist class as the present system developed out of the early struggle with the feudal system does not carry conviction. It is difficult, however, to argue with a Communist who regards the benevolent attitude of some modern states towards the working classes as arising out of a fear of proletarian power, and at the same time condemns displays of force on the part of other states as equally indicative of the approaching death of Capitalism. The Fascist State comes in for severe criticism at the hands of Mr. Burns for doing very much the same things that he excuses in the Soviet Government on grounds of expediency. Mr. Burns is also apt to forget that in contrasting Communist society of the future with present day Capitalism he is comparing an ideal with what is very much a reality.

One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Burns' book is his survey of Capitalist Society. He shows how conceptions which in their day represented certain ideals, are today meaningless. "For example, the conceptions of democracy, of personal liberty and the freedom of speech and of the Press developed out of the struggle of the nascent capitalist class against the fedual system which it had to overthrow. The rising capitalist class set the idea of democracy against absolutism and the arbitrary rule of feudal monarchs; it set the idea of liberty against the restrictions on traders imposed by the feudal lords and the guilds; it set the ideas of equality and the equal righrs of man against fedual privileges and rank; it set the ideas of unrestricted science and philosophy against the trammels of the feudal Church." Now, however, that the working classes have, at any rate according to the Communists, in their turn objected to privileges enjoyed by the Capitalist class these conceptions have acquired a different and more restricted meaning. No one can deny the truth of Mr. Burns' indictment against the limitations placed on the ideals of freedom and democracy in the modern state.

Although in his description of the Communist state Mr. Burns is careful to warn his readears against believing that complete Communism can be attained overnight, yet it is evident from his chapters on the transition period that he regards the attainment of that ideal as a practical proposition. He emphasises the importance of proletarian organisation. To attain the Communist end a vast programme covering the educational, industrial and even social life of the people is enunciated. Fascism, Nazism and everything else is regarded by Mr. Burns as merely the last protest of decaying Capitalism. Communism, with its international programme of abolition of national barriers and wars, and its promise to the individual of equal opportunities for all, is Mr. Burns' conception of the society of the future. Our auther views present day tendencies in Soviet Russia with the eyes of a Marxist. In view, however, of Mr. Burns' rather depressing conclusion that every state will have to undergo a long period of transition with an inevitable series of conflicts between capitalists and the working classes, most of his readers will realise that the coming of the new social order will be delayed for a generation.

5 Year Plan for U. P.:—The United Provinces Legislative Council accepted the resolution of Mr. Chintamani recommending Government to set up a Committee to draw up a five year's plan of economic development in these provinces with instructions to report also on the financial measures necessary to give effect to their recommendations.

IF I WERE TWENTY AGAIN IL

(By Dr. J. T. Sunderland.)

If I were twenty again, I would take care to lay for myself the best foundation possible of physical health. I would remember that a sound mind needs a sound body to make its activities effective. I would ride a bicycle, I would play tennis, I would row a boat, I would swim, I would take long walks; I would do physical work where opportunity offered. If I had muscles like an ox, and plenty of money to pay surgeons to set my broken limbs, perhaps I would play football. I would certainly endeavour in all rational ways to build up for myself a strong, vigorous and healthy body, as a physical basis for my life work in the world. I would not willingly violate any of the laws of life and health. But I would make myself intelligent as to what those laws are, and then I would obey them as the holy laws of God.

If I were twenty I would greatly prize worthy friends and friendships, and would set out to make much of them for all life. That should be counted a great day when a new and noble friendship was formed or an old one deepened. Nor should I have any fear lest friends might not be true. I would determine myself to be true, and that would be sufficient guarantee that they would be.

If I were twenty again I would set out to keep my life in close touch with nature. I would be an observer and a student of nature. "Nature never did betray the heart of him that loved her." I would be her lover fond and true. I would know the secret nooks of the wild flowers, and their times of blooming. I would know the friendly trees and their habits. I would know the birds around me and their songs. I would know the stars above my head, and the mysterious phenomena of the clouds. I would know the winds and the waters. All these should be my associates and prized friends. For nothing, like companionship with nature, can keep the eye bright, the step elastic, the heart young, and make us wise with that wisdom that never grows old.

If I were twenty again, I would set out to lead a simple life—a life as little enslaved as possible by the artificialities and the conventionalities of society. I would make Emerson's motto mine, "Plain living and high thinking," for there is not much high thinking in this world except where there is plain living. I would aim at simple tastes and simple habits; simplicity in clothing, simplicity in food, simplicity in enjoyments. Simple things wear, they do not pall. They are new every morning and fresh every evening. Whereas the elaborate and the artificial give pleasure for a little while, but soon tire us, over-burden us, wear out our lives.

If I were twenty again I wouldn't smoke. I would save the thousand dollars which smoking would cost me by the time I reached middle life and put the money into books. I would preserve a sweet breath, instead of manufacturing for myself a foul one. I would keep my blood pure, instead of filling it with tobacco. I would keep my pulse strong and my heart-beat vigorous, instead of wearing out my pulse, bringing on myself what the doctors call the tobacco heart, and needlessly shortening my life.

If I were twenty, and looked at things as I do now I certainly would not bet; I certainly would not gamble; I certainly would never buy a lottery ticket. I don't believe I would play billiards; and I don't believe I would play cards. Not that there is any harm in billiards of themselves. The game is one that might be commended if it could be disconnected form its associations. But it is hard to conceive of a game more generally associated with drinking, with smoking, with betting in a small way—and sometimes in large ways—and with society that is far from the best. If a young man knows how to play billiards that very knowledge opens the door and almost drags him into low associations. Can any self-respecting young man, whose time, money and character are worth something, afford it? I don't believe he can.

Much the same seems true of cards. Of course cards of themselves are as harmless as any other bits of pasteboard, except for their use. And we can easily conceive of their being used in ways wholly unobjectionable. But two or three things are to be said of them. They are the common instruments of gambling, so that if a young man is a good player it is much more easy than it otherwise would be for him to fall into gambling habits. Still further, card playing affords to the player no physical exercise; it is not carried on in the open air, as such games as tennis are; it is an enormous waster of time; it seems actually to kill intellectual life wherever it goes. There are hundreds and thousands of communities all up and down this country that seem mentally dead; you can't stir up an interest in any intellectual thing; and the cause is cards. The people go to innumerable progressive euchre and other card parties, and the result seems to be the impossibility of creating an interest in anything higher.

It is these evil effects that seem everywhere to be associated with card playing, that makes me class it with billiard playing, and incline me to believe that, on the whole, it is a serious evil, and that the best way to deal with it is to let it alone.

If I were twenty again, I would learn to sing—if I had any musical capacity at all; and if circumstances would allow, I would learn to play an instrument. Music is such an excellent recreation; it fills so important a place in the social circle and the home, and it is such a joy and inspiration in all human life, that I cannot but think young people make a serious mistake who neglect it.

If I were twenty again, I would make distinct provision for the joy side of life. Not that pleasure-seeking is the highest aim of existence. The man who lives simply for pleasure will fail of his object, or he ought to. Nevertheless, pleasure is legitimate in life. It ought to be scattered all along through life. We should not willingly neglect any fitting opportunity to smile, to laugh, to sing, to play with little children, to enter into the joy of others, to notice beautiful objects, to catch the sunshine, to make others happy, and thus find happiness for ourselves.

If I were twenty, with my life yet to be lived, I would set out to walk through this world on my own feet. My feet may not be very good, but they are better than crutches. My intellect may be inferior in strength and vigour to some other man's, but it is the one that God has given me, and I would trust it. "Self-respect" and "self-reliance" are words to be written on the banner of every life, that proposes to achieve worthy ends.

If I were twenty, and knew what I know now, I would dare, I would *dare* to an extent that few young men do. But I would dare in directions in which daring is worth while, and not in those where it is contemptible. There is a kind of daring popular in some quarters that is simply weakness under another name.

A young fellow is challenged by another to fight. There is no good reason why he should fight. To do so will be silly and brutal. But his companions look on and laugh and shout that he is afraid. He hasn't courage to withstand that laugh, and so fights. It is his cowardice that makes him fight, not his bravery.

Splendid as was the heroism of the men who fought the war for the reunion, the anti-slavery reformers were more heroic. It took higher courage to be a Garrison, a Wendell Phillips, or a Thedore Parker, than to be a Grant, a Sherman or Sheridan.

The supreme sphere for bravery in this world is that of the *moral*. There is no other such heroism as that of *duty*.

If I were a young man again, I would set out upon life daring to be on the side of what seemed to me true and right, at whatever cost. No matter how unpopular a cause might be, if it commended itself to me as just, and in the interest of humanity, it should have such support as I could give it. Since God has given me but one life, I would try to make of it something worth while. And that can't be done by playing the shirk or the coward.

If I were twenty again, and saw things as I do now, I would not live for myself alone. I would begin at once planning for some distinct service of my fellows. Many young people of good intention make a mistake here. They wait; they postpone efforts at service. They say: Now we must give all our time to our studies, or to getting a start in business. When study is passed, or when we are well etablished in business, then we shall have time to plan for the helping of others. But will they have any more time then than now? Will they be any less selfish then than now? The very delay will tend to dry up their sympathies. The probabilities are very strong that any of us who allow ourselves to live for ourselves alone now, and to forget others now, will not much improve in any future. Now is the accepted time. Now is the day of salvation. If any of us believe in helpful and unselfish lives, the only safe thing to do is to begin living such lives to-day, no matter where we are or what our circumstances may be.

If I were twenty again, what attitude would I take toward religion? I answer, What attitude could I take except that of interest in it, as something which represents the highest side of human life?

What would my religion be? It could be only one thing, if, going back to twenty, I carried with me the light and experience which I now have. It would have to be that reasonable, that natural, that beautiful religion of the spirit which Jesus taught and which is gathered up into diamond points of flashing light, in the Golden Rule, the blessing craved on enemies, the Lord's Prayer, and the commands to love God and our neighbour. This is the religion which satisfies the reason, the conscience and the heart of man, everywhere. Certainly this is the religion which all that is best within me welcomes, with satisfaction and great joy.

If I were twenty again, would I be afraid of religious inquiry? A thousand times No. Can we believe that God has made it safer for a man to go through the world with his eyes shut than with them open?

If I were twenty again what church would I interest myself in? I would make myself intelligent concerning all I would try to study all with an open mind and a sympathetic spirit. And then, whichever one I found the freest, and in line with the best intelligence and soundest conscience of the time; whichever one I found teaching most clearly and exemplifying best the pure, simple, noble religion of Jesus and the human soul, that church should be my church, and to it, with all my heart I would pledge my adhesion, my love, and my life-long loyalty.

Here I close.

Such, then, is my answer, fragmentary and incomplete, but as full as time permits, to the question, What would I do if I were twenty again?

I shall not become twenty again. God allows none of us to go back to re-tread the road over which we have once passed. Doubtless it is best that He does not. It is better to go forward than back. Courage for the future rather than regrets for the past, is the need of us all. But if any of us who are a little farther along the path than some of the rest, can call back words of suggestion, or warning, or cheer, surely it is well.

WHITHER INDIA?*

(BY WALTER E. CLARK.)

The leaders of Indian Nationalism fall into three well-marked groups which represent three very different tendencies of thought.

The aim of the Liberals has never gone beyond that of colonial self-government. Leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale have been very outspoken in their criticism of Government. Although critical of Government and demanding Home Rule they have drawn the greater part of their cultural background from the West. Their ideal was that of forming an Indian nation, but their democratic and constitutional ideas were drawn from Western writers. Their moderate policy dominated the Indian National Congress until 1915-16. Since then the spread of the other two tendencies of thought and the drift towards non-co-operation or even towards violence has been so rapid that their present role is comparatively insignificant.

The second group, which seems at present to be the most influential one, consists of those who are dominated by a romantic attitude towards ancient Indian civilisation and who work for the revival of a supposed Golden Age of Indian civilisation either in exactly the present form of Hinduism or in a purer form of Hinduism from which many medieval accretions have been removed. Their whole cultural background is Indian, they have great distrust of the West in general, of its political, social, and economic institutions, and especially of its industrialism. Politically they have been dominated by a sort of philosophical anarchism which would minimize the foundation of the state or actually destroy it and leave as the dominating element more or less self-sufficient village organisations and caste groups. The best government is that which governs least. This ideal of merely co-ordinating the social life of groups (of federalizing and decentralizing) is the antithesis of the present Western tendency of extending more and more the principle of the sovereignity of the state until it guides or controls practically all activity within the state. They do not believe that the industrialism of India is inevitable or desirable, and would revert to a rural India. Joined to this is the conviction (as best exemplified by Gandhi) that their task is moral rather than political. The basis for all development consists in the cleansing and purifying of the individual. If individual swaraj (self-rule) is gained political swaraj (self-rule or independence) will take care of itself.

On the whole Gandhi can better be understood from a religious point of view than from a Western political point of view, and his service to India has been greater in this respect than in a purely political respect. He tends to put moral and social

* Reprinted from *Open Court*: *Monograph on India*. Dr. Clark is the head of the Department of Semitic at Harvard University.

conundrums rather than to discuss concrete political problems. His is a nationalism of self-supporting villages and an economics based on the hand-plough and the spinning-wheel. Although politically his influence will amount to little he has been an enormous moral force in Indian society and a rallying-point for the Indian sentiment of nationality. He has striven hard for the removal of untouchability, for raising the social position of the outcastes and low castes, for the prohibition of liquor and drugs, for the removal of purdah (seclusion of women), for the equality of men and women, for Hindu-Muslim unity, for a doctrine of non-killing and non-violence which shall permeate the whole of social and political life. Fundamental in Gandhi during the later part of his development is a revolt against the intellect.

In spite of the presence of large groups of ultra-conservatives who would interpret Hinduism strictly according to the letter of the law and continue it unchanged, there is in this group a widely diffused leaven of indirect Western influence towards the development of Neo-Hinduism marked by the abolishment of untouchability, the raising of the age of marriage, the remarriage of widows, the doing away with purdah (seclusion of women), and social service of various kinds. This is interpreted, however, not as a direct copying of the West but as the lopping off of what are to be regarded as decadent medieval development and the reverting to an earlier and purer form of Hinduism.

Politically the methods of the Romantic Idealist have been partly violent, as in the case of Tilak and his school, and partly nonviolent, as in the case of Gandhi and his followers.

The third group is made up of those who like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and Rabindranath Tagore would make a synthesis of Indian and Western ideas, giving up such elements in Hinduism as seem to be unreasonable and adapting to Indian use such Western knowledge and ideas and institutions as seem to be suitable and reasonable. At present they seem to be overshadowed by Gandhi, but are likely to have increasing influence in the future.

As opposed to those who would see in Indian nationalism only a reactionary religious element dominated by a few Brahman leaders Pal sees the beginning of a real national movement growing out of an awakened consciousness of Indian culture.

Many have argued that India is uncivilized and disorderly and unfit for independence because it has never organised itself into one united and lasting empire. But India is as large as Europe, and although Europe has never developed into a single state Europe is not considered to be uncivilized. There are in India greater racial differences than in Europe. The caste system seems to owe its origin principally to the effort to bring about a political and social co-operation between these racial groups, while preserving so far as possible the racial integrity and the cultural dominance and purity of the Aryan minority without allowing it to diffuse itself through the culture of the aboriginal majority and become completely submerged. The social and religious system of Hinduism, which is a synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian elements, has diffused over India a uniformity which is at least as great as the uniformity spread over Europe by Christianity. Further, the period of British rule has helped to weaken diversities of interest and to form a unity of sentiment based on common needs and common fears which has slowly been developing into a national spirit not only among the various Hindu groups but among Hindus and non-Hindus.

To a considerable degree India has developed a common civilisation, although this has been more incoherent than the closely organized and institutional civilisations of Western nations. India is not yet a nation, but a nation in the making. The forces which might cause groups with varying interests to co-operate towards the formation of a nation seem, at present, to be gaining in strength over those which might cause disruption. The presence of such a large Muhammadan minority whose religion is so fundamentally different from Hinduism, and the fact that one-third of India consists of Native States whose rulers are absolute monarchs constitute the chief difficulty in the situation. There seems to be, however, a growing tendency towards co-operation between Hindus and Muhammadans, and the Native States are beginning to feel a solidarity with British India and to be willing to co-operate with it towards the formation of some sort of a political unity.

I am inclined to think that this growing sentiment of nationalism in India will not result in a simpe democratic nationality but in some sort of a federal nationality of co-operating groups. The ideal of a united democratic India is infinitely remote and the insistence upon this by the British government has served to retard rather than to hasten Indian political development.

The weakest feature of the programme of the Romanticists who now seem to be in control of the situation is their tendency to regard religion as the one great unifying and controlling force in the political sphere. There is need of closer objective practical study of the political, social, and economic interests of all the various communities which must co-operate towards Indian Nationalism. If India is to emerge from her medievalism, a civic spirit and a new humanism must accompany, if not dominate, a purely religious spirit. Even the Synthesists, especially men like Tagore and Ghose, have been dominated by an almost exclusively literary and religious outlook. More than anything else India needs the formation of a new class of Kshatriyas, but one better adapted to the new conditions than the old nobility, which should take the lead in practical affairs and in government and buttressed by men of literature and religion, guide India on her new path.

India's independence, in some form or other, seems to be measurably near. A spirit of non-co-operation may, to a certain extent, be effective against a foreign government, but a spirit of co-operation within Hinduism itself (and co-operation really represents the highest ideal of Hinduism) is the only thing which can revivify a Hinduism which has grown sluggish and stagnant, and a spirit of co-operation between Hindus and Muhammadans, and between British India and the Native States is the only thing which can hasten independence and save an independent India from political chaos.

India will not become completely Westernized socially and religiously and philosophically. There is and there probably always will be a struggle between Romanticists and Synthesists, but India has been brought so actively into the current of world affairs that she cannot shut herself up into seclusion and regain a romantic past. Slowly but surely a synthesis will be made. Many unessential matters in Hinduism, matters which cannot stand the test of a higher critical knowledge, will atrophy, but the basic and essential ideals will stand out only more clearly as a result and are likely to have some formative influence on the West.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar.—Mr. G. K. Devadhar, it is learnt, will preside over the Indian National Social Conference to be held at Madras on the 29th instant.

THE UNTOUCHABLES OF AMERICA.*

(By P. Ganesh Rao.)

The Negro race through hundreds of years of close living and intermingling with the Whites, is far removed from the African type of Negro, both in physical and mental make-up. The African type is a rarity to be found only amongst the few centenarians in the South. The younger generation varies mostly from a dark chocolate brown to a very white shade; there is the 'Creole' in the State of Louisiana, which inherits many of the finer physical characteristics of the French who settled down there long ago and resembles them in many ways, even speaking a peculiar brogue with many a French word. There is the 'Mulatto' and the 'High Yellow'—light in complexion with a tinge of yellow, square-faced and powerful-jawed, with a strong affinity to the Irish, who migrated and settled down in many of the Southern States as farmers. You will find a number of Negroes mixed with Germans and Jews and many other nationalities of Eastern Europe. There are certain peculiarities which can be easily traced to the parent stock. There is the beautiful type of brown Negro which is the product of intermingling with the American Red Indians. The Red Indians, the aborigines of the land, war-like and stalwart, would not yield to the White man even after being subdued. They, in their hatred of the white conquerors, kept aloof and mixed rather with the Negroes. While America is often described as the 'Melting Pot', it should not be forgotten that out of this crucible, one of the newest and strangest of the human races, the new Negro race which has assimilated the best of all the nations, is emerging. He is a new product, something unique, something inexplicable, with vast possibilities and possessing great potential power. He is physically stalwart and heroic, mentally keen and alert, with a conscious pride, generous and forgiving, save when you wound his vanity.

The Negro population is an immense one, nearly 28 millions out of the total of 125 millions, though the Census never puts it at more than 15 to 16 millions. This latter figure has been quoted for the last two decades and yet it is admitted that the negroes double themselves every 20 years, the brown and yellow races in 40 years, and the whites in 80 years. For some mysterious reason, the American negro is kept in a psychological state of 'Inferiority Complex'.

Of this total population, nearly all but a little over a million lived in their native home—the Southern States of Missouri and Missisippi, Arkansas, Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, etc. But during and just after the World War, many moved northwards attracted by high factory wages and got away from the farms and the clutches of the Southern exploiters. The North, with its big industrial centres, offered great scope to these hard working and powerfully built negroes, who did not mind strenuous work as long as they were paid well. Nearly seven millions of them migrated out from the South—the land of darkness, injustice and slavery—to the North which seemed a veritable Heaven!

The American negro has imitated the white man in all his ways. He long ago discarded his strange African language—he adopted the English names of his masters; borrowed the Bible and the Christian religion relinquishing his paganism. He started Negro Religious Orders and Societies such as the Free Mason, Elks, Woodmen, Daughters of Ethiopea, Royal Order of African Princes, etc. His habits and habitats, customs and manners, his ways of thinking are all patterned after those of the Whites. His penchant for sports, for Art, Drama, Music, Dance and Culture in general are all modelled after those of his masters.

History will include the names of many an African flower that blossomed in American soil. African seeds sown and grafted, nursed and nurtured in the sunshine of American Institutions flowered forth adding colour, fragrance and charm to that peculiar American civilisation.

Booker T. Washington, born a slave on a Southern cotton plantation, self-educated and self made, trusted and honoured alike by his white-confreres, famous author of 'Up from Slavery', is a shining example of what a Negro can do. His views were moderate, respectful co-operation with the Whites, accepting and utilising all the available facilities.

The philosophy of his life and teachings are best summed up in his famous words 'throw your bucket where you are' meaning, take the fullest advantage of the opportunities right at your door and then work for more. His maxim was economic freedom first and last. The Booker T. Washington University at Tuskegee, Alabama, is a noble monument to his life-work of spreading education—vocational, technical, industrial and in small Trades and Crafts. It is one of the most fully equipped Negro institutions for Arts, Science, Medicine and Engineering.

Few people outside the group of scientists would ever realise who is the man responsible for so many of the bye-products of peanut. Doctor Carver is credited with discovering the scientific food-value of peanut and also producing over 63 varieties of articles both from the peanut and its shell, practically utilising every part of the fruit.

Drs. DuBois, Abbot and Cook are names with which thousands of people are well acquainted, both in the North and the South. They belong to the moderate school of thought, which has a larger following among the negro intelligentsia and has steady support from the professionals. Springing from humble origins, they have gained enviable positions in their different spheres of life.

Dr. DuBois is a great literary person, who mastered German and French besides possessing a thorough command over English. For his simple poetic style, with a peculiar charm and grace, for threading his thoughts with enchantment and silvery dreaminess, for leading you into the sub-currents of human passions and pathetic emotions, for ploughing into the deep sea of negro life, for sensing the thrill and warmth of a surging flood of colour, there is not a writer, Negro or White, who so faithfully analyses negro life. His 'The Soul of the Black People' and 'Dark Water' are two gems of Negro contribution to American literature.

Dr. Abbot is one of those modern Negroes whose ethics is plain living and high thinking. Coming to Chicago as an unknown youth about two decades ago, he is to-day the most influential character in Negro doings. Though he studied law and was fully qualified for the Bar, he felt the need of the hour and supplied the long-felt want by starting his *Chicago Defender*. In a very short period it rose to be the most powerful weekly with 16 pages of varied matter. It steadily grew in bulk, quality, and circulation till to-day it occupies a foremost place in the American journalistic world.

For its short but able leaderette, its highly valuable articles and suggestions, the artistic taste and orderliness of its 'get-up'—both print and contents—its featured columns of child interest and comic serial with a humane touch; with its sports column, its woman's page, its medical

* Reprinted from *The Indian Review*. Prof. Ganesh Rao has returned recently from America.

article on Health and Hygiene, it was soon hailed as the world's greatest weekly. Dr. Abbot's rise from an oblivious apprentice earning 20 dollars a month to be a millionaire with a beautiful bungalow on one of Chicago's finest Boulevards, a fleet of cars from a Rolls Royce to a Ford, is a drama in itself.

What a galaxy of musical stars this negro race has produced. Masters of Rhythm and Melody, with a controlled and cultured voice with rich and clear tonings, giving rainbow shades and colourings to their voice, deep from the soul-music divine!

Who has heard Roland Hayes, the Georgia Tenor and not felt enraptured, thrilled and lost in ecstacy! Colour, creed and race all shrink back to barbaric crudities when you listen to Hayes' gorgeous and soul-touching music. Charles Garner, an Evanston (Ill) youth, who was discovered and encouraged by Mrs. McCormich the elder, is the son of a poor janitor and is now recognised as one of the greatest baritones. Paul Robeson, who immortalised the song 'Ole Man River' in the famous picture, 'The Show Boat,' is a familiar name in the music world. Erksine Tate, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington are some of the famous leaders of their own orchestras, who have thrilled huge audiences by their sweet music. Sammy Williams —the wonder boy of Chicago West side—gave up his schooling to become the organist at the Million Dollar theatre, the Regal. Clarence Muse, known to theatre-goers as a versatile genius, playing the king and the villain, the man with a dozen faces, unrivalled for his realism in acting, won a profusion of praise from Mary Garden of Royal Opera fame and other Art critics. Sisle and Blake, Myles and Myles, famous produeers of Vaudeville shows, toured the Continent with their musical comedy stars and thus immortalised the American Brown Girl. Bert Williams, William Walker, Billy King are the comedians who have left indelineable impressions in the theatre world. Josephine Baker, the modern Cinderella of the Footlights, was an orphaned, unknown Chicago chorus girl only a decade ago. By her agile feet and slim body, by her vivacity, charm and grace, her individuality both on the stage and outside, her captivating personality, she has danced her way from poverty and obscurity to fame and fortune, crowned as the greatest Queen of Modern Jazz. An Italian Duke bewitched by her brown beauty has married Miss Baker, who is now the hostess of an aristocratic Night Club in the Gay Land of Paris.

In the realm of American Banking, the Houses of Anthony Overton and Jesse Binga are famous. Oscar De Priest, a Chicago realtor, amassed enough fortune to devote his energies to politics and became the first coloured member of that august body, the U. S. Congress, in the Hoover administration. Madame Walker and Madame Melone through manufacturing beauty preparations have amassed huge fortunes in the millions. Jack Johnson, the world's greatest pugilist and one time crowned king of the boxers; Harry Wills, the Brown Panther, whom even Jack Dempsey was careful to avoid meeting in the ring; Kid Chocolate and others are familiar names to sporting fans throughout the world.

While the American Negro has bravely faced the situation and fought his way up against all obstacles, nothing dejects him more than the most hideous bar of colour, that separates him from his just share of civic rights. He resents his treatment as an 'untouchable', for often he is even denied admission into theatres, hotels, hospitals, schools, churches, parks and various other public institutions. Due to segregation in trains, trams bus and station platform, there are separate compartments for the coloured. The spirit of mob rule has asserted itself time and again even in the North and resulted in bloody race riots as in East St. Louis and Chicago. The pages of American history are also darkened with the blood stains of many innocent victims of the Ku Klux Klan. Lynching—a cruel, barbarous and most inhuman sight, a pastime with the 'lily white' American—is more inhuman than the Spanish Inquisition of the Middle Centuries.

Close on the heels of Peace and Armistice in 1918 appeared Marcus Gravey, a West Indian Negro, with militant programme and the slogan 'Africa for the Africans'—people of African origin wherever they be, and dinned into his people the motto 'This is not the time to reason why, Negroes must do or die'. He organised the universal Negro Improvement Association, whose membership and funds ran into the tens of millions and whose programme was viewed with suspicion by the U. S. Government. The White American now woke up to the great danger of the situation. It also shamed some of the fairminded Americans to see this canker eating into the vitals of the nation and they roused the nation, from its lethargy. There are thus to-day inter-racial peace societies preaching tolerance, justice, friendlier co-operation and goodwill to the Negro, and the hope of the future lies in these.

GERMANY AND EUROPE.*

English, French and other continental journals are making great play just now with their reports of the horrors and brutalities practised under the Hitler regime, such brutalities, to quote a recent instance, as that of the young girl who was exposed and ill-treated at Nuremberg, because,—as alleged on the placard she was compelled to wear,—she had offered herself to a Jew. The result of this publicity is to arouse a sense of anger against the culprit, followed inevitably by that pitiful human expression, the desire to administer punishment. We are so ready to play the roles of judge, gaoler and executioner, all of which minister to our sense of power. We never seem to realise that the practice of cruelty is the same sin whether it be the act of the avenger or of the original culprit.

Now we would not seek to condone the Nazi method, which like every form of tyranny represents an evil form of Government and one that must finally defeat its own ends,—since tyranny connotes the exercise of forcible interference with individual speech, action and opinion; and no man is ever the better for, or in any way converted by, punishment unless he be truly convinced that he has deserved it. But if we are to understand the phenomenon of Hitlerism, we must seek its causes with an earnest mind, free from prejudice or any preconceived wish to condemn. The common attitude is that indicated by the opening paragraphs of this article, the desire to treat the symptoms in the belief that their forcible suppression must necessarily cure the disease,—as we did in 1919, with the results that now confront us.

Let us begin by regarding Germany for a moment as if that spirit which is most prominent at the present time represented a single human entity. Now the Germany of 1914 had a tendency, it is an exceedingly common one, to megalomania, to the illusion that she had a magnificent destinity. There were ample grounds for such a belief. Industry, concentration and throughness in all she undertook had brought great commercial and political success. She had a sincere belief in her own "Kultur," and

* Reprinted from *The Aryan Path*.

looking about her she did not doubt that the imposition of her ideals upon her neighbours would ultimately raise them in the scale of civilisation. Indeed it is permissible to argue that if, say, France, Belgium and England had been willing to submit to German rule, the Europe of to-day would have been far happier than it actually is.

Now Germany's belief in herself was not destroyed by the miseries of the War nor by the humiliations that followed, but it was most tortuously warped. If you severely punish a man for something which he, personally, believes to be a virtue, when he is released he will persist in his old opinions, but his subsequent endeavour to give effect to them will have a new element of resentment and anger which will react upon his ideals. And Germany to-day is seeking to revive the spirit that animated her twenty years ago by methods whose increased ruthlessness is due to the fact that she is still in bonds. The Nazi storm-troops represent the spirit of the aggressive young Germany, unpurged by suffering, intent upon reviving an ideal, from which the finer elements have been eliminated by the struggles of the older generation. But no war—for all wars are ultimately an expression of the will to punishment,—would convince Germany of error; and the adverse criticism that veils a threat will stiffen her pride and increase her anger and resentment.

Moreover her chief fault is, as we should naturally expect it to be, the fault of her enemies also. National pride, egotism, self-seeking, however various their expression, are the dominating motives in every country of Europe. When the World-Economic Conference met last summer in London, its efforts produced no result, simply because the delegates, although they may have visualised a common purpose, dared make no personal sacrifice to obtain world-security. America was the most flagrant offender in this respect, but if the outstanding monetary difficulty with regard to the gold-standard could have been settled, no enduring benefit to the world at large would have been effected by the Conference. The Congress as a whole met to cure symptoms not the generative disease; and each country, when it came to matters of detail, was primarily concerned to protect its own interests. There was never from the beginning any evidence that the Representatives at the Conference were prepared to regard themselves as "members of one body" with a common purpose which could be served only by an earnest desire to free that world-body from its evil humours.

Therefore before we condemn Germany, we must be prepared to put our own houses in order, to ask ourselves whether we, also, do not suffer from a national selfishness which in similar circumstances might be intensified till it appeared as a form of madness? And let us go still further than that and ask whether, if such a thing were conceivable, any nation that found itself, after a candid examination, to be without fault would even then be in a position to judge and condemn another? It is certain that unless this stainless nation happened to be our own, we should be exceedingly loath to entrust it with the functions of an arbitrary judge.

Yet, although these statements may be acceptable to those who are able to realise the full implications of all that is meant by such a phrase as the Brotherhood of Man, they would be scorned by the politicians of any country in the world. To make a particular application, let us consider for a moment the use and intention of a phrase, once prominent as a slogan, and one that may very probably be revived in the course of the next year or two. This phrase is "The Mad Dog of Europe."

The intention is admirably clear or it would never have been accepted as a rallying call to the people. The plain intimation is that when a dog goes mad, there is no time to consider side-issues of any sort or kind, the thing is a public danger and must be killed at the earliest possible moment. But, like all such metaphors, it ignores every analogy except the obvious one.

In the first place it arrogates to the user the right of judgment. The madness in question appears so to us, it may be, solely because we are setting up a different standard of conduct as our criterion of sanity. To the German Nation of 1914, England's entry into the war appeared, also, as an act of madness? The description "a mad Englishman" is still current as an expression of European opinion on British mentality. Who, then, in International politics is to be trusted as a safe diagnostician of a nation's madness? It is obvious, in short, that the analogy is not a true one.

In the second place, must we not ask ourselves at the present time whether we may not have any responsibility for the state of mind which if aggravated may presently appear to us as madness? A bull, for example, may go mad when it is confined, and the confinement of Germany has been the prevailing policy of England and France since 1919. Yet those politicians of whom we spoke just now, would never dream of accepting any responsibility should the confined animal burst free and seek revenge on its gaolers. Once again the rallying call would go forth and we should be told that we have no time to consider who set fire to the house when our lives and property are in danger. Thus it is that the politicians and economists of Europe and America, concerned only with that shifting pattern which displays the immediate effects of their policies, plot their moves and countermoves in the game that shall bring victory to one player at the expense of another. Incidentally that expense may include the suffering and desolation of many millions of people; but the cost is never counted until the end has been achieved.

Let us return, however, to this question of the world-sickness so many physicians are attempting to doctor, and try to understand something of the essential disease that is responsible for the symptoms. Politically and economically one primary cause of our illness is the generally accepted principle of retaliation which rules world politics.

Vithalbhai Patel:—Glowing tributes were paid to the late V. J. Patel by several speakers at a citizens' meeting called by the Sheriff and held at the Town Hall this evening, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai presiding, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu moved the resolution stating. "This meeting of the Citizens of Bombay mourns the irreparable loss the country has suffered by the death of Vithalbhai Patel, who, as the first Indian President of the Legislative Assembly, won the respect and admiration of all parties with his mastery of Constitutional Law and practice and who, as a great Indian leader lived a life dedicated to the National cause, and by his indominable courage, steadfastness and spirit of sacrifice has left a precious memory to his country." Maulana Shaukat Ali seconded the resolution, which was supported by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Mr. M. C. Chagla and several others. The meeting also resolved to perpetuate the memorial, and appointed a representative and influential committee to collect funds and to take necssary steps to have a memorial erected.

INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE, 1933.

Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar writes :—

It is some years since the Indian National Social Conference met and deliberated. During the interregnum the country has been undergoing rapid changes in spheres both of thought and of action. New social ideals have been contacted, and new hopes and ambitions are being entertained. The country as a whole has given proof that it is anxious to embark upon a period of active and intensive social reconstruction. In these circumstances the absence of Annual Social Conferences and of an organisation that can function as a Continuation Committee have been felt by many as a handicap. It has therefore been resolved to hold a session of the Indian National Social Conference this year in Madras on the 29th December 1933 immediately after the Indian National Liberal Federation.

An influential Committee has been formed with Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, Retired District Judge, Madras, as Chairman and Messrs. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, M. Ramchandra Rao, O. Kandaswamy Chettiar, Mrs. Venkatasubba Rao, Mr. K. V. Sesha Aiyangar and others as members of the executive committee.

It is hoped that the Conference will be able to assess the new influences that are spreading through the country and that it will give the proper lead as to the attitude to be assumed by the country to these new influences. In view of the difficult times through which Indian Society is passing, in view of the magnitude and character of the social forces that are operating throughout the world, and in view of the uncertainty which surrounds their reactions in India, it will be realised that the present conference is one of importance.

It will also be realised that there is need to concentrate upon constructive voluntary effort with or without state aid in various fields of social work and to steadily educate public opinion so that it may function as an efficient instrument of the progressive social will.

May we request the public to extend its hearty co-operation to the organisers by sending as many delegates as possible.

Suggestions as to the best manner in which the objects of the Conference may be effectuated are invited and may be forwarded to Mr. K. V. Sesha Aiyangar, M. A., B. L., Joint Secretary, Indian National Social Conference 1933, Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.

ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The ninth All-India Educational Conference of the All-India Federetion of Teachers' Associations will be held at Karachi from 27th to 30th December, 1933. Dr. Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, will preside. In addition to the general session the conference will meet in several sections. In the general session of the conference the following topics will be discussed: Creative education, co-education, curricula for girls' schools, teachers' rights and responsibilities, Education and the present problems in India, corporal punishment in schools, Education and unemployment.

In the Childhood Education Section there will be papers and discussions on 'Creative education for children'. 'The Physical and Mental health of children,' 'Practical and Artistic activities in schools' and 'Economical schemes for running nursery and kindergarten schools.'

The sectional meeting of the Vocational Education Section will be held under the presidency of Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, Director of Public Instruction, Bangalore. The following subjects will be discussed: (*a*) Vocational education as an aid to the removal of unemployment; (*b*) need for vocational training in the primary and secondary schools of India; (*c*) a two years' training course of Art and Craft Schools after passing the High School examination.

In the meetings of the Primary and Rural Education Section of the Conference discussion will be held on "Curricula of study in our primary and Rural Schools", 'the duration of the preparatory, Lower Primary and Upper Primary Stages', 'Teachers and Rural Uplift', 'Co-ordination of Industrial education with teaching of the three R's' and 'Apathy of masses towards primary education and suggestions to remove it.'

Other sections of the Conference will devote themselves to Teachers' Training, Health and Physical Education, Experiment and Research, Moral and Religious education, Adult Education, Examination Enquiry, University Education and Secondary Education.

In conjunction with the Conference there will be an Educational Exhibition which will be opened on 26th December. The Exhibition will be open to the public. A Scout rally and physical culture display have also been arranged.

BARODA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

With the prospects of the seventh session of the Indian Oriental Conference, the 15th All-India Athletic Tournaments and the talks of a number of social functions in the air, the public of Baroda are looking forward to a busy week of entertainments during the ensuing Christmas holidays. Elaborate arrangements have been set on foot for the success of the Oriental Conference to be held on December 27, 28 and 29 under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwar.

Over 300 delegates and a large number of visitors are expected to assemble from all over India and abroad. Suitable accommodation for them all has been arranged. The services of a band of efficient volunteeras, composed of college students and boy scouts, have been enlisted to meet the guests at the railway station and conduct them to their respective residences. For the convenience of the guests a well-equipped inquiry office will also be set up at a convenient place to furnish all requisite information.

In addition to the Central Committee of Management, presided over by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan, and consisting of the Members of the State Government, the heads of Departments, the President of the Municipality and others as members, no less than ten sub-committees have been formed with a separate chairman and secretary each to help the general secretary.

The programme of the Conference, which will be presided over by Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, of Patna, includes among other items a dramatic representation of Kalidas' Sanskrit drama *Malvikagnimitra*, a Pandit Parishad and a *Mushaira*. The Conference will be inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja on the afternoon of December 27, at the Nyaya Mandir Hall.

With the exception of the Pandit Parishad, which holds its session on the morning of December 28 at the Tarkeshwar temple, the various sectional meetings and the annual meetings of the linguistic and numismatic societies on the closing day are to be held at the Baroda Arts and Science College. Its Central hall will be utilised for lantern lectures for

all the three days. There will be sports at the State Arena on the afternoon of December 28 and athletic sports on the morning of the 29th for the entertainment of the guests. An exhibition of rare specimens of oriental art, relics, manuscripts, fine arts, etc., will be held at the Museum and Picture Gallery at the Public Park. If sufficient numbers of delegates are forth-coming an excursion trip to Dwarka and Mount Abu will also be organised at the conclusion of the session.

THE COLONIZATION SCHEME.

The Jt. Hon. Secretaries of the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, send us the following:

"The Association will strenuously oppose the Colonization Scheme or any scheme that has for its object the reduction of our people in this country. South African born Indians and the permanent Indian Settlers have pronounced in no unmistakable terms their opposition to Repatriation, Assisted Emigration and to the Colonization Enquiry.

The constant cry of our people against the Government's restrictive legislative and administrative measures received the sympathy of the people of India and the Indian Government, and as a result when the Asiatic Areas Reservation Bill was on the anvil of the Union Government, a Delegation from India came out to help our people. Their intervention resulted in the Bill being shelved. But at what price. The price paid for the shelving of the Mill was the reduction of the Indian population to an 'irreduceable minimum'. The Assisted Emigration Scheme was evolved by the Round Table Conference of 1927, which resulted in about 13,000 leaving those shores for good, the majority of them being South African Indians. But even the Cape Town Agreement did not prevent any further restrictive measures. One of those measures was the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of the Trasvaal, which has become law despite the labours of the Indian Delegation.

In 1932 there came another Indian Delegation who, by agreeing to a Scheme of Colonization, have again resorted to the spirit of bargaining. For, what is the object of the Colonization Scheme, if not the reduction of our people. It would be seen therefore that on every occasion the Indian Government has had to pay a heavy price to obtain slight concesions for those who remain in this country.

The South African born Indians who form 85 per cent of the Indian population of South Africa and those who have made this country their permanent home, say that the time has arrived when they should assert their rights. If there is to be any bettering of their status, they state with emphasis, that it should be bettered without any spirit of bargaining.

A monster mass meeting held at the Durban Town Hall under the auspices of the Association expressed in no unmistakable terms against the present enquiry into a Colonisation Scheme for Indians in South Africa. This was followed by meetings throughout Natal at which there was unanimous opposition to it.

Notwithstanding the stern opposition of the Indians to the Colonization Scheme, the South African Indian Congress which has now practically no following, is still, through its officials, persisting in co-operating with the Union Government in the enquiry.

Our Association has deputed Mr. P. B. Singh, who is now on his way to India where he will inform the people of India the stand of our Association has taken on the Colonization Scheme. He has also been asked to visit the Repatriates who have been sent out of South Africa.

We trust we have clearly stated our case against the Colonisation Scheme.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTICE :—Editors of newspapers and correspondents are requested to address all exchanges and communications to this office to Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay 20, as the office of the *Indian Social Reformer* is being removed to Bandra.

NOTES

The Communal Tangle:—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru made a speech in Benares University in which he denounced in vehement terms the Hindu Mahasabha. The President of the Mahasabha, Bhai Parmanand, in reply asked why the Pandit who was so hard on the Mahasabha for its communalism, had never raised his voice against the communalism of the Muslim League. The Pandit promptly responded by another speech or statement to the Press denouncing Muslim communalists. This brought one of these leaders, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, into the arena. He maintained that Muslims were willing to give up communalism and "become camp followers" of Hindus if their demands were acceded to and that they had made the offer to Gandhiji at the second Round Table Conference but that he had refused it because they would not oppose the demand of the Untouchables for separate electorates as he wanted them to do. Gandhiji is now concerning himself solely with the removal of Untouchability. But he could not sit quiet under this imputation which, moreover, had a bearing on the removal of Untouchability. He did not deny that he wanted the Muslim delegates to oppose the demand of the Untouchables but he brought out the fact that the Muslim delegation, though they were not prepared to oppose the Untouchables' demand for separate electorates—how could they having themselves secured separate electorates?—were ready to remain netrual and let Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar fight out the question. It is not an edifying episode on either side. It is not very safe for the depressed classes to become the earthen pippin between two iron pots. Out of this controversy, we are surprised to see emerge the general denunciation of communalism in the manifesto signed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others, which is published in another column. Whether communalism is good or bad, the National Congress has accepted it and acted on it since 1916. Even the resolution of the Karachi Congress makes provisions for it. Why this sudden change of front now? The persons with whom Congress leaders negotiated and will be glad to come to a settlement, could not be called enemies of the country. One more observation. Pandit Jawaharlal's dislike of communalism is not limited to politics. It has its roots in religious disbelief. There are people who would prefer communalism if the alternative is a nationalism without religion.

Fascism or Communism?:—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru has contradicted his reported statement to certain foreign press correspondents at Delhi that, as between the two, he was inclined towards Fascism. In view of the Pandit's previous declarations this seemed strange as we remarked last week. His repudiation of the Fascist preference imputed to him is definite and categorical. "I dislike Fascism intensely," he says, "and indeed do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost." Pandit Jawaharlal occupies a responsible position in Indian public life and his words are likely to carry more weight than he probably intended them to, outside India. Signor Mussolini from the first has shown great regard for Indian culture and the Conference of Indian students to be held at Rome under his direction is the latest instance of his friendliness. It seems to us regrettable that a responsible Indian leader should go out of his way to cast aspersions on the Fascist movement on an obviously superficial view. Further, it is admitted by even those who share the Pandit's aversion to Fascism as a theory that the Fascist regime has raised Italy in ten years from collapse to the position of a great Power holding at the present moment the key to European peace. It has raised the condition of the peasants and labourers,

too, which is the Pandit's own political objective. Communism has done the same in Russia and by methods not altogether dissimilar. Both have had to employ methods which were "crude and brutal" and it is a question whether Fascism or Communism went farther in this respect. India has an international responsibility whch should not be prejudiced by hasty judgments of the policies of other nations in matters entirely within their competence.

The Setalvad Conference:—We print elsewhere a statement issued by the Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association regarding the decision of a number of gentlemen who met last Wednesday to hold an All India Conference to express dissatisfaction at the contents of the White Paper on Indian constitutional reform and to suggest essential improvements in it. The meeting on Wednesday has been referred to as a Leaders' Conference, while the majority of those present like this writer cannot and do not wish to be known as leaders. There is so far as we know no section of Indian opinion which has accepted the White Paper and is prepared to support it without radical changes. The Secretary of State for India seems to think otherwise and the All India Conference will be able to disabuse him of this belief. If Sir Samuel Hoare is convinced that his scheme has no support from Indian opinion, even of the Moderate variety, and since it is opposed by a strong section in Parliament, he might decide to withdraw the scheme. He would be surprised to know how many people there are in India who would not very much regret it. The All India Conference cannot do anything more than bring home to the British Government that their scheme is unacceptable to India. The moment it steps out of this limit it will be wrecked on the rock of the Communal Award. If it survives this, it must infallibly collapse if the question of so-called "sanctions" is raised.

Missions and Untouchability:—Some days ago the *Dnyanodaya* naively asked why Christian Missions should not co-operate with Gandhiji's campaign against untouchability. We said that the obvious reason was that Missions wanted to convert people while the Servants of Untouchables Society is opposed to proselytism. The question was put to Gandhiji at Jubbulpore and his answer was that Missions could co-operate with the Society if they subordinated their aims to its, namely, the suppression and eradication of untouchability. "I invite the aid of agencies like yours in this work," he is reported to have said: "This is the right way. But there is also the wrong way. You may choose to work independently. You may have (in view) the conversion of Harijans to Christianity. You may see in the movement a chance for propaganda. If you work among the Harijans with such an aim, you can see that the very end we have in view will be frustrated. If you believe that Hinduism is a gift, not of God but of Satan quite clearly you cannot accept my terms. You and I would be dishonest if we did not make clear to one another what we stand for." To be just, there are very few Missionaries who now think that Hinduism is a gift of Satan. At the same time, they are far from convinced that it is the gift of God. If they were, there will, of course, be no reason for Missions. In this position, it will save much future misunderstanding and even bitterness if each went its own way. The experience of such alliances in the past has been far from happy. The "untouchables" also stand to gain by there being two parallel bodies working for their uplift.

Overdoing Cricket:—The Quadrangular Cricket matches which used to be played in Bombay had degenerated in to annual communal squabbles and many people were glad to see them abandoned. We had last week in Bombay a so called Test between a team of English players who had come all the way from England for no other purpose and one of Indians. We have not yet been able to ascertain what this was intended to "test." It has been a good test of the capacity of thousands of the Bombay public to enjoy the sight, without exerting themselves in any way for hours together. *The Times of India* was so carried away by its enthusiasm as to proclaim this match as a turning point in history. Others, including some Indians, think that the playing of the match would have an immediate influence on the White Paper scheme. A West Indian player called Constantine who seems to be a prominent figure in Test matches, has said that "Test cricket today is no sort of game. It is a battle." An opinion which has gained the support of another player, a South African called Bell. We are not against sports as a relaxation from the daily toil. But to make them the principal occupation of one's life is surely wanting in a sense of proportion. It must have been surprising to many to see thousands of people able to pay for their seats in this time of depressions. As for their employment, the employers including Government seem to have thought the witnessing of the match more important than getting through their normal business. Even offices which would refuse to give leave to a man to attend on his dying father, gave *carte blanche* to their employees to come or not as they like. We cannot say that we regard such enthusiasm for sport as a very healthy sign. Thoughtful men in England view with concern the place which games and doles have come to occupy in the national life. The importance of sports as providing a link between nations has often been exaggerated in the past. In view of the recent squabble between Australia and England arising out of the last Test matches between representative teams of these two countries, however, the argument can no longer be seriously advanced. At any rate India and England have already too many grounds of disagreement for us to risk adding one more.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 23, 1933.

"INDIA MARCHES PAST."

On Friday last week one of the local newspapers published a message to the effect that the book "India Marches Past" by Mr. R. J. Minney was prohibited from being imported into this country. Next day, we bought a copy of it from a reputable firm of Bombay booksellers and publishers. The book is forbidden to be imported but there is no prohibition of the sale of the several scores of copies of it which were already imported and are lying on the hands of booksellers. This is one of the most glaring instances of the futility of these bans. The horse has usually been long stolen when the stable door is closed with a bang. This is not the worst of it. We had never heard of this book although it should have come to India several months back, seeing that it is stated to be the second impression; and we generally keep ourselves in touch with new books relating to India. But for the ban, in all probability we would not have gone to the expense (18 shillings) of buying this book whose intrinsic worth is less than that of waste paper. The book is a cross between the late Sir Valentine Chirol's quarter of a century old book on "Indian Unrest" and Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India." "India Marches Past" Mr. Minney's readers in a series of scenes adapted to the intelligence of the tourist who wants to taste the worst of every country which he passes through. The circumstances in which and the means by which, British rule was established and the basis on which it has all along rested in this country, are set forth with the detachment and insight of a historian in Seeley's "Expansion of England." To one who has read these essays, Mr. Minney's account must appear to be a silly joke. Even Mr. Valentine Chirol's book with its undoubted literary merit (which is entirely absent from Mr. Minney's book), in the light of subsequent events, seems a melancholy example of misused talents. Sir Valentine really wanted to help to create a good understanding between India and England. In many striking passages he deplored the growing estrangement, even at that time, between the two peoples and made suggestions to bridge the gulf. If Mr. Minney has any such intention, he has effectively concealed it. Miss Mayo also pleaded at different times different motives to account for her authorship of "Mother India". None of these was the vilification of the Indian people as an end in itself. This is apparently Mr. Minney's sole end in this as in his previous little book on "Shiva", one of the Hindu Trinity.

We do not care to follow the author in his pseudo-history which takes up more than one half of the book. The second part of the book is headed "Fetters". The first and greatest fetter, according to Mr. Minney is Hinduism the next is Sex, and the third is Ignorance. Here is a specimen of Mr. Minney's style and his resources of religious criticism. "As a God Shiva is rather a disreputable figure. He is himself a thief, a robber and a deceiver; and his passion for blood seems insatiable. At one time every rascal and murderer committed his vilest crime with Shiva's presumed benediction." Vishnu, the second of the Hindu Trinity, is fortunate enough to earn Mr. Minney's approbation. But his account of one of the Vaishnava sects is grossly libellous. He has generalised from what was exceptional even fifty years ago. His way of dealing with the Hindu Deity reminds us of an old orthodox Hindu's denunciation of the Christians' God as immoral, forgetful and bloodthirsty; immoral, because He begat a son on the wife of another man; forgetful, because He forgot in so doing one of His own commandments given to Moses; bloodthirsty, because He required the sacrifice of His only begotten son upon the Roman Cross as an expiation of the sins of men, born and unborn. If people read the Scriptures for the purpose solely of discrediting the religions of which they are exponents, they will get only a distorted conception like Mr. Minney of Shiva and the Hindu of the Christian God. How does the Thug's asking for the benediction of Shiva or Kali differ from the Churches' blessing the murderous operations of War? What did the Thugs do which Christians in the Great War did not do? The Christians did everything which the former did on a tremendously larger scale, it is true, but does that affect the moral issue? In addition, they carried on a propaganda now admitted to have been lying. In the matter of sex, we may remind Mr. Minney that the idea of Man as sex-centred is the latest contribution of Europe, while the East continues to cherish its old "superstition" that God is the centre of the Universe and of Man as a part of it. Mr. Minney, it need be hardly said, makes the most of the existence of Untouchables as a Hindu iniquity, enforcing his account with the parenthetical remark that "among the Untouchables are the loveliest women in India." But neither in his disquisition on this evil nor in his numerous denunciations of Gandhiji, does he refer even parenthetically to the Anti-Untouchability movement or to Gandhiji's efforts to rid Hindu society of this evil custom.

Mr. Minney devotes only a few pages of his book to Islam but even in that narrow compass he manages to display his crass ignorance of its contents. Contrasting it with Hinduism he says that "it lacks even the mysticism that many Western creeds possess." He has evidently never heard of the Sufis, for instance, who are not far apart from the Vedantists in the profundity and daring with which they seek to penetrate to the heart of the Universe. His references to the Arabian Prophet are not more complimentary than his characterisation of Shiva. Of the

religion of Zoroaster, his idea is very simple. "They (the Parsis)," he writes, "form economically a formidable body for the essential of their creed is prosperity. No poverty is ever encouraged (*sic*) among them, for every Parsi provides through a committee for those financially embarassed."

As for the third "Fetter" 'Ignorance', it is surely unjust to make Brahmans responsible for it while the British have been collecting and spending the taxes and administering the country for over a hundred and fifty years. To claim that all credit for what is good should go to the British and the discredit for all that is bad should go to Brahmins, is not fairplay—it is not "cricket."

He holds up as models for India to follow Japan, Kemalist Turkey and even Soviet Russia. He places the Emperor Aurangzebe's attempt "to stamp out" Hinduism in this category. That it not only failed but broke up the Empire does not deter him from blaming the British Government for proclaiming the policy of religious neutrality. That is perhaps the chief reason of the belated ban on the importation into India of Mr. Minney's book.

OUR TRIP TO AMERICA.—XV.

HOMEWARD BOUND.

The Victoria after our experience of the Rex and the Bremen and the roomy railway carriages of America, shrunk to small dimensions. The decks and cabins felt inadequate and the portholes, little apertures. The bath rooms when closed became uncomfortably stuffy. The proprietors of the ship should really do something to improve the ventilation of the bath rooms. For all this, we were really glad to be once again on this beautiful ship and to tread again its familiar corridors. The company on board was an epitome of India as she should be. Hindus, Parsis, Muslims, Christians, men and women, politicians, businessmen, officials, students and gentlemen at large, all thrown together, comprised more than one half of the passengers. There was a Prince, too, a real, authentic one in the person of the Yuvaraj of Mysore. His Highness made himself as inconspicuous as he could in dress and deportment and moved familiarly among his fellow passengers and shared in their pastimes. He had for companion a high officer of the Mysore State, Mr. Ramiah, a hot-gospeller of optimism on an eliminative diet. His genial, energetic personality made him one of the centres of attraction during the voyage. It was a severe shock to learn of his sudden death of heart failure exactly a month after our landing.

There was a special vegetarian menu this time at all the meals. The Steward explained that this arrangement was made as there were several vegetarians among the passengers. In addition to this, the vegetarians had poories and bajyas frequently supplied to them by the bounty, as we learnt later, of Mr. Shantidas Askuran.

We were delighted to see, in the list of passengers the names of our very dear friends, Sir Akbar and Lady Hydari. When people talk of the inherent antagonism between Muslims and Hindus, I always think of the intimate friendship which has subsisted between our families now over thirty years. When a grievous bereavement threw its dire shadow on our home, it was under the Hydaris' hospitable roof that we sought peace and rest and got them in overflowing measure. It is not as if Hydari and I had no differences. Even in the boat, our discussions were sometimes prevented from wandering into controversial topics by the warning voice of Lady Hydari who would bid us change the subject. The bonds which bind Hindus and Muslims together are strong enough to bear the heaviest strain. People who calculate upon the differences which are most prominent to the observer from outside, have a great disillusionment ahead of them. The existence of fundamental differences between Muslims and Hindus is all a myth. Women are the repositories of the deepest instincts of communities. Hindu and Muslim women have the same ideals, react identically to new influences and, wherever they have the opportunity, they always act together. That is why the Women's Movement in India has sternly set its face against communal principles being introduced in Women's Franchise. This, indeed, is the hope of India: the beam in darkness.

The ship stopped for a few hours at Naples. A large number of people crowded along the passage, several of them looking remarkably like, in dress and features, our Bandra Christians. They were Catholics. Having seen Vesuvius on our previous halt at Naples, we joined this time the excursion to the buried city of Pompeii. There are one or two coral factories on the way. Several of the articles made here are of very delicate workmanship. The lava from Vesuvius is also utilised in artistic ways. I bought a pair of sleeve links with a classic face from Pompeii carved in lava. It was a pretty little present but not, as it proved, very durable. We had a large company and a valuble guide to show us over Pompeii. The first thing that strikes an Indian here is the smallness of everything as compared with ancient ruins in his country. In an open letter to Ruskin published in his "Choice of Books", Frederic Harrison showed that praise of the past was often based on ignorance of facts. Among other proofs, he pointed out that the old armour in the Museums were found too small for the modern European. I was reminded of this when I saw the houses and halls so far as they are traceable amidst these ruins. The streets are as narrow as some of the oldest streets of Benares or the covered market at Shikarpur. They are made of hard stone leaving two ruts for the old Roman cars drawn by horses or oxen. There are baths—a favourite resort of the ancient Romans until they were converted to Christianity. There are theatres—one for tragedies, the other for comedies, the latter built, we were told, by the Emperor Philosopher, Marcus Aurelius. There are the temples to the Roman gods and goddesses. In one of them we were shown a beautiful bust with an open mouth as if in the act of speaking. The guide said that it was found that through a tube from below the priests used to give answers to questions which issued as oracles from this face. As we were going round, the guide stopped at one place and requested the ladies of the party to step on one side. We did not quite understand why he made this distinction until he explained that the next two rooms were to be seen by men only. Some women demurred to this departure from the single standard. An American couple had some discussion and I heard the husband tell his wife as he left her that "he will tell her all about it afterwards." I myself had some qualms about visiting these rooms as I hold as a general principle that what can not be seen by women should not be seen by men also. But with some hesitation I decided to visit this place as a piece of ancient history. These rooms would seem to have been intended as a resort for men and women who for reasons of their own could not met in their respective homes. The bed rooms reminded me as

nothing so much as the cells of the monks in the Kanheri and other Buddhist caves. But the attraction of these rooms was the pictures on the walls illustrating how ancient Roman men and women conducted themselves in their most intimate moments. The artistry was, of course, perfect; but there was little refinement or delicacy much less reticence in these figures. I was involuntarily reminded of Mr. Jamnadas Bajaj's public warning to the people of Puri two years ago that unless they made short work of "obscene" decorations on the walls and towers of the temple of Jagganath, they would not have the privilege of welcoming the National Congress. I wondered what he would have said to these Roman relics which are preserved and shown to tourists as curiosities, whereas no worshipper who goes to a Hindu temple thinks of inspecting the carvings on the walls and still less on those on the *gopurams* where they are invisible except through a telescope. The Portuguese Catholics in their religious frenzy mutilitated the figures in the Elephanta caves but the Pompeii figures are left unmolested in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican.

We had intended this time to land at Port Said and see something of Cairo and the Sphinx and the Pyramids before joining the ship at Suez. But no arrangements could be made as the hours when the boat touched these parts were unsuitable.

In passing the Suez Canal the "Victoria" was frequently held up in order to allow not only mail steamers but even cargo ships to pass. There are what may be called "sidings" at frequent intervals where ships wait to make way for others, the Canal being too narrow for two ships to go abreast. The voyage through the Canal is always tedious. This time it was more so than usual. Then, the flies too made their appearance, sure harbingers of the East.

We stopped at Aden for a few hours. A radio from home welcoming us back. From then, there was no thought for anything but getting home as soon as possible. There was a mock trial of the Captain for making the passengers so comfortable during the voyage as to food, entertainments and so on, that several of them had put on weight. The indictment was carefully drawn up by Mr. T. K. Rajagopalan, Chief Auditor of the G. I. P. Railway. Sir Akbar Hydari presided with great solemnity over the trial and, acquitting the Captain of the offence, awarded him four bottles of the best champagne that could be had on board as compensation with the proviso that they should be opened only after the "Victoria" arrived safely at Ballard Pier!

At four in the morning I was up. The Bombay Light House was flashing in the distance. Next came the lights of the city. The Victoria slows down to take in the pilot. Now we are at the Pier. I am peering into the crowd to see Bhavani and Swaminath. But they were already in the ship and at my elbow, with my nephew, Bala, close behind.

K.N.

The New Law Member :—Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Kt., Advocate-General of Bengal, is to be a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in succession to the Hon'ble Sir Brojendralal Mitter, K. C. S. I., when the latter vacates the office. Sir N. N. Sircar has been Advocate-General of Bengal since 1928. He practised for some time as a pleader at Bhagalpur in Bihar. From 1902 to 1903 he was a member of the subordinate judicial service. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. He was a delegate to the Joint Select Committee.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM IN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES.*

(By K. Natarajan.)

What is known as the communal problem is just twenty-five years old. The ancient Hindus admitted newcomers through the land route into their fold. Greeks, Scythians and others were so admitted. The Maga Brahmins also called Saka-dvipa Brahmins, who are considered specialists in Astrology, and have their chief centre in Khunberia in the District of Midnapur, are descendants of Iranian missionaries. The Saka-dvipa Brahmins live in separate quarters in other cities also in Bengal. The caste system enabled the entrance of newcomers into the Hindu community without their having to renounce any of their old customs and practices.

Even this formality was dispensed with in the case of immigrants by the sea route. They did not become Hindus but remained outside the fold and continued to practise their own religion and social customs under the protection of Hindu rulers. Grants of land and privileges were conceded to them. The Jews who migrated to India after the destruction of the second Temple at Jerusalem, the Syrians in Travancore and the Parsis in Gujarat are prominent instances. It is not generally known that before Muslims came to India as invaders, close cultural and commercial contact existed between India and Arabia. The Arabs were honoured guests of the Rajahs of Malabar — so much so that one of the Zamorins ordered that one male member of every family in his realm should embrace Islam. Under this ancient system, people of diverse races and religions, and tribes and sects within the same religion, lived side by side as good neighbours participating in their joys and sorrows though marriages and family relations were confined to their own groups. The establishment of Muslim rule did not materially affect this *modus vivendi*. Muslim rulers very soon adopted this ancient national policy as their own; and, since the reign of Akbar, the Moghul Empire was accepted in the whole country as a national institution. The bigotry of Aurangazebe is usually believed to have broken with this policy and brought about the downfall of the Empire; but recent researches show that this view may have to be considerably modified. The traditional policy was followed in British India as a matter of course and up to a quarter of a century back there was no communal problem in this country.

Till twenty five years ago there was a single citizenship for all natives of India. It was embodied in the Queen's Proclamation in the declaration: "We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal protection of the law." This basis of Indian citizenship was annulled by the declaration in 1906 of the late Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and tradition of the communities composing the population of this continent." Its wisdom and justice apart, Lord Minto's declaration was a radical departure from the policy laid down in the Queen's Proclamation. There have been more communal conflicts during the last twenty five years than in the previous fifty years. During the last four or five years, they have extended to

* Being an amplified summary of an address at the Bombay International Fellowship.

Indian States. The official view is that the prospect of the government of the country being transferred to Indians, is the main cause of the present acute Differences. The popular view is that the institution of separate electorates for Muslims in pursuance of the Minto declaration which made religious belief the measure of political rights, is the main cause. Anyhow, we have here the communal problem.

The situation in the States in respect of communal divisions may be indicated in a few words. The total population is about 120 millions. The cent per cent Americans, that is, the descendants of the first settlers, are about 47 millions. About 36 millions are composed of persons who were born in foreign lands or both or one of whose parents were foreign born. There are no statistics of the population whose grandparents or more remote ancestors immigrated to the States. There are 10 million Negroes. Before the great war, immigrants from European countries offered little resistance to Americanisation, though even then several groups clung to the culture and traditions and language of their native land. Since the War and due to the emphasis laid by the Versailles Treaty on the ethnic basis of nationalism, these European groups have become actively self-conscious. The Universities are responding to this new development by opening special German, Italian and other faculties. All citizens are equal in the eye of the law. They have the same rights and privileges, the same opportunities. Nevertheless there has not been a single Catholic, German or Italian elected to the presidentship all these years. The political power is firmly held in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon element and the Irish. If the Indian policy were applied to the States, there would have to be reservations of seats according to population, if not separate electorates, for Negroes, and the score of other nationals who constitute the population. This may be a good thing in itself but the States will in that case be different from what they are now. In official and Anglo-Indian journalistic parlance, there are no Indians now; only Hindus, Sikhs, Mahomedans, Parsis and so on. It will be the same in similar conditions in America. America will cease to be a nation. She will become a geographical expression.

The American communal problem is more difficult and complex than the Indian. The minority communities of India have lived together for a thousand years. They have no other country to which they can look as their motherland. Their culture is predominantly Indian. Their spiritual home is India.* On the other hand, the American communities have lived together at the utmost for two centuries. They are drawn from lands which have their traditions, languages and cultures flourishing under their own national Governments in Europe. The relations between the nations of Europe tend to be reflected in the relations between the immigrant communities. There is constant commercial and cultural intercourse between the United States and the countries from which the immigrants come. The conditions of communal problem are thus more difficult in America notwithstanding that the European races, generally speaking, have adopted the economic as the ruling principle of life.

Let us now turn to the forces at work to solve the problem. In India Government even if it were anxious is without the power of promoting unity. Having its centre far from the scene of administration its very efforts to smooth differences often tend to accentuate them. The deficiencies of Government are not made good by private action, because each community is absorbed in its own affairs and there are few men and women in any of them who take a rational view of the communal problem. There is a school which denounces communalism as an unmitigated evil. Its influence is bound to be slight because the vast mass of the population regards its community as its greatest protector. The other school is unable to look beyond the community to the country, or else it believes that it is serving the country by serving its community. In the United States, the situation is entirely reversed. The State recognises no religious or communal differences. It gives equal rights to all. It favours none on account of historic importance or martial qualities. Every community knows that its position depends entirely on its own contributions to the common well being and exerts itself to make it as large as possible. The English language accepted by all as the language of the country and the nation, is the language of political freedom. There are also a considerable number of influential men and women who are engaged in social work extending to all communities and calculated to create the sense of common citizenship among them.

We, too, in India are not without gleams of light. The younger generation and the women of all communities intensely dislike communal rivalries and wish to work as one people for the good and greatness of the country. The Bombay International Fellowship is itself engaged in the same national service.

* The late Maulana Mahamed Ali who was buried at the mosque in Jerusalem as he wished, in an exceptional case. The vast majority would wish, like Vithalbhai Patel, to have their remains deposited in India, if they happen to die in a foreign land.

ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(By Margaret E. Cousins)

The newspapers report that the British people are in a state of concern because a man was hanged by mistake in the Lahore jails. The Indian people in whose blood is the belief in "Ahimsa", in whose philosophy is the belief in the sanctity of life, are still more shocked and concerned. The incident is appalling to contemplate. But, is not the whole subject of legalised murder by hanging still more thrown into prominence by the possibilities of the occurrence of such mistakes? Is hanging necessary at all? Is not the death penalty an evidence of barbarity and revenge? Is it useful even as a deterrent? Does India want to continue it?

My recent experience of the system of legalised murder has branded the horror, the shame, the uselessness of it into my soul, and the risk of mistake in it. The group of Civil Disobedience prisoners in the Women's Jail in Vellore lived in cells in the same line as the small block called "the condemned cells." For almost three months one young woman of about twenty-two years old was in one of those cells under sentence of hanging while she awaited results of appeals she made to three high authorities for the commutation of her sentence. She made a favourable impression on all who saw her or talked to her. She denied her guilt. But her appeals were not granted. We knew the night before that she was to be choked out of existence the next morning in the presence of the staff. There is a telepathy in jail, as in all parts of India, despite all precautions of administrative secrecy. We knew that she was perfectly calm and brave as she walked to the gallows and that her last words were her affirmation of her innocence and her belief that God would punish the guilty person. The existence of a system of punishment which allows no chance of life to such a person is self-condemned. All that day, and for days afterwards, I went about in shame. I

felt that our social system had degraded everyone of us in being a party to such a brutal, disgusting murder in cold blood, and with official ceremonial. We were shocked beyond measure and awakened out of our ignorance and thoughtlessness about the system of capital punishment, which the public is party to as long as it does not agitate for its abolition.

There is a great duty laid on intelligent political prisoners who have first-hand experience of this horror of hanging in the Men's and Women's Jails in all Provinces to lead a movement for the removal of the death penalty from the law of this land.

It was with deep happiness that I saw in the newspaper some weeks later that Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh has introduced a Bill in the Assembly to abolish capital punishment, which is now awaiting ballot opportunity for discussion. Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and some of the States in America have abolished the death penalty. They have found no increase in crime as a result.

Last year the Maharaja of Nepal announced by Proclamation that capital punishment would not be inflicted for an experimental period of five years as it was entirely repugnant to Indian ideals. Thus one Indian State has already set a precedent for the rest of the country. Lord Buckmaster, Ex-Lord Chancellor of England, is one of these who has rooted opposition to capital punishment. He is not satisfied as to its being a deterrent. The opinion of a man of such experience should weigh for much.

Our experience in jail showed us that the "life sentences" to which a death sentence had been commuted had always resulted in good. There were over fifty such "lifers" in Vellore and they were the finest citizens of the Jail. The long term which usually works out to about fifteen years gives them opportunities of rising in positions of responsibility.

Human beings have no right to take life. It is illogical for the law to enunciate this principle and then order its own minions to do the very thing it condemns. Often innocent people are hanged and there is no reparation. The whole process of the hanging or electrocution is degrading and demoralising to the executioner, the jail superintendents, the jail doctors, men and women and jail staffs of jailors, warders, matrons and wardresses. It deprives the culprit of all opportunity of improvement, and we have seen how men and women make good when given time and disciplinary circumstances, for their crimes had been due to passionate frenzy, or lack of realisation, or pressure of intolerable circumstances, rather than sheer evil of nature. No man or woman should be deprived of the chance of making good. The harshness of the death penalty coarsens public sentiment also, and is but a relic of an age of barbarity.

This is a moment in which the public of India should raise its voice in support of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's Bill. Resolutions should be passed at all the Social Reform Conferences now being arranged, at the Women's Conferences and at public meetings people should call on their representatives in the Assembly to vote for the Bill and those who have been in jail when an execution took place and who have been awakened to its degradation of the whole human society should be in the forefront of the agitation for the abolition of legal hanging in this country.

THE REVOLT.

(By H. P. Dastur.)

[All words in double inverted comas are quotations from Tagore's poem 'The Beginning']

The world is in the grip of a revolt. In the midst of its heat and chaos stands man, sweating, swearing, and like an animal at bay, gnashing his teeth at all and sundry. On its brink sits woman, wondering, weeping, and like an imprisoned angel, praying for the welfare of her mad child. And over such darkness of the world's black night a poet, like a messenger from Heaven, drops a beautiful soft light,—a melodious pen-picture of baby spirit. The baby asks the woman, "Where do I come from, where did you pick me up?"

She answers, "You were hidden in my heart as its desire, my darling."

But man, modern man of machine-made age, what need has he of poetry either of words or of motherhood. He says, no. Baby shall be picked up, says he, from its specified pigeon-hole in his mechanic shop of birth-control with its proper number and correct time broadly labelled on its front and back.

The man snarls, the woman sighs, the baby cries, and the revolt spreads on and on.

"You were," continues the woman, "in the dolls of my childhood's games; and when with clay I made the image of my god every morning, I made and unmade you then."

But to man all these are silly sentimentalities. While she sits, he argues, playing her games and making images, he has to find food for them all. He decides she shall make no other images than what he may allow.

"You were enshrined," goes on the woman, "with our household deity, in his worship I worshipped you. In all my hopes and my loves, in my life, in the life of my mother you have lived. In the lap of the deathless spirit who rules our home you have been nursed for ages."

But, says man, if he too is to waste time in worship who is to attend to all his countless machines, rich products of his high intellect, at once the strength and wonder of his glorious civilization? All his hopes, all his loves, all his life, the life of all his ancestors have striven hard to gain over-lordship of the world. He swears by all the tin-gods that his machines can make that he will hold on to it at any cost.

The man snarls, the woman sighs, the baby cries, and the revolt grows fiercer still.

"When in girlhood," says the woman, "my heart, was opening its petals, you hovered as a fragrance about it. Your tender softness bloomed in my youthful limbs, like a glow in the sky before the sunrise. As I gaze in your face, mystery overwhelms me; you who belong to all have become mine. For fear of losing you I hold you tight to my breast. What magic has snared the world's treasure in these slender arms of mine?"

But man feels that at the zenith of the glory of his civilization, these baby-brats hover about it as a nuisance, and woman's hysteric fits cloud the sunshine of its greatness. From the high pedestal of his material success, as he gazes down on her, his most favourite slave and most wanted, doubts assail his power-intoxicated brain. He so fears he may lose her, his most precious possession, his greatest pleasure. And so, while his artful hypocrisy eloquently pretends to be ardently wanting to liberate her from an age-long slavery, his insatiate lust and its godless creed stealthily tighten their stranglehold

on her with the help of the barren mechanics of birth-control.

The man snarls, the woman sighs, the baby cries and the revolt grows so terrific, in its lurid-red heat man's whole civilization melts down, and like a molten lava rolls down the valley of retribution, threatening to devour man himself. Man flees for his very life. At the brink he meets woman. For sheer safety he runs into her open arms. 'My child,' she cries, hugging him close to her bruised heart, 'my lost child come back to me.' And while her torn breasts make a pillow of peace for his feverstricken head, her now liberated soul sends up a prayer of thanksgiving. She forgives him, forgives him all, forgives him completely. What else can a mother do. A sick child, she argues, needs more mothering not less.

Her forgivance is his deliverance and baby's joy. The revolt ceases, and from its fertile ashes a new humanity springs up to people the world with the poet's baby-spirit.

CHINA TODAY.*

(By Dr. Y. Y. Tsu.)

We are in the midst of another period of intercultural contact of China and the outside world. Once more her civilisation is in a state of flux. Thought patterns, modes of living, time-honoured traditions and institutions, all are under-going far-reaching transformation. Changes in the form of government, momentous as they may be, are accompanied by more fundamental changes in ideology, in the outlook on life, and in intangible realities, such as tastes and standards, beliefs and loyalties, which make up the spirit of a new age.

The present period of intercultural contact began in the middle of last century. The leading industrial nations of the West were then looking for foreign markets to absorb the output of their factories; and as Asiatic countries were unindustrialized, both diplomatic and forceful means were used to open up these countries to foreign trade. Because of lack of modern scientific and technical knowledge, the Chinese were placed at a disadvantage in these political and economic relations, and to remedy the situation, the government took steps to encourage the study of foreign languages, translation of scientific books, sending of students abroad, and employment of foreign experts.

The main trend of thought in China today is realistic, scientific, and humanistic, with emphasis on the social objective, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." As to philosophy in the proper sense of the world, sufficient time has not elapsed for any new system to appear. Principal attention is given to a reinterpretation of the traditional schools of thought—Confucianist, Taoist, Buddhist—in the light of the new knowledge that has come from the West. Between the traditional schools of thought and the infiltration of Western philosophical ideas, certain significant tendencies may be noted. Reference has been made to the emphasis on the scientific method, or the emphasis on what is factual, which means first-hand knowledge as contrasted with book learning or mere speculation. This note is not entirely new; Yen Shi-Chai (1635-1704) long ago had sounded it.

Confidence in science has become an all-absorbing faith. Science is looked upon as the magic key that will ultimately open all doors of knowledge, solve all mysteries of the universe, and eliminate all the ills of life. William James somewhere in his writing referred to the dogmatic attitude of undergraduates about the omnipotence of science, so that to stop an argument all that was necessary was to call a man unscientific. Such an attitude prevails in China at present. An eminent thinker once publicly stated that philosophy was poor science, and theology, poor philosophy—a statement reminiscent of Auguste Comte's three stages of intellectual progress.

The assumed supremacy of science raised the question of the relative position of science and philosophy in the business of living. In 1923 a heated public debate was launched in the press; a dozen well-known writers and thinkers took part in it. It started with a lecture on the philosophy of life by Carson Chang, professor of philosophy at Yenching University, who maintained that, as science dealt with the objective world and with uniformities and averages whereas a man's philosophy of life was subjective, volitional, and individualistic, it was a sphere in which science could play but a small part, in which, however, personal influence and choice counted most. China's philosophers, from Confucius and Mencius down to the rationalists of the Sung, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, had emphasised this discipline of the inner life, and the result was a spiritual civilization. Europe, during the past three hundred years, had emphasized man's control of nature; the result was a materialistic civilization, which culminated in the catastrophic world war. China was at the fork in the road; she would have to choose which way to go; the key to the situation was an adequate philosophy of life.

This deprecation of science was strongly objected to by Dr. V. K. Ting, eminent geologist, who regarded Chang's thesis as a revival of medieval metaphysics. He considered the pursuit of science an excellent means of self-discipline; according to him, it would not only break down prejudices, but also create a love of truth; it would inculcate a calm and balanced attitude, and develop one's intellectual powers. Only by understanding biology and psychology could a man really know the meaning of life. Such appreciation of life could be acquired only by those who had looked through the telescope and realized the vastness of the universe, and through the microscope and realized the minuteness of life, but is denied to those who merely indulge in vacuous contemplation. Chang countered by saying that science is only one of several avenues leading to truth and that there are spheres into which it is incompetent to enter; a scientific analysis would be meaningless in an experience of the beauty of a sunset. Liang Chi-ch'ao showed that the truth of the matter probably lay somewhere between the two opposing views by pointing out that "a large part of the problem of life should be and can be solved by science, but that a small portion and a more important one is beyond science. Human life cannot separate itself from the intellect, but the intellect cannot embrace the whole of life."

When these discussions were collected in one volume, Hu Shih was asked to write an introduction. As was to be expected of one who considered Huxley and Dewey his best teachers, he threw his weight on the side of the scientists and expounded his "naturalistic view of life." In this naturalistic scheme of life, with its doctrine of spontaneous evolution, religion as supernaturalism has no permanent place. At best it is a passing phase in man's arduous upward climb; at worst, it is a positive hindrance to progress. This does not mean that Chinese scholars find no interest in the study of religion as a phenomenon in social evolution; in fact, recent archeological and ethnological studies

*Reprinted from the *Open Court*; *Monograph on China*.

have greatly increased our knowledge of the religious ideas and practices of past generations, as, for instance the discovery of the oracle bones at An-yang left by the people of Yin. But as a factor in social progress, religion has outlived its usefulness to most Chinese thinkers, a view quite in keeping with the humanistic tendency in Confucianism.

T'sai Yuan-pei once proposed to substitute aesthetics for religion as a means for the enrichment of life. He thought that aesthetics had all the advantages of religion in adding to the zest, colour, and sweetness of life, without any of the drawbacks, such as the deceptive notion of a deity and the spirit of intolerance which religion generally fosters. According to him "beauty is universal; it cannot be privately appropriated; it can be shared by all without being denied to any one. It brings people together instead of dividing them. Its influence is not only cultural, but also ethical; it cultivates tolerance and cures selfish acquisitiveness." This position is challenged by others, who granting that there is much in common between religion and art maintain that there is a fundamental difference between the two in that religion deals with the ethical life and carries an imperative "Thou shalt," whereas art involves no ethical necessity and is a matter of individual taste which varies with the degree of intelligence. To put it briefly, art aims at expression, but religion aims at salvation.

In place of religious faith, there is among our people a sense of collective responsibility which almost amounts to a social religion. Its basis is to be found in the cult of ancestor worship. While religious creeds teach the immortality of the individual soul, ancestor worship emphasizes the immortality of the group, like drops of water merged in a vast stream flowing continuously onward. This is a popular idea among our people. Liang Chi-ch'ao in an essay "My View of Life and Death," wrote "We all die and we do not die; what dies is our individual self; what does not die is our social or collective self." This social religion has driven scholars like Chen Tu-siu and others from the seclusion and detachment of the school-room to turn to the turbulent life of active politics and even radical agitation for social justice. Not a few despairing of the present social order have embraced more radical schemes such as offering a way of securing not only consistency in individual living, but also welfare for the masses. This social passion is a distinct note in modern Chinese literature.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE NAZI MOVEMENT, *

(By Dr. Heinz Nietzschke.)

The German national socialist movement has a long history, and its revolution is not a very sudden and unexpected one. The principles and ideas of almost all German movement and thinkers of the last 150 years entered into the philosophy of the National socialism. Its philosophy wants to return to the vital human fundamentals: to love, sacrifice, service. Therefore the main characteristics of this philosophy are the strong accentuation of the nations as one of the highest values, and the struggle against every kind of individualism. "The benefit of all is above the benefit to the individual." The nation is not only a sum of individuals, but something more, something higher, an entity. The individual has to sacrifice himself in service for his country. Obedience to a strong, socially minded authority hard work, strict family discipline, chastity, self-denial, thrift, sobriety, leadership: these are the fundamental principles of new morals. Connected with that is a strong accentuation of the health of the people and of the preservation and furtherance of the peasantry. Only nature and civilisation combined are real culture. If the German forgets to love the soil of his country German culture must go to ruin. It is thus seen that the national socialist movement is more than a party, even more than a political movement. It is a total movement which must require a total revolution. It cannot stop at a change of the political conditions.

Therefore at the very beginning of the German Revolution, changes took place in the realm of cultural and social life. And since that time such changes have played a very important part in the process of re-birth of the German nation.

One cannot say very much about it since all the changes are still in process. But just a few words may give some idea. Labour is considered as a duty and an honour for every citizen, be he a workman with the hands or with the brain. There shall be no advantage of birth and education. Every citizen is a "worker". In this respect the first of May was very significant. This day was celebrated as a festival of labour. For the first time all the people in the village marched together to the village square—peasant, independent farmer, schoolmaster, merchant, labourer, doctor, minister. The German woman is exhorted not to copy degenerate habits from abroad, not to smoke, but to wear simple clothes and to live a simple, healthy and natural way. Libraries are being cleared of "trash" literature. Night-clubs are being closed. Art is getting a new meaning. One tries to build up a new art, a German art which takes root in the soul of the nation, and is the artistic expression of the ideas and ideals of the people. In order to make it clear what I mean, I beg to refer to your poet. Rabindranath Togore is such a national poet in the highest sense of the word. As a founder of a school and as a teacher he lives among his fellow countrymen, with them and for them. His poems and his philosophy are the expression of the Indian nation. Art in New Germany means the struggle against every kind of abstract and so-called international art. In the theatres the German classics are being brought forth again. Old poets are being rediscovered. Jazz is being replaced by German music. Dancing is being modified. Art in the handicrafts is being rediscovered. Even the conception of science is changing. Knowledge and schooling are no longer considered as ends in themselves, but as means towards producing a worthier Germany of the future. Incisive changes have already taken place in the field of education. New types of educational institutions are arising: schools for the leaders of the so-called Hitler Youth, the present youth movement in Germany, schools for farmers, schools for labourers, schools for Hitler's storm troopers. But also the ordinary school system is getting new impulses. The future education shall have a new and general ideal of education. The German youth has chiefly to be educated to simplicity and to loyalty and pride in his German race. That means a stronger accentuation of character education, race education, and physical education in all kinds of schools. Beside this it is necessary to stress the German lesson: German history, German literature, language, art, folklore, and a greater accentuation of the old German history.

Also the German university has to get a new idea of higher education, or better, it has to get an ideal whereas there was no clear ideal of higher education whatever since some decades. This new ideal is the political student in the platonic sense of the

* From an article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

word. Being politically minded means being anxious for the inner life of the union. It means that every student has to study in service for his state. And some proposals are being made: (1) that every student shall go into a labour camp for one year; (2) that he shall pass a political semester during his study; (3) that he shall live in so-called "houses of comradeship" for two years to foster and to strengthen comrade-like spirit, discipline, and obedience. These houses are something like student hostels, but with an outspoken educational purpose.

To some extent Hitler's storm trooper who has fought with him and for him in the political battles for the last 12 years, is such a new ideal of education. He always lives in service for his fatherland. And he wears his uniform, not because he wants to march into a new war, but because it belongs to the ideal of a severe, simple, and decent life of a new generation.

In other words: The change in Germany is not only a change of institutions, but also of the whole mental attitude. This gives the German revolution its far-reaching meaning which ought to interest other nations.

It is obvious that such a total revolution cannot be finished in a few months. For that purpose years, decades, perhaps a century is necessary. For, the modern civilization is too complex. Furthermore, the intellectual chaos of our age is too great and not really comparable with any of the crises of earlier transitional epochs. It even may be that the total change in Germany would take place a little too quickly. For there is an ardent longing among Germans for an universal culture which in the western world is still lacking since the end of the Middle Ages.

INDIANS ON BRITISH BOATS.*

Sir,—May I in the interests of Indo-British relationships, and incidentally of British shipping itself, bring the following matter to your notice? The number of Indians who are travelling between India and Europe on the Continental lines is very much on the increase. If it were not for the special concession to students which the P & O and its subsidiary companies grant, I wonder how many Indians of that type would travel by the British lines.

I am not concerned about the senior men like the Round Tablers and Princes who travel between India and Europe in special cabins and under the shelter and social protection of the Government of India and the India Office, for they must not be bullied. But I am concerned about the large number of students who travel either Second or Tourist. They present a very serious problem.

The general tenor of the experience of the students on the voyage from Bombay to Tilbury is that their presence is not acceptable to their fellow passengers. Cases of gross incivility and downright rudeness are by no means infrequent. While on the way out matters are worse. I am told, and I hope sincerely that my information is correct, that the P & O have advised their Captains to see to it that the Indians are in no way harassed, or rudely treated, or kept out of games when they are coming over to this country. When incidents of incivility have been brought to the notice of the captains they have taken steps to put matters right. Many Indians think it against their self-respect to make complaints and brood over their unfortunate experience. But after all what can the captain of a boat or the directors of companies do in the matter of subtle pinpricks which hurt and leave scars behind? If the British boats are ultimately boycotted by Indians—and I can assure you that such propaganda is being carried on now—in spite of the very attractive terms which the companies offer, the blame will lie not on the companies but upon the rank and file of British passengers. Many Indians feel that it is better to maintain self-respect than take advantage of an attractive offer.

Why, for instance, must there be segregation at meal times? Granted that some Indians want to have a party of their own, and likewise that the British want to be with their own particular friends at a table, there are many others who would like to mix and sit at a common table with the British. But the atmosphere of the boat does not allow of such a step. Why do some of the British, more often than not, get up and walk away if an Indian happens to sit on the same sofa or in a chair near to them in the lounge or the smoke room? Why must a French woman who only very recently boarded a boat at Port Said be told that she must not talk to the Indians or discuss her paintings of oriental scenes with them or sit at their table as she would be letting down "white prestige"? Why do British passengers quite gladly fraternize with the Indians on the Continental lines where no discrimination is either allowed or tolerated, when those very people would be aloof and even overbearing when the Union Jack flies over a steamer?

Allowing for individual fads and fancies and other psychological complications, and avoiding generalization from a very enormous number of "solitary instances," the broad fact remains that the Indians generally find the atmosphere on an English boat less conducive to happiness than on an Italian one. Perhaps the exception on the British side can be made in the case of those lines which run the "one class" boats and depend for their business on the satisfaction of the passengers. It is strange how the Britishers who travel by these lines are quite friendly and get on very well with their fellow-passengers.

I am constrained to write this letter as a result of several complaints which have come to my notice not only lately but during the last several years. An unnecessary and unfortunate bitterness against Britain is being created in many hearts, and men are being led to say that like the Japanese and the Chinese we must become an independent people. No one would then dare to be rude to us on the boats. We are peculiarly responsive to acts of courtesy, as the best type of Britishers with Indian experience can testify.

I wish that the remarkble courtesy and overpowering and even embarrassing kindness which I have met with personally in this country could in some measure be passed on to those Britishers who are going out to India in various capacities. What a difference it would make in the whole relationship of our two countries. The silken cords of love and friendship are a much stronger link than the iron chains of a forced and false prestige.—I am, Sir, &c.,

106 *Gower Street, W. C. I.* SHORAB S. SINGHA.

* Mr. Shoran S. Singha in the London *Spectator*.

Execution of Prisoner.—A communique says:—Following an enquiry by a responsible officer with the object of fixing the blame for the premature execution of a condemned prisoner in the Lahore central jail on Nov. 21 last the Governor in Council has come to the conclusion that the primary cause of the mistake was the fact that the envelope containing the orders for postponement of the execution did not bear any indication of its urgent nature. Disciplinary action is being taken against two secretariat officials responsible for this grave omission, and stringent orders are being issued to prevent its recurrence as far as this is possible.

INDIA AND ITALY.

A conference of Indian and other Oriental students in Europe, the first of its kind, will be held in Rome, on December 21. The conference is organised by the provisional committee of the Institute of Indian and Oriental Arts which will be officially opened by Signor Mussolini. The Indian and Oriental student delegates will also be officially received by Signor Mussolini at the Grand Opera, Rome when there will be a special performance in honour of their visit. After the conference the student delegates will travel all over Italy in a special train, arranged by the State, for sight-seeing. Mr. Amiya Sarkar, an Indian student who is now in Rome (a nephew of Sir Jadu Nath Sarker, former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University) and who is one of the organisers of the Institute of Indian and Oriental Arts, has been elected provisionally the Secretary of the Conference. Mr. G. Mukherji, a London-Indian student has been entrusted to organise the Indian and oriental students delegation from British Universities.

TIBET AND NEPAL.

Interesting views regarding the civilization of culture of Tibet and Nepal were expressed in a press interview by His Excellency Carlo Formichi, vice-president of the Royal Academy of Italy and His Excellency Guiseppe Tucci, a member of the Royal Academy of Italy. They have just returned from Nepal en route for Bombay, where they will embark on the CONTE ROSSO.

Describing the success that attended the expedition and the material they have collected they said the difficulty which Western people feel in understanding the Eastern mind is they do not try to assimilate Eastern thought but merely try technically to interpret it.

According to these scholars India, Tibet and Nepal are as much a spiritual reality to-day as they ever were before. Whereas Western people get confused about the thousands of gods and goddesses to be found in India these to Eastern people merely represent symbols in human expression, through which the human mind progresses towards a wider understanding of itself and of the universe.

Describing their impressions of the countries visited Sgr. Carlo Formichi said that he was extremely charmed with Nepal. This country preserved in its real purity Hindu life and Hindu art. What Hindu society was a thousand years ago could be seen in Napal to-day untouched by foreign influences. He was also very much struck with the hospitality of the people, with their peaceful life and with the ordered state of their society.

As regards Tibet Sgr. Tucci said that this country had benefitted definitely through Hindu influence. Formerly the Tibetans may have been man-eaters, but now they are the most spiritually strong people. They are very happy in their loneliness, and their whole life is religious in its entire conception, religious not in the modern sense of prayer, but in their entire make-up. They derive pleasure more from within than from without.

He visited Tabo Rabgyeling and Toling, where great Buddhist monasteries are to be found. There he studied Buddhist writings, and has brought away with him 3,000 manuscripts. Some of the old writings which had been lost in India are still preserved in Tibet, and the Tibetans have written huge commentaries on them, so that the original meaning of those manuscripts is available.

Another proof of Indian influences in Tibet was the presence of frescoes depicting Indian life and art. These were photographed by Sgr. Tucci, who fears that if the buildings are not looked after the ceiling might give way, and one of the best treasurers of Indo-Tibetan art be lost to the world.

He thinks these frescoes are the work of those artists who left India after the Muslim invasion, and that they are of such supreme importance that he hopes the British Government will approach the Tibetan Government with a view to preserving them.

In Nepal, too, they found very valuable Sanskrit manuscripts which they photographed and are carrying with them to Italy.

Asked what was the essential difference between Eastern and Western religion, Sgr. Tucci said that whereas in Hinduism and Buddhism no particular door to evolution was prescribed, the West provided one specific door for religious experience.

A PROTEST AGAINST COMMUNALISM.

The following manifesto has been issued by Bombay citizens:—

It has long been a painfully obvious fact to all dispassionate observers that those organisations which claim to protect the separate interests of communities divided by religion serve only the self interest of small coteries of exploiters of the religious sentiments of their fellowmen.

They have in the last few years set up artificial barriers against the attainment of national unity. They have encouraged a narrow sectarianism and intolerance which finds frequent expression in riots, and leaves a continuing trail of hatred and rancour. And they have been attempting to release such anti-social forces as would make any attempt at a wider synthesis of human culture ineffective.

It has been our hope that these symptoms are but the passing and irrelevant phases of a new age struggling to be born. We have remained confident that in spite of the disruptive elements introduced into our body politic, the inherent social affinities cannot long remain obscured from the public mind. And in the expectation of this sanity asserting itself, we have been content to remain indifferent to the antics of these communal agitators who strut in the pompous authority of artificially incubated organisations.

But recently there has been a coalescing of reactionary forces, a defining of new and vicious attitudes and the development of fresh and dangerous approaches, to communal agitation that compel us to express our open abhorrence of such methods. And we congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the courageous lead he has given in the matter. We agree with him, that all such as in the name of religion, caste or community hold unholy truck with the enemies of Indian freedom have to be opposed and fought. And we assure Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of our support in his war against the blind and rabid communalists in this country.

The following are the signatories of the manifesto: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. K. F. Nariman, Bhulabhai J. Desai, K. M. Munshi, S. A. Brelvi, Mrs. Perin D. S. Captain, Messrs. G. V. Deshmukh, A. S. Erulkar, Rajabally Patel, M. C. Chagla, Jal A. D. Naoroji, P. A. Wadia, Jayshukhlal K. Mehta, Mrs. Leelavati K. Munshi, Messrs. Vaikunth L. Mehta, T. M. Guido, N. S. Hardiker, Motichand Kapadia, Y. K. Khadilker, Abidali Jafferbhai, Mrs. Urmila Mehta, Miss Sofia Somji, Messrs. Jabber Ali, Abdul Rehman Mitha, Yusuf Meherally, Umeshanker Dixit, Purushottam Tricumdas, Hafiz Ali Bahadur Khan, Ganpatishanker Desai, M. R. Masani, Phiroz Bharucha, Keki B. Bharucha, T. S.

Vyas, Jeenabhai Joshi, D. S. Babreker, Gunvant Kapadia, Madanlal Govindlal Pitti, M. R. Vijaykar, Abdul Majid Hakim, Sayed Noorali, Moin-Uddin Harris, Mir Shukrullah, Purushottam Kanji, Manibhai Desai, M. M. Mehta, H. M. Khakhar, K. Krishna Menon, and K. D. Merchant.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY.

After prolonged discussion, representatives of different political parties in the Presidency, who met on Wednesday evening in the hall of the Bombay Presidency Association, Esplanade Road, Bombay, resolved to convene an all-India conference in the city to express disapproval of the proposals contained in the White Paper, and to formulate essential modifications. About 85 gentlemen were present at the informal meeting which was presided over by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. It appears that although invitations had been issued to some of the prominent Congressmen, they did not attend for some reason or other. Some of them, however, addressed letters to the conveners sympathising with the object of the meeting, which was to consider what steps should be taken to make clear the dissatisfaction of the country with the White Paper proposals.

It is learnt that Sir Chimanlal stressed the necessity for holding a conference of representatives of all parties to protest against the White Paper proposals, as revealed in the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He could not understand why the Indian delegates did not cross-examine the Secretary of State on certain points affecting the best interests of the country.

A discussion then followed. Some advocated country-wide agitation before the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was out, while others pointed out that in the event of their modifications being turned down, they should be prepared to take united action.

Eventually, however, it was resolved to issue a statement over the signatures of those present at the meeting, calling an "All-India Conference in Bombay to make it clear to the British Government and Parliament that the White Paper proposals with their implications, as revealed in the examination of the Secretary of State, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, do not satisfy the country, and to formulate essential modifications."

The statement was signed amongst others by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Govindrao Pradhan, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. Meyer Nissim, Mr. M. C. Chagla Mr. J. B. Petit, Mr. D. V. Gokhale, Mr. V. N. Deshpande, Professor D. G. Karve, Mr. N. R. Wadia, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. R. R. Bakhle, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, Mr. K. Natarajan and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.

The meeting also appointed an executive committee with power to co-opt, under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association, to give effect to the aforesaid resolution and to work out the details.

Multan Sweepers' Demands:—One seat for sweepers on the Municipal Council, provision of quarters for sweepers, assurance that heavy fines would not be imposed on them and a demand that part time sweepers should not be engaged when wholetime sweepers are available, these were the demands by a deputation of the Multan sweepers on strike who waited on the Chief Executive officer of the Municipality on Dec. 15. The next day there was a clash between some persons newly engaged for cleaning the streets and the striking sweepers, but the police were soon on the spot and serious developments were averted. The total number of strikers is 500 and to-day is the second day of the strike. At a meeting the strikers decided not to resume work unless their demands were granted.

COLOUR LINE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Pretoria correspondent of the *Hindu* writes under date December 18:—

Strong criticism of the way in which S. Africa treated Indian visitors of culture and good standing as "inferiors and aliens" and a warning of inevitable repercussions on the attitude of India towards the Union were made by Mr. A. I. Qureshi to-day. He is a graduate of the University of London and has been awarded a special research scholarship by the University Bureau of the British Empire for rural credit and market organisation and has been furnished with letters of introduction by Lord Bledisloe, Governor-General of New Zealand, to Earl Clarendon and General Smuts.

Mr. Qureshi dicovered on his arrival that he was not allowed to land in Durban till he had submitted to the restrictions imposed on coloured persons entering the Union. He was prohibited from journeying in the train save in the compartment specially reserved "for coloured persons." He was refused admission to cinemas, hotels and restaurants. He states that he was in all public conveyances and places of entertainment refused refreshment and carefully "segregated" from contact with Europeans.

Mr. Qureshi ended with a warning to S. Africa that coming political reforms will give a status to India almost equal to that of Dominions and the Indian Legislature would consider Empire unity not from the British but from the Indian viewpoint. The White population of S. Africa was only two millions and she would find it difficult to defend herself without the Army of the Empire. The largest army is in India. So in order to defend S. Africa against invasion they need the sympathy of India.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Terrorism a Hindu Movement:—The Government of India have no doubt that the Bengal Governor's estimate that the terrorist movement was "essentially a Hindu movement" is an accurate one, declared Mr. Hallet, Home Secretary in the Council of State while answering Mr. Jagdish Prasad. But he added that the phrase had been quoted from an isolated sentence of his Excellency's speech instead of giving the passage as a whole.

Prison Reform in Ceylon:—It is learnt that the appointment of a special committee to enquire into the questions connected with prison reform has been recommended by the Executive Committee for Home Affairs. The subjects for consideration of the Committee are fairly comprehensive, consisting *inter alia* of the treatment of youthful offenders, imprisonment in lieu of fine, system of release on parole of long-term prisoners, aid on discharge and training of prisoners in industry and agriculture.

Pandit Jawaharlal on Fascism:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after thanking the press for giving publicity to his opinions states that he was shocked much to read a report of a so-called interview in Delhi to certain foreign visitors. He adds: "One thing I wish to clear up and that is on my attitude towards communism. The choice before the world to-day is one between some form of communism and some form of fascism and I am all for the former, that is, communism. I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort to preserve the capitalist order and preserve it at any cost. There is no middle road between fascism and communism. One has to choose between the two and I choose the communist ideal. In regard to the methods of approach of this ideal, I may not agree with everything that the orthodox communists have done. I think these methods will have to adapt themselves to the changing conditions and may vary in different countries. But I do think that the basic ideology of communism and its scientific interpretation of history is sound."

Indian Empire Exhibition:—His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Herbert Emerson will open in Lahore on December 21 the Indian Empire Exhibition, which will continue for a month. Almost all the provincial Governments and some of the Indian states have taken stands in the exhibition and over 1,000 stands constructed for the exhibition have been occupied by leading firms from all provinces. The stalls are on the lines of the Wembley Exhibition. An art gallery, a hall of science and a central museum are among the main features of the exhibition.

Accident in Cumbam Valley:—A shocking incident unheard of in the history of the Cumbum Valley occurred on Saturday night when a herd of fourteen elephants was found dead scattered in a corn field, situated adjoining a mountain forest, in the vicinity of the Vannathiyarai Reserve in Lower Goodalore village limits, Periyakulam Taluk. The villagers observed the tragedy next morning and were horified at the sight of huge tuskers lying prone in the sun-presuming them at first to be alive and sleeping, the villagers neared the animals with caution, fully armed. But they soon discovered that all the animals were dead. It is believed that the unfortunate animals descended to the plains getting scent of ripe corn in the field but as the corn, which is known as the Kirukkuvaragu variety, is subject to a peculiar and dangerous pest, in these parts; it is believed, the whole field must have been infested with this pest and caused the death of the beasts. The authorities rushed to the spot yesterday and are taking steps for the disposal of the remains including the ivory tusks of some of them.

Mr. K. M. Munshi on the Present Situation:—In a statement to the Press, Mr. K. M. Munshi says:—I find the country more weary than I thought it was. Evidently, insidious propaganda has been destroying our sense of solidarity; and defeatism, masquerading as difference of opinion, has eaten away our will to victory. I do not share the strange fascination which some of my valued friends and colleagues have for a formal meeting of the A. I. C. C. The forces which hold the fate of India in their grip at the present moment are so imponderable that formal votes are not likely to work miracles. Those of us—and I am one of them—who do not propose to offer Civil Disobedience for one reason or another, are, in my opinion, perfectly justified in devoting our energies to activities we consider proper. But, the authority and prestige of Mahatma Gandhi in the country alone stand between us and utter demoralisation and have to be maintained at all costs. I have no doubt that in the course of time Truth and Non-violence will adjust methods to new conditions.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta:—The Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation decided by a large majority to reinstate Dr Jivraj N. Mehta in Municipal Service as Dean of the K. E. M. Hospital and G. S. Medical College. This item was treated as confidential and was not open to the press, but it is understood that there were three dissentients. The Commissioner placed before the meeting a letter received by him from Dr. Mehta giving an assurance of devoting his whole time and attention to his work. The following is the text of Dr. Mehta's letter to the Commissioner:—"With reference to my interview with you, I entirely accept your view that before considering the question of my continuance in Municipal service, the Standing Commlitee are entitled to demand an assurance that I shall devote the whole of my time and attention to service of the Corporation. I will not take part in outside activities which might interfere or lead to an interruption of those duties. I accordingly undertake to observe the orders underlying the Revenue and General Purposes Committee's resolution No. 36 dated July 8, 1929 and confirmed by the Corporation resolution No. 5693 dated September 26, 1929, and not to engage in activities forbidden by those orders. I request that this assurance on my part may be placed before the Standing Committee." The Committee accepted the assurance and resolved to reinstate Dr. Mehta.

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NOTICE :—Editors of newspapers and correspondents are requested to address all exchanges and communications to this office to Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay 20, as the office of the *Indian Social Reformer* has been removed to Bandra.

NOTES

The White Paper Scheme:—Speaking at the Liberal Federation in Madras on Thursday, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani declared (according to the report in the *Free Press Journal*) that he would rather go on with the present constitution and carry on an agitation for a reformed and genuine self-government until a propitious day arrives, than put up with the mongrel constitution proposed under the White Paper scheme which, in Disraeli's words, is 'organised hypocrisy'. "I hold that we are nearer the day of swaraj if the White Paper scheme is dead." It may surprise the Secretary of State for India to know how many men there are in this country, of temperamentally moderate views, who share Mr. Chintamani's opinion. We ourselves have been astonished at almost identical words being used by some aggressively anti-Non-co-operation veterans. If the White Paper scheme is not wanted in British India, it is even less wanted by the people of Indian States as it completely ignores their existence. The Princes are not keen about it either, though they may not be able to keep out of it as matter of policy. A section of the Muslim intelligentsia, a growing one, has definitely pronounced against it. It is fairly safe to say that the proportions of friends of the White Paper in this country is less, both quantitively and qualitatively, than that of people who will not have it in its present form. When this becomes clear to the British public, the opposition which is already strong may be able to defeat the Bill, should Government persist in going on with it. There is also the possibility that the National Government may cease to exist in the next two or three months as its record has been a very poor one. The chances of Mr. Chintamani's wish being realised is by no means negligible.

Business and Politics:—In an interview published in the *Times of India* on Thursday Sir Pheroze Sethna who was a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform observed with reference to the agreement between Bombay and Lancashire Textile interests recently concluded: "There was not the slightest doubt in the minds of the other delegates and myself that had it not been for the settlement arrived at in Bombay between the Lancashire Delegation and the Millowners' Association, Bombay, we would have met with very strong opposition from those witnesses who represented the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and other allied bodies when they appeared before the Joint Select Committee." This, of course, is not a defence of the Agreement on its merits. But it is valuable as an illustration of the falsity of the tag that business and politics are separate and should be kept apart. The Bombay Agreement was in effect a bargain between Lancashire and Bombay, Bombay agreeing to certain concessions and Lancashire in return mitigating its opposition to the White Paper Plan. This may or may not be good in itself but it was surely outside the scope of the Millowners' Association and it is pertinent to ask if they undertook this extraneous responsibility of their own free will. British Steel Makers are desirous of securing certain concessions in the Indian market. Other British manufacturers may come forward making similar claims. Their support or opposition may be quite as important as that of Lancashire. Would the Textile Agreement be taken as a precedent? Would it not be a more simple arrangement to undertake to pay a lump sum every year to Great Britain as suggested by Sir M. Visvesvaraya two years ago in lieu of numerous concessions the cumulative effect of which it is impossible to fathom now? These are questions pre-eminently for the politician, that is, a man trained to weigh questions not only with reference to their immediate effects on the bird-in-the-hand-is-worth-two-in-the-bush principle but with reference to their bearing on surrounding circumstances and future possibilities. With Sir Phiroze Sethna we deprecate personal attacks

on individuals, who happened to have a hand in the negotiations.

Ideals and Practice:—The following from Mr. Winston Churchill's "World Crisis" (volume one, page 11) furnishes the answer to our query in the leading article last week; "What did the Thugs do which the Christian nations did not do in the last war?" Recounting the measures adopted by both sides to secure victory, including efforts to starve whole nations without regard to age or sex, Mr. Churchill concludes: "When all was over, Torture and Cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian States had been able to deny themselves: and these were of doubtful utility." If Hinduism is to be depicted as a degraderd faith because the Thugs worshipped Kali before undertaking their nefarious expeditions, Christianity cannot escape condemnation for blessing the banners of the armies in the war. You may compare the ideals of religions or their actual results on the people who profess them. In the former case, you will find that every religion emphasises one aspect of Truth and is supreme in so doing. Christianity stresses God's love, Islam, God's power, and Hinduism, His immanence. All together are needed to give a whole view of the Cosmic principle and purpose. It is therefore that a person who knows only his own religion is apt to be intolerant of others. If you insist on judging religion by its effect on those who profess them, you will find that every people fall far short of its ideals. It has necessarily to be so. "If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp what is Heaven for?"

The Revival of Indian Music:—One of the most marked features of the time is the vigorous movement for the revival of music in all parts of the country. The movement is particularly strong in South India which has a distinct system of its own. Sir C. V. Raman the eminent Indian physicist, presided at a Conference of musicians held in Madras and made an important speech. He contrasted the status of music in social life some years ago with what it has since come to be. For many years, he said, the art of music had to take a back seat in the social scale. The lover of music and musical artistes were classed along with domestic servants and even with a lower type of people. They receded further and further from society with the result that no respectable man or women would think of devoting himself or herself to music. Things were a little better today, he acknowledged, but in tracing the causes for the improvement he overlooked the important movement against the nautch girl and devadasi customs carried on by social reformers for over forty years in the teeth, in the early years, of much contumely. The assimilation of the good points in Western music which Sir C. V. Raman recommended has been attempted with a measure of success, more in Bengal than in other parts of the country. In this and other ways, many good and some dangerous, Bengal has been the pioneer. Sir C. N. Raman said that there was some affinity between Science and Music. The scientist and the musician are both apt to forget themselves in their creative moods. There is also a difference. The musician, it has been said, makes out of three sounds not a fourth sound but a star. But the scientist is tied down to his medium. The moment he transcends it, he ceases to be a scientist.

The Social Conference:—We publish elsewhere extracts from the welcome address of Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the delegates assembled at the Social Reform Conference at Madras. Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar has taken a detached view of the many problems confronting reform workers and has pointed out what he considers to be the best method of carrying on the work. Throughout his address he lays particular stress on the importance of caution and moderation. He has in particular struck a warning note against the dangers of claiming special privileges for castes which have in the past suffered from disabilities. Mr. Krishnaswami points out that the political movement has indirectly advanced the cause of social reform. His appeal, however, for enlarging the concept of social reform is scarcely necessary for even a cursory study of the proceedings of earlier conferences will show that the term was used in its largest sense. Mr, Krishnaswami belongs to the right wing of social reformers and his views on the Sarda Act will meet with strong opposition from those who have all along demanded more drastic legislation. His faith in an ultimate compromise with "Sanatanists" is scarcely justified by recent events in connection with the anti-untouchability movement.

Russia and the Vatican:—Writing in its issue of December 9, the *Commonweal*, organ of the British Commonwealth Land Party, refers to recent reports that the Soviet Government are prepared to change their anti-religious policy "at the behest of the United States of America and the Vatican." If there have been such reports they have not appeared in the newspapers in India. One of the stock arguments against Communist theory has been that it aims at the abolition of religion and if Russia demonstrates that there is place both in the Communist State and in the Communist society for religion it would go far towards removing existing prejudices. Such a move would imply that the anti-religious aspect of the Bolshevik movement was merely a temporary phase in Russian politics strikingly similar to the Nazi's anti-Jewish policy in Germany.

Acknowledgment:—The Commercial Printing Press have sent us as a New Year gift copies of their Pocket Diary, Weekly Calendar and Desk Calendar. These articles of daily use are neatly got up and convey some idea of the clear printing done at the press.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 30, 1933.

SELF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Sir Hari Singh Gour made a very important speech at the Women's College, Nagpur, on the 22nd December. We are indebted to the *Daily News* of that city for a full summary of it. Sir Hari Singh is a scholar and an author of distinction. As a member of the Legislative Assembly he has striven hard to get laws passed to improve the position which women occupy in Indian society. His best known contribution so far is the amendment to the Special Marriage Act doing away with the obnoxious declaration requiring the repudiation of belief in any of the old religions as a condition precedent to the registration of a marriage under that Act. Sir Hari Singh intended his amendment to take the place of the Special Marriage Act. But, owing to the opposition of the other communities which feared that the amendment would be an infringement of their personal laws, Sir Hari Singh's amending Bill came to be limited to the Hindu community. Many Hindu marriages have taken place under its provisions which include all the incidents of a monogamous marriage. His attempt to make divorce an incident of a marriage contracted under the old Hindu law has failed. In his speech at Nagpur Sir Hari Singh confided to his audience that his public life has been devoted to the cause of women because he felt that the progress of India depended on their advancement and that without it, India would have no hopes for the future. Sir Hari Singh Gour has all along worked independently of political or party organisation and the position which he occupies in public life is entirely due to his ability and determination.

Sir Hari Singh Gour has served in tbe Round Table Conference at all its sessions. This is the first time that a member of that body has explained the necessity of political reform from the point of view of social reform. "When I went to England," he said, "I told the Britishers that the one great drawback of a foreign Government is that they cannot go ahead in social reform. Because the Government is merely a collector of taxes and disburser of the same. It is, therefore, utterly impossible to make any substantial headway in questions of social reform which may require money and would require in any case a greater organisation than the people of India are able to have at the present moment. It is for that reason that I am a staunch believer in the principle of responsible government in the country, and I hope that the men and women of India will demand this with one voice." Sir Hari Singh was emphatic that provincial autonomy will not help social reform. He wants social legislation to be made a Central subject and that the Central Legislature should have the right to initiate social legislation for the whole country. "If you leave it to Provincial Governments," he went on to say, "no advance would be made. As the local bodies are afraid of taxing the people for the purpose of introducing free and compulsory education among all classes, they will be equally afraid of introducing a large measure of social legislation which might better the condition of women in this country because they would also be afraid of the position of the sterner sex of the Province." The antagonism which Sir Hari Singh assumes between men and women in matters of social legislation does not exist, as women themselves, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi amongst them, have repeatedly stated in public in and outside India. Even if it did, surely it will make itself felt as much in the Central as in Provincial Legislatures. The real reason for according a concurrent power of social legislation to the Central is the imperative need to secure uniformity of social progress, which is the essential basis of nationhood, in all Provinces. Some Provinces and States are more advanced in social ideas than others and if the Central Government alone is to have the right of initiating social reform legislation, it may well be that the pace of progress would be retarded. The Provinces should be encouraged to take the lead and the concurrent power of the Centre is needed to co-ordinate their activities and achievements and to check retrograde tendencies on the part of any of them. Sir Hari Singh is right in holding that an adequate representation of women in the Central Legislature is essential to forward social legislation. Sir Hari Singh sees in the unanimous opposition of women to have the communal principle introduced in their representation, a great hope for Indian nationalism.

Sir Hari Singh recently visited Japan and he agrees with Sir Lalubhai Samaldas whose impressions of that country have been published in a book which we recently noticed, that the position of women in Japan is less favourable than that of Indian women. Except in respect of free and compulsory education which has made great strides among women as among men in Japan, Japanese women are at a disadvantage as compared with their Indian sisters. They have not the franchise and their property rights are even less than those of women in this country. But the right of voting means little where there is want of education and property rights concern only a small section of the people in all countries. Notwithstanding that Indian women enjoy the franchise on the same conditions as men, the prevailing illiteracy among them and the social customs of purdah and early marriage together constitute a grievous obstacle to their growth and development and consequently to their contribution to national progress. Sir Hari Singh Gour seem to be not without hope that the point of view which he and his friends placed before the Round Table Conference, may receive consideration in the final proposals during their passage through Parliament. Amidst the general pessimism about the outcome of the Conference, it is pleasant to have this ray of optimism.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

We are grateful to the Reverend H. A. Popley for his valuable contribution on this subject in the *Reformer* of 25th November last. It is an intercommunal and humanitarian problem that has been raised by the peculiar working of the penal Section 68 of Act XV of 1872 against Hindu priests and others of the Depressed class in the Madras Presidency. No Christian missionary is better fitted, if we may respectfully say so, than this much-esteemed friend of all classes in South India to help them to a clear understanding and fair adjustment of the conflicting factors involved in this problem. His participation in this question is therefore gladly welcome at this juncture although he does not, apparently, feel disposed to favour our earnest plea for the total abandonment of the prosecution policy of Christian Missions. Now that a month has elasped without further comment by any one else, it may be safely assumed that his view of the matter represents accurately the considered view of all clergymen in responsible charge of Christian interests in this country.

Our good friend, the late lamented Dewan Bahadur Paul Appasami, M.A, LL.B., of happy memory, in preparing his valuable handbook on "The Law Applicable to Christians in India" for the National Christian Council, could only think of two grounds for his belief that the prosecution of Hindu and Moslem priests under Section 68 had been really contemplated by the framers of the Indian Christian Marriage Act. "This was intended," according to him, "to prevent a Christian wife from suffering by the Hindu or Mahomedan husband exercising his privilege of taking other wives superseding his Christian wife and depriving her and the children of their rights of inheritance under the Indian Succession Act (Page 72)." Two additional reasons are now suggested to give a moral basis to those prosecutions. They are necessary and indispensable, we are told, because the marriage of a Christian girl with Hindu ritual is null and void under the Christian Marriage Act and carries with it the disastrous consequences to her of an invalid marriage, and also because Christian girls are forced by their Christian parents often against their will into a Hindu marriage during their minority.

Now, if the Madras interpretation of the scope of Section 68 be correct, a Hindu priest would deserve punishment equally whether he administers the Hindu ritual to a Christian female or to a Christian male. The Coimbatore case in which he was convicted for the latter offence is an illustration in point. But neither the reasons given by Mr. Paul Appasami nor those now advanced explain what dire consequences to the Christian male were sought to be averted by the legislators by prosecution under Section 68. This serious gap in the explanation exposes the fallacy of the *post-facto* justification and discloses the real basis of the prosecutors' zeal as being a religious one. Leaving aside this aspect of the question, however, it will be found on examination that not a single one of the reasons given holds good even for the limited purpose for which they are put forth, namely the protection of the rights and freedom of Christian girls.

To understand the problem without bias, one must bear in mind that what the pro-prosecutionists object to is not the marriage of a Christian girl or woman with a Hindu as such, but her marriage with Hindu ritual. They have no objection if the same Hindu person is married to her by registration under the Christain Marriage Act though the ceremony does not convert him into a Christian and although the validity of such mixed marriage has been declared questionable even under the Act by no less a jurist than Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar. Fierce antagonism however is aroused in their breasts and becomes deadly if the selfsame couple marry with Hindu ritual! Why? It cannot be because the marriage is null and void under the Christian Act, which should not matter so long as it is valid under some other law of the land. It can only be accounted for by the fact that the ceremony usually adopted by Hindus is obnoxious to Christian religious sentiment, and, what is worse from the ministerial point of view, it has also the legal effect, among the Depressed classes of the South especially, of making the Christian bride a Hindu, even where the marriage was not preceded by a formal ceremony of conversion, as in Muthusami versus Masilamani (33 M. 342).

In none of the criminal cases launched under Section 68 was the validity of such marriage as a Hindu marriage impugned either by the prosecutors or the High Court. Mr. Paul Appasami, who was a learned lawyer and judge, nowhere went the length of saying that it was no marriage because it was performed in breach of the Christian Act. On the other hand he always took care to speak of the woman so married as a wife, even while he sought to justify the punishment of her Hindu priest. The question of validity of a marriage must be left to the Civil Courts to decide in any case of actual dispute, especially when it was contracted by the parties voluntarily and by a ritual of their own choice. Conscientious public workers, whether Christian or Hindu, would serve humanity better by refraining from cavil in such matters and by giving full credit for wisdom to the legal maxim *semper praesumitur pro matrimonis*, upon which Mr. Appasami himself had to fall back in the last resort in defence of the validity of mixed marriages solemnized by Christian Marriage Registrars contrary to the personal law of Hindus. We agree with him that "if two parties have been married according to the form which they regarded as applicable to themselves and have lived together as man and wife, the courts would hesitate a great deal before holding the marriage invalid." (Page 75). This applies with greater force to marriages performed with Hindu ritual, which has been held by the Madras High Court to unify the religion of both parties so as to bring their marriage under the general permissive rule of Hindu law. But supposing for argument that Hindu ritual would make it an invalid marriage, what right has any one to punish them by criminal action for choosing it, when they cannot be punished under the law even if they choose to live together without any ritual?

This brings us to the double plea of conserving monogamic rights for the wife, and securing favourable inheritance rights under the Indian Succession Act for the widow and her daughters. It was in hitting upon this secular ground for justifying their very natural Christian displeasure against the scapegoat Hindu priest that Mr. Paul Appasami and those who took the law from him fell unconsciously into a strange confusion of thought and did less than justice to themselves and to the intelligence of the public. They could very properly have said that a Christian woman would be wise to marry only a Christian man and have her marriage solemnized in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Christian Marriage Act, because she would then be safe from the risk of bigamy by her husband (so long as he remained a Christian) and would enjoy as his widow along with her daughters the superior rights of inheritance given by the Indian Succession Act (if he remained a Christian till his death). But the argument which they found it necessary and plausible to urge against the Hindu priest was quite different.

It implied that it is the Hindu ritual that affected the rights of a Christian woman marrying a Hindu, and that, if only he married him by registration before a Christian Marriage Registrar, she would run no risk of being superseded subsequently by a co-wife and would also secure for herself and her female children the right of inheriting to him at his death according to the rules of the Indian Succession Act. We sincerely wish it were a true reading of the law. Part V of the Indian Christian Marriage Act would then have filled a large part of the gap that now yawns between the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) even as at present amended and a general civil marriage law which is the desideratum of the new age in India. But such unhappily is not the case. The assumptions underlying the argument are absolutely unfounded in law. It is the personal law of the Hindu that dominates the situation not the ritual. There is nothing in the Indian Christian Marriage Act which takes away the polygamous "privilege" of a Hindu marrying under it or which abrogates the Hindu law rule of inheritance governing his property in favour of the Indian Succession Act (vide the *Reformer* of 22nd Dec. 1908, 13th June 1920, Page 655; 17th Nov. 1928, page 182; 27th April 1929, page 548; 11th Oct. 1930, page 88; 1st Nov. 1930, page 140; 22nd Nov. 1930, page 189; 21st Feb., 1931, page 398; 28th Feb, 1931, page 412; 16th May 1931, page 584.)

To insist on taking off the head, as it were, of the poor Hindu priest under the colour of such illusory grievances although he deceived none about his faith and offered his services to none but those who preferred and solicited his ritual with open eyes, and to use his supposed guilt under Section 68 as a lever for hauling up and hanging as his "abettors" the Christian offenders of the church and their Hindu relations for whose punishment through the criminal courts the Act itself has made no provision,—this might reasonably strike any mind, which is free from communal and credal pre-conceptions, as purposeless inhumanity and cruel disregard of individual freedom and unnatural twisting and misuse of the criminal law. But there is a further reason suggested to justify the prosecutions. It is that they are necessary for preventing Christian parents from forcing their minor daughters against their will into a Hindu marriage, that is, into a marriage with Hindu rites. We shall deal with it, if possible, in another issue.

K. R.

HINDU LAW REFORM.

(By J. Chinna Dural)

The principles of Hindu Law were enunciated more than three thousand years ago. It is indeed a matter of joy and pride to every Indian that Indian intellect and Indian talents had the vision and wisdom to produce a set of rules and laws for the proper conduct and guidance of Indian Society at a time when the other nations of the world were non-existent, or if they did exist, were barbarous or semi-barbarous and the notion of any law was remotest from their minds. But splendid as was the lead in law that India gave to the world thanks to the genius of Manu, the mightiest of law-givers that ever trod on ancient Indian soil, and his stalwart successors Gautama, Sankha and Parasara, to mention but a few names, and thanks also to the Vedas, Mantras and Sutras—the "uttered thoughts" of India's inspired seers, and the immemorial "usages" of the peoples of India,—it is greatly to be pitied that to-day judged by modern standards the laws of India are comparatively crude, out-of date and primitive and are better fitted to be consigned to a first class museum as a glorious relic of India's antiquity than put into use to meet the needs and requirements of a race such as the Indian race which certainly is not the same to-day as it was in the days of Manu. It has progressed vigorously in every walk of life and thought during the past fifty years to a degree that makes Hindu Law nothing short of an anachronism simply allowed to be in force because there has not emerged yet a modern Manu who would have the courage to denounce it in the same way as Manu of old propounded it.

India to-day does not crawl on chariot wheels or double bullock carts but gallops on Fords and Rolls Royces. Indians do not shun the forbidden seas any more but cross them with an easy conscience by means of motor vessels, some of them even resorting to aeroplanes. The wireless Telegraph, Trans-Oceanic-Telephones, Talkies and Television have brought the world to India's very door. The annihilation of space and distance by means of express locomotives throughout the length and breadth of India has brought the divergent castes and communities of India incredibly closer. A keen sense of patriotism resulting in a national upheaval and a common aim and aspiration in regard to the political, social and economic welfare of India have made the disjointed warring India of old with millons of internal problems and disturbances, a solid united nation. Territorialism and Communalism are slowly disappearing and in all things that matter India's outlook on life and things to-day is a world outlook compared with her erstwhile narrow and provincial outlook. Indian schools and colleges modelled on Western lines and the tremendous influence of the West and particularly that of Great Britain are spurring India on towards ultra-modernism. India's superstitions and ignorance, her racial differences and communal animosities will all be soon things of the past and by quick degrees—whether she likes it or not—India will be 'modern' in every sense of the term like her sister nations of the world.

The question now arises—and it is a very important question—has Hindu Law kept abreast of the tremendous strides India has made towards advancement in recent times? Has the progress of Hindu Law been commensurate with the growth of modern India? Is not Hindu Law obsolete and must it not therefore be scrapped?

The answer to these questions must necessarily depend on what the Hindu law is to-day and what India is to-day. We have seen in the foregoing paragraph that India is tending to be modern, and is already quite modern in many respects. Can the same be said of Hindu Law? Emphatically 'No'. The origin of Hindu Law goes back to several centuries before Christ, to roughly about 1210 B. C. The Hindus claim that it is mainly divine in its origin, being the Revelation of inspired Seers and the institutes of revered Sages handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. It is also human in this that at a later stage the approved and immemorial 'usages' of the people supplemented the Divine Law of India. It was on these lines that Manu and Yajnavalkya propounded Hindu Law nearly three thousand years ago. The principles underlying them are indeed sound and even remarkable when one considers that they were the results of human thought as early as 3000 years ago. In a law such as this there would be indeed no holes to pick if Indian society had remained stationary these 3000 years, but Time has

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This brings us to the double plea of conserving monogamic rights for the wife, and securing favourable inheritance rights under the Indian Succession Act for the widow and her daughters. It was in hitting upon this secular ground for justifying their very natural Christian displeasure against the scapegoat Hindu priest that Mr. Paul Appasami and those who took the law from him fell unconsciously into a strange confusion of thought and did less than justice to themselves and to the intelligence of the public. They could very properly have said that a Christian woman would be wise to marry only a Christian man and have her marriage solemnized in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Christian Marriage Act, because she would then be safe from the risk of bigamy by her husband (so long as he remained a Christian) and would enjoy as his widow along with her daughters the superior rights of inheritance given by the Indian Succession Act (if he remained a Christian till his death). But the argument which they found it necessary and plausible to urge against the Hindu priest was quite different.

It implied that it is the Hindu ritual that affected the rights of a Christian woman marrying a Hindu, and that, if only he married him by registration before a Christian Marriage Registrar, she would run no risk of being superseded subsequently by a co-wife and would also secure for herself and her female children the right of inheriting to him at his death according to the rules of the Indian Succession Act. We sincerely wish it were a true reading of the law. Part V of the Indian Christian Marriage Act would then have filled a large part of the gap that now yawns between the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) even as at present amended and a general civil marriage law which is the desideratum of the new age in India. But such unhappily is not the case. The assumptions underlying the argument are absolutely unfounded in law. It is the personal law of the Hindu that dominates the situation not the ritual. There is nothing in the Indian Christian Marriage Act which takes away the polygamous "privilege" of a Hindu marrying under it or which abrogates the Hindu law rule of inheritance governing his property in favour of the Indian Succession Act (vide the *Reformer* of 22nd Dec. 1908, 13th June 1920, Page 655; 17th Nov. 1928, page 182; 27th April 1929, page 548; 11th Oct. 1930, page 88; 1st Nov. 1930, page 140; 22nd Nov. 1930, page 189; 21st Feb., 1931, page 898; 28th Feb, 1931, page 412; 16th May 1931, page 584.)

To insist on taking off the head, as it were, of the poor Hindu priest under the colour of such illusory grievances although he deceived none about his faith and offered his services to none but those who preferred and solicited his ritual with open eyes, and to use his supposed guilt under Section 68 as a lever for hauling up and hanging as his "abettors" the Christian offenders of the church and their Hindu relations for whose punishment through the criminal courts the Act itself has made no provision,—this might reasonably strike any mind, which is free from communal and credal pre-conceptions, as purposeless inhumanity and cruel disregard of individual freedom and unnatural twisting and misuse of the criminal law. But there is a further reason suggested to justify the prosecutions. It is that they are necessary for preventing Christian parents from forcing their minor daughters against their will into a Hindu marriage, that is, into a marriage with Hindu rites. We shall deal with it, if possible, in another issue.

K. R.

HINDU LAW REFORM.

(By J. Chinna Dural)

The principles of Hindu Law were enunciated more than three thousand years ago. It is indeed a matter of joy and pride to every Indian that Indian intellect and Indian talents had the vision and wisdom to produce a set of rules and laws for the proper conduct and guidance of Indian Society at a time when the other nations of the world were non-existent, or if they did exist, were barbarous or semi-barbarous and the notion of any law was remotest from their minds. But splendid as was the lead in law that India gave to the world thanks to the genius of Manu, the mightiest of law-givers that ever trod on ancient Indian soil, and his stalwart successors Gautama, Sankha and Parasara, to mention but a few names, and thanks also to the Vedas, Mantras and Sutras—the "uttered thoughts" of India's inspired seers, and the immemorial "usages" of the peoples of India,—it is greatly to be pitied that to-day judged by modern standards the laws of India are comparatively crude, out-of date and primitive and are better fitted to be consigned to a first class museum as a glorious relic of India's antiquity than put into use to meet the needs and requirements of a race such as the Indian race which certainly is not the same to-day as it was in the days of Manu. It has progressed vigorously in every walk of life and thought during the past fifty years to a degree that makes Hindu Law nothing short of an anachronism simply allowed to be in force because there has not emerged yet a modern Manu who would have the courage to denounce it in the same way as Manu of old propounded it.

India to-day does not crawl on chariot wheels or double bullock carts but gallops on Fords and Rolls Royces. Indians do not shun the forbidden seas any more but cross them with an easy conscience by means of motor vessels, some of them even resorting to aeroplanes. The wireless Telegraph, Trans-Oceanic-Telephones, Talkies and Television have brought the world to India's very door. The annihilation of space and distance by means of express locomotives throughout the length and breadth of India has brought the divergent castes and communities of India incredibly closer. A keen sense of patriotism resulting in a national upheaval and a common aim and aspiration in regard to the political, social and economic welfare of India have made the disjointed warring India of old with millons of internal problems and disturbances, a solid united nation. Territorialism and Communalism are slowly disappearing and in all things that matter India's outlook on life and things to-day is a world outlook compared with her erstwhile narrow and provincial outlook. Indian schools and colleges modelled on Western lines and the tremendous influence of the West and particularly that of Great Britain are spurring India on towards ultra-modernism. India's superstitions and ignorance, her racial differences and communal animosities will all be soon things of the past and by quick degrees—whether she likes it or not—India will be 'modern' in every sense of the term like her sister nations of the world.

The question now arises—and it is a very important question—has Hindu Law kept abreast of the tremendous strides India has made towards advancement in recent times? Has the progress of Hindu Law been commensurate with the growth of modern India? Is not Hindu Law obsolete and must it not therefore be scrapped?

The answer to these questions must necessarily depend on what the Hindu law is to-day and what India is to-day. We have seen in the foregoing paragraph that India is tending to be modern, and is already quite modern in many respects. Can the same be said of Hindu Law? Emphatically 'No'. The origin of Hindu Law goes back to several centuries before Christ, to roughly about 1210 B. C. The Hindus claim that it is mainly divine in its origin, being the Revelation of inspired Seers and the institutes of revered Sages handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. It is also human in this that at a later stage the approved and immemorial 'usages' of the people supplemented the Divine Law of India. It was on these lines that Manu and Yajnavalkya propounded Hindu Law nearly three thousand years ago. The principles underlying them are indeed sound and even remarkable when one considers that they were the results of human thought as early as 3000 years ago. In a law such as this there would be indeed no holes to pick if Indian society had remained stationary these 3000 years, but Time has

considerably altered the whole fabric of Indian society and Indian thought and the application of Hindu Law to "New India" is like "putting new wine into old bottles" or hitching the 'Flying Scot' on to a goods wagon. If Manu were only to come back to life and see for himself aeroplanes and motorcars sweeping past him the extraordinary change in Indian manners and customs, the miraculous linking up of places and communities, the incredible merging of races and castes, and the astonishing tolerance and laxity in religion, he would surely offer profuse apologies for conspiring with the other law-givers of his time to bind hand and foot Hindu Society by a set of rules known as the Hindu Law which, while on the one hand it helped to solve legal problems at the time, has on the other tended to enslave Hindu Society for ever. The Hindu is a born Conservative and being a zealous stickler for religion he prizes the Hindu Law which is based on Hindu religion as a priceless gift from God, and would sooner die than in any way attempt by word or deed to belittle the Hindu Law. True he is himself modernised every day, but out of respect for his religion and a sneaking regard for all that is 'ancient' he would far rather let himself be judged by the antique law of India than submit himself even in the slightest degree to any departure from it. This is indeed the reason why all these 3000 years the Hindus have silently suffered themselves to be judged by a law which at its best is a 'curiosity' and at its worst a 'hindrance' to the progress of India. It is for the same reason to that no modern Manu in the shape of a law reformer has dared to come yet on the scene!

It may be asked in what respects the Hindu Law as administered to-day is defective and unsuited to modern thought and requirements? It is a question that by its nature necessarily involves a through discussion from line to line and page to page of all the standard treatises on Hindu Law, beginning with the sources right up to the recent 'decided cases' and the latest legislative enactments. In an article such as this it is not possible to delve deep into the subject and the only way it can be answered is by a sweeping generalisation of a few glaring defects which might afford sufficient thought for the budding jurists to ruminate upon and the powers-that-are to ponder over. The main purpose of this article is to set up a healthy controversy over the subject of Hindu law and create such an interest among the legislatures, judges, politicians and students of India that it might inevitably result in the ultimate well-being of India consequent on the administration of a more modern law than that which is at present in vogue.

THE PROBLEM OF GERMAN REFUGEES.

(By Bertram Pickard)

It will be remembered that at the League of Nations Assembly in the Autumn the Dutch Foreign Minister proposed that the League should take up the problem of the refugees (Jews and others) that had fled from Germany on account of the Hitler regime. Eventually the League Council appointed a High Commissioner, and a Governing Body composed of the representatives of a certain number of specially interested States, it being understood that that body would be autonomous and that the High Commissioner would report to it, and not to the League Council itself.

Since his appointment as High Commissioner Mr. James MacDonald, formerly Director of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, has been busily at work studying the problem, and getting into touch with the chief governments and private organisations that are wrestling with the tragic difficulties of the refugees. And now the first meeting of his Governing Body has been held at Lausanne and the first formal steps taken in the organisation of the work.

In his speech to the Governing Body at its opening session on Tuesday, December 5th, Mr. MacDonald reviewed the situation in statesman-like terms, but with all the directness and common sense that is characteristic of American administrators.

From his report it appears there are at present some 60,000 German refugees, 51,000 of whom are Jewish. France alone has received 25,000 (22,000 of them being in Paris); some 5000–6000 each are in Palestine, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Holland; whilst from 2000–3000 are in England, Belgium and Switzerland.

These numbers are much smaller than the number of Russian refugees with which Nansen had to deal, but the economic crisis with widespread unemployment has increased the difficulties enormously, whilst the fact that 86% of the refugees are Jews introduces a special element into the problem. On the one hand the danger of rousing anti-Semitic feeling in the countries of settlement has to be guarded against; but on the other hand the characteristically loyal support of world Jewry afforded its unfortunate fellow Israelities has reduced the burden for the particular countries and towns where the refugees have found temporary asylum. Indeed, there is a real danger that for this very reason people in general, and especially professing Christians, will be tempted to evade or not to recognise their responsibility to help.

In this connection it is interesting to note that there will be in all probability an Advisory Committee set up to work in co-operation with the High Commissioner. On this Committee the chief agencies (Jewish, Christian and perhaps some others) will no doubt be represented. The work of the private agencies will be to raise funds and administer relief. The High Commissioner's work will consist in co-ordinating the work of the private agencies, in co-operating with them in the raising of funds; and negotiating with Governments about transit and settlement facilities.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE 1933.

In welcoming the delegates to the Indian National Social Conference at Madras Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar dealt with the difficulties which the conveners of the conference had to overcome before the present session could be held at Madras—on December 29th 1933—and replied to the contention of certain friends of social reform who had expressed the view that the necessity for such a conference no longer existed. Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar referred to the work of early reformers, making particular mention of Raghunathrao, Ranade, Chandavarker and Sadashiv Aiyar, and two others, Swami Vivekananda and Mrs Annie Besant, who had contributed indirectly to the social reform movement. Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar said:—

We should all feel grateful for the measure of success which has attended the efforts of our predecessors in this field. To-day we are meeting under less difficult circumstances than what the great pioneers had to face when they began their work. Some of the problems set to them have lost some part of their difficulty. A further, and in my opinion a really important, change is the present attitude of some reformers themselves. Not long ago, many of those convinced of the benefits of the changes advocated on platforms such as this stopped short of actual practice. They gave them plenty of intellectual sympathy, but owing to inertia or the oppression

of divided loyalties or some such other reason, they would not or could not act. Not that I undervalue even intellectual sympathy by itself; or that I am willing to cast a stone at their sincerity. Often times the paths of those placed in such circumstances that they were able to act, have been rendered very easy by such sympathisers. But the failure of large numbers of such reformers to act gave the opponents of reform a good occasion for gibes. Even that defect has considerably disappeared now. More men and women dare to act to-day and there is less difference between precept and practice.

All these hopeful features of the present social situation, we must thankfully acknowledge, are the result of the devoted labours of the fathers of our movement. It is not minimising the effect of their work if we realise also that their endeavours in this special field would not have prospered even to the extent to which they have prospered, but for two great movements outside it. Nothing has demonstrated the saying that life is a whole and one cannot make water-tight compartments of it better than the repurcussion which the expansion of political activities in this country has had on the social difficulties of an earlier generation than ours. In those days there were eminent political workers who did not see that the very arguments they used in favour of greater political freedom would and could be used by the breakers of social shackles; and it was not uncommon to find one who was a "fire-brand", on the platform of the Congress, becoming suddenly moderate or even extremely conservative the next day when the Social Conference met and even actively throwing obstacles in its way. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, to whom the country owes a deep debt of gratitude for his activities in other directions was a conspicuous example of this class of public workers. Even he, in his later days, became conscious of the inconsistency of his position, and today there are few political leaders of his eminence or of any eminence who would act as he did in connection with the Poona Social Conference of 1895. They have all become social reformers now, though naturally, of varying degrees of fervour, and are willing to help in the devising of measures which will consolidate the nation, remove fissiparous tendencies and make for social justice. Some may taunt them by saying that their new enthusiasm has a vile political motive behind it; but it is more just to say that they have become convinced of the need for simultaneous progress in all directions. This is the general result of the political movement. A special result of very recent political activities—a result which must gladden the hearts of us all—is the sudden emergence of thousands and thousands of our dear sisters—aye, even of our mothers—from the ages-old seclusion in which their menfolk had placed them often at their own initiative. Whatever one's views may be as regards the direct results of the great movement of non-co-operation led by the most popular Indian of the twentieth century, this bye-product of it is one of supreme value. In the days of old, the usual defence of inaction of many men was that their womenfolk would not allow them to move. To-day it is very much the other way, and it would seem that instead of our sisters keeping us back it is the men that have occasionally to pull them up. I have heard that said by more than one enthusiastic friend of social reform in the recent controversies about divorce.

Of equal importance to the help rendered by the political workers—perhaps of more permanent value—is the assistance which our movement has derived from the new orientation which has taken place in the conception of Hinduism. The one stock objection to social changes is that the Hindu social policy is so intimately connected with Hinduism that any slightest change in the one will shatter the other; and as most of the problems of social reform concerned Hindus only—our Non-Hindu brethern who join us on this platform have fortunately fewer obstacles to surmount—this confusion of social policy and religion did great mischief. It had the disastrous effect of deceiving away many an ardent and sincere soul from what I think—if I may be permitted to voice my opinion—is the rock on which this social reform movement should be built, *viz*, a high spiritual outlook on life. Today, this confusion exists only in a very much attenuated form. For this change we are indebted to two great religious organisations which have done incalculable service to this country, though all may not see eye to eye with them as regards all their activities. I refer to the Theosophical Society and the Ramkrishna Mission. These two organisations are out and out supporters of social reconstruction and progress. No longer can it be said, as it used to be said of old, that social reformers were a set of irreligious persons out for the flesh-pots of Egypt. They have now the support of people whose services to Hinduism are beyond all reasonable cavil; and so long as we continue to have that support, our efforts are bound to succeed. The success of the Arya Samaj is proof, if proof was required, that people in this country would agree to the most radical changes even in social polity, if only they are attuned to what they consider is religious authority.

One may fancy that all that has been said by me till now makes these conferences less necessary than before. But he will take a different view if he has regard to two recent happenings. Like the Puranic churning of the milky ocean, the political upheaval that I referred to has thrown out things of divergent values. It has given us many a Lakshmi of surpassing usefulness, but it has also given us the fiery poison of communalism which has destroyed the social harmony that had resulted from decades of strenuous work by the progressivists. This is not the platform on which one should try to apportion the blame for this deplorable state of affairs. But it will be mere affectation to shut our eyes to the fact that there is great danger of its reintroducing caste in a more deleterious form than before. Some persons who objected to members of one caste being given special privileges merely on account of their birth in it, are now, paradoxically, claiming very exceptional rights for birth outside it and are further adopting a "nothing good can come from Nazareth" attitude towards them. Political safeguards are being sought, which will have the effect of permanently stressing caste differences. Further, our opponents of the conservative variety, are organising themselves to an extent unknown in the days of our elders. Sanatanists' conferences are now becoming common and their deputations are getting vocal to a degree. Their attempts to set the clock back have to be met. Only the other day our sisters at Bombay rightly thought it necessary to meet to object to the whittling down of the Sarda Act. We have therefore to be alive and active to prevent any recrudescence of reaction, if for nothing else. May I add here that, for one reason, I am glad that our conservative friends are active, for I see in it evidence of life. Ages of complacency had dulled their sense of social justice, and as in the saying that a thinking atheist is on the high road to theism, I believe that the active Sanatanist will very soon become a social reformer. It was not long ago that any advocacy of the sub-caste inter-marriage would have attracted ridicule if

not active opposition. Now Sanatanists find it necessary to sponsor it to prevent persons going for inter-caste marriage. To day, as I said, they would join that devoted band of men and women who work for the social and economic uplift of Harijans, if only they would not ask for temple entry, while not long ago they talked seriously that any attempt to alter the position of the Harijans would be interfering with the incidence of the divine law of "Karma". I am looking forward to the day in the near future when there will be a round-table conference of Sanatanists and reformers, wherein, by compromise, an agreed programme of social advance will be formulated. I am free to confess to a feeling that a grand opportunity of that sort was lost when the Sarda Act was fashioned, owing to the attitude of die-hards on both sides. If only "the 11 or 12 years" offer of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavayya, than whom there is no sincerer Sanatanist or progressivist in this country, had been accepted, and the measure had thus secured the support of his followers, the country would have been spared the sorry spectacle of thousands of young girls very much under 12 in age being married in haste to avoid the Act, and, what is worse, the contempt which is shown to established law by those who are allowed to disobey it without fear or anything more than the addition of a few hundred rupees to the debit side of the marriage budget. I venture to think that our cause has really been injured by the failure to seize that opportunity.

It may be that all our energies are not now required at the front at which the battle raged till recently. The concentration there may be unnecessary, and some part of the forces may be released for action elsewhere. The places of the old problems have been taken by new ones which are of equal importance and which are more urgent today. I have already referred to questions like temple-entry and divorce. Others like the expansion of women's right in property, the raising of their position in schemes of inheritance, and other similar alterations of personal laws, now claim our attention. Social purity and the suppression of immoral traffic and cognate problems of social and moral hygiene are becoming more urgent in view of what other countries with which we are coming in closer political contact, are doing.

Even our old friend "Temperance" has assumed a new importance. The reported failure of local-option in some parts of this presidency, and America going wet, have given a rude shock to those who thought that an effective method of combating the evil of drink had been found and have necessitated the devising of a new plan of compaign. Further, I think the time is come when the term "Social Reform" must receive a far more liberal and comprehensive interpretation than our fathers gave to it in the peculiar conditions in which they started their work. It must be equated now with everything that makes for the social well-being of every citizen, in the manner in which that term is understood in other countries. Not that it is, altogether, a new view; even our elders knew it, but their energies were Needed nearer home. Now that a portion of it can be diverted, we may make it run along new channels with great benefit. In a sense, the poor have been, no doubt, always with us. But their cry is becoming more and more insistent, and is apt to go unheeded, at least as regards the caste portion of it, in the enthusiasm for the non-caste part. There are as many slums within the pale as outside it and work there is as urgent as among the untouchables. Better housing conditions and modern methods of helping the needy, such as poor homes and asylums for the aged and the infirm, will call for more and closer attention than they have received till now. Labour has no doubt become vocal, but it is not able to effectively assert itself yet. It must be helped to a proper share of the world's goods in an orderly manner lest, unguided and unhelped, it may violently break its bonds. In a country where caste still determines one's profession to a large extent it is not altogether a question for the economist only, as it may appear at first sight. Problems of sanitation and hygiene—both personal and civic—will have to be faced and solved quickly if the new aggregation of humans in un-thought of forms are not to produce undesirable social wastage and loss of social efficiency. The greater political and personal freedom that all expect to come soon, and the loosening of ages-old shackles will produce reperoussions which are not easy to predicate definitely, and those who desire progress to be orderly must be ever watchful and ready to help and guide. How much of this wider field we should cover immediately is a matter for you to decide. But whatever the extent may be, I am sure that any similar work will find as many active and sincere labourers as that for which the men and women of old toiled.

The Reception Committee has placed before you a varied bill of fare on the Agenda. It does not expect that every one will take the same view of all the resolutions. Some may object to the substance and some to the form of several of them. The omission of any one to divide the house on any resolution may not necessarily indicate that he votes for it. But I am sure that all of us are agreed on the principles this conference stands for. No one here, I believe, would object to social shackles which have outlived their usefulness being broken; to social injustice of any sort being remedied. And I trust that all are anxious that every member of our society should have the freest and fullest scope for self-expression.

In the work before us, I hope we shall be able to carry with us even those who are not now with us. It may be that in some spheres those who are not with one must be treated against one. I am unwilling to believe that it should be so in the service of justice and humanity which are what we aim at. Some of the new problems touch less those personal laws which can be easily mistaken for religion, and are, therefore, less likely to arouse passions. In any case, we should make a genuine effort to get the support of as many as we can reach, and our work will. I think succeed largely if we are careful not to take offence easily or to retaliate when it is not absolutely necessary. Sanatanists may be misguided, but we need not question their sincerity, even when some of them attribute base motives to us. Shastras may not cover the entire ground or be divine in origin, but they are not as unreasonable or obstructive as they are commonly supposed to be, and we can usefully make an effort, by careful shifting and proper understanding, to get their support as far as we can, and to conform to their spirit. Men and women are more unselfish and humane than we usually give them credit for, and above all, if I may venture a personal opinion, there is an Unseen Power which guides us all and which never allows injustice, inhumanity, and inequality to really prevail. If it were otherwise, mankind would have "fainted and fallen" in its onward march, long long ago. That it has not done so, but that in successive ages, in different climes, human endeavours to right such wrongs have proposed, in the main, is at once our motive power and substenance in our journey towards our goal.

ALL-INDIA SWADESHI SANGH.

We take the following from the Annual Report of the All India Swadeshi Sangh for 1932-33.

The All-India Swadeshi Sangh was started on the 12th of March 1932 in response to an appeal to the public issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to establish Swadeshi Associations all over the country to propagate the creed of Swadeshi and to carry on a vigorous campaign for the spread of Swadeshi. The main object for which the All-India Swadeshi Sangh itself was started was to stimulate the formation of Swadeshi Sanghas and Buy-Indian Leagues in all parts of the country, to affiliate to itself these local and provincial organizations and to guide and assist these organizations in their activities. During the year over a hundred and seventy Swadeshi associations and Buy-Indian Leagues were organised in different parts of the country. Provincial Swadeshi Sanghas were formed in Madras, Maharashtra, Bengal, Karnatak, Bombay, Sindh, Delhi, Marhatta C. P. and in the United Provinces. The movement also penetrated the Indian States. Madhya Bharat Swadeshi Sangh and Saurashtra Swadeshi Sangh carried on vigorous Swadeshi propaganda in Central India and Kathiawar respectively. In co-operation with the Buy-Indian League Madras, Swadeshi movement was also being carried on in States in South India, notably in Mysore.

The movement was carried on by means of securing Swadeshi pledges, house to house visits of individuals and groups of men and women, the publication and distribution of handbills, pamphlets, posters, directory and Swadeshi Bhajans, and the organization of public meetings, processions, exhibitions, museums, bazars and stores. A few periodicals on Swadeshi were also published.

In the history of the Swadeshi movement the year is likely to remain memorable for the number of Swadeshi Exhibitions held in various parts of the country. Twenty-five All-India Swadeshi Exhibitions and a large number of local Swadeshi Bazars and exhibitions were held. Moving exhibitions of Swadeshi goods were also organised along with processions. In spite of economic depression most of the exhibitions were great successes. In this connection we owe special thanks to our Vice-President, Sir P. C. Roy, who not only organised the provincial Swadeshi Sangh in Bengal, but also inspired and encouraged people throughout the country in the cause of Swadeshi by responding to requests to open Swadeshi exhibitions and to preside over other Swadeshi functions in many places.

In response to the appeal made by our President Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, the 29th May was specially observed as a Swadeshi Day throughout the country. On that day countless Swadeshi pledges were taken, handbills were distributed, meetings and processions were organised and in many places Swadeshi Exhibitions Bazars and Stores were opened. In response to the appeal of the All-India Swadeshi Sangh, more than sixty Municipal and District Boards communicated to us their resolutions to buy as far as possible Swadeshi goods for their requirements. Some of them were pursuing this policy for many years, but the majority of them passed the resolutions referred to above in response to the request of the Central office. A number of other public associations and conferences passed resolutions in favour of the Swadeshi movement. A number of Swadeshi Exhibitions were held by some of these associations. The All-India Seva Samiti Boys Scouts Associations Allahabad, issued detailed instructions to their Scout Masters to promote the cause of Swadeshi. Though there are nearly 200 local and provincial Sanghas and Leagues formed in different parts of the country, the number of these which sought affiliation to the Sangh during the year 1932-33 was 29. The subscriptions paid by these amounted to Rs. 145-0-0. Since the close of the year 9 new associations have sought affiliation and paid in their affiliation fees. It is to be hoped that bodies which joined last year but have not yet paid their fees for the current year will do so now without delay.

During the year under report, the Sangh interested itself in the preparation of slides dealing with Swedeshi propaganda and it is satisfactory to note that there was a good demand for this novel form of propaganda which may be expected to expand considerably in the future. Another matter to which the Sangh had its attention drawn was the unsatisfactory manner in which exhibitions were being arranged. There was during the year no meeting of the General Body, but there was one meeting of the Executive Committee.

During his last visit to Bombay in July Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President of the Sangh expressed a desire that the head-quarters of the Sangh should be shifted to Bombay. As an outcome of negotiations he issued orders under Rule 16 transferring the head-quarters of the Sangh to Bombay and appointing 6 local members to the Executive Committee (including two Secretaries and a Treasurer) to enable the work to be undertaken in Bombay.

The first activity after the transfer to Bombay has been the collection of funds, as a result of which Rs. 1500 have been recieved so far. The office has tried to establish touch with the various local and provincial organizations and issued to them circulars and letters. The Committee has decided that the Sangh should have a weekly journal of its own, and is developing arrangements in that connection. In the meantime, it has requisitioned the services of a well-known and experienced journalist to issue press-communiques and brochures, three of which have already been published. The Committee has issued a brief memorandum on the subject of the Mody-Lees Pact and the grant of protection to the iron and steel industry. It has secured information regarding the arrangement obtaining in various parts of the country in the matter of certifying goods as Swadeshi. Modest efforts are being made to build up an information bureau, with a library and a reading room attached to the office of the Sangh. There was a fair measure of response to our appeal for funds, on which the work is dependant.

The Swadeshi spirit and movement has saved Indian industries from ruin and promoted the industrial development of the country. It is important to note that during this period of economic depression, while the production of cloth in other countries considerably decreased, India produced a greater quantity of cloth than in previous years. A number of Swadeshi Stores were opened and many new industries were organised.

There is need for greater effort in the coming year. The new industries will need constant support and encouragement for a number of years. Our industrial development has not yet been sufficient even to meet our growing needs, not to speak of capturing the market already lost by us. The growth of imports of foreign manufactured goods has not yet been arrested. During the last year, while export of merchandise constantly decreased, our import of manufactured goods increased considerably. The import of piece-goods increased

by nearly 50 per cent. The import of cloth increased by 4·14 crores from England and by 2·38 crores from Japan. The import of cotton yarn and twist also increased by over 90 lacs of rupees, more than 80 lacs of this increase was from Japan. The increased import of cotton cloth during this period of economic crisis has begun to be keenly felt by Indian industry.

It is hoped that all classes of the people, fully realising the benefits of and the need for Swadeshi will carry on this movement with redoubled movement. For the success of the movement it is necessary that a well co-ordinated network of Swadeshi Sanghas and Buy-Indian Leagues be formed throughout the country, including Indian States. Public spirited persons are therefore requested to organise Swadeshi Sanghas in places where one does not exist. Local and Provincial Swadeshi associations are also requested to get themselves affiliated soon with the Provincial and the All-India Swadeshi Sangh respectively.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AND NATIONAL ECONOMICS.*

(By Maxwell S. Stewart).

After seven weeks of tempestuous existence, the World Monetary and Economic Conference adjourned *sine die* on July 27, 1933 without having accomplished any of its main objectives. As stated by its Preparatory Commission, the purpose of the conference was to resolve "the prevailing conflict of national economics" by drawing up a programme of "economic disarmament." To the commission, as well as to a majority of the delegates at the conference, this implied an attempt to restore the flexibility of the international economic mechanism in accordance with laissez-faire principles. On the assumption that a return to prosperity depended on the re-establishment of a world market unhampered by Governmental restrictions, the Draft Annotated Agenda sketched a comprehensive plan for a simultaneous attack on both financial and economic problems. Emphasis was placed on the necessity for restoring the gold standard under conditions which would prevent a recurrence of the recent debacle. These included the reform of the present monetary system, the balancing of national budgets, and the "return to a reasonable degree of freedom" in the movement of goods, services and capital.

That the attempt should have ended in failure was scarcely surprising to close observers. Despite the successful conclusion on May 12 of a "tariff truce" between eight of the leading countries, the atmosphere in which the conference opened one month later was extremely unfavourable. Nationalism, although denounced at every opportunity, was never more conspicuous. In this direction the United States was probably no greater an offender than many others, but its wealth and position as chief creditor cast especial importance on the uncertainties and contradictions of its policies. Recent American monetary developments were a particular source of anxiety; President Roosevelt's somewhat unexpected failure to secure authority for adjustment of tariffs or negotiation of the war debts had given rise to the fear that the programme for national recovery, which had just received the sanction of Congress, would conflict directly with the administration's professed desire to lower tariffs and establish freer conditions of trade. Moreover, the collapse of the disarmament conference and disturbed political conditions in Europe resulting from the rise of Hitler in Germany had combined to intensify national distrust and animosities. Finally, the improvement that was already discernible in world economic conditions had led several of the more important countries, notably Great Britain and the United States, to show less interest in the outcome of the gathering than they had a few months previously.

Despite its failure to attain its professed objectives, the conference was not without achievements. The fact that agreements were secured at all, meagre though they were, is an indication that international co-operation is not beyond the realm of possibility. Many of the agreements possess a significance far greater than their immediate effect on the world economic situation would seem to indicate. Taken together with the failures, these agreements have value in charting the limits within which future discussions may profitably be carried on, a lesson which should save much time and expense should the conference be reconvened.

Although the question of inter-government obligations had been deliberately excluded from the agenda, the fact that no arrangements had been announced regarding the war debt payments due June 15 overshadowed all else at the outset of the conference. More than six months had elapsed since Great Britain, France and other debtors had despatched notes requesting a review of their obligations to the United States; yet no intimation had come from Washington regarding either the instalment immediately due or the time when negotiations would be commenced with a view to permanent settlement. This despite the fact that the close connection between the war debts and the other economic problems facing the world had been repeatedly recognized by all governments. A mild sensation was created at the opening session of the conference when Prime Minister Mac-Donald unexpectedly raised the debt issue in his introductory address. Speaking in his capacity as president, Mr. Mac-Donald declared that "the question of the war debts.....must be dealt with before every obstacle to general recovery has been removed, and.....must be taken up without delay by the nations concerned."

The debt problem was temporarily disposed two days later, however, when President Roosevelt agreed to accept "token" payments of less than 10 per cent of the amount due instead of the regular June 15 instalments. In acknowledging receipt of these payments, the United States in each case reiterated its willingness to review the entire debt question at Washington in the near future, but set no definite date for these negotiations. Not even the assurance of a review was given, moreover, to the seven countries which had defaulted entirely on their obligations.

While the speeches which consumed the first four days of the conference sessions were for the most part given over to generalities regarding the desperate state of world economic affairs, there were definite intimations of the clash of opinion that was to arise on each of the principle issues. Speaking for the French delegation, Prime Minister Daladier declared that "the first step was to put an end to the currency war and to restore to trade that essential guarantee of monetary security," which could only be accomplished by "the maintenance or restoration of the freedom of gold movements"; while "the second step was to organize controlled agreements between producers in order that their work might be closely adjusted to the real possibilities of consumption." It was significant that Mr. Daladier made no reference to tariffs or trade restrictions. Signor Jung of Italy gave his general support to this position, but in

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addition emphasized the necessity of obtaining an early settlement of the war debts, and opposed artificial expansion of credit for the purpose of raising prices.

Sharply contrasted with the French view was that of Secretary Hull, head of the American delegation, who particularly stressed the necessity of removing trade barriers on the ground that "international commerce was indispensable to national life." He also spoke of the need of stimulating national sources of employment, so as to build up consuming power which would lead to an inevitable rise in prices. The British position,as presented by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, was somewhat more practical. While advocating a reduction of tariffs and the ultimate restoration of the gold standard the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that there were many factors in the situation which made immediate action in that direction difficult if not impossible. In common with the other speakers, Mr. Chamberlain emphasised the importance of raising prices, but in contrast to the Italian view, he declared that this might best be achieved by co-operation of the Central Banks in maintaining a policy of cheap money, aided where possible by government capital expenditures. Most concrete of all was Mr. Litvinov, Soviet Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, who, after expressing grave doubt concerning the adequacy of the policies suggested above, proposed that the conference "concentrate upon the potential absorption" of surplus stocks, and upon attempts to stimulate the increased utilization of capital goods. He asserted that under favourable conditions, such as lengthened credits and normal conditions for Soviet exports, the Soviet government might be willing to absorb a billion dollars worth of the surplus.

At the final session on July 27, no attempt was made by the majority of delegates to conceal their deep disappointment over the meagre results attained. While few were frank enough to admit utter failure, the most that could be claimed was that there had not been "that divergence of opinion on important subjects that might have been expected." Such achievements as could be listed were clearly not of the type envisioned by the Preparatory Commission, nor those which had been stressed by the delegates themselves six weeks previously in their opening addresses. The problems of exchange instability, tariffs and the other barriers to trade remained virtually untouched, and it was not even possible to claim with assurance that the discussion of these questions had led the nations closer to economic disarmament. On the contrary, some critics have declared that this gathering marks the end of all efforts to seek international co-operation through the conference method.

Explanations of the conference's failure to make progress in its appointed field are varied and frequently contradictory. Among those who deny that the conference method itself is at fault, it is most frequently asserted that the difficulty lay in the fact that preparation had been grossly inadequate. Other observers, however, deny the importance of this defect on the ground that even the most elaborate preparation for large international conferences is certain to be insufficient, and declare that what is needed is the time and will to consider problems at leisure without the constant threat of adjournment. Many others intimate that the unexpected abandonment of the gold standard by the United States made agreement on basic issues at least temporarily impossible, and that it was therefore a mistake to convene the conference at all under the circumstances. A few writers, on the other hand, absolve the American Government completely, and cite the obstinacy of the "gold bloc" as the chief cause of the conference's breakdown.

More basic than any of these criticisms is the conviction on the part of some authorities that in seeking to restore world order based on laissez-faire principles, the World Economic Conference was attempting the impossible. To them, the sharply conflicting points of view at London were not so much the result of the complexity of the problems faced as the inherent difficulty of securing greater flexibility at a time when the whole trend of development seems to be moving toward greater rigidity and control. The NRA programme in the United States, the new forms of economic organisation in Germany, the rigid quotas set up in the recent British trade treaties and the legislation for regulating and controlling production and marketing are viewed as merely the latest phase of a tendency which has been developing since the war—the tendency of nations and economic groups to protect themselves against the rigours of free competition either by attempting to stabilize existing conditions or seeking governmental favours. As indicated by the Preparatory Commission, piecemeal measures would be of little avail toward reversing this trend. It would be necessary not only to restore monetary stability, provide for greater freedom in the movement of goods, services and capital, but also to adopt measures "for increasing flexibility within each of the separate national economies"—a task which few statesmen are prepared to undertake. Even conservative economists admit that the trend of events is towards a greater measure of economic control, although they maintain that this development is bound to intensify rather than remedy existing maladjustments.

To many observers, the only alternative to the policy of economic disarmament was the world-wide adoption of ideals of national self-sufficiency. While the collapse of the conference has not thus led to unbridled economic warfare, the danger of this development cannot be denied. For a time the tariff truce, to which some sixty nations had adhered by mid-July, acted as a restraining factor. Recently, however, the effect of the truce has been seriously undermined by the defection of Holland, Sweden and France and by Italy's action in raising tariffs on products from countries that have abandoned the gold standard. Moreover, the truce has not prevented France from further restricting imports by means of reduced quotas, while it is reported that the United States is preparing to protect its national recovery programme by levying fees in addition to import duties on certain classes of goods.

Yet side by side with increasing national rivalries may be found unmistakable signs of the development of a type of international co-operation which is markedly dissimilar from that contemplated in the early stages of the conference. This trend is perhaps best illustrated by the unanticipated success of the discussions in the sub-commission on the coordination of production and marketing, and the subsequent silver and wheat agreements. In the case of nearly a score of different commodities, producers have somewhat tardily realized that international agreement is essential for the elimination of cut-throat competition. Thus, paradoxically, the need for co-operation across national boundaries has been increased rather than diminished by the rise of economic nationalism.

Although schemes of the type projected are unlikely to be successful unless a groundwork of control has been built up within each nation, it has at least become apparent that adequate national planning necessitates a measure of regulation on an interna-

tional scale. While there can be no certainty that the trend toward international regulation can overcome the divisive forces of nationalism or that the control will be exercised in the interest of the general welfare it is difficult to see how it can be reversed once producers have experienced the advantages of organization. Under such circumstances future international co-operation will probably not be concerned so much with the setting of rules of competition as in organizing economic activity so as to serve the interests of consumers and producers alike.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

"We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us as a 'menace.' How can one person in a hundred be a menace? You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled myself in over 30—where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours," remarked Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, in the course of an address on "Untouchability," delivered to the Wesley Guild in the Wesleyan Church Hall, Boksburg, recently.

After explaining the untouchability question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say:

"We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negatived in the future. But what about untouchability in this country? In India, untouchability has a religious sanction, and you know how difficult it is to remove anything with religious sanction.

"But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country, for it is truly progressive? I believe I have many sympathisers in this country, but they keep their sympathy hidden. I need open sympathisers. You are too timid, you have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what was sweet better.

"Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins, Moses, Jesus Christ—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born—Buddha, Confucius, who has many millions of followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mahomed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and—forgive me if I say it—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics.

"How can you say that progress or culture depend on the colour of a man's hair or how his eyes slant? I do not know if there are any Municipal Councillors here to-night, but I would ask them to spend a few hundred pounds—no one gives more than a hundred pounds or so to the Asiatic—on the improvement of the Asiatic bazaars. We have some very decent fellows living in them. All Indians are not bad lots. And let us do something to help this untouchability in our midst."—*Indian Opinion.*

Heir to Japanese Throne:—A son and heir has been born to the Emperor of Japan. The boy will succeed his father as the hundred and twenty-fifth in the unbroken line of monarchs, reputed to date back to the seventh century before Christ. The Emperor has three daughters, a fourth having died in childhood.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Tamil Book on Chemistry:—The Registrar of the Annamalai University announces a prize of Rs. 1,000 to be awarded to the author of a text-book in Tamil on Chemistry suitable for use in the Intermediate Classes. A manuscript or typewritten copy of the work should reach the Registrar on or before 1st July 1934. Further particulars of the prize can be had of the Registrar of the University.

No Buttermilk for Prisoners:—It is understood that the Government of Madras have after considering the pros and cons of the case came to the conclusion that prisoners are to go without Buttermilk as an article of diet. It is claimed that the Government will not find it possible to conveniently prepare and keep buttermilk every day in hygienic condition in all the prisons for C class prisoners numbering well over ten thousand on the aggregate.

Funeral Reform:—The Rajkot Social Service League has sent a draft resolution to the Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference to be held at Madras, for the consideration of the subjects committee, on reforming funeral ceremonies. The resolution reads: "To reduce the hardships felt by poor families in the land and the community at the time of funerals; and to further the cause of social reform in the country, the conference advise each and every community to reform the method of conducting funeral parties by substituting public hearse and the method of open pyre cremation by modern public crematoria in big towns."

Separate University for Sind:—Under the auspices of the Karachi Teachers' Association, Acharya Gidwani, Administrative Officer, made a strong plea for the immediate creation of a separate unitary University for Sind, making Karachi its head-quarters with three colleges for Arts, Engineering and Laws. He suggested the Hyderabad Degree College to be reduced to the intermediate stage on the level of Shikarpur College. He estimated Rs. 50,000 would be more than sufficient to make a start. He cited the example of the Delhi University which started with three colleges.

Sir C. V. Raman on Music:—The Seventh Annual Music Conference, conducted under the auspices of the Madras Music Academy, was opened on the 2nd by Sir C. V. Raman in the presence of a distinguished gathering. The Conference will continue for several days, forenoons being devoted to the reading of papers and questions on music and afternoons to illustrative musical performances. "Unless we solved the mystery of genius we will not be able to solve the mystery of music, for, one is the creation of the other," said Sir C. V. Raman in opening the seventh Music Conference organised by the Music Academy of Madras. The Academy presented him with a welcome address enclosed in a silver casket.

Health of Political Prisoners.—When the Legislative Assembly met on the 28th the Home Member replying to Mr. S. C. Mitra's question regarding the health of the State prisoners in Mainwali, denied the allegations and as there was some laughter on the Government side Mr. S. C. Mitra protested this was not a matter for laughter. When the censor erased portions from a letter relating to the health of detenus the members sought information. The Home Member replied if the Member was merely anxious to obtain information he could write to him (Home Member) and get the information. Sir Harry Haig added that it was unfortunate that such a great number of questions should be asked in the House regarding the details of the health of detenus and asked the member to reflect that the continual publication of these allegations conveyed mischievous effects in Bengal as it served to keep alive the sympathy with terrorists as individuals and in that way stimulated some sympathy with the movement with which they were indentified. Mr. S. C. Mitra remarked that it was misleading to say that the question showed sympathy with the detenus.

Asiatic Students' Conference:—In the course of his opening speech to the Congress of Asiatic students, Signor Mussolini referred to the civilisation uniting the East and the West that was created by ancient Rome. But he added that after the new currents of commerce came, the relations between the Occident and the Orient became exclusively bonds of subjection and were limited purely to material considerations. For this reason, all nations were interested in the reaction against degenerate capitalism and liberalism. And this reaction was best represented by Italy's Fascist revolution. "To-day, Rome with the renaissance brought about by Fascism is preparing to resume its unifying function between the East and the West. And for this purpose new Italy calls you together."

Mr. G. K. Devadhar's Mission to Cochin:—The Cochin Government have requisitioned the services of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, to visit some of the representative societies in the State and advise the Government on the lines in which the movement could be improved. The enquiry has been ordered, writes the *West Coast Reformer*, in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Cochin Legislative Council and Mr. Devadhar who is to be here shortly to preside over the State Co-operative Conference will be treated as a State guest during his stay in the State. The purpose of the enquiry is to ascertain the present condition of the co-operative movement by visiting about a dozen typical societies and to lay out the lines of future progress, the improvements necessary in the financial system of the movement, improvements in regard to propaganda, supervision and control of societies and finance and improvements and facilities necessary for development of non-credit activities.

English Poetry:—His Majesty the King-Emperor is offering each year a gold and silver medal for poetry in the English language published in volume form within the Empire by British citizens. The following committee has been appointed by the King to act as judges:—Mr. John Masefield (Poet Laureate,) chairman, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Mr. Walter De La Mare, Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. I. A. Richards. A small sub-committee will be appointed abroad to recommend books from India, the Dominions, and Colonies. The medals will be awarded towards the end of each year for works published during the preceding year. The first awards will be made in December, 1934, for works published during 1933. The medals will be given either for a poet's first or second volume of verse or to a poet still under 35 years of age. The Committee is empowered to withhold any recommendation for the medals in any year in which they consider the work submitted is not of a sufficiently high standard. Only works that have been published in volume form will be considered, and all communications relating to these medals should be addressed to the Poet Laureate.

Child Marriage:—In the house of Commons replying to Miss Rathbone, inquiring about the steps taken to educate public opinion in India with regard to civils of child marriage in view of the disregard of the Sarda Act as revealed in the 1931 census report, Sir Samuel Hoare said that he had received the Government of India reports showing that the Government of India and the local Governments had very carefully considered the recommendations of the Age of Consent Committee and there was a consensus of opinion regarding the desirability of an educative propoganda concerning the evils of child marriage, but it was generally agreed that it was best to leave the matter to non-official agencies. With regard to other administrative measures recommended by the committee the local Governments fully sympathized with the need for reform and would take action which appeared feasable but most of the specific proposals were at present impracticable for various reasons. Sir Samuel Hoare undertook to convey to the Government of India Miss Rathbone's suggestion for the appointment of a commission to inquire into maternal mortality.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Ram Mohan Roy and Ranade:—It is well to praise the fathers that begat us; though we sometimes feel that the tendency nowadays to confer this distinction on all and sundry threatens to make life a long series of jayantis and anniversaries. This can not be said of the celebrations in commemoration of the centenary of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and of the unveiling of the portrait of Mahádev Govind Ranade in Madras by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who made a felicitous speech on the occasion. Ram Mohan Roy and Ranade are the two greatest figures which contact between India and Britain has produced. If Ram Mohan traced out in broad outlines the ground-plan of Indian nationalism, Ranade showed us how to build on it and what materials were to be used in it. Both the Raja and Ranade were deeply religious men who saw the finger of God in history. Both held that British rule in India was divinely designed for the regeneration of their country. Both were critical of the measures of British rule but always with the object of keeping it to the main purpose of its existence here, as they conceived it. Both were inspired by the same principle of reconciliation of the present with the past and of the past with the present as the true function of the reformer. Both viewed Indian history as a mighty stream coming down from Himalayan heights to fertilise the plains. The two men stand high above every other whom modern India has produced and their example and teachings are a perennial source to which Indian leaders will turn for guidance and inspiration. In one respect Ranade, perhaps, surpassed Ram Mohan Roy. The latter was educated and brought up in the early impressionable years of his life in the social and cultural environment of Islam and Hindu Muslim synthesis, therefore, came naturally to him. Ranade, on the contrary, inherited the instincts implanted by Maratha history in his class; and it was by study and reflection that he overcame them sufficiently to lay the foundation of a synthetic history as the background of Indian nationalism.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the League of Nations:—The League Secretariat has replied to the representation of the Hindu Mahasabha to the effect that the constitution of the League of Nations does not permit it to take up questions which are not officially brought before it by the Governments of the member States. It could not take up the Jewish question in Germany for this reason. The Dutch representative indirectly raised a discussion on it by moving the League to adopt measures for the relief of the refugees from Germany. If the Mahasabha can persuade Mr. De Valera that the Communal Award impinges on the rights of the Irish Free State, there would be a chance of its being debated in the League Assembly. But the Mahasabha need not be sorry. Though the League under its constitution can not deal with the question at its formal sessions, the members unofficially have been made aware of its views. Some one asked the late Mr. Ranade, whom Mr. Chintamani rightly praised as the brain behind the National Congress in its early days, why he took so much pains over representations and memorials knowing full well that none of them will have any effect on the powers that be, Ranade replied that he had no illusions in the matter but that his object in drafting these model documents was to educate his countrymen and to train the public to deal with administrative questions. The Hindu Mahasabha has cast its bread on the waters and may console itself with the hope that it will find it after many days.

Untouchables and Temple Entry:—In his presidential address to the National Social Conference Mr. G. K. Devadhar described the public attitude to the admission of untouchables into Hindu temples. He said: "Temple entry and legislation thereabout are bones of contention; more so, because, the depressed classes have not shown much active enthusiasm for temple entry for the satisfaction of their truly religious cravings; while others who advocate it, in spite of this indifference of the community, do so because in this sphere of social reform they do not like to be accused of allowing a weak point in the Hindu social polity to remain an infe-

riority complex." Coming as it does from the President of the Maharashtra branch of the Harijan Seva Sangh, this statement may be taken to foreshadow a relaxation of the efforts of that body to get temples opened to untouchables. The orthodox opposition, too, may ask, if temples are not considered essential to worship by the depressed classes, of what other conceivable use it can be to them. The reform of worship in temples so as to make it spiritually elevating, has been long overdue.

The Viceroy and Gandhiji in Southern India:—The reception of Lord Willingdon during his last winter tour in Southern India was everywhere, in the States as well as in Madras City, marked by great cordiality. One or two days after His Excellency's departure, the Southern Presidency and the States made ready to accord Gandhiji welcome with equal cordiality. In both cases the personal factor counted for much but it is not all. The extravagant programmes of some political leaders have operated in favour of the existing system in many minds on the principle that it is better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know nought of. The idea of legislation to remove untouchability is repugnant to many who are convinced of the absurdity of the custom and are working in other ways to bring about its disappearance. The public feeling in South India, while it appreciates Gandhiji and approves of his aims, disfavours non-co-operation with Government. It would welcome a speedy understanding between Lord Willingdon and Gandhiji as a preliminary step for clearing the ground towards reconciliation of British with Indian national interests.

The Seva Samiti and the Scout Movement:—Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru gave an interesting account of the origin and progress of the Seva Samiti movement at a public meeting in Madras last week. It is reproduced elsewhere. The Seva Samiti was founded when Asiatics were not admitted to the Baden Powell organisation. Since then, the ban has been removed and in several places the Samiti and the Scouts exist as parallel bodies. The Pandit explained why the two could not be amalgamated at present. Mr. Venkatrama Sastry who presided, however, expressed the opinion that the reasons given were not applicable to Southern India. In the Madras Scouts Association, he said, there were Indian members of eminence who would not have taken part in it unless they were assured that it was capable of full national service. He added: "That and the fact that the Samiti Scout movement had not made any headway in Madras, seemed to indicate that the public had confidence in the Baden Powell Association." This points to a difference of outlook between Northern and South Indian nationalism, due to historical reasons.

A French view of Indian Life:—Madame Morin who is visiting India for the first time, told the representative of the *Hindu* that perhaps the only Indian custom which had appeared unfamiliar and unsympathetic to her, was the custom of purdah. This may surprise those who have been taught to regard the British social system as typical of the European. This is far from being the case. Writing of the French family, Cohen-Portheim observes in his brilliant book, "The Spirit of France": "The family is the kernel of the whole body politic. The Latin Frenchman lives primarily in and for his family. This last does not consist merely of his wife and children; it is the regular thing in the provinces, and very common even in Paris, for grandparents, parents and children all to live together, forming a whole tribe, which is generally ruled over by the senior grandfather. Consequently marriage, for a Frenchman, is not primarily a matter of love, but rather the foundation of a new family, in which reason and economic considerations count for most." The Frenchman would probably agree with Disraeli's view of love marriages. "As for love," he wrote to his sister, "all my friends who have married for love or beauty, either beat their wives or live apart from them. This is literally the case. I may commit many follies in life, but I never intend to marry for 'love', which I am sure is a guarantee of infelicity." And he did not.

Birth Control:—The National Social Conference held at Madras has been rather precipitate in committing itself to the support of an aggressive propaganda under official auspices in favour of birth control. The question was raised a few months ago on an imperfect understanding of some casual observations in the Report of the Census Commissioner for India. It has been debated in the Press and at public meetings and weighty arguments have been adduced against its being made a subject of official propagandan. It has been rejected by several women's conferences. Control by artificial means is a mechanical solution for a moral problem.

Asia and Europe:—The idea of holding a Conference of Asiatic students in Europe is a happy inspiration. The speech with which Signor Mussolini opened the first Conference in Rome, will strike a responsive chord throughout Asia. The summary of it supplied by the Italian Consul-General to the Press is printed in our news columns. In a few terse sentences, Signor Mussolini summed up the history of the relations between Europe and Asia during twelve centuries. The ancient understanding between the two continents has been replaced by European exploitation which has broken all spiritual links between East and West. Italy where the East meets West now resumes her unifying function between Europe and Asia. A permanent centre is to be established in Rome for the promotion of this high object. Mr. Subhas Bose who, like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is in the direct line of succession to Congress leadership, recommends the study of Fascist methods by Indian reformers.

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BOMBAY, JANUARY 4, 1934.

THE DECEMBER CONFERENCES.

The criticism that Indians devote a disproportionately large amount of attention to politics, is no longer true. For proof of this, one has only to refer to the conferences held last month. We note below only the more important All-India Conferences. The Lucknow Muslim Conference aimed at bringing about unity among Muslims which for some unaccountable reason seems to have been impaired recently. The National Liberal Federation which met in Madras is a political body voicing the opinion of Indian constitutional reformers. The Indian National Social Conference which, after some years, also met in Madras, as its name implies, deals with questions of social reform. There were two All-India Labour Conferences, one in Bombay and the other at Cawnpore. The difference between the two is, we understand, one of degree rather than of principle. The All-India Women's Conference held at Calcutta represents several Provincial Women's Associations and is at the present time the best organised movement in the country. The All-India Medical Conference and the All-India Medical Licenciates' Conference, both held in Bombay, dealt in a comprehensive spirit with the problems of public health and sanitation. Along with these may be mentioned the Conference held in Madras of practitioners of the indigenous system of Medicine known as Siddha. The Indian Science Congress began its sittings in Bombay on Tuesday. The All-India Economic Conference met at Chidambaram about the same time under the auspices of the Annamalai University. The All-India Swadeshi Workers Conference held in Bombay passed important resolutions regarding the measures needed to foster home industries. The All-India Educational Conference which met at Karachi was attended by prominent educationists in the country. The Oriental Conference held in Baroda was representative of Indian scholarship in the region of antiquities and historical research. An All-India Catholic Conference met in Madras during the closing days of last year. There was an All-India Kayastha Conference in Allahabad and an All-India Vysya Conference. The Tamil Lovers' Conference which held its first session in Madras represents an awakening in South India to the importance of promoting the growth of a modern Tamil literature. The South India Music Conference held its sitting for several days and passed resolutions, some of which are of a highly technical character. There were several caste conferences, such as the Andhra Agnikula Kshattriya Conference. The Varnashrama Swaraj Conference professes to advocate a scheme of self-government in conformity with Hindu social ideas. The All-India Baloochi Conference held its sittings this year in Hyderabad, Sind. The people of the Indian States held their All-India Conference as usual. Of these Conferences not more than three, or at most four, dealt with politics directly. Most of the others dealt solely with non-political subjects. A few, such as the Industrial and Educational Conferences, made only incidental reference to the administrative and political aspect of the issues raised in their discussions.

Some important inferences emerge from this season of Conferences. The holding of a Social Conference with the Liberal Federation for the first time is an event of great significance. The Indian Liberals had concentrated too much on constitutional reforms to the neglect of social questions, and it is due to this that even now very few women figure in the proceedings of the Liberal Federation. The dry bones of the valley are becoming instinct with life. The Indian people are realising that political institutions derive their significance and efficacy from the social, educational and economic factors of a nation's life. They also realise that the method of conference and public discussion of questions is the most efficacious way of creating and moulding opinion and that the time and money spent on them are not wasted. A third inference of great significance is the tendency to give an All-India character even to bodies which relate to interests and topics of a predominantly local and sectional character. This, seemingly, is in striking contrast to the insistence on provincial autonomy in provincial and municipal administration. Indian nationalism, however, is striking root in the layers of life deeper than the political system which floats like oil on water on Indian social life. A fourth deduction from these conferences is that several of them aim at improving castes and communities not as an end in itself but as a means of making their maximum contribution to national progress. Communal and sectional movements cease to be harmful when they are conducted with constant reference to the interests of the whole country. From this standpoint, the purely political Conferences suffer in comparison with the non-political ones. The system of self-government foreshadowed in the White Paper, has no relevancy to the aspirations of the people to reconstruct Indian society on lines congenial to their ancient genius, and compatible with the insistent demands of the spirit of the times. Several of the activities represented by these Conferences are in other countries directly undertaken or indirectly fostered by the state as the supreme organ of society. The sure test of the new constitution is whether it can attract to itself the support of all these varied elements of life in the country. If it does not, it will become a deadweight on national life, the removal of which would become the necessary condition of national growth. The consideration has been almost totally absent from the minds of the British and Indian Governments, and it does not seem likely that it will get recognition at this stage of the reform proposals.

RECENT SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN BARODA.

(By V. K. Durandhar.)

As is well known there are two principal schools of Hindu Law in India—the Mitakshara School prevailing in the whole of India except Bengal and the Dayabhag school prevailing in Bengal. The Mitakshara is a running commentary on the Yajnyavalkya Smriti. The Mitakshara school is sub-divided into four minor schools; all these sub-schools acknowledge the supreme authority of the Mitakshara; but they give preference to certain treatises and commentaries; for instance, the Bombay School gives preference to Vyavahar Mayukha (a commentary written by Nilkantha Bhatta) over Mitakshara where there is a conflict between the two; the Madras School, prefers Virmitrodaya which is also a commentary.

In Baroda Hindu law is codified; there are different Acts dealing with different aspects of Hindu Law, *viz.*, Joint Family, Inheritance, Disposition of property, Adoption, Parents and children, Marriage, Divorce, etc. These Acts were based on the Mitakshara law supplemented by Vyavahar Mayukha which prevails in Gujarat including Bombay.

There was therefore uptil now no material difference between the law applicable to Hindus in Baroda State and the law applicable to Hindus in British Gujarat.

In all the above-mentioned Schools women are under certain disablities in respect of holding and disposing of property—disabilities which are generally well known to the public.

First we shall take up the question of the position of a widow in a joint Hindu family. A joint family, as is well known, consisted in Baroda, as it does even now in British India and elsewhere, only of male members of the family. A widowed mother or a widow of a deceased son or a deceased brother was not a coparcener—*i. e.*, she was not a member, technically speaking, of a joint Hindu family. She was only a dependant. She had no rights of ownership over the family property. She had only a right to maintenance. Under the law now amended, the widow of a deceased coparcener shall be a coparcener herself. She has now all the rights which were formerly enjoyed by male members of a Hindu joint family—that is, she now becomes an owner of family property jointly with other members of the family. One of the important rights of a coparcener is the right to ask for a partition of the joint family property. A son or a brother could ask for a partition, get his own share determined and separated and become the full owner of that share, whereas formerly the widow had no such rights. She could have a share if a partition of the family property took place among her sons but she herself could not ask for a partition. She had therefore to remain content with what she got by way of maintenance. Now under the amended law she becomes a coparcener and as such will have as much right to ask for partition and get her own share in the family property determined and separated as any male member of the family and when she exercises that right she will get a share equal to that of a son if she has one; in the absence of a son she will get what her husband would have got had he been alive at the time of partition.

We shall now see what the position of the widow was in respect of the separate or self-acquired property of her husband and what it has now become according to the amended law. When a man having self-acquired property died, the property according to the old law descended to his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; the widow of the deceased person did not inherit the property of her husband. She inherited only when there was no son, grandson or great-grandson. By the amended law, a widow will inherit her husband's property along with the son, grandson and great-grandson, and she will be entitled to a share equal to that of a son.

The position of a widowed daughter-in-law is also improved in as much as she now ranks next after the mother in the order of succession. Formerly, she had no place in the enumerated heirs who inherited the property of a deceased person in the prescribed order.

Next we come to the position and rights of a daughter. A daughter inherited to her father only in the absence of a son, grandson, great-grandson, and the widow of the deceased. If any one of these was living a daughter took nothing by way of inheritance. No change is made in this position but now a daughter is given more rights in her father's family than she had before. Formerly a married daughter had no rights in her father's family. Even if she was a widow and had no means of maintenance in her father-in-law's family, she could not claim maintenance from her father's family. According to the law now amended a widowed daughter is given a right to maintenance in her father's family, provided she is living with her father from the time of her husband's death and there are no means of maintenance in her father-in-law's family and her father can afford to maintain her. Now we shall consider the position of an unmarried daughter. She was only a dependent in her father's family, had only a right to maintenance and marriage expenses and when partition took place, she was entitled to get ¼ of what her brother got, in lieu of maintenance and marriage expenses; but she could not force a partition and have her share separated. She is now given a right to ask for the separation for her share (equal to ¼ of her brother's share) in lieu of maintenance and marriage expenses, even if no partition takes place in the family.

In certain cases the law of succession was complicated. For instance, when daughters inherited, an unmarried daughter was preferred to a married daughter and among married daughters a poor daughter was preferred to a rich one. All these distinctions are now removed and all daughters whether married or unmarried, rich or poor will take equally. Similarly the law of Succession to Stridhan is very much simplified. Under the Mayukha Law which prevails in Gujarat and also in the State the three kinds of Stridhan, *viz.* Yautak, Ayautak and Shulka descended to heirs each in a different order. Now one uniform order is prescribed for succession to all Stridhan.

Formerly a woman had absolute interest in her Stridhan only but a limited interest in all other property. She could do what she like with her stridhan but as regards all other property which she held as an heir or which came to her share at the time of partition, she had only a limited interest, that is to say she could only enjoy the property but could not dispose of it; she could not alienate it except for certain purposes recognised by law; such property descended on her death not to her heirs but to heirs of the last male owner. A woman will now have absolute interest in property which she acquires either by partition or as an heir, provided that value of the property does not exceed Rs. 12,000. If the property is worth more she will have an absolute interest in the property to the extent of Rs. 12,000 and only a limited interest in the rest of the property. She has now as much right of alienating the property which she holds absolutely, as a male owner. These changes in the Hindu law will have a very far-reaching effect taken with the right of asking for a divorce conferred by the Hindu Divorce Act which has been in force from 1931.

DIVORCE AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

(By Walter Brooks Foley.)

The equilibrium of social life the world over has been thoroughly disturbed. This fact is overlooked in the midst of economic and political disturbance. Yet it will probably exercise a more profound effect upon the human race than either of the other factors that are now attracting so much attention. There is a kind of disintegration proceeding that is having its repercussions in a variety of ways. One clear-cut evidence of the break-down of old social customs and legal traditions is in the field of marriage,—or as it is thought of most commonly, in the difficulties surrounding the increase of divorce.

Men and women seem to find it increasingly difficult to adjust themselves to a fixed married state on the old bases. It may be that men and women are not willing longer to make sacrifices they felt in duty bound to make only a few years ago in order that homes and family life might be maintained. It would seem that when it was advocated in the U. S. S. R. a few years ago that children might be taken from their parents and brought up in special Children's Homes under efficient child psychologists the Russian leaders (partly unconsciously) were aware of a growing situation that required attention. For it is a well-authenticated fact that no children can receive adequate guidance in a home controlled by external and internal tensions that act and re-act upon the parents.

Too often a discussion of divorce has been taken to mean an advocacy of that procedure. It is nothing of the sort usually. Divorce in most cases comes after everything else has been tried. It is an evidence that there is a lag in the culture relationships in the home as over against the advance in other external and related culture relationships. It is to be expected that in a country like India divorce and separation will decidedly increase in the next few years. It is true that not only women are assuming a new place in the national economy, but also men are finding a new outlook toward their social relationships, national and international.

The fundamental impulses in a marriage are dynamic. It is quite evident that society has regularized and controlled these impulses partially in the past. Now the former sanctions and safeguards are dissolving. The world of values is being re-estimated. In this stage of adjustment men and women are not sure what the things are which are most worth striving for. Nor are they sure of the methods that should be adopted in making the necessary shifts from old to new levels of worth. We are in the process of establishing new *mores* to meet the changd social climate. This, we know, is essential if society is not entirely to disintegrate. In spite of all emphasis upon separation of incompatible couples men and women will continue to live together. Just what the exact relationship will be we do not know. Marriage will remain but it will not be the same.

As an example of why we do not know where we are going, there is the ever-obvious and increasing control of the State over individual and social relationships. It is entirely possible that the State may come to have (indeed has in some countries now) as much power over the individual in marriage and out as was once exercised by the Roman Catholic Church before the days of the Reformation. Just what that will mean cannot as yet be clearly seen. We do know that the family as an economic unit is no longer necessary in the West, and is less and less necessary in the East. The growing independence of women is forcing the bonds of marriage to be constructed of mutual contributions and exchange on the part of husband and wife.

No one who thinks will regret the passing of the economic compulsions that held many families together in the past. Marriage is altogether too important a social element to be lived forever on the economic level as it has been in many so-called homes. Little social loss will be felt by the dissolution of bad marriages. The new marriage will be based largely upon the world doctrine of the worth of human personality—male and female.

Just as it has been said for the life-time of Christianity that the "Kingdom of Heaven is within" so is it being recognized in our world that the new authority for actions social and personal must come from within. Theoretical dogmas no longer are authoritative. The consciences of individuals have their place. Goodness and virtue—whether we like this or not—are set up these days in connection with behavior which conforms to present needs as we see them through our reasoning powers.

The thought to keep in mind is that the widespread discontent comes not from worse conditions than our fathers and mothers knew but from a recognition that things as they are no longer remain satisfactory. Marriage is affected by the discontent just as all other relationships are. America has always been the outstanding exponent throughout her national history of the value of human personality. That is one reason for the high divorce rate in America. It represents simply the attitude and belief that where love no longer exists marriage itself is dead: where there is discord there cannot be harmony.

A survey of conditions gives us as modern reasons for the tensions in today's married life in the West: sex maladjustment; lack of sufficient money to maintain desired levels of living; birth control, involving the size of the family; education and training of children; discipline in the family—whether mother or father shall dominate; place and type of residence; carelessness or excessive tidiness; restlessness of women, including their desire for activity outside the home; differing social ambitions of husband and wife; friendships and associations outside the home; interference of relatives; complexes built on mother or father fixation, as well as other emotional urges.

Just how soon social maladjustments in the Indian home will appear in any such proportion as they have appeared in the West is difficult to say. That some have already appeared can be readily discerned. It may be that India will find it possible to avoid situations now common in the West by a thorough-going study and analysis of social readjustment as changes become evidently necessary. The problem of modern marriage is, like most other social problems, one of world-wide implication and significance.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.—II.

Coercion, of course, is reprehensible, especially in marriage, and must be discouraged by all fair and reasonable means, whether it is applied by Christian parents to their minor children or by the whole community to its adult members. To understand, however, the bearings of the claim that the former should be dealt with as a crime under Section 68 punishable with 10 years' transportation or imprisonment, a few facts have to be carefully pondered.

Any Christian under 21 years of age is an infant in the eye of the law. Under the general law of India for the restraint of child-marriages, popularly known as the "Sarda Act", no female child under fourteen years, whether Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian, can be given away or taken in marriage even with her consent, without the parents and others concerned becoming liable to be punished with one month's simple imprisonment or fine or both. The

age-limit for girls under the Christian Marriage Act is no higher.

It is a mistake, by the way, to suppose that the so-called "Sarda Act" was enacted exclusively for the Hindu community or that the latter has accepted it as being in its interest. Indian social reformers have welcomed it only because it is calculated to protect the health and human personality of all infant citizens of the State, at least up to a stage, against the tyranny of caste, creed or community. But, although the State is the supreme guardian of its infants of all ages, it has not ventured to enact any law, general or communal, to restrain the authority and discretion of the parents further, since their natural affection is the best guarantee that they would exercise them with proper thought for their children's good, suitably to their circumstances. The marriage of a Christian girl above 14 but under 21 years of age by her father is not a crime even under the Christian Marriage Act but is perfectly legitimate and lawful. Whether any particular arrangement he may make for her marriage with her apparent acquiscence, is to be viewed as a wise and proper act of parental discretion, or stigmatised as coercion, is largely a matter of personal opinion liable to be swayed by communal and religious prejudices.

In prosecuting people, however, under Section 68, nothing turns upon the question of girl's age or free consent. It is the Hindu priest's Hindu ritual that is the gist of the offence, even as conceived by the Madras High Court. With that ritual, the marriage of a free and independent adult Christian woman of forty is as much an offence in the eyes of the prosecutors as that of a coerced and helpless infant of fourteen. But if the same marriages be registered under the Christian Act any amount of coercion to that end does not lead to criminal prosecution.

A powerful gun designed to shoot down man-eaters may of course be employed, if one so chooses, to punish a cow which strays into one's compound or a sheep escaping from one's custody. It may also be successfully used to kill a disease-spreading fly or scare away the malarial pest. But it can hardly be reckoned as a proper weapon for such purposes. Far less can its inventor be credited with having had such uses in his mind when he designed it.

Is there no Bride of Lammarmoor anywhere in real life among Indian Christians today whose heart had been set against the choice of her parents and who yet had not the courage to speak out her mind even on her wedding day before the Registrar or Priest duly appointed by Government under the Christian Marriage Act? By what law were the cruel parents punished in her case? Why not apply the same law against those who force their girl to submit to Hindu ritual against her will?

It is significant that the Christian Marriage Act does not provide for the punishment of Christian parents under Section 68 for any offence whatsoever; not even for forcing their girl into concubinage, if any be so wicked. Coercion of any kind is obviously an offence that should be dealt with under the general criminal law of the land. At all events, the idea that it is an anxious concern for the protection of minor girls against parental compulsion that drives the Pro-prosecutionists to have resort to Section 68 did not find practical illustration in the cases that came up recently before the Sessions Courts.

The girl whose marriage provided the *casus belli* in the Ellore prosecution, for instance, had been born a Hindu. When the father turned Christian and submitted his infant Hindu child too for baptism, no Christian thought it an improper act of parental coercion. But when the same father turned away from the church along with the same daughter after she had grown up into a girl of fourteen, and got her marriage with her cousin solemnised with Hindu ritual, every male and female person who had anything to do with the marriage, were put in the lock-up under Section 68, not omitting even the bride. Could this have been due to the tender regard felt for this unfortunate infant as the victim of her father's high handedness? In the Guntur case the bride was admittedly 17 or 18 years old and quite capable of deciding for herself though technically still a minor. After the petition presented by her father to remove her name from the Church register had been disregarded by the Mission authorities, she herself sent a written notice by post that she had renounced Christianity. She passed also through a regular ceremony of Arya Samaj conversion before marrying her Hindu cousin. But action was taken nevertheless against her priest, her father, her husband and other relations under Section 68. Could it be with the benevolent desire and generous motive of championing her freedom of choice that this course was pursued to the bitter end until the Sessions Court came to their rescue?

There then remains but the charge of defiance and deliberate breach of the rule of the church. From the point of view of the offending Christian member this can only mean that he deliberately chose some other course of conduct and did not change his mind though admonished by his Christian elders. It is true that he cannot reasonably expect to escape the consequences of breaking the rules of order framed in the interest of the community. But the question is what shall be those consequences? There was a time in the history of Christendom when the interest of the community was held by the Church, with the support of the State, to require the dungeon, the rack and the gibbet or the stake to atone for the sin of non-conformity. But the times are now changed Humanity and human freedom have become more important than dogma in public estimation throughout the world. Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act with its transportation and imprisonment of 10 years must be the grand-child of the Inquisition, if we are to regard it seriously as having been framed to punish those who prefer the Hindu ritual to civil marriage by a Christian Registrar. But there is really no Section in the Act empowering the crimininal courts to punish Christians who may not choose to marry under it. As pointed out by Mr. Justice Walsh of Allahabad: "There is no express prohibition preventing a professing Christian from doing violence to his faith and marrying a non-Christian by a non-christian ceremony. His marriage may not be valid by English Law as a Christian mariage in India, but it is not forbidden to him. It would be a startling result of the Act if such a person being free to chose and not prohibited from marrying otherwise than by a Christian marriage, should find himself liable to transportation for abetting the person who marries him!"

K. R.

An Indo e French Poet:—Mon. Ponnou Nallatambi, a French and Tamil Poet of Pondichery, writes a Correspondent in the *Hindu*, has been nominated a member and the delegate of French India in the "Academe Jeux Floraux" of France as a Poet Laureate of French India. The official organ of the Academy has paid a glowing tribute to the new member of the Academy, in the course of which it says that Mon. Nallatamby is a great intellectual Indian scholar.

THE WORLD CRISIS AND BIRTH-CONTROL.

(By A. E. Penn.)

The present depression in trade being absolutely world-wide and sensibly affecting everyone, from plutocrat to pauper, a crisis, it is now recognised, has been reached, and the sooner the various governments of the world wake up to the fact that it is the natural outcome of procreation and mechanisation being unrestricted, and adopt measures calculated to minimise both, the sooner the crisis will pass; for, while commodities of every kind are abundant (hence their low prices), only a portion of the population of the world is engaged in the production and distribution of them, the rest being unemployed and, consequently, dependent on charity, public or private. But bred of the crisis, is the fear of war, and rather than reduce either, the governments seem determined to increase both, so that there may be no shortage of either "cannon fodder" or supplies (including armaments) when war does come; thus only bringing nearer that which they fear—war! Yet, there is little doubt that war breaking out as a result of the depression in the countries most seriously affected, would, with its sequels, famine and pestilence, terminate, practically, the state of things that now prevails and that may yet bring about such a war, namely, the disproportion that exists between population and employment, or the means of obtaining subsistence!! In any case, it needs only to be stated to be seen, that population and mechanisation cannot go on increasing indefinitely, without ending in a catastrophe world-wide and unprecedented.

What, then, are the remedies to be applied? Obviously, those suggested by the ills themselves, namely, limitation of families and reduction in the use of machinary where human agency can be equally well employed (together with, perhaps, shorter working-days); thus ensuring, by the former, less increase in the number to be provided for (with necessaries and, later on, work), and, by the latter, work for the unemployed.

And no less obvious than the remedies, to be applied, are the objections that will be raised to them coming as they will from those financially interested in mechanised industry in the one case and the leaders of organised religion (with its vested interests and political leanings) in the other. However, that the objections of the former, based as they will be on mere self-interest, cannot be admitted, it is hardly necessary to show. But those of the latter turning (as is already well known) on the ordinance of marriage, are more difficult to refute. Yet, that nobody is so good that there is no evil whatever in him (or her), is a proposition that none will dispute. This being so, it must also be conceded that (however much the proportions may vary individually) humanity is virtually divided into two great sections —one in which good predominates and the other in which evil is the dominant factor, in the individual. And as parties to all marriages belong to one or other or each of the two sections, not all marriages (in point of fact, infinitely few of them) can be such as those of which Christ said, "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder", and concerning which Shakespeare wrote,

> "Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediments."

However, while there are many who, having sufficient material (and, perhaps, also spiritual) resources, have no need to worry about the possible consequences of sexual indulgence on marrying, the vast majority of people have perforce to choose between a life of singleness and a life of hardship and penury, with their attendant temptations to sin; and it is to such as these that birth-control offers a way out of the dilemma.

Birth-control, therefore, can not only be made a stepping-stone to individual advancement, spiritual as well as material, but seeing that there is such a thing as heredity, it, by keeping down the number of offspring of evil or unregenerate people, will tend to the improvement, spiritually, of the race as a whole!

As to the objection that the popularisation of birth-control will lead to an increase of immorality, it might just as well be urged that because knives are sometimes used for criminal purposes, they are an evil and should be banned as such. On the other hand, while abortion, suicide, and murder are often now committed, following on illicit (and even lawful) sexual intercourse, birth-control methods would preclude all such contingencies. And as to the bogy of "race-suicide", it is too absurd for words, based as it can only be on the assumption that contraceptives are infallible and that married people would have no children at all if they help it!

If any case, in a matter of fact world, in which the evil has to be provided for along with the good, as well as guarded against, a practical heaven must first be set up before a real one can be established. The question, therefore, is not so much, is birth-control an evil, as it is, which is the greater evil,—birth-control, or strife and misery of every kind, culminating in war.....Let the churches concerned make answer.

ANOMALIES OF HINDU LAW.

(By J. Chinna Dural.)

First and foremost the Hindu Law is defective in point of time. Three thousand years have made a world of difference to India and it seems ridiculous at the present age to try to conform to modes and methods, faith and beliefs, and customs and manners of centuries before Christ. India has moved since then and moved so swiftly that should the graves by some freak of nature give up in flesh and blood the ancient authors of Hindu Law, they would slink back to their holes with fright at the sight of a land and peoples that they could not recognize!

The next most baffling and bewildering thing about the Hindu Law is its different schools and the consequent lack of uniformity. It was all right in those days when a province was a separate unit with no earthly chance of contact with the neighbouring provinces. Now they are all interlinked by means of rapid transport and communication with the result that the different schools have overlapped to such an enormous extent that the maintenance and preservance of different schools intact, and the application of special and exclusive laws to separate and different provinces have tended to cause confusion which is being made worse every day by inter-racial and inter-communal marriages, immigration of peoples from one province to another, the births of new religions, the adoption of new customs and manners, and the increasing change in the daily outlook on life. It is time the Bengal, Mithila, Benares, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab schools were completely scrapped and the broad divisions that they fall under, namely the Mitakshara, Dayabhaga and Mithila, were further reduced to one common uniform school to which the whole of India could easily conform without confusion.

In regard to the law of succession and inheritance, there is a great deal of confusion and ambiguity. It often arises with regard to tracing relationships from the propositus. The method of determining

relations such as Sapindas, Sahulyas, Samanodaras, Sagotras, Samana Pravaras and Bandhus by means of what is known as the funeral oblations' or "Pinda Theory" must go and an up-to-date and modern method must be substituted. The Hindus are gradually discarding their caste marks and most of them are even giving up their daily "pujas". The "Pindas" therefore are also bound to go, if they are not already gone, sooner or later. How then is relationship going to be determined in the future? In a country like India where there are no such things as baptismal registers to record names or ages and where parents do not bother to record in writing the names of their own children for future reference or guidance, it is extremely difficult to trace one's relations up to the seventh or fourteenth degree as required by the Hindu Law for purposes of inheritance, marriage, mourning or adoption and the defect in the geneological tree affords great scope and temptation for an ambitious adventurer or 'impostor' to creep into the family tree as an agnate or cognete. It is such frauds, ambiguities, confusions and uncertainties that have unquestionably made India the most litiguous country in the world. As for women there has been no attempt to improve their lot either as property holders, inheritors, wives, mothers or widows, and all the way through they play a passive part rather than an active part, and in many respects are treated more as chattel than human beings with a will of their own. Talk of 'equality of sexes' and 'fair play' for all! It is all moonshine according to the Hindu Law and till the Law that has doomed them to eternal serfdom and slavery is reformed there seems to be no hope at all for the women of India.

The Joint Family System deserves condemnation. It makes idlers in the family more idle and the ones with initiative and courage, less enterprising by its restrictions and cautious and meagre distribution of funds for domestic or business purposes. In modern parlance it is a sort of 'dole' which encourages 'unemployment' and breeds sluggish ways among its component members. The young man grows up to be a "ninny" with his eyes always fixed on the 'family property' and actually collapses when it is wrested away from him or he is wrested away from it! It is a system which often encourages the living of fifty or more members of one family in a small ill-ventilated, insanitary dwelling with no privacy or seclusion and with no earthly chance for thinking, studying, or developing one's individuality. The only 'recreation' of the members consists of quarrelling or squabbling over their respective shares. Can you wonder why the Indians have not had much time or opportunity for mechanical or industrial inventions!

The Hindu Law as we have seen is based primarily on religion. Inasmuch as religion is not uniform in India, there are bound to be irregularities in the law which originates from it. Superstitions in many instances have assumed the garb of religion and stealthily crept into it; customs of an objectionable nature have also found their way into it. Take for instance the question of sonship—There are fourteen kinds of sons! Son by a concubine, son born of an unmarried girl, and son born in secret are all embraced in the generous arms of Hindu Law. It is not the morality of it that worries one but the confusion arising when property has to be inherited. Similarly there are "approved" marriages and "disapproved" marriages and one of the "approved" forms of marriage consist of the giving away of the girl in lieu of fees to a bridegroom who officiates as priest in a sacrificial ceremony. Yet another "approved" form of marriage consists of the giving away of the girl by the father to a bridegroom in return for a pair of cattle! Of the "disapproved" forms of marriage two may be mentioned, namely: (*1*) The sale of a daughter and (*2*) the capture of a girl after her relatives have been killed or wounded. Polygamy, concubinage and child marriages are instances of further evils in Hindu Law that must be erradicated. The forbidding of inter-racial or inter-caste marriages and the deliberate tendency to keep down the Sudras and the depressed classes are also instances of injustice that are highly to be deprecated in the Hindu Law. The effect of all these, it may be noted, has been to split the Indian race into hundreds of sects, castes and divisions and keep them always apart in such a manner as to make them a disunited, disjointed nation incapable of combining or uniting for the common welfare of India. It is a thousand pities that India's backwardness and slow progress has after all got to be traced to its own self-imposed laws which have gripped her as it were in a vice and enslaved her these many centuries.

The jurists who have justified the existence and continuance of Hindu Law from time to time have argued that Hindu Law is never stationary but always advances with the times with every legislation and every decided case. It is a poor consolation to satisfy oneself on these lines because the legislature does not often dare interfere with the religion or the customs and manners of the peoples of India and what interference there has been from this quarter is totally negligible. As for 'decided cases' being a source of law and a help towards modernising the Hindu Law, they have certainly helped to increase the quantity of the Hindu Law but not the quality which is the same as it was in the days of Manu. The Bench have scrupulously clung for ages to the principles inculcated by Manu and his followers and the result is that apart from the fact of the law being stated more clearly in 'decided cases' there is no radical change so far as the law itself is concerned and the tendency of the Bench to cater for the religious, customary and superstitious idiosyncrasies of Hindu Law have been singularly marked and definitely pronounced. And what is more the heaps of decided cases which are often in conflict with one another and which have helped to swell the bulk of Hindu Law to a ridiculously monstrous size have added new difficulties and made confusion worse confounded. For instance for every "decided case" that a Counsel for the appellant cites before their Lordships of the Privy Council in order to substantiate a point of law, the Counsel for the respondent perhaps cites two or more "cases" in support of his contention which are diametrically opposed to that quoted by the Counsel for the appellant which only go to prove the conflicting nature of the "decided cases" and their lack of uniformity. They are certainly no help to the judges or the counsels and if anything they are a source of annoyance to the Bench and the Bar.

What then is the remedy?

I say emphatically modernise the Hindu Law, simplify it and standardise it. Scrap the unnecessary elements retaining only those that are absolutely useful and necessary. Purge it of all ambiguities and superstitions and customs and manners that are objectionable and let legislation play a free hand at giving it perfect trim. Codify the "Case Law" and reduce its bulk to the absolute minimum commensurate with legal requirements. Make it more secular and less religious. Strive at uniformity all over India and abolish all things that are out-of-date obsolete and that tend to retard India's progress. In a word, pull "Hindu Law" out of the rut into which it has fallen and give it a new start on modern lines, that it may be of real service to the India of to-day. Perhaps a commission of

legal experts can devise ways and means to draw upa scheme for the modernisation and standardization of Hindu Law. Why not bring such a commission into existence at once? It would be splendid if at the same time as the Supreme Court comes into being in the future Federal Constitution of India the new Hindu Law is also brought into effect. There is no question that the reformation of the Hindu Law is an urgent necessity and India awaits with eagerness the advent of a modern Manu.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

(By Professor H. M. Von Glasenapp).

I left Amsterdam on July 18th 1933 and arrived at Paramaribo, the Capital of Dutch Guiana, on August 2nd. After the abolition of negro slavery in 1863 the Dutch Government introduced in 1873 British Indians as "indentured labourers" into this colony. The descendants of these immigrants form the great Indian community of Surinam, they number to-day 86,000, *i. e.*, 23% of the total population of 156,000. Though most of the Indians wear European dress, the Indian influence is very conspicuous in the country, as can be seen from the many Devanagari inscriptions on the shops and the many temples and mosques. Indians generally follow agricultural pursuits, both as labourers and as landowners. There are also many Indian merchants, but the Indian "intelligentsia" is very small. Among the Indians Hindustani is widely spoken, even by the Tamils. Some Indians also know Dutch, but only a few know English. As soon as my boat arrived in the harbour, the leading members of the Indian community, Mr. Raghubar Singh, President of the "Bharat Uday" Society, Mr. Radhakishnan, Mr. Abdul Gafur and Mr. Chetram Singh took me in a motor car to the beautiful house of the "Bharat Uday", the so-called "Lachman Singh Dharmsala", where I had to address the members. The next day I was shown three mosques, the temple, "Arya Divakar" (Arya Samaj) and the great Mandir of the Sanatana Dharma. I met many pundits and sanyasis, some of them Kabirpanthis. In the evening I delivered a lecture (in Hindi) in the largest hall in the town, the so-called "Stadszending", that belongs to the Moravian Brothers' Mission, but was hired by the Indians for that evening. The hall was overcowded. I was introduced by Mr. Biswamitra, an Indian teacher, who is a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the colony. I spoke then on the importance of Hindu literature and philosophy in world culture and on the influence it had on German thought. I enjoined on my hearers the necessity of always maintaining the cultural connection with the mother country and of never forgetting, even so many miles away from India, the lofty ideals of the Ramayana and the Bhagavadgita. A thundering applause followed my words and several speakers thanked me for my lecture.

The next day I visited during the morning hours the Catholic and Protestant Missions, that work amongst the Indians. In the evening I was entertained with an Indian dinner by Mr. Chetram Singh and was honoured by a beautifully written "abhinandana-patra."

I then went to Georgetown, Demarara, the capital of British Guiana. The Indian influence in this colony is still greater than in Dutch Guiana, for among the 311,000 inhabitants of this vast, but still little populated, country, that is larger than Bengal or the Presidency of Bombay minus Sindh, there are 132,000 Indians (that is 43% of the population.) Indians were imported after the abolition of the slave trade (1834) under the indenture system down to 1917. The majority of the Indians in Guiana are working on sugar estates, or are engaged in the rice cultivation. The greatest part of them are labourers, but there are also many plantations and estates in the possession of the Indians. A great number of them work as merchants, shop-keepers, agents, mechanics and artisans. Many Indian firms are of importance. There are also 12 Indian doctors and 10 Indian lawyers. All Indians, who can read and write Hindi or Urdu, are registered as voters, and Indians are members of the legislative and Executive Councils. As far as I am able to judge, British Guiana offers Indians so many opportunities that it will attract in future an increasing number of immigrants from the over-populated mother country. Thus British Guiana is destined to become a very prosperous Indian colony.

In Georgetown I was received on board by the wealthy Mohammedan merchant, Mr. Gajraj and by two Hindu priests, Mr. Ramsarup and Mr. Gangaram, who showed me the town and many Hindu temples, mosques and schools. In the evening I was the guest of the "Hindu Religious Society", which showed me the great Dharmasala in Albuoystown. This is a very fine institution. It embraces a temple, a school, a minister's residence, a three-storeyed orphanage and a great refuge for the homeless. The latter has 300 inmates, who are housed and fed free of charge. All the expenses are met by voluntary donations from the members of the Indian community. In the temple I was recieved with great solemnity, was crowned with wreaths and honoured with a beautifully written "manya-patra". I had to deliver two addresses, one in Hindi and one in English.

The next day the British Guiana East Indian Association held a reception for me, on which occasion I delivered a speech on Indian emigration of the ancient times and of to-day. I was again showed many temples (some of them with very fine ancient images and Sanskrit texts). In the evening I was entertained by Major Bain Gray, Director of Public Education. His Excellency Sir Edward Denham, K. C. M. G., K. B. E., the Governor of the Colony, invited me to lunch at the Governor's palace. I was also the guest of Mr. Gajraj and Mr. Kawall and other prominent members of the Indian community.

During my one-day's stay at Port of Spain (Trinidad), I was also very hospitably welcomed by the Indian leaders of this island. Mr. Syed Mahammad Hosten, the President of the Anjuman Sunnat-ul-Jamand, Mr. Hazee Rookm-ud-deem and the Brahmin C. B. Mathura took me round in a motor car to see the beautiful mosque built by Haji Gokul and the famous Hindu temple of Tunapuna, where Shiva and Shakti are worshipped. The Indian community of Trinidad is the largest one in this part of the world, for not less than 139,000 Indians have found a new home in the island. They form 33 per cent of the population of the colony. The majority of the Indians are engaged in agricultural pursuits, but there are also many Indian merchants. Indians enjoy full municipal and political franchise, and are of primary importance to the economic life of the colony owing to their diligence and industry.

After having finished this first part of my journey I wrote my views and experiences in an article. "The Indians in Guiana and Trinidad," which has been published in the meantime in the German magazine, "Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv," October 1933.

From Port of Spain I went to La Guaira (Venezuela) and was the guest of the German minister in Caracas. I then spent a few days in Curacao to wait for the boat, with which I had to continue my journey. I then passed through the

Panama Canal, called at Buenaventura (Colombia) Guayaquil (Ecuador) and the Peruvian ports of Paita and Salaverry and spent a few days in Lima to study the antiquities of the Inca age and the problems of Japanese immigration. I continued my journey along the West Coast *via* Arica, Antofagasta, Huasco, Coquimbo and arrived at Valyaraiso, the beautiful port of the Republic of Chile on the 9th September. Here I delivered a lecture in French on "La pensee Hindoue a travers les siecles" (Indian thought in the course of the centuries) in the University of Santiago and a lecture on "Religion and Society in India" in the German Association. In 36 hours I then crossed the Andes and went to Buenos Aires (Argantina). Here I delivered two lectures in German (on Indian Nationalism and on Indian Emigration) and one in Spanish on "Indian Thought," the latter in the over-crowded largest hall of the University. I also lectured on Indian religions in Rosario and la-Plata. Then I spent three days in Montevideo (Uruguay) where I lectured in German (on Indian Thought") and in Spanish ("Elpensamiento indos en el curso de los siglos"). In three days I travelled by steamer to Santos (Brazil) and then by rail to Rio de Janero. Here I stayed for a week as guest in the house if the German Ambassador, Dr. Sohmidt-Elskop, and delivered one lecture in German on "Indian Emigration" and two lectures in French (La pensee Hindoue a travers les siecles) in the Academy of Brazil.

I left Rio de Janiero on the 11th October and arrived at Hamburg on the 28th October 1938.

THE SEVA SAMITHI*

(By Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru.)

The Seva Samithi was organised towards the end of 1914 by the late Mr. Gokhale, with a view to carry on social work. Though the Servants of India Society did some social work in addition to its political work, Mr. Gokhale felt that in order to popularise social work and in order to take advantage of the services of those who either could not take part or were not interested in political work, it was necessary to have another organisation at work. The approach of Hardwar Kumbha Mela in 1915 provided an opportunity and the Seva Samithi was started. Knowing by experience the way in which poor pilgrims were treated by the Police and the Railway authorities, they organised a band of trained volunteers to help ignorant villagers at the bathing ghats at the railway stations and at other places. The work was performed by volunteers with such enthusiasm that they felt that Seva Samithi provided just that new avenue for public service, that the people stood in need of. The movement gradually spread not only all over U. P. but also in Punjab and Berar. The organisation soon became the means of creating a bond between the masses and the educated classes. The Seva Samithi at first encountered difficulties at the hands of the authorities, but they were able to overcome those difficulties and subsequently the Police and the Railway authorities began to utilise the services of the Seva Samithi volunteers gladly. "Wonderfully efficient and for that reason a danger to Government and required to be watched" was the opinion expressed by the Inspector-General of Police, U.P., in 1918, regarding the volunteers. By patient work they had now been able to secure a distinct position in the social life of Northern India. But in spite of their best efforts owing to the vast area that had to be covered, they had not been able to help all those who were constantly asking them to guide them.

The Samithi was engaged in different kinds of activities, educational works, medical relief, work amongst the Depressed Classes, uplift work amongst the hill tribes, etc. Medical relief work was done by the Samithi at various pilgrim centres as well as the activities of the Samithi Hospital at Allahabad, worked by honorary doctors on the lines of European hospitals. The hospital provided poor men with medical relief and medical graduates the necessary experience. I have no doubt that the hospital would become a premier hospital of its kind in Northern India.

Of the Seva Samithi Boy Scouts movement, their experience at Melas made them realise that if young men in colleges could be taken on hand a few years earlier and if some means could be found for giving them a bias towards public service while they were very young, they would become potent instruments for rendering service to the country. In those days, Indians were not being admitted into the Baden Powell Association. Therefore, when Pandit Sriram Bajpai joined the Servants of India Society in 1918, they utilised his service to form Boy Scouts Association. The Boy Scouts Association was entirely independent of Seva Samithi. Seva Samithi trained workers with the object of getting a particular kind of work done, whereas Scout training was primarily educational. The service the Scouts might be called upon to do was valued for the sake of the opportunity provided by such service for the mental development of the children. The obstacles placed in the way of the Boy Scouts Association were even more serious than those placed in the way of Seva Samithi. Those obstacles were also overcome and they had now secured a status equal to that of the B. P. organisation and also secured all the facilities afforded by Government to that body.

It might be asked, now that the B. P. Association admitted Indians, what was the need for the separate existence of Seva Samithi Scouts Association? The Seva Samithi Scouts Association did not function in a spirit of antagonism or rivalry to the other Association. But they had distinct features of their own. Lord Baden Powell had laid down that the object of scouting was to enable young boys to grow up into healthy and energetic citizens and to indue them with a love of service to their country. Patriotism, independence of mind and passion for public service were the characteristics which ought to distinguish Scouts. The Samithi attempted to present these principles of scouting in a national garb which would be thoroughly appreciated and in a manner which would make people regard scouting as part of the national work. So the first step they took was to include the promise 'to serve the country' in the Scout promise. Therefore the Samithi Scouts came to feel that they were not part of the official system and that they were being trained to be servants of the motherland. Their second feature was the introduction of scouting in villages and, by writing books on scouting in Urdu and Hindi, enabling villagers with no knowledge of English to get themselves trained for public service. The third feature was the introduction of Indian songs and Indian stories dealing with the glories of their country and the achievements of their countrymen. In these and many other ways they had done their best to create a link between scouting and their national work. The Scout Movement was part of the youth movement and if the Youth Movement were to strike root and if it were to be looked upon as an indispensable part of their national life, it was necessary that its leadership should be in the hands of Indians. Children did not want to live in the drab reality. They wanted to see visions of a new world and see themselves to be principal actors in it. They should

*Substance of an address delivered in Madras on 30th December.

take advantage of this fundamental principle in children and use it in order to develop a strong and healthy nation. And scouting did so. It was an education in the highest and largest sense of the word. It was there to fight for the oppressed and down-trodden, to fight for the rights of the nation both in the political and social fields, to be the champions of the weak both against foreigners and against their countrymen and it was because of these untold possibilities of nation-making on this movement, that he would appeal to them to come to their assistance and enable them to spread it in the whole of Western and Southern India.

A SCHOOL AT STUTTGART.

(By Mrs. Kiran Bose.)

The first institution I visited on my way to Stockholm was the "Free" Waldorf School at Stuttgart. It is free in the sense that it is not bound by the State curriculum, and free too in the sense that it is not supported financially by the State, but is dependent on its own resources. The School was founded in 1919 by a Councillor of Commerce. The idea of the School is to bring about a solution of the social question—consequently the spiritual question as well of our times—to bring about a fundamental change in the way of thinking. One must begin early with the child's education, and a new method of education must be used. This School differs vitally from the ordinary schools. It has its special characteristics of psychological and educational bases, and tries to understand, in its deepest and innermost being that peculiarity in divided life which one recognizes in it.

The Waldorf Astoria factory sets aside a fund for the foundation of a school for the children of the factory workers and employees. In 1919, Dr. R. Steiner gave his first lecture in the Waldorf Astoria Factory and aroused true enthusiasm in all who heard the gospel of social service. A teachers' preparatory course was held in August; and in September, 1919 the opening ceremony of the School took place, at which Dr. Steiner gave the inaugural address on the following theme: "A living science, a living art, a living religion—that is true education, that is true teaching."

The School is now economically independent of the Waldorf Astoria Factory, and it now pays the fees of its own children. The pupils number over a thousand, who, since the School ceased to be a Factory school, are drawn from all classes of the community. The School is in no way exclusive, and no attention is paid to differences in social standing. The boys and girls go through twelve classes, and at the end of the twelfth class, take the school-leaving examination. The school rooms are bright and healthy, and all suitable arrangements are made for the various kinds of instruction. For the teaching of physics and chemistry, for music and eurhythmics, for handicraft, book-binding and technical instruction, there are special rooms with equipments. There is a library and the School has also a good gymnasium and an Assembly Hall.

Rudolf Steiner lays great responsibility upon the educator. A teacher and educator generally takes into consideration the growing human being between the ages of 6 and 14, and at the most up to the 21st year. Dr. Steiner insists on the necessity of keeping in mind—in every educational measure—the whole of the earth-life of the human being.

Steiner divides the child's life into four distinctive parts. (1) The Physical Body. (2) The Life Body or Etheric Body. (3) The Sentinel or Astral Body (4) The Ego Body, the bearer of the higher soul of Man, the I. At the time of birth all the four bodies do not stand at the same stage of development, and the knowledge of these stages of development is a necessary foundation of true education. Steiner's educational theory recognizes the change of teeth and puberty as two milestones in childhood's development, and demands special educational methods for the periods, each being treated according of its own peculiar nature.

During the first period, the physical organs must be brought to a certain form. What has been neglected before the seventh year can never be made good. In this period of life, moralizing and appeals to reason are useless; what the teacher does is alone effective; whatever goes on in the surroundings of the child, whatever can be observed by the senses, be it moral or immoral, intelligent or foolish, will be imitated by the child. It is then the duty of the teacher to set such an example that its echoes in after life can result in nothing but good. What a heavy responsibility rests with parents and teachers in the face of the fact that everything to which the child reacts enters into his blood circulation, into his digestion, and so forth, and becomes thus the foundation for his later condition of health. The formation of the physical and organic constitution becomes the foundation of health or disease in later life.

The child from the time of the change of teeth to adolescence: In the first period the child has imitated what has happened in his surroundings; he begins to dream vaguely about them. He makes pictures about them; he is quite absorbed in a picture life. Therefore, the instruction at this stage should be through pictures. This, however, is true of every subject,—even of arithmetic and languages. In this period, the child desires to have everything imparted to him in artistic form. He should be allowed to busy himself with colours; painting should lead to drawing, drawing to writing, writing to reading. "The child instinctively responds to everything presented in rhyme, rythm and measure." Hence great attention is paid to recitation, music and eurhythmics in the Waldorf School. The artistic element enters into the arrangement of all the subject-matters taught. Thus Dr. Steiner thinks that it is not the clever people who make an impression on the child from 7 to 12 years, but the lively, lovable, and artistic people, who go through life with freedom, yet with good sense. The teacher must always make use of the rythmic systems—for the reason that they are not tiring.

What is of the greatest importance for education is to realize that we shall never help the child by giving him moral maxims; for these are empty sounds for him. We shall help him only if we ourselves stand for him as unquestionable authority. It is the teacher himself whom the child would call the true, the beautiful and the good. Just as for the first year of childhood, imitation and example are the magic words of education so for the years of this second period, the magic words are Discipline and Authority. One important characteristic of this system of teaching is the postponement of imparting knowledge of the elements of writing, reading, and arithmetic.

Dr. Steiner was convinced that the six and seven years old child must be spared the learning of formal writing. For learning to read early leads into abstraction for removed from real life, and makes the child prematurely old. During this period, the human and natural surroundings are bound up with the child. But at the age of 9, the child stands before a kind of life riddle. He becomes aware that he is an individual and as such he is separated from the external world. Until now he has

flitted through it without a thought. Now he feels his isolation not in a conscious way, but throug i all sorts of doubts and unrest. He becomes more independent. The child feels the need to know the world and his teachers from a new angle, from another side; he must now consciously honour where previously he loved childishly. It is this age that makes the greatest demand on the wisdom and tact of the teachers.

Towards the twelfth year the child develops an understanding for Cause and Effect. The teacher can gradually begin to work with this new faculty. He is ready to make independent judgments on all that he has learnt. Steiner declares that man can hardly have a greater wrong done to him than to have his independent judgment aroused too early in life. The faculty of logical thinking and independent judgment has now fully developed the faculty of successfully studying deep human problems. The heart of the young being is filled with warm love for the world and for mankind. The inclination to form intimate friendships and friendly alliances becomes stronger. Just as formerly whatever the teacher called fine or nasty, good or bad, was the law by which he acted, so now he advances to the recognition of duty, and approaches the stage of freedom, where duty means "to love what man commands himself."

There are about 50 teachers on the staff of the Waldorf School. Dr. Steiner was responsible for most of their appointments; they come from all parts of Gemany, Austria, and the Baltic Provinces. At his call they left places of security and good prospects to follow the most basic of all professions. All came to practice the system of pedagogy given them by Dr. Steiner for the well-being of humanity. to educate and teach the young with the aim of overcoming the materialism of the age and of building up a new manhood, centred in the divine and eternal, and fitted for every good work.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Muslim Divorce Bill:—A report published in the Press that a Bill relating to Muslim Women's claim for divorce and separation has been introduced by Khaliluzzaman Siddiqi in the Hydrabad Legislative Council is authoritatively denied, as no such Bill has yet been introduced in the Council.

The late Dr. A. Abhayambal:—Dr. A. Abhayambal, whose death took place a few days ago, was professor of Economics and Principal, Maharani's College for Women, Mysore. After completing her studies in Mysore, she went to England where she obtained the Ph-D degree of the London University on a thesi's on the subject of "the State in Relation to Economic Development in Mysore". She was an expert singer and Vina Player.

Urdu Conference at Gwalior:—It has been decided to hold an All-India Urdu Conference on a large scale at Gwalior during February 1934. This is the third time that an All-India Literary Conference is going to be held at Gwalior. The All-India Marathi Conference was held here in 1928 and the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in December 1932. All sections of the public are united in trying to make the Conference a success. A number of prominent Urdu poets and scholars has been invited and is expected to attend the Conference. Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar has been elected the Chairman of the Reception Committee and has issued an appeal to the public to he'p in making the Conference successful.

Mr Subhas Bose Studies Fascism:—A Reuter's telegram of December 29, says that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose explained the objects of India's Youth Movement in an interview to the "Giornale' Italia," according to the "Morning Post." Mr. Bose said that it aimed at absolute independence outside the political and cultural programme of the British Empire. "Our propaganda will be concentrated on three potent national groups, in which Mahatma Gandhi is not interested himself, namely, the youth, labour and peasant movements. Mr. Bose added the action of the group felt more than ever the need of studying Fascist methods. Mr. Bose is visiting Rome in connections with the Asiatic Students' Conference.

French Lady Tourist at Allahabad:—Madame Morin, a French tourist who is on a visit to India, arrived at Allahabad this after-noon and is the guest of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. She was entertained at a tea party by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and the members of the Servants of India Society this evening in the Society Hall and among other guests present at the function were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Jawaharlal and Mrs. Kamala Nehru, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Dr. Asthna and Dr. Katju. After tea the guests were entertained to a programme of delightful music and dance, the dance performance being given by Miss Asha Kumar Ojha and Mr. Vibhuti Bhushan Bajpai, B. A.

The Asiatic Student Conference:—The following is from the Royal Italian Consul-General:—In opening the conference of the Asiatic students in Rome Sgr. Mussolini gave a discourse in which he declared:—"Rome had already realized the Union of the West with the East 20 centuries ago by creating relations of reciprocal understanding with the countries of the East then known. Subsequently between Asia and Europe every spiritual link ceased; the European States were not able to understand Asia which was only considerrd as the market for their industrial products and the source of raw materials. Against these capitalistic and materialistic ideals Italian Fascism reacts for the strength of the spiritual elements of the Asiatic Nations. New Italy is, therefore, eminently able to reassume her unifying function between Europe and Asia and her proper millenary tradition of constructive collaboration." This message of the Duce caused a profound impression among those present who were over 500, mostly Persians, Arabs, Indians and Syrians. The Congress of the Asiatic students which closed on 27th December has decided to establish in Rome a centre of a Confederation of Asiatic Students with permanent offices in Rome and its own monthly Review.

President Baroda Oriental Conference:—Born in 1882 at Mirzapore in the United Provinces, which is his home, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal will be the youngest President of the Oriental Conference though in achievement second to none of those who preceded him, says the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. Mr. Jayaswal's two monumental works are now in the list of text-books of many Universities namely "Manu and Yajnavalkya" and "Hindu Polity." In his latest work, "History of India, from 150 A. D. to 350 A. D." which was just published, Dr. Jayaswal has brilliantly illumined the so-called 'Dark period' of Indian history which even the late Sir Vincent Smith, Professor Rapson and others failed to peer through and in despair dubbed as complete "Blank." In this Mr. Jayaswal has rescued from their unmerited oblivion two great lost empires preceding that of the Imperial Guptas completely unsuspected by historians so far, and besides, has thrown a flood of new light on the history of South India and Insulindia or the over-seas colonies of ancient India. Yet another "History of India" by him from the time of the Buddha to the beginning of the Pala period based on a hitherto untapped Buddhist source whose authenticity Mr. Jayaswal has conclusively proved, is already in the Press.

Mysore and the Vatican:—A Mysore Government press note issued to-day gives publicity to the following cables exchanged between His Holiness the Pope from Rome and H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore. A cable dated 19th December 1933 from His Holiness the Pope, Citta del Vaticano, Rome (Italy) to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, stated: "Please

accept our keen satisfaction at your Highness's recent act of benevolence towards your Catholic subjects in presiding at the laying of the cornerstone of Saint Philomena's Church in Mysore. As a token of our appreciation, we send you through the Apostolic delegate, a gold medal, commemorative of this Holy Order and invoke God's blessings upon your Highness, your family and your subjects." The following is the reply cable from His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to His Holiness the Pope dated 23rd December, 1933:—

"I thank your Holiness very heartily for your telegram which has afforded me deep gratification. The blessings and good-wishes of your Holiness are very precious to me and the gold medal, which you have been good enough to send me will always be a very pleasing reminder of the great interest manifested by your Holiness in me, my family and my subjects."

Women in Underground Mines:—In India, according to the Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines, in 1932, out of a total of 204,658 workers working in mines of all kinds which come under the Indian Mines Act, underground workers totalled 110,907, of which 96,196 were men and 14,711 were women. The latter figure, however, has been steadily decreasing. In March 1929, the Government of India issued Regulations which came into force on 1st July 1929, under which no woman is permitted to enter or remain in the underground workings of any mine other than an exempted mine, unless she is authorised to do so in writing by the Chief Inspector. The exception is intended to provide for cases where a lady doctor, a lady inspector or a lady visitor may wish to enter a mine from the underground workings of which women are excluded by law. In the exempted mines, that is to say, the coal mines in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces, and the salt mines in the Punjab, the prohibition of the employment of women underground is to become operative by successive stages over a period of ten years, so that by 1st July 1939 the exempted mines will be subject to the rules applied to other mines, from 1929; that is to say, by that date the practice of employing women underground will have been totally abolished.

Harijan Seva Sangh:—Mr. A. V. Thakkar has issued the following Press Note: The Central Board of the Servants of Untouchables Society resolved at its meeting recently held in Delhi, that the name of the Society be changed to the Harijan Seva Sangh. All the branches, provincial and district, of the Society and the public at large are requested to take note of the change.

Dr. Tagore in Hyderabad:—A reception was given to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the 21st December at the City College, Hyderabad, Mr. S. M. Azam, M.A., (Cantab), Principal of the college, welcomed the distinguished guest. He said that the teachers of Hyderabad were anxious to offer their respectful homage to the world teacher, who inspired the youth of the land with ideals such as no other teacher could. Dr. Tagore's ideal was the realisation of international brother-hood, and such an ideal could not be attained without nationalism in the first instance. Mr. Azam declared from his personal knowledge that no two Indians have done so much to raise the prestige of India as Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore. Dr. Tagore opened his address with the remark that he was not qualified to address a gathering of teachers, for he had been a truant in his school days, and was glad of it because his reckless youth had enabled him to preserve a mind sensitive to the touch of life. For forty years he had toiled in a field of rocky soil. The educational system in existence to-day in India was an artificial method calculated to provide for the "white man's burden", and although India should be grateful to the West for its gifts of philosophy and science, educational endeavour had on account of the impact between the two countries been divorced from aesthetic life of man. He emphasised the importance of music and arts in educational institutions.

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NOTES

The Political Outlook:—The political position at the beginning of the new year is one of confusion. The Joint Parliamentary Committee finished its enquiry some days back. The Indian delegates have all returned. A lengthy note by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, pointing out the main defects of the White Paper scheme as they struck him when he left London six months ago, has been issued as also a joint statement by the British Indian delegates who remained to the end. Of the two, the former is the more elaborate. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has a clear and definite idea of the kind of constitution which is needed to meet the requirements of the country at the present day. These may summed up under three heads: The first and foremost is that the Indian should be able to stand forward as a self-respecting citizen before the world. No constitutional reform, however sincerely conceived and skilfully drafted, has a chance of being given a fair trial which does not fulfil this important condition. The present relation between the two countries is degrading to the one and humiliating to the other. The second requirement is that there should be adequate guarantee in the reforms to ensure that Government policies particularly in economic and defence matters, are conceived and carried out in the interests primarily of this country. The third is that there should be secured sufficient resources at the commencement of the reforms to finance the educational, sanitary and other nation-building subjects which have been lamentably neglected so far. The principle of Federation has ceased to evoke serious opposition, it being recognised that if the States are not with the rest of India they will be against it. A considerable preponderance of opinion in this country regards the White Paper scheme as a small reform which will prevent the adoption of larger reforms in the not distant future; and it will not, therefore, regret its rejection or withdrawal. The Liberals at their Federation in Madras a few days ago declared themselves in this sense. The Conference which Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and his friends are trying to convene in Bombay will probably take the same line. If, in spite of this all but unanimous indifference, the White Paper scheme comes to be adopted, the responsibility for its success or failure will rest entirely with the British Parliament.

An Important Judgment:—The High Court of Madras has given the deathblow to untouchability in that Presidency by its judgment in a case in which an Adi-Dravida woman sued a caste Sudra for maintenance for herself and her child by him. The man's defence would seem to have been that there can be no valid marriage between a caste Sudra and an untouchable under the Hindu law. Mr. Justice Anantakrishna Iyer decided that there was a legal marriage between the parties as the Hindu law applicable to Sudras sanctioned intermarriage between their different sections. The learned Judge argued that Adi-Dravidas were admitted to be Hindus and that in recent cases in Madras and elsewhere it had been held that marriages between sub-castes of Sudras were not invalid. His lordship assumed that if the Adi-Dravidas are Hindus, they must be Sudras. If this judgment stands, untouchability so far as Southern India is concerned would be irrevocably abolished. The vast majority of the Hindus in South India are Sudras and the bar against intermarriage which at present is the only important surviving barrier between different castes, would cease to exist between them and the Adi-Dravidas. The only people who would be affected by the current prejudice will be the microscopic minority of Brahmins, and they do not count nowadays. There was recently reported a marriage between a South Indian Brahmin and an untouchable girl. Probably it was solemnised under the Gour Act which permits Hindus to intermarry without reference to caste and subcaste. The Harijan is a Hindu as much as the Brahmin and the Gour Act applies to both of them. The importance of the Madras decision lies in the fact that it declares that a marriage between a Sudra man and a Harijan woman is valid even under Hindu law. Mr. Justice Anantakrishna Iyer's judgment, however, leaves in doubt whether a marriage between a Sudra woman and a Harijan man would be also valid. "Even if

the directions laid down in Hindu law that a man could not validly marry a woman of a higher caste should be assumed to apply to a marriage between members of the different sub-divisions of the Sudra caste," said the Judge, "it was admitted in the present case that the class and status of the man was higher than that of the wife." This judgment is as important as that of the late Sir Lalubhai Shah of the Bombay High Court affirming the validity of *anuloma*—along the grain—marriages among Hindus, as a landmark in the modern evolution of Hindu society.

India in the War:—People in this country are sometimes surprised at the answers given by the Secretary of State for India to questions in Parliament on Indian affairs. They are often so different from facts as they are known here. The explanation may be found in the scathing chapter in the second volume of Mr. Lloyd George's "War Memoirs" on the Mesopotamian Expedition during the War. The Government of India of the day was, it is clear, anxious not to involve India in the European struggle. India had no quarrel with Germany. She was not under a Treaty obligation to go to the defence of Belgium. The German invasion of Belgium did not threaten any interest of India and it would have mattered very little to her if France or Germany came on the top in their contest for the hegemony of Europe. These reasons—and they are weighty—must have been present to the Government of India in its endeavour to keep this country out of the War. It is also likely that Government foresaw that the prestige of the White races, which counts for so much in the East, would be impaired if Indian troops participated in a fight between two kindred European nations. The Government of India hung back as long as it could and even when it was compelled by orders from above to take charge of operations in Mesopotamia against the Turks, it did so without much enthusiasm. All the resources of redtapeism were utilised to delay, evade or put off giving effect to the directions of the War Cabinet. But the letter from the Military Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief to the Military Secretary to the Viceroy, which Mr. Lloyd George quotes (Vol. II p. 823), shows that the authorities in this country were obliged to practise what he does not hesitate to call deception, in order to do their duty by this country as they conceived it. Mr. Lloyd George implicitly assumes throughout his Chapter on "the Mesopotamian Muddle" that India and her whole population are body and soul at the disposal of the British Government for the time being.

Baroda Social Legislation:—There is an impression abroad that social legislation in Baroda State has been pushed forward too rapidly in pursuance of certain *a priori* ideas without reference to the needs of society. A perusal of the memorandum on recent social legislation in Baroda prepared by Mr. V. K. Durandhar, Legal Remembrancer of the Baroda Government, which we published in the last issue, goes far to remove this wrong impression. The reforms embodied in the new laws relate to keenly felt anomalies in the Hindu law not only in Baroda but also in other parts of India. Careful investigation by representative committees has in every case preceded the introduction of legislation and it will be seen that the amendments in the Hindu Law are all within the framework of the Hindu social system. No violent changes have been made in the Hindu joint family and the enlargement of the rights of women may have really the effect of strengthening it, though Mr. Durandhar would seem to expect the contrary. In keeping with this policy of continuity, it will be well perhaps to avoid as much as possible censorious terms such as 'tyranny' in the statute-book. The so-called Caste Tyranny Act to which His Highness has recently given his assent, is really a very mild measure as explained by Mr. Durandhar, and not, as would seem from the title, a measure for the abolition root and branch of the caste system. Indeed, 'Caste Rehabilitation Act' would be a more suitable title as the reform effected will, by removing abuses, certainly restore caste to its true function.

The South Indian Swan.—The swan, according to an ancient Indian belief, has the singular quality of being able to separate milk from water. The South Indian public would seem to be possessed of a similar attribute. In last week's *Reformer* we referred to the even-handed cordiality of the welcome accorded by Madras to Lord Willingdon and to Gandhiji. We have since come across the resolutions of a caste Conference which, beginning with an expression of loyalty to the King and of gratitude to Government for some concessions, ended with exhortations for the use of Khadi and the removal of untouchability. While the leaders are waiting to evolve a formula, the masses have decided in favour of making the best of both Government and Gandhiji.

The Social Conference:—We publish this week the resolutions adopted at the Madras Social Conference. The resolutions are most of them moderate. About the only issue on which, according to the report, discussion was raised, was the untouchable one, some of the delegates urging that it should be directed against the caste system on the ground that as long as caste was tolerated outcastes were bound to exist. The resolution ultimately adopted confined itself to the uplift of depressed classes. As we pointed out last week the Conference was rather precipitate in deciding for Birth Control propaganda. The main trend of the discussions was, like that of other social conferences in the past, directed towards social uplift and educational reform work, though the Chairman of the Reception Committee had appealed in his address to the delegates, for a widening of the concept of social reform.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
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PROVINCIALISM AND ANARCHY.

The latest instance of anarchic violence in Chittagong shows that its adherents are growing more daring and desperate. Four Hindu youths, it is said, suddenly appeared on the European Club ground in Chittagong, where a cricket match was being played and a large crowd of Europeans had collected to witness it, and threw bombs at the Superintendent of Police who stopped them on suspicion and at others who came to his rescue. One of the four was shot dead by the police officer's chauffeur and the other three were captured. One of the latter has been identified as an absconder in the Armoury Raid which took place some years ago. There is nothing so fraught with menace to the moral and political progress of the country than this movement which involves the reckless and indiscriminate sacrifice of human life. Though at present it is confined to a small part of Bengal, it may at any moment extend to other parts of that province and of the country. It is a thousand pities that the sinister potentialities of this criminal movement are not realised by the Indian public. The tendency outside the affected districts in Bengal and in other provinces is to regard the issue as one between the Bengal Government and the population of those districts, in which no outsider is called upon to take an interest. This to some extent is due to the present clouding of the public mind by provincial and communal issues, but to a larger extent it is due to the attitude of the Bengal Government which is not calculated to enlist the support of public opinion in the country as a whole.

The measures adopted by the Bengal Government are cumulatively equivalent to the application of martial law. The severity of these measures may be judged from the prosecution reported last week of several respectable householders for not reporting to the Police the presence of Hindus between the ages of 15 and 30 who stayed with them as guests, as required by one of the special Orders in force in the affected area. These measures and others indicated by the phrase "quiet pressure" which the Governor of Bengal used in a recent speech, have been in force for some time and yet it is evident that the dangerous movement persists. The official view seems to be that by continuing these measures and stiffening them the movement can be completely wiped out. But how long will it take to reach that goal and at what cost? A more rational as well as expeditious way is to mobilise the vast amount of anti-violence opinion all over the country and to bring it to bear upon the active promoters and passive sympathisers with it in the districts affected Bengal. This can be done only if the matter is taken out of the hands of the Provincial Government and dealt with by the Government of India as an all-India concern, which it really is. It is unfair to the Bengal Government to leave it to its unaided resources in dealing with a phenomenon of such magnitude. It has not the means, even if it had the wish, to enlist the support of the people of other parts of the country to its measures.

This is the situation now. It will grow worse when the White Paper scheme of vivisecting British India into eleven separate and autonomous provinces, comes to be adopted. The individual provinces, confronted by all-India propaganda, will be in the same position as some of the Indian States at present. The Government of India would cease to exist as a co-ordinating force. The intervention of the Federal Government will be resented as an infringement of autonomy. The disruptive forces will be everywhere in the ascendant. While much has been said of the safeguards to minorities and interests, very little consideration has been bestowed on the need of keeping British India intact as a bulwark against autocracy on the one hand and anarchy on the other. The Liberal Federation which met at Madras a few days ago, while it has drawn up a long list of changes which it would like to be made in the White Paper scheme, has completely ignored this fundamental defect. Every one says that it is a grave defect but adds that it is too late now to mend it. As a fact, however, this defect can be rectified with much less dislocation of other parts of the scheme than some of the changes on which its critics in this country lay stress as absolutely necessary to make the scheme acceptable to themselves. In a question of the future of the country, nothing can be "too late" if it is the right thing to do. The fullest autonomy can and should be given to the provinces by devolution from the centre. British India which has developed during the last century and a half, a certain unity of ideals and outlook should enter the Federation as a single unit. Members of the Federal Assembly will be elected by the different provinces but they will speak and act as members for British India as a whole. It has been objected that this involves the retaining of the name 'British India' for the largest unit of the Federation. We do not see any harm in it. It would be merely recognising the historical fact that British India has come to be as a result of British rule. But it will not be difficult to invent a more acceptable name for the territories that are now known as British India. This is a small matter.

HARIJAN SEVA SANGA AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Sometime back our esteemed friend the English Editor of the *Dnyanodaya* was so greatly impressed by the work of the Servants of the Untouchables organisation that he expressed the wish that Christian Missions which are also

engaged in work, according to their lights for the same classes, might be allowed to co-operate with the Harijan Seva Sangh as the Society has been recently named. In reply we pointed out that the Seva Sangh has expressly excluded religious propogandism from its objects and that as the Missions place conversion to Christianity in the forefront of their objects, their cooperation was impossible. Gandhiji who was questioned at Jubbulpore, was more precise and he said that their cooperation was welcome provided they gave up the notion that Hinduism was inferior to Christiantity and that conversion to Christianity was the best way of raising the position of the untouchables. We do not see what there is in it to provoke the vehement attack on Gandhiji for 'unconscious religious arrogance' in the *Dnyanodaya* this week. What Mr. Edwards wants, it now appears, is to be allowed to carry on the Missionary propaganda including the making of converts, under the auspices and with the resources of the Harijan Seva Sangh. Our Missionary friends are beginning to realise that in making mass conversions they had bit off more than they can chew. A sympathetic outside observer noted that the wheels of the Christian Church in India drag heavily in the sand of the agelong inferorities and disabilities of the hundreds of thousands of the depressed classes who now form the bulk of the Christian population and which can only very slowly appropriate the new visions and think the new thoughts. (Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education, p. 56.) Owing to the economic depression and the increasing knowledge of the real conditions of Indian religious and social life and owing to the growing disbelief in proselytising missions in their homelands, Christian Missions naturely wish to divest themselves of as much as of their responsibilities to their converts, without appearing to do so. This must have been the unconscious motive behind the naive proposal to cooperate with the Harijan Seva Sangh which in its origin and methods is a Hindu movement to remove from Hindu Society the blot of untouchability.

THE INDIAN ABROAD.

The *Examiner*, the Roman Catholic weekly of Bombay, writes under the above heading:—

When visiting Paris recently, Mr. K. Natarajan observed in a shop some pictures of women in a state of complete nudity, and he concludes:

"This is not regarded as obscene in Europe. The European view in matters of sex relationship is markedly different from that of Christian preachers and more nearly the same as that of the Indian people. Our missionary friends have exercised a sort of moral terrorism on Indian minds for the best part of a century while all the time they knew that things were much the same in their own homelands, if, indeed, not a little worse from their point of view."

We may remind Mr. Natarajan that missionaries do not come to India to make "Europeans" but to make "Christians." Christians do regard such pictures as obscene. Wherever possible they check the sale of pornographic objects, but in France precisely you have an anti-Christian Government which allows such things to be displayed. Decent people, however, simply do not gaze at them. Pagan semi-nudity in the East is very different. It is mainly due to the hot climate and people are accustomed to it. But in Europe these things are produced and sold simply to excite lust.

Again at Pompeii Mr. Natarajan inspected the pornographic pictures found in the brothels of the ancient Romans and here too he manages to drag in the Catholic Church. But no decent Catholic would want to see those pictures. If he knew what they were, he would simply decline to look at them. That is merely the normal Catholic practice in regard to pornographic objects. Mr. Natarajan was less scrupulous, but is it fair for him to make these pagan remains a grievance against Catholics, who are at least sufficiently prudent not to do what he did. "No worshipper who goes to a Hindu temple," he assures us, "thinks of inspecting the carvings on the walls" And yet Mr. Natarajan, with all the Christian art of Europe before him, has only time to visit the ruined pagan brothels of out-of-the-way Pompeii. Of Christian monuments he says not a word.

The Indian in the present case was not abroad as a connoisseur of art. The one or two things which he noted are those which thrust themselves on his attention by their flagrant contradiction of the Christian ideal as understood and preached by missionaries in India. As regards the attitude of the normal Roman Catholic, at least two of the party were of this denomination. As one of these was the guide he could not be said to be ignorant of what was within. I may assure the *Examiner* that my opinion of the European attitude to nudity was not formed on the strength of the pictures exhibited prominently on the street front in the Paris bookshop. God made man nude and those who regard nudity in itself as obscene are really criticising the work of the Creator. The distinction between European and Christian which the *Examiner* draws is only made when it is found necessary to extricate Christianity, never when the identification of the two is calculated to advance its propaganda. The question is not what the missionary wants to do with the Indian but what he actually succeeds in doing. I do not think and did not say that the French are less moral than Indians or any other nation because of these photographs. My "grievance" is that missionaries have needlessly sought to frighten non-Christians for things which are regarded as innocent in the lands which have been under Christian influence for centuries.

As regards the Pompeian relics, the *Examiner* may be reminded that the Catholic Church was brought in simply to contrast its treatment of the Elephanta sculptures and the Pompeian pictures so near its own door. I should add that I have a very great respect for the Roman Catholic Church and it was with great regret that we had to give up our intention of paying our respects to His Holiness the Pope owing to unavoidable conditions. K. N.

THE RELIGION OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

Several books on Mahatma Gandhi have been published in recent years. The latest addition to Gandhi literature comes from the pen of Bishop Chitambar of Jubbulpore, "Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Work and Influence."* The main interest of this book which has been published in response to the demands of American friends and which is written for American readers, lies, however, in his discussion of the question whether Gandhi is or is not a Christian. The author publishes letters from Gandhiji to Mrs. Chitambar in which his religious position, in rejecting the idea that "spiritual satisfaction is obtained only in and through Christ and that the-

*Published by the John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. Price two dollars.

truth lies only in believing in Jesus", is clearly defined. In view of this, it is surprising to read Mr. Chitambar's conclusion that he still has hopes of Gandhiji becoming a Christian in the orthodox sense. He remarks, however, that "sometimes Gandhiji seems to manifest the spirit of the Master more than some of us." It is a small matter, but it is amusing to note that in the dust-cover of this very book, in which Bishop Chitambar sets out to explain to the American public that Mahatma Gandhi is not a Christian, the publishers should have advertised the Bishop as a Hindu in one place, and as a Christian Hindu in another. Bishop Chitambar concludes with the statement that Mahatma Gandhi's religion is "Christianised Hinduism". Frankly we do not understand what he means by this. The publishers' description of Bishop Chitambar as a Christian Hindu has greater plausibility about it than the Bishop's ultimate estimate of Gandhiji's faith. "The very fact," he writes, "that Mahatma Gandhi has set himself the task of purifying Hinduism is an admission of the fact that Hinduism as such does not contain much hope for the betterment of the country." If we are to accept this we should be compelled to infer that Gandhiji's activities have as their goal, along with the Youth Movement and Self-Respect Movement, the erradication of all religions, particularly as he has expressed his repugnance to change his faith. We should like to know whether the Bishop is satisfied with "Christianity as such." The ultimate advice which the Bishop presents to the Christian Church, that she should demonstrate by her life that the Christian religion both satisfies and works, seems to us to imply that just as individuals in Hindu society are working for the erradication of certain evils, the Bishop himself feels that much leeway has to be made before the Christian religion can be called a living faith. Only, he has presented the truth in a much more palatable form to his fellow religionists than Gandhiji has been wont to do with the Hindus.

In the Author's Preface and in parts of the book, Bishop Chitambar has explained his political views which are of the Liberal School. In his last chapter he expresses with considerable tact the view held by responsible leaders in India, that the United States can make no direct contribution to the Indian struggle for independence. "America's message," he writes, "will be much more forceful and effective if she solves satisfactorily the racial question in her own country." As for the relations between Britain and India, besides expressing his faith in Dominion Status and in the infallability of the methods of co-operation, the Bishop emphasises that India must be encouraged to push on her indigenous industry. In its presentation of the political situation and of Indian aspirations and ideals, "Mahatma Gandhi" is restrained but forceful. There is, however, one point which requires amplification. The Bishop writes on page 69: "His (Gandhiji's) followers had frequently had recourse to pistols and bombs but he claims non-violence, 'truth force' or 'soul force', to be his weapon." It is unfortunate that in an otherwise well-documented book this statement stands by itself. Generally speaking, Indian thinkers have been careful to distinguish between the terrorist movement and Congress activities—a distinction accepted even by Government in its annual Reports in the past. The volume is elegantly produced, but, besides the reference to the Bishop as a Hindu, there is a slip on page 47 where Gandhiji's return from South Africa is dated "1924" instead of 1914, which demonstrates the disadvantages of publishing a book by an Indian author on India in the United States.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT—III

We should be sorry to understand that, unlike the Christian Churches of North India which have to obey the Allahabad High Court, those of the South insist that they cannot afford to depend on Church penalties and excommunication alone for maintaining their internal discipline, as all non-Christian communities are obliged to do under British rule, but must needs have a privileged position wielding the extraordinary power of setting the criminal courts in motion to enforce the church's rule, and that too against non-Christians primarily. Absolute autonomy and freedom of action for themselves with the power of breaking down with deadly weapons the autonomous rights of other communities seems to be what is claimed for the Christian churches of South India. They must not only be allowed to help with impunity and shelter under the Christian Marriage Act members of the Hindu church who wish to defy and break the rules of order framed in the interests of the Hindu community; they must also have the power to carry fire and sword, as it were, into the Hindu camp if a Hindu priest does, according to caste usage recognised as valid by Hindu law, exactly what the Christian Marriage Registrar insists upon doing in defiance of Hindu law and custom.

Hindus of the school of thought represented and led by the *Indian Social Reformer* have no axe to grind against any community. While it is true that they do not feel ashamed of their Hindu birth nor despise their own cultural and spiritual heritage, nothing gives them greater pride and self-satisfaction than to note and acknowledge the points of excellence in the character, constitution and civilization of non-Hindu communities and try to be of service to all equally. We reckon ourselves among their humble admirers and camp-followers.

We therefore sincerely sympathise with the desire of the Christian churches that every Christian girl should be free from compulsion of any kind and that she should marry under a law which will ensure for her a valid married status, guarantee her future against suppression by a co-wife and secure for her and her female progeny rights of inheritance under the Indian Succession Act. We are no partisans of the Hindu priest; we are only anxious that every individual layman shall be free to choose his own priest. We shall not be sorry at all if the Hindu priest and his ritual are shunned by every Christian without exception and the Indian Christian Marriage Act is faithfully followed even for mixed marriages, though it is powerless against the personal law of the Hindu and bestows no greater rights upon the bride. We shall be happy to co-operate with the Christian community in any attempt to get that Act suitably amended and we shall be glad to have the support of all communities for the enactment of a general civil marriage law of an optional kind like the one of Dr. Gour's, which was opposed and rejected by the Government last in 1931 on the mistaken plea among others that the Christian community did not need it. (Vide the *Reformer* of 21st Feb. 1931, page 398; 16th May 1931, page 589.)

Even with the law as it is at present, it would be a great relief to us if such Christians as may feel drawn towards Hindu ritual and are determined to have a Hindu priest to officiate at their wedding would get it first registered as a civil marriage. Whether this is done under the Christian Marriage Act or the Special Marriage Act, it has the equal merit of putting Section 68 out of action automatically, leaving it no excuse to do mischief to participants in the subsequent ceremony. But the latter Act, owing to Dr. Gour's amendment, has the further merit of really giving to the bride all the secular advantages which

die-hard partisans of Section 68 of the Christian Act profess to be their sole objective in pressing for the prosecution of the Hindu priest and his "abetting" clients.

These "offenders", however, are usually too ignorant to know the lurking dangers of Section 68 in the Madras Presidency, or the simple precautions by which it can be easily disabled. But even supposing that they are so self-willed and defiant as to disregard all warnings and deny the right of the Christian elders to fetter their freedom, and then plunge directly into the Hindu marriage ritual according to caste usage, relying upon it alone to effect a Hindu conversion as well as a Hindu marriage as was held valid by the Madras High Court in I. L. R., 83 Madras, are they to be punished by the State with heavy penalties because the Christian churches refuse to recognise the ceremony as valid for either purpose?. And, what is more important, are the Christian churches to be given power to traverse beyond their communal limits and strike at Hindu nationals without giving reciprocal rights to the Hindu community? One-sided capitulations forced upon disorganised and feeble nations are bad enough in world politics. In inter-communal affairs of a semi-religious character within the same State they produce deep antagonisms which are inimical to Indian unity and fellow-feeling.

It would be presumptuous of course to hope that our arguments will have the good fortune to carry conviction immediately to those who are firmly seated on vantage ground acquired by adverse possession long supported by the criminal courts of South India. We trust, however, it will be recognised by all that enough has been said on both sides of the question in these columns to disclose the existence of a sharp conflict of communal interest and sentiment in their matter. As Mr. Paul Appasami has noted in his handbook on Christian law (at page 72), these prosecutions under Section 68 "have always been unpopular and have tended to inflame feeling." This fact is sufficient to justify and strengthen our plea for a through inquiry by an impartial body of responsible public workers. We trust that the "Servants of the Untouchables Society", which is the chief All India organisation actively in the field at present, will move in the matter and appoint a committee of inquiry without delay, representative if possible of all persons and organisations interested in the welfare and freedom of the depressed classes, to gather information, consider all points of view, effect reconciliation where that is possible and suggest remedies where mutual adjustment is found impossible.

Until such a committee comes into being and has had time to study the question and make its recommendations, may we make an appeal to the National Christian Council of India to be so kind and accommodating as to arrange with its constituent churches to suspend altogether the policy of prosecuting Hindus under Section 68; or at least appoint conciliation boards, including representatives of the "Untouchable" and other welfare organisations, to examine every case of alleged breach as it arises before complaint is made to the Police? K. R.

Indian Labour In Ceylon:—The Department of Labour has issued statistics relating to immigration of Indian estate labourers in 1933. Last year immigrant labourers totalled 82,898, showing a decrease of 17,971 compared with the 1932 figures. The decrease of immigrant labour last year however is only slightly less than the decrease in the previous year. The number of emigrants totalled 88,959 of whom 42,383 were repatriates. The recruiting licences issued in 1933 totalled 1,502, compared with 2,587 last year, and 14,287 in 1930.

A GREAT INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

(By Cyril Modak.)

"Ich dien" is a motto which does not belong to the ostrich feathers of the Prince of Wales alone. Princely lives everywhere have the same motto on their unknown crests. In the noble confraternity of such as live to serve, Edmund Manoharrao Modak, late Headmaster of the Misson High School, Jubbulpore, has a place all his own. His life knew but one refrain—"I serve!" His service was a glad hymn of praise. He sought no reward. He poured forth his life ministering to the intellectual, moral, and spiritual needs of students and fellow-citizens for a period of thirty-two years, beginning from the time that he started his career as a teacher in a 'night school' in Bombay a few months after graduating from Bishop's College, Calcutta, at the comparatively early age of twenty-two. At a recent Memorial Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Mission High School, a Hindu colleague said, "The text 'Make you His service your delight, Your wants shall be His care' did not only hang on a wall in Mr. Modok's home but was indelibly engraved on his heart."

In 1901 Mr. E. M. Modak took his first regular appointment at Midnapore as Headmaster of the Local Mission High School. After three years he went to Lucknow as Headmaster of the Wesleyan High School, where from 150 the total enrolment rose to about 400 in the four years of his stay. In 1908 he came to Jubbulpore in charge of the C. M. S. High School. In eight years not only had the numerical strength of the institution increased from about 200 to over 500, but in sports as well as in scholastic record the C. M. S. High School became the envy of the other five high schools in the city. But these were only years of preparation. For, although his school, whether in Midnapore, or Lucknow, or Jubbulpore, soon earned a reputation for strict discipline, high scholastic and moral standards, and an excellent spirit of sportsmanship, it is not for carrying on, however ably, schools which were already established but rather for reviving schools which had celebrated their euthenasia, that Mr. Modak will be better remembered.

It was in 1922, when his health was impaired by rough and dreary travelling on behalf of the National Missionary Society, that he was invited to build up the Harichand High School on the ruins of the Wesleyan High School of Lucknow. With characteristic enthusiasm he responded. In two years the Harichand High School was thriving, and the same year Mr. Modak was asked by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society at Jubbulpore to revive their school which had closed in 1922. With just four boys he started the school. For five years he laboured unceasingly. In 1929 to his joy it became a recognized high school with a total enrolment of some 250 boys. In the same year the C. M. S. joined the Union, and a Union Christian High School took over the institution of the C. M. S. The next year the Union abandoned the middle school section, and it fell to Mr. Modak's lot to make a fresh start and build up this school under the most discouraging financial conditions, with a constitution broken by strenuous work and many cares.

Not knowing how to shrink from the most arduous duties or the most exacting sacrifice he fell to work to start an institution at fifty-four. And so his stalwart colleagues toiled with him, until in 1933 the Mission High School, as this institution was named, started its Matriculation class with some 250 boys in the whole school. But it had been too much for him.

The struggle of the builder with a vision cost him his life. He died in harness, as was his wish, on the 13th of December 1933, cheerfully submitting to unostentatious martyrdom at the behest of duty.

He loved his boys. He loved his school. He loved his work. He was a born educator. He satisfied Pestallozi's ideal of a teacher. His boys found him as strict as a martinet and as solicitous as a father. A headmaster's work is seldom rescued from a drab routine. The sneer with which men refer to the 'schoolmaster's mentality' is well known. But for Mr. Modak a schoolmaster's work was too creative to be dull. He took the same interest in his duties as headmaster that the artist takes in the plastic arts. Every day brought its meed of joy, now because he had discovered new talent, or because some boy had turned over a new leaf, or a colleague had made a difficult lesson interesting, or perhaps because the hockey team had played a clean game. He had poetry in his soul. He had the mind of a statesman. He was a teacher at heart. He could talk to his boys on brotherhood; draft a constitution for the managing committee; demonstrate the dignity of manual work by helping to carry furniture; teach English, Mathematics, History, Sanskrit; show his boys at fifty-seven years of age how to bowl or pull at tug of war; and win the confidence of some guardian, with equal felicity and effectiveness.

Mr. Modak was able to steer his schools through times of financial crisis or political upheaval. As a member of the Diocesan Educational Board or the Education Committee of the Jubbulpore District Church Council, he filled an important place. His clear thinking, his ample experience, his practical wisdom, and his far-sighted statesmanship made his counsels valuable. Men in authority in the department of education had learned to respect his sound judgment. But coupled with his sagacity was a high idealism. His intellectual attainments found their complement in his sterling character.

Unless a teacher can live triumphantly, overcoming difficulties and grappling with adverse circumstances he cannot prepare his students for the strenuous business of living which after all is the purpose of education. Mr. Modak's life was one of unremittant struggle and toil, but it was a victorious life. A splendid faith in the rationality of the universe and in the sovereignty of the Divine Will inspired him with the courage and the confidence necessary for constructive enterprises in any field.

Mr. Modak's victorious spirit was contagious. Teachers were always willing to rally round his standard, strive as hard as he did and bravely. He was never daunted by the most impossible tasks. He was always ready to undertake the work which others judged to be hopeless. His maxim was: What thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might. He knew nothing of the 'golden mean' of humanism. He worked intensely. He played intensely. He lived intensely. It was not possible for his staff or students to come into contact with him and not catch some of his fervent enthusiasm. How else could he have rebuilt three schools within the brief period of eleven years? For him a teacher without enthusiasm was like salt that had lost its savour.

A confirmed idealist in philosophical outlook, as an Indian might well be, he preferred Mission employment with all its handicaps to the more lucrative and attractive Government service because he thought he could thus once and for all take the path of sacrificial ministry. Personal considerations had no place in his decisions. Position, emolument, prestige, in short what the world calls success, had no attraction for him. Nothing satisfied him more, nothing gave him more joy than to spend himself unsparingly for the cause he had espoused.

Of hard work he was never afraid. His transparent sincerity urged his students and colleges to greater effort and won many friends for the institutions which he made. He understood the good life as a life unconditionally devoted to duty; and his passion for the good life gave him the energy to do what one with his shattered constitution should never have dared. His heroic idealism is not only remembered by his old students, but is a cherished source of inspiration to many of them, regardless of caste or creed.

Indeed, he loathed communal and partizan distinctions. He loved his motherland and endeavoured to serve her by training the youth that went through his schools to be worthy citizens, recognizing the dignity of personality. What is usually called the "Poor Fund" was called in his schools the "Brotherhood Fund" to which the students contributed so as to help their poorer brothers. The school songs voiced the sentiment of brotherhood and equality. Hindus, Muslims, and Christians worked together on his staff in harmony and with good will.

Whether in Midnapore or Lucknow or Jubbulpore he was trusted, for people knew he would do the right thing, engage the right man, without being swayed by communal or party feelings, even if he had to fall foul of the managing committees of his schools. Independence of thought made him a nationalist and tempered his nationalism. He was not anti-British but pro-Indian as a genuine Indian nationalist is bound to be. His students learned to love and honour their country and its leaders. The Assembly Hall of the Mission High School was adorned with the pictures of great Indians. In truth, many non-Christians, used to the old order of things, were agreeably relieved to find that Mr. Modak's Christianity did not dilute but refined his patriotic sentiments.

The life of this Christian patriot was packed with activity. He was a proficient teacher, a successful headmaster, a valued member of various educational boards. His presence in the school ensured good discipline. His voice on the playground inspired chivalry. Year after year the impact of his life upon the lives of students developed in them those qualities which stand one in good stead under the stress of testing periods. Month after month he instilled into young men a love for truth and a desire for knowledge, teaching courtesy and integrity by practice more than by precept. Day in and day out for well over a quarter of a century he imprinted upon the minds of boys that 'not failure but low aim is crime.' Did he promote the cause of Christian education? He wished he might. He aspired, toiled, suffered, dared.

Mr. E. M. Modak was a lover of truth, a lover of duty, a lover of all that has the power to make men nobler. To him was given the rare capacity of being a true educator. The best tribute to his life comes from those who acknowledge that they owe their success in life to his influence and efficient headmastership; and of such, happily, there are not a few.

Swami Vivekananda Anniversary:— The Seventy-second Birthday Anniversary of Sreemat Swami Vivekananda will be celebrated at the Ramakrishna Math, Khar, on Sunday, the 14th January 1934. A public meeting will be held at the Blavatsky Hall on the 19th January.

THE NUDE IN ART AND LITERATURE.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I could think of appoaching only your weekly, when I felt, on reading an article on 'The Nude in Indian Art' in the July-August 1933 issue of the 'Triveni' by Prof. M. K. Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., that the learned professor's appeal to women in India deserves a wider circulation than is commanded by such a bi-monthly as the 'Triveni' which has—to quote the words of Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri—'its appeal to a highly cultivated select few.' Hence the solicitude of the present writer for giving wider publication to the appeal through your esteemed and widely-read weekly. Concluding the article, which, by the way, is worth reading as a whole, the learned professor has sounded a note of warning to the so-called votaries of Art against debasing art and Literature by 'exploiting the nude and the semi-nude for commercial or so-called cultural purposes.'

In view of the fact that the market is being flooded with the mushroom growths of innumerable periodicals which seek to command a wider sale by publishing obscene literature under the name of Realism, as also by presenting pictures of semi-nude females, often of a low character, under the cloak of a desire to pursue 'Art for Art's sake' while, in fact pandering to the public taste of gratifying 'the carnal desires of the heart', women in India would do well to raise their voice of protest against the evil as is suggested by the professor in his appeal. He says: 'A word to the women of India. Let the rising generation of women in this country assert their self-respect by demanding a complete abolition of the type of Art which flourishes by exploiting the nude or the semi-nude for commercial, or so-called cultural purposes. Let our ladies make this a matter of 'Satyagraha' if necessary, and begin with the art-schools and art-studies of this country, and then tackle the theatres and cinemas. I am confident that they will ultimately succeed in purifying the art and literature of the country of the ugly realistic tendency which is growing apace. The pornographic fiction that is selling like hot-cakes in these days is a portent as ominous for the morals of the world as the increasing armament of the nations is for its physical existence."

Will the women of India rise to the occasion, and stand up for their rights?

Bombay,
January 6, 1934. } Yours etc.,

G. H. J.

Bengal Hindus Condemn Communal Award:—"The fate of this fair province of Bengal is hanging in the balance and by the end of January the Joint Parliamentary Committee will have made its report. Any one who is not blinded by the communal jealousies or personal loyalties must be satisfied by this time that the communal decision of the Premier and the Poona Pact taken together, unless modified, will inevitably reduce caste Hindus in Bengal to a position of absolute political impotence. It is thus time that a united protest be made by all sections of the Hindu community of Bengal before it becomes too late," thus runs a manifesto issued through the "United Press". The manifesto is signed among others by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, the Hindu Maha Sabha delegate who gave evidence before the Joint Committee, Dr. Radhakumud Mookherjee and Mr. N. K. Basu.

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

(By Guy Hayler.)

The Press has said that there is now no Prohibition in the United States, supporting such an assertion by leading articles and special contributions written, for the most part, by people who have more of a *flair* for fireworks than any genius for facts. I would break yet another lance with these enthusiasts who now find that what they have "buried" refuses to lie down!

It is true that the American President has, for revenue purposes, done his best to end what his predecessor, Mr. Hoover, rightly called, in its simple rendering, "a noble experiment." The good work of one man cannot, with impunity, be undone by the bad work of another. President Roosevelt may live to regret his association with this turn-back on the Constitution. If politicians choose to hitch their wagons to fallen stars—and let it be understood that the star of liquordom in the United States waned and fell fourteen years ago never to be in the ascendant again—there must be no surprise when disillusionment comes, as it surely will. Not all is gold that glitters, and rum money is ruinous coinage.

It is too early yet to get the actual figures of the elections, especially as a number of States have for various reasons taken no vote on the issue, but when the world is told that America has been longing to get rid of National Prohibition, the available facts cannot be cited as supporting evidence. Neither the President nor his colleagues can congratulate themselves on the "verdict" of the country. America has no more decided to go Wet than has Britain decided to go Dry. Can thirty per cent of the total electorate be said to be the voice of America? Such figures as I have go to show that after the first twenty-nine States had voted it was found that only 23·3 per cent of the total electorate went to the polls! The Repeal of National Prohibition has been brought about not by the votes of the many but by the ballot of the few, several of whom have never seen a saloon or know what is meant by the term Liquor Traffic. So, America's money administrators, with the help of their racketeering agents, now, doubtless, "respectable" licensees, take in the Wet shekels with which to balance the Budget! The Hon. Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania, was right when he said recently, "It is utterly ridiculous to suppose that we can drink ourselves out of the depression back into prosperity. To spend a billion or two dollars a year for that which decreases human efficiency and lessens human working power can never be anything but a gigantic loss. Strong drink is an economic mistake."

It should be remembered that even with the 18th Amendment repealed, two-thirds of the States remain under the liquor ban which can only be altered through State Legislation. A fair-minded Press would have told the world that fact. When the States have spoken for themselves, then will it be time for the Wets to know what America is thinking about Prohibition. An American citizenry, especially the younger end of it, is about to find out that booze never leads to business recovery. The battle is on! As the Editor of "Twentieth Century Progress" (Washington, D. C.) says:

> "We have not lowered our flag; we still advocate Prohibition as the most effective plan for dealing with the liquor problem."

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN BARODA

Concluding his note on "Recent Legislation in Baroda, Mr. V. K. Durandhar, Legal Remembrancer, writes:

Mention also be made of an important change which has been made in the Hindu law of marriage prevalent in the State. The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage is prohibited among Hindus are reduced, after considering the opinions of medical men and other experts who have made a study of Eugenics. The prohibition is now confined to descendants and ascendents up to three degrees. The prohibition relating to marriage within the same Gotra is removed subject to the aforesaid prohibited degrees, thus widening the field for the choice of brides and bridegrooms.

Another legislation of great importance is the Sanyas Diksha Restraint Act which came into force on November 11, 1933. The Act forbids the initiation into Sanyas of, or giving Diksha to, a minor—a person under eighteen years of age. The initiation of or giving Diksha to a minor is declared void and having no effect on his legal rights and responsibilities. Such initiation is moreover made punishable with imprisonment upto one year and fine upto Rs. 500. It is hoped the general public will welcome the measure as its chief aim is to protect the interests of minor persons.

One more piece of social legislation has been recently sanctioned by his Highness the Maharaja Saheb. It is a well known fact that in Gujarat marriages are restricted to certain circles called Gols within the castes or sub-castes. This was found to be hampering the healthy growth of the society. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, therefore, appointed a committee to examine the extent of this evil and suggest remedies. An Act called the Caste Tyranny Removal Act is passed based on the recommendations of that committee. Certain customs enumerated in the Act are styled "tyrannous customs" and it is provided that no caste shall ex-communicate or otherwise punish a member of the caste for a breach of such "tyrannous custom". If a person is so punished, he will be at liberty to prosecute the leader or the headman of the caste; the penalty prescribed in the Act is simple imprisonment not exceeding six months or fine not exceeding Rs. 1000 or to both. The Act came into force on 14th December 1933.

Nothing In A Name:—The name of "Lord Willingdon Island" is to be given to the new island formed by the reclamation works which are being carried out in connection with the construction of a new first-class port at Cochin, some 580 miles south of Bombay, says a message from Ernakolam, Cochin State. It matters not what name the new island is given, writes the *Commonwealth*, so long as it is not taken to mean that Lord Willingdon "owns" the land there. The inhabitants of the Sussex village of Willingdon, near Eastbourne, now pay some £ 10,000 a year to Lord W. for allowing them to live in the pleasant part of *their* native land.

Did Juliet Ever Exist?—The historians of Verona have decided that all the romance about Romeo and Juliet is mere tradition. The Capulets, it appears, never lived in that city: Juliet never existed. Local tradition was responsible for the story of the unfortunate attachment, but William Shakespeare wove it into an immortal play, for which everybody will be grateful. The tablet on the wall of the so-called house of Juliet is to be replaced by another, which will explain that local tradition, and not the historians, sanctioned the legend and inspired the greatest of poets. In short, the guides can no longer say, pointing to the famous balcony, "Here Juliet stood," but "Here, tradition says, Juliet lived, but it is not true."

INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.*

The reading of the Presidential address over, the Conference proceeded to deal with the resolutions under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Devadhar.

The first resolution was on welfare work, social programme and study of social science. The resolution was as follows and the Lord Bishop of Madras moved the first part:

This Conference desires to place on record its appreciation of the labours in the cause of national service of the various welfare work institutions throughout the country. While welcoming the rapid growth in the number of such institutions including those devoted to rural reconstruction, this Conference is of opinion that their endeavour for national uplift needs and deserves to be amply supplemented by State aid either through legislative action or through financial assistance or through both. (2) This Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived for the formulation of social programmes including those relating to housing and health and for training and utilising the growing enthusiasm of the country for constructive work in the various departments of national life; and (3) This Conference is of opinion that the study of Social Science with special reference to Indian conditions should be actively promoted by the Universities in the country.

Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu moved: This Conference is of opinion that whatever justification there might have been in the past for the practice of untouchability and unapproachability, such justification has ceased to exist for a long time, and that its continuance works great social injustice at present. It, therefore, exhorts all caste Hindus to remove all obstacles to the legitimate self-expression of those suffering from such disabilities in all departments of life and to see that no non caste-Hindu suffers any disability by reason only of his birth; and (2) This Conference approves of the principle of the Temple-Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly, and requests the members thereof and the Government to pass it with suitable modifications to meet all legitimate criticisms as to the qualifications of the voters prescribed by the Bill.

Mr. S. Ramanadhan moved that the resolution be rejected. He said that it was altogether reactionary. Without fighting the question of caste they could not solve the problem of untouchability. If they were going to be true social reformers they must totally reject the resolution and pass a separate resolution for the abolition of Varnashrama Dharma as unscientific and unsound.

Mr. O. C. Srinivasan proposed an amendment to modify the resolution as follows:—This Conference is of opinion that untouchability should be statutarily abolished making it penal, punishable by imprisonment; and (2) This Conference strongly approves the Temple Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly and requests the members thereof and the Government to pass it.

The President intervening asked members to realise that it was a Conference and not a bazaar and it was disgraceful to cause scenes like that. If any member had any opposition to make he was at liberty to approach him and mention the matter to him. The proceedings of the Conference should not be interrupted.

Mr. C. D. Nayagam at this stage proposed another amendment to Part I of the resolution and it read as follows:

"This Conference is of opinion that the problem of untouchability and unapproachability worked as a

* Justice, December 5th.

great social injustice and is a blot on humanity and therefore urges on all interested in the uplift of the country to take steps for the removal of all obstacles in all departments of life and see that no one suffered by reason of his birth."

Mr. C. D. Nayagam's amendment was put to the vote and carried.

Mr. O. C. Srinivasan's amendment was lost.

The original resolution as amended by Mr. Nayagam was then carried.

The resolution on the subject of "Women's Rights" referred to property, purdah and domestic science and was worded as follows:

"This Conference approves of the recent legislative attempts to extend the rights of Hindu Women in property and is of opinion that while the small changes till now advocated are beneficial to the extent to which they go, there is urgent need for a comprehensive survey of the whole question. It therefore requests the Government to appoint a Committee, one third of whose members shall be women, to investigate and report on the changes required to give women a legitimate share in joint family property and in the separate property of their husbands. (*b*) This Conference is of opinion that the custom of Purdah leads to serious injury to the health and intellectual advancement of women and exhorts the public to take all possible steps to alter it; and (*c*) This Conference views with satisfaction the great advance that has been made in the matter of higher education of women, and requests the Government and the public to arrange for the establishment in each Presidency of at least one college on the model of Lady Irwin College, recently established at Delhi, so that women's education may be of more practical use than it is at present."

How it came to be eliminated, there was no good of discussing now. The legislation such as that aimed at in the resolution existed in the states of Mysore and Baroda. It was possible that such legislation could also be framed in their country. Therefore it was that they wanted a committee to be appointed to investigate the question, examine witnesses and formulate a report.

Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay) then moved:—

This Conference while feeling grateful to the Government for the passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act is of opinion that more effective steps should be taken than at present to enforce its provisions. It is further of opinion that the provision for a deposit by the complainant should be deleted, and that the penal provisions of the Act should be more rigorously enforced. (*b*) This Conference is of opinion that the age of consent outside marriage should be raised and taken up to 18 years. (*c*) This Conference deplores the continuance of Kanya-Sulkam and Vara-dakshina and the high and ruinous expenses connected with marriage celebrations. It calls upon all to simplify the marriage ceremonies so that the celebration of marriages may be felt to be less of a burden than it is at present. It welcomes the law promulgated in some of the Native States to put down this evil. (*d*) This Conference is of opinion that unequal marriages between old men and young girls should be prevented by suitable legislation; and (*e*) This Conference while viewing with satisfaction the diminution of opposition to widow re-marriage is of opinion that the present law depriving the widow of the property inherited from her former husband, on her re-marriage, works great hardship in several cases where the second husband is not rich enough to provide for the re-married widow also, and that suitable amendments should be made in the Indian Widow Re-marriage Act to remedy this defect.

Mrs. Dadabhoy moved that:—This Conference approves of the legislation recently enacted to prohibit immoral traffic and is of opinion that its operation should be extended to the whole of British India. It calls upon the Government and the local bodies, to establish homes where girls that have to be dealt under the Act can be trained to become normal citizens of the State.

Mr. Andrews Dube (Lucknow) moved a resolution on temperance and it was duly seconded by Mr. S. Narayana Iyer and carried. The resolution was as follows:—

This Conference views with regret the setback which the movement for total abstinence from drink has received by the abolition of prohibition in the United States of America and by the reported failure of local option in certain parts of the Madras Presidency. (*b*) This Conference requests the Government to appoint a committee to investigate and recommend measures to eradicate altogether the evil of drink; and (*c*) This Conference calls upon the public to take vigorous measures to put down the drink evil, through propaganda, organisation of counter attractions, social boycott of those addicted to drink, closing of the facilities now provided in some clubs and similar institutions for getting drink, and the prohibition of the supply of alcoholic drink in all functions arranged with public subscriptions.

Mr. O. C. Srinivasan moved the following resolution:—

(*a*) This Conference notes with great regret the prevalence of poverty and unemployment throughout the country and is of opinion that the situation is one which calls for immediate remedial measures; (*b*) this Conference desires to draw the attention of the Government and of the public to the need for the extension of vocational education closely related to the industrial needs and possibilities of the country; and (*c*) this Conference while appreciating the action of the Government in carrying out some of the recommendations of the Whitely Commission, emphasises the need for early action through legislation and otherwise for carrying out all its recommendations.

Mr. T. Sundara Rao Naidu proposed and Rao Bahadur Krishna Rao Bhonsle seconded and it was duly carried that—(*a*) This Conference heartily supports the recent action of the Madras Government to prevent the practice of hook-swinging and hook-dragging in certain festivals in South India and and requests the Government to rigorously enforce their order passed in 1894 prohibiting them; and (*b*) this Conference is of opinion that the public exhibition of similar practices of self-torture during popular festivals should be sternly prohibited and calls upon the public to discourage the resort to self-torture under any conditions.

Mr. C. D. Nayagam moved that this Conference while it appreciates the recent changes which have made marriages between members of different castes legally valid is of opinion that the time is come for the enactment of a purely Civil Marriage Act.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ramesan moved the resolution on Birth Control Clinics—"Having regard to the prevalence even now of early marriages and the consequent early motherhood and frequent pregnancies, and the resultant deplorable deterioration in the health of young mothers, this conference approves of the proposal to open birth control clinics under the charge of competent medical authorities to give advice in proper cases."

In doing so, he said that it was essentially a subject which concerned ladies who were not present in large numbers. That did not however prevent him from saying that this subject was a matter of contro-

versy. No country in the world could afford to have a large birth-rate. Over-production always ended in wastage of life. The problem was, could a woman go on giving birth to children until she became a complete wreck. Birth Control was not opposed to the tenets of Hinduism. Their ancestors in India were the first to preach birth-control and to lay down methods for it.

The resolution was duly seconded and carried.

The following resolutions were put from the Chair after a brief explanation and duly carried :—

(1) Divorce Bill :—This Conference is of opinion that in the present circumstances of the Hindu society the total absence of the right of divorce works great hardship on Hindu women. It approves of the principle of Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill now before the Legislative Assembly and requests the Government and the members of the Assembly to enlarge its scope and pass an enactment providing for divorce in all cases in which divorce is allowed under the Indian Divorce Act and also in case where a Hindu husband marries another wife without the petitioning wife's consent.

(2) This Conference urges upon the Government the desirability of enlarging the scope of the Children Act and of widely enforcing the Children Act in the several provinces and calls upon the public actively to co-operate with the Government in the carrying out of its provisions.

The last resolution that was taken up for consideration was that relating to the abolition of caste and the resolution as drafted by the Reception Committee was in the following terms :—"This Conference deplores the continuance even at the present time of the rigidity of the system of caste by birth. While noting with satisfaction the changed outlook that has come over the country on this question it views with regret the growth of class consciousness. It notes with regret the increasing tendency to lay emphasis on the membership of specific social and religious groups and to claim special privileges based on such membership. This conference exhorts the public to repel such claims and to work for national solidarity by affording equal opportunities for all."

At first there was difficulty to find any to move the resolution, the attendance had by this time completely thinned and the President put it from the chair and it was carried.

On the proposition of Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, a Committee was appointed to draft the constitution of the Indian Social Conference.

With a few remarks by the President, Mr. Devadhar, the Conference was dissolved.

Gandhi Plaque Removed From London Church :—A plaque of Mr. Gandhi has been removed from Finchley Parish Church, London, following a storm of criticism during which the rector, the Rev. Stewart Bernays received letters of protest from all parts of the country. In place of Mr. Gandhi there now rests a plaque which Mr. Bernays described as representing a Flanders Poppy. The rector told the *Evening Standard* : The rebus of Gandhi was one of 15 designed by the architect of the £ 7,000 church extension, Sir Charles Nicholson, to represent the signs of the times. They are all on the ceiling of the new south aisle. They represent crises in the history of nations. There is the Russian bear representing the Soviet Union; a shillelagh, representing Ireland; a Tudor rose; and Mr. Gandhi. And last, but not least, there is one of the verger, with a broom and key and his initials. When the Gandhi design was first announced I received letters from all parts of the country, as well as from parishioners. Finally the parochial council and I decided that it would be wise, in view of public opinion, to take down Mr. Gandhi. We have done so."

THE ECONOMICS OF BIRTH-CONTROL.

A number of interesting and thought-provoking papers were read and discussed at the Indian Economic Conference which held its session recently. As many as seven papers were read on the subject of population only and considerable interest was evinced during a lively discussion which ensued.

In a paper by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee it was shown that a close correspondence between the rates of reproduction and mortality and the fluctuations of the cropped area existed at least in two districts in the United Provinces which he has investigated.

Mr. Jaffar Hasan of Osmania University in his paper stressed the importance of viewing the problem of population both from absolute and relative points of view. His conclusion was that, while from the absolute point of view India was not overpopulated, it was certainly so when the relative viewpoint was taken. The writer suggested that the remedy lay in restriction by birth-control and sterilization of the unfit.

In a paper on the strictly theoritical aspect of the problem, Mr. Zacharias of the Annamalai University dwelt on the relation existing between unemployment and growth of population.

The paper of Mr. S. Subramanian on Mathematical Economics showed what maximum of population could exist in the Presidency of Madras and in the State of Mysore, under certain hypothetical conditions.

Mr. H. Ghosh of the Calcutta University showed in his paper the correlation between agricultural production, and the stability of popnlation, and he maintained that no relation whatever existed between the two.

The paper of Mr. Joshi, research student of the Allahabad University, was an attempt to show that there existed close inter-relationship between birth rates and death-rates, prices and rainfall.

The discussion was particularly enlivening and more than one speaker maintained that the problem was not a merely economic one, it affected the ethical, the religious and communal sentiments of the people. Prof. Kale said that as economists they must take a neutral attitude towards the question of birth-control and that the best remedy either for checking the growth of population or for increasing the production of the country lay in educating the masses.

Prof. Madhava of the Mysore University dealt at length with the mathematical aspect of the problem and said that 15 years' experiment in the control of birth rate in the West had not reduced the growth of the population to any appreciable extent.

Prof. Vakil, of Bombay University began by saying that there existed a serious disequilibrium in the economic balance with regard to population and food supply in Indian for the past 70 or 80 years. He said that the problem could be solved either by restricting the population or by increasing productivity. Personally, he was not for any sort of compulsory birth control but at the same time would desire for the spread of education so that people might use their own discretion in using artificial methods of birth control.

In the afternoon the discussion became more and more enlivening. Dr. P. J. Thomas gave a new turn to the discussion by stressing the necessity of a statistical study on the subject of population. Indeed large numbers in this country were under-fed but there was statistical evidence to show that the population had not outrun produtions in this country

Prof. Vakil had said that inthe last 50 years of which they had census statistics a disequilibrium had arisen between the population and food supply, but the statistical evidence pointed otherwise. During the last 50 years the population in this country had increased by 89 per cent and during the last 80 years by about 20 per cent. During the same 80 years the production had increased more than 50 per cent and in the case of commercial crops the increase had been much larger. Yet, there was still poverty in the land and the standard of living was too low. Overpopulation may be to-day less than what it was 80 years ago but India might still be overpopulated. The causes of overpopulation were chiefly under-production, mal-distribution and the discarding of the true Indian ideals in regard to marriage, like "Brahmacharya," etc. On the one hand income and standard of living must be raised and on the other the growth of population must be checked, by late marriages and increased emigration. Thus India might attain an optimum level of population without resorting to devices of birth control.

Mrs. Alamelumangathayar Ammal, M.L.C., addressed the audience in Tamil. She said that the problem of population with its concomitant of birth control could not be solved by the deliberations of an assembly of males, but as mothers, women must be given a larger voice in any future legislative measure on the question.

Dr. Jain in a brief speech pointed out that any comprehensive treatment of the subject must take into account the quality of population and not merely the quantity. It is after all by the number of cultured people that the true economic condition of a nation is gauged.

Miss Overkekr of Trivandrum said that the question was moral rather than economic and that artificial methods of birth control should be stoutly opposed.

After a good deal of discussion by various other speakers the president summarised the different views expressed and concluded that the population had a tendency to adjust itself and that we need not really worry about it.

What India Means to England:—Lord Lloyd, speaking at an India Defence League Meeting, over which Lord Hereford, president of the local branch presided at Hereford, said, he could claim without fear of challenge that there had been up to date no single body of organised political opinion in India which had accepted or said a word in favour of the White Paper. The Indian controversy was a vital matter, because it touched our national honour and because India was of vital strategical importance. If we abandoned our rule or power in India, it would be impossible to maintain the standard of living we had been accustomed to in England, and our country would be striken by overwhelming poverty, because, during the last 200 years a very large proportion of our wealth had directly or indirectly come from India.

Prince by Deed Poll:—London, writes a correspondent of the *People* of Lahore, has been amused by an announcement in the Press that the son of Lt. Col. Warliker has changed his name by deed poll, embodying the title of "Prince". "The "Prince" is 41 years of age and is the son of the late Colonel by his first wife. He has spent a lot of time in America, where no doubt he will find his new made title a remunerative asset. Colonel Warliker, who died last year, was a prominent member of the Indian community in London. His second wife, an English-woman, could throw no light on the reasons of the son's change of name. By his second marriage, the Colonel had three daughters, one of whom obtained her Air Pilot's certificate at a very early age."

THE NEED FOR BIRTH CONTROL IN INDIA.

The Director, Birth Control International Centre, London, writes :—

The economic conditions of India condemn millions of its people to a state of permanent and inescapable poverty. This poverty has many causes but the most fundamental are the density of India's population and its defective agricultural organisation. Closely dependent upon these, too, are high rates of infant and maternal mortality and a generally low level of health. It may not be true to suggest that the population of India is too large for its potential natural resources, but that its existing resources cannot support a population which is expanding at the present rate is surely not a matter for dispute. The penalties for ignoring these facts are famine, a wretched standard of living and an appalling death rate.

Under the stress of modern industrial conditions India is realising an ever-growing and more urgent obligation to make fuller use of its economic resources. New needs are being discovered, hitherto unthought of amenities, and rapidly there is developing a demand for higher standards of living. The women of India, moreover, now grown politically conscious are becoming actively concerned with the needs of future generations: they are demanding better conditions for mothers and children.

The expansion of education and industry will break down many of the taboos which still hamper the development of the present generation of women. One result - as the experience of the more prosperous classes has made evident—will be a postponement of the marriage age. But to produce the fullest possible benefit this changing social custom must affect also those classes which always live on the verge of starvation. The alternative is a differential birth-rate greatly to the disadvantage of the peoples of India.

Western experience has shown the tragic waste that results from allowing nature to fix the limit of population. It has shown, too, that higher standards of living are correlated with a deepening sense of individual and social responsibility towards women and children. India is ready to profit by this experience. The Nationalist movement has awakened Indian women to the urgency of social problems in a way that was unthinkable twenty years ago. Conscious at last of their power, inspired by the sacrifices made by their fellow countrywomen, they will not consent to return to their former life of obscurity and illiteracy. They have come to realise how much the future of India depends upon their efforts.

All movements for the emancipation of women have brought with them a demand for more education and healthier motherhood. Already there is evidence of these developments in India. Economic life outside the home is becoming more frequent. The practice and ideals of birth control have permeated the educated classes and have had, according to Indian economists, a far more widely reaching effect than has been generally realised. India seems well abreast of other Eastern countries in its demand for scientific birth control knowledge.

This knowledge must be supplied at once. It will raise the standard of living; it will stem the present wastage of human life; and it will prevent the widespread resort to abortion with its danger to maternal life and health. Women in the West who have enjoyed the benefits of birth control in their own homes and have seen them in the homes of the poorer strata of society, feel that their feminism and humanity alike call upon them to bring similar

benefits to their sisters in India. They feel responsible for placing at the disposal of Indian women the knowledge and experience they have been accumulated by the birth control movements in Europe and America.

As a first step a Conference was held in London in November to discuss with Indian and other Eastern men and women the desirability of organising a fuller Conference in India in 1934. Further more, it is hoped to send out to India, at an early date, a qualified nurse who will visit training institutions in the East and report on ways and means of establishing birth control work on a solid foundation both in the large towns and the up-country villages. Your help, the help of every Indian man and woman, is needed for the successful realisation of these ends. If you can co-operate in any way, you are invited to communicate with the Director, The Birth Control International Information Centre, Parliament Mansions, Westminster, S. W. I., who will discuss with you the part that you personally can play.

Successor to Dalai Lama:—It is believed that when a Dalai Lama passes away only his body perishes among men and that his spirit merely translates itself into another body. Immediately, therefore, a Dalai Lama is found to be dead in body, all the other children born at the time when his spirit passes out are listed and in the manner prescribed a search is made among them for the one in whose little body the vanished spirit has made its new home. He having been discovered is duly and formally recognised as the new Dalai Lama and he is forthwith consigned to a monastery so that he may, in due course, be brought up in the right way and educated and prepared for the active assumption of the Dalai Lamasbip when he comes of age. If in the course of the 18 or 20 years that must pass before he assumes his full mantle of responsibility he died, then the whole process is gone through again and the Dalai Lama in spirit and in fact is held again to have transferred himself to the body of a new babe. While the new chief of the State is growing up Tibet is governed under a system of regency. There appears some doubt concerning the part that the Tashi Lama plays in all these matters.

The Heretical Unitarians:—A first class ecclesiastical sensation was caused by Lord Hugh Cecil, demanding that action be taken against the Bishop of Liverpool (Dr. A. S. David) and the Dean of Liverpool (the Very Reverend F. W. Dwelly) regarding recent sermons preached at a Liverpool Cathedral by two Unitarians. Lord Cecil sent a memorial to the Bishop of Liverpool complaining against the Dean permitting two Unitarian ministers to preach in the cathedral. Lord Cecil also petitioned the Archbishop of York (Dr. Temple,) wherein he charges the Bishop of Liverpool in the following terms, "that being bound to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do the same, he hath sanctioned and (or) permitted and (or) condoned and (or) approved and (or) neglected and failed to rebuke and forbid all or some of the offences againts the laws ecclesiastical, within his diocese by the Very Reverend Frederick William Dwelly. Lord Cecil further says that the Bishop of Liverpool hath thus acted and failed to act, well knowing that each of the persons named in the memorial was commonly reputed to be Unitarian, that is to say, a person holding heretical opinions, inconsistent with the essential doctrines of the Church of England.—*Reuter.*

New Finance Member:—The following *communique* is issued: His Majesty the King Emperor has approved of the appointment of Sir Percy James Grigg, M.C.B., Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, London, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in succession to the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster, when the latter vacates his office after the termination of the spring session of the Legislative Assembly.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Communalism, Good and Bad :—A much respected Muslim nationalist, Dr. Mahomed Alam of Lahore, in a communication to the press refers to an Anti-Communal League—it is not clear whether one is in existence or is yet to be started—to fight communalism and abolish it in all shapes and forms. Dr. Alam holds that religion should not be the basis of civic rights. If the object of the League is to work for the unification of the franchise, it will command the acceptance of a large circle of intelligent men and women. It is not really necessary to abolish communalism in all shape and form to secure this limited object. It is obviously not possible to do so, so long as there are in the world people professing different faiths and seeking to mould their lives according to their tenets and traditions. Further, communal movements are often a convenient means of effecting social reforms among communities. There is a type of mind which always runs to extremes. Because the Church has often stood in the way of progress, religion appears to it as the root cause of stagnation. Because capitalists in several countries have usurped the authority of the State, capitalism must be destroyed in order to have justice done to the masses. Likewise, because communalism in India has been made the basis of the franchise and become the cause of political strife, all communal movements are evil. There are signs of a reaction against communalism which is as unreasonable as the trend towards it. It is high time, therefore, that it is realised that there is a right sort of communalism and a wrong sort. The right sort of communalism seeks to promote the growth of one's community so that it does not lag behind and become a drag on national progress. The wrong sort is totally unmindful of the interests of the whole in its selfish and short-sighted eagerness to advance its own caste or group at the expense of others. There will be greater chances of establishing unity of national purpose if this distinction is recognised and efforts directed to keep communalism to its proper limits than if efforts were directed to attack and overthrow communal activities altogether.

Acetone and Palestine :—Reuter has not of late sent any news as regards the situation in Palestine. But the *Free Press Journal* published this week a cable from Jerusalem dated the 17th instant stating that Arab demonstrations against the Zionist policy took place in the chief cities of Palestine on that day, in strict accordance with the conditions prescribed by Government. Mr. Lloyd George in his "War Memories" tells the public how the Zionist policy came to be adopted by the British Government. When he was at the Ministry of Munitions, one of the problems he had to solve was to provide an adequate supply of acetone, an essential ingredient for making cordite. The American supply was not enough. Professor Weizmann undertook to invent a new method for producing acetone from maize and succeeded in doing so. What followed is stated thus by Mr. Lloyd George: "I said to him : 'You have rendered great service to the State and I should like to ask the Prime Minister to recommend you to His Majesty for some honour.' He said : 'There is nothing I want for myself.' 'But is there nothing we can do as recognition of your valuable assistance to the country?' I asked. He replied : 'Yes, I would like you to do something for my people.' He then explained his aspirations as to the repatriation of the Jews to the sacred land they had made famous. That was the fount and origin of the famous Declaration about the National Home for Jews in Palestine." (Vol. II, page 56.) By the way, Mr. Lloyd George mentions that he was enabled to test the efficacy of a new gun which the War Office had rejected, by a donation of £20,000 from an Indian Maharaja, whose name he does not give. Besides the chapter on the "Mesopotamian Muddle" this is about the only reference to India in the two volumes so far published. Mr. Lloyd George's book lacks the detachment of Mr. Winston Churchill's "World Crisis" and is virtually a defence of the several phases of his conduct as a member of the Asquith Cabinet, which had become the subject of criticism. Mr. Lloyd George is

unsparing in his judgment of most of his colleagues.

Unseasonable Propaganda:—The *Hindustan Times* publishes a report of a meeting of a Committee of the Lucknow University at which a member wanted to speak in Hindi. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Paranjpye, who was presiding, disallowed the departure from the established practice of proceedings at University meetings being conducted in the English language, whereupon the member left the meeting. The correspondent characterises the Vice Chancellor's ruling as arbitrary, whereas it is the conduct of the member which deserves that epithet. The champion of linguistic provincialism has issued a manifesto declaring that he wanted to advance the cause of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India by speaking in that language at the committee meeting of the Lucknow University. This result may or may not follow from his action. But it was certainly discourteous to the Vice-Chancellor who has to regulate the proceedings, for a member to speak in a language which is not the official language of the University. That Dr. Paranjpye may not be sufficiently versed in Hindustani to follow a speech, is a minor issue. This is an instance of the cheap and narrow provincialism which passes for patriotism in some people nowadays.

Asia and Europe:—While Signor Mussolini at the Asiatic Students' Conference held in Rome expatiated on the importance of restoring the ancient cultural contact between Asia and Europe, a pan-Asiatic Conference in Tokio was discussing on the creation of a Concert of Asia against European cultural domination. European civilisation has during the last two centuries tended more and more to assume a predatory character. Every nation in Asia has suffered from the exploitation to which Signor Mussolini referred. There is a reaction against this as the result of the War. There is a distinct tendency in Europe to seek co-operation with Asia on an equal and friendly footing. This tendency is likely to grow. By all means we should strive to promote closer understanding between the nations of Asia. But this can be done without antagonism to Europe or America in so far as the latter do not by their actions provoke it. India by her history and genius is marked out as the mediator between the two continents; and her influence, when she is in a position to exert it freely, will certainly be cast on the side of a synthesis of Asiatic and European culture and civilisation.

"Bridge Parties":—This heading which the New Statesman and Leader gives to an article in its issue of December 30 on the estrangement between Indians and Englishmen in India, is borrowed from Mr. E.M. Foster who gave it to the functions intended to bridge the gulf between the two races. After narrating an incident the journal remarks that it is symptomatic of the growing exclusiveness of Indian society. It is not, however, the fact that Indian society is growing more exclusive. On the contrary the number of Indian homes in which Europeans are received as guests as a matter of course, have enormously increased in recent years. In the old days if a European was invited even to a tea-party, special arrrangements often involving the complete dislocation of the household were made. Nowadays, however, such arrangements are not only not considered necessary but many European friends would be unhappy if they knew that their presence had upset the house. It is also partly due to the fact that many Indian homes have modified their arrangements. It must be said, however, that Englishmen are less accommodating in these matters, or at least are thought to be so, than Europeans and Americans. The political factor also comes in the way of perfectly equal relations. Most Indian homes which have liberalised themselves, are strongly devoted to nationalistic views and several of them include members who have suffered in one way or another for nationalist propaganda. The presence of English friends necessarily involves considerable reserve and restraint in the intercourse of the life of the family where they happen to be guests in order not to embarrass them. It is further remarkable as a proof of the growing liberality of Indian social and family life that the number of inter-marriages is rapidly increasing. Within the last few days we have known of at least four actual or prospective brides who have come to India from Europe. Really speaking, the gulf which used to exsit between the European and Indian is being rapidly bridged not by the old sort of parties but by a growing appreciation of the common stock of essential ideas between East and West.

Indians in South Africa:—We publish this week a frank talk given by Lady Maharaj Singh to the members of the Overseas League on Indian women. The first two Agents to the Government of India were handicapped by the fact that they went to South Africa unaccompanied by their wives. The report which we print of Lady Maharaj Singh's speech shows that she addressed her audience with directness.

The Colonisation Scheme:—As we go to press, a cabled Reuter message from Durban announces that the Committee, appointed by the Government of South Africa to inquire into the possibilities of sending Indians, from India and South Africa, to colonise some other country, has concluded collecting evidence and is now engaged in drawing up its report. The message concludes that the prospects of any scheme evolving out of the findings of the Committee are remote as "a large section of the Indian community" was opposed to the inquiry. So far as we know, and the evidence of the agent Kunwar Maharaj Singh at Durban bears out this, all sections of the Indian community are opposed to any colonisation scheme.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JANUARY 20, 1934.

THE EARTHQUAKE.

The great event of the week was the earthquake which was recorded by the instruments of the Bombay Observatory on Monday at 2-17 in the afternoon. The *Bombay Sentinel* that evening noted that there was an earthquake shock felt at about 2-15 P. M. by the residents of two buildings near Ballard Estate. They rushed out of the buildings with their children and shouted cries for help as they felt the buildings shaking and thought they would come down. The shock lasted only a few seconds. People who read this news thought little of it at the time. They went to bed without the least apprehension of the terrible happennings over a large part of the country. They were surprised to read in Tuesday's morning papers startling accounts of the earthquake in Delhi, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Patna and other places in Northern India. There was a severe shock lasting five minutes at Delhi where damage to buildings was reported. In Calcutta the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon were at the Sealdah Railway Station when the shock occurred and Her Excellency remarked "We left Madras in a cyclone and we leave Calcutta during an earthquake." The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court and two colleagues who were sitting as a Full Bench to hear an appeal in a murder case, retired to their chambers where they were no safer from a calamity of this type. Prisoners in the dock before the Chief Presidency Magistrate jumped out of the enclosure and tried to escape from custody. In Cawnpore hundreds of house collapses occurred. Patna suffered the worst. Several persons were killed and injured there as also in Gaya and many buildings public and private were seriously damaged. Lucknow also reported damage to buildings. The seismographs in Bombay and Calcutta were thrown out of order. Those in Britain recorded an almost unprecedented earthquake some 5000 miles away and Mr. Shaw, leading seismologist, stated that the disturbance lasted one hour and actually rang his earthquake bell.

Later news from other places show that the effects of the earthquake were felt in Central and even Southern India and that the loss of life and property in Bihar where the shock was greatest was extensive. In one district of Bihar the deaths numbered a thousand and the town of Muzzafarpur was wrecked. When the earthquake came large fissures appeared in the ground and water spouted out from everywhere and spread itself. The whole district was five feet under water, reported two men who reconnoitered from an aeroplane. Railway tracks and bridges have been greatly damaged in some places. Telegraph and telephone wires have snapped and communication with the worst affected areas has been interrupted. The total of deaths in Bihar province, according to reports available on Friday is 2500. The first official report regarding the havoc done by the earthquake in North Bihar states that the number of deaths so far recorded is 409.

Monghyr town has suffered very severely and the loss of life is estimated at several hundreds. The Bazar is reported to be in a heap of ruins. The Hospital has been destroyed as also many other buildings. Four hundred workers of the local tobacco factory had a miraculous escape when the tobacco factory suffered damage. Only one life was lost. In Jamalpur the loss of life is estimated at 20, but considerable damage has been done to property. No shortage of food is anticipated but difficulty may be experienced with regard to water supply in those places where wells have been destroyed. Parts of affected areas are pitted with circular geyserlike holes through which water and mud spouted. The surface of the land is also marked in places by cracks hundred or two hundred yards long with grey mud. Patches of flood water observed on Tuesday on lands which were previously dry are reported to be diminishing on Wednesday. The centre of the disturbance was located in Nepal territory. The Bombay metereologist Dr. S. C. Roy told a press representative that it was not easy to forecast earthquakes. Hindu astrologers, however, had foretold that the position of the planets last Saturday indicated a great calamity in Northern India, and religious ceremonies to mitigate its effects were arranged and were being performed for the last several days, and clothes and food distributed to the poor at Multan and other towns. Some shocks were also reported on Tuesday.

ANOTHER COMMISSION.

One third of the tweutieth century has run out and all the time India has been the subject of several Commissions and Committees of Enquiry. Lord Curzon set up Commissions to enquire into every Department. Then we had Commissions to probe our currency and exchange problems. Committees have sat to find out the facts about taxation education, marriage age. Two Royal Commissions devoted two years each to probe Indian Labour and Agricultural conditions. Many of the Reports of these Commissions and Committees, notably those for the reform of Government Departments such as Jails and the Police, have been only partially carried out or not at all—Now we are to have another enquiry by two British experts. Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member of the Government of India, made a speech the other day at the Royal Exchange in Calcutta, explaining the objects of the proposed Survey. He had, he said, three things in view in starting the Survey. First, to stand back and attempt to make a complete and thorough diagnosis of the present economic position. In the second place, the diagnosis having been made, it is important that records should be kept up, so that the Government and the representatives of

the public in the legislatures or elsewhere, may be able to keep their finger on the economic pulse of the nation. In the third place, he added, it is of growing importance that the people of India themselves should study and understand their economic position in a scientific way. Several questions arise out of these reasons or objects. Have Government been hitherto working without any definite idea of the economic condition of the people? They have always professed to be perfectly informed of all conditions and to be guided by purely scientific considerations in all their taxation and economic schemes. There is an ancient saying that the wearer best knows where the shoe pinches. The people of India do not require an enquiry by two British experts to enable them to keep their fingers on their own economic pulses. The Whitley Commission made an exhaustive survey of Labour conditions and the Linlithgow Commission of Agricultural conditions. The two Commissions together covered practically the whole field of India economic life. Conditions have changed, it is true, since they made their reports. But they collected and set forth all the basic facts, and unless the Indian Government contemplates a constant succession of enquiries, in the two reports and other subsidiary ones, they have all the material needed to form a fairly accurate idea of the economic facts of India life. The present time when everything is unsettled and the public is greatly perturbed over its political future, is not the most suitable one for standing back and gazing at the panorama of Indian poverty. Apart from the fact that Sir George Schuster is himself about to vacate his office and will not be here to carry out his objects, the Government itself is on the eve of radical changes in its constitution.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.

(BY SWAMI SAMBNDDHANANDA).

Seventyone years back, this sacred land of the East gave birth to Swami Vivekananda. His career though short was eventful. People of all sects and societies of the world at the time were more or less overwhelmed with religious doubts and disbeliefs. Sectarianism and fanaticism overtook the few that cared for religion. Dissension, prosecution and persecution were the cries of the day. All these gave rise to a knotty problem and to solve it there met a Parliament of Religions at Chicago. Here too the representatives of the different religions, far from evincing a spirit of tolerance and acceptance, were busy preparing to establish the superiority of each over the other. Vivekananda was the first to cut the gordian knot. He believed that he belonged as much to the universe as to India and the God of his religion was Truth—the essence of all creeds and isms on Earth. He declared that all forms from the lowest Fetichism to the highest Absolutism, had a place in Hinduism and each of the religions was as great and good as the other. This eloquent pronouncement was not without effect. It not only defined Hinduism anew but opened up a fresh vista for the development of harmonious international friendship and co-operation. His patriotism broke dowr the prisonwalls of nationalism and internationalism to merge itself into the ocean of universalism.

The Swami had a special and profond regard for the land of his nativity. Her great and glorious past, ancient culture and civilisation, her beauty, pontentialities and realities made India an object of adoration to him. He calls him a true Indian who is conscious of her glorious past and hoary antiquity, feels himself at oneness with the millions, and makes their sufferings, joys and aspirations his own. A true Indian lays his life as a sacrifice at the altar of the welfare of his country. To regenerate India the great Swami was confronted with a number of problems and the most puzzling of them all was the elevation of the masses. Equality and Educoation he considered to be the two main factors for the achievement of this end. He held each and all responsible for the work and declared "so long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them. I call these men—who strut about in their finery having got all their money by grinding the poor—wretches, so long as they do not do anything for those two hundred millions who are now no better than hungry savages! We are poor, my brothers, we are nobodies, but such have always been the instruments of the most High." He, therefore, calls him a Mahatman whose heart bleeds for the poor, otherwise he is a Duratman.

To carry through this great mission of his life, the Swami wanted a hundred thousand men and women, who "fired with the zeal of holines, fortified with eternal faith in the Lord, and nerved to lion's courage by their sympathy for the poor, the fallen and the down trodden, should go over the length and breadth of the land, preaching the gospel of salvation, the gospel of social raising up—the gospel of equality." He believed the infallible power of the Vedic Mantras which declare,—"Each soul is potentially divine." He did not believe in a religion or God which cannot feed the unfed, clothe the naked, teach the untaught and wake them up to the consciousness that they too are men and as good as anyone of the human race. He treated doctrines, dogmas and books or temples as the secondary details of religion.

Education, with Swami Vivekananda, meant man-making education. It does not consist in the infusion of a number of ideas into one's brain. Education, to him, is that which brings in selfconfidence, develops firm convictions, the mothers of great deeds shapes the augularities and builds up an ideal character. Education is that which is the manisfestation of perfection already in man and makes a devil divine. He also knew that it was not the work of a day and the path was full of deadly thorns. But he had unshaken Faith in the help that came from within backed up by that of the Almighty Father. All that he wanted was "fiery faith and fiery sympathy." His resolute will and firm determination urged him to propose the worship of the Virat—the men and animals around them and the first God the people have to worship should be their own countrymen. "Where should you go to seek for God?" He exclaims, "Are not the poor, the sick, the miserable, the weak, Gods?'

"Renounce and serve" was the motto of the life of the great Swami Vivekananda The spirit of renunciation and service finds most eloquent expression when he unburdens his innermost feelings saying.—"May I be born again and again and suffer thousand miseries so that I may worship the only God that exists, the only God I believe in, the sum total of all souls, and above all my God the miserable, my God, the poor of all races and of all species is the special object of my worship."

INDIA AND AMERICA.*

(By Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy.)

I am deeply touched by the kind hospitality of the American people. I find that American men and women are much interested in the present situation in India and evince sympathy for India's legitimate aspirations and above all they love and respect our great men and women like Tagore, Mrs. Naidu and Gandhiji.

The recent International Congress of Women held at Chicago organised by the National Council for Women of the United States was a unique success. Women delegates from about 30 countries in the world, both Occidental and Oriental, of whom I was one, discussed "Our Common Cause, Civilisation" and issued a declaration of international rights so as to provide security and opportunity for all, for every man, woman and child. This was a great work, a resolve on the part of the women of the world to do away with violence, war and injustice and establish true fellowship and love among races and countries. Similar to the memorable American Declaration of Independance of 1766, this was a declaration of international co-operation and love. Woman's influence both at home and in society is very profound and far-reaching. That is why the Hindus, both ancient and modern, worship the goddess rather than the god. When the thinking women of the world have adopted this resolution we can hope to see a better and happier world in the near future. The honour of assembling the women of the world to discuss the "Common Cause, Civilisation" and issuing such a wonderful declaration belongs to America and to that great country the whole world stands indebted.

Many books have been written about India and you all must have heard about the Hindu caste-system. You would be surprised to know that the Vedas and Upanishads, ancient Hindu scriptures, do not make any mention of a caste called the "Untouchables." Only four Hindu primary castes are recognised according to the calling or the occupation of the individuals. The famous Harbilas Sarda, the author of the Sarda Act, who is a Sanskrit scholar has stated in one of his works that in the same family and among the children of the same parents, these four different castes could be found classified according to their profession and there was no superiority or inferiority among themselves and he was not considered higher or lower on account of his particular calling. So it shows that the principles underlying caste in these days were quite different from the modern notions of caste. The so-called untouchables who are also called Adi-Dravidas were the original inhabitants of India. The Aryan invaders who were fair in complexion and more civilised made the conquered race to cultivate their lands and do them services. But there was no slavery as in the West. The Adi-Dravidas had their own houses, lands and they were quite independant except that they had to serve their landlords. As any other caste-Hindu they followed their customary avocations for centuries together, and they owned separate quarters as the coloured people in America. As they were less civilised and unclean they were not allowed to closely associate with the caste-Hindus and hence they became untouchables. Of course with the spread of the modern scientific education every class in India now realise the evils of the present-day rigid caste-system in Hindu society which is based upon birth and not upon any calling, certainly a degeneration of the original Vedic caste-system. It is not only the so-called untouchables but also others desire to get rid of the existing caste-system and hence it is fast breaking down and it is bound to disappear in the course of a few years. Intercaste marriages are taking place and especially the educated women contract alliances outside their own caste. Therefore the caste-system based upon one's birth alone is doomed to die an early death and the distinctions based upon one's social status and intellectual attainments will alone be recognised. The modern movement for the abolition of the caste-system was first started by the famous reformer Raja Rammohan Roy even 100 years before. But now the movement has touched the masses and Gandhiji with his big following has devoted himself to the task of eradicating not only untouchability from India, but also for doing away with all meaningless caste disabilities and distinctions.

The women's place in Hindu society, as I have already stated, was very high during the Vedic period when the Hindus had their own government, as there are records to show that there was perfect sex-equality. It was only during the warlike period of Indian history that her position became one of utter subordination and subjection and she was deprived of all her rights. But it must be said to the credit of India's men that her cause has found loyal and staunch advocates among men. Raja Rammohan Roy, the first and foremost reformer, had fought successfully for her rights and had secured the abolition of the cruel custom of "Sati" even 100 years before. Since that period many men-reformers had followed in his foot-steps and had been attempting to reform the Hindu Law so as to raise the women's position in society. I will mention only a few of such illustrious names. Pandit Vidyasagar of Bengal was responsible for widow re-marriage act, Sir Harisingh Gour for raising the age of consent for girls and Harbilas Sarda for the child-marriage restraint act. There have been many men-educationalists like Prof. Karve of the Indian Women's University and Mr. Devadhar of Seva-Sadan who have devoted themselves to the educational advancement of women. There have been many more who had donated liberally to widow's homes and Hindu women's home of service. I should not on this occasion fail to mention the name of a staunch friend of women, Mr. Natarajan, the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* who is honouring us with his presence on this platform. He has been, since his advent into public life, advocating our cause ably and loyally. Therefore it was perfectly easy for us after the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsferd reform of 1919 to secure equal franchise rights with men without any struggle on our part. What our western sisters took years of struggle and suffering to achieve, Indian women have been able to secure within a few years without any labour on their part. As the pioneer work has been done by the men-reformers before the advent of women into public life in the country Indian women have become legislators and members of the University; hundreds of women are serving as honorary magistrates, members of municipalities, local bodies and educational boards. There is no sex-rivalry or no sex-antagonism till now in India. In service married women are preferred to single women and women are actually welcomed by our men and encouraged to enter public life, so much so that within the last one or two decades it has been possible for the Indian women not only to develop innumerable local women's associations, but also to organise the All-India Conferences as well as to participate in the international conferences. Some of the men-reformers help and co-operate with women to advance the women's interest. Gandhiji is one of such good men and a staunch advocate for equal rights

* Speech delivered at the World Fellowship of Faiths, Chicago, last August.

for women. That is why many women have joined his party and have gone through much suffering and sacrifice in the recent non-co-operation movement. He has been combining social reform with political. He has been preaching as much against the tyranny of social customs like child-marriage, purdah and Deva-dasi system as much as he is demanding self-government or Dominion Status for India, and many of us agree with his views that unless India has a national and fully responsible government, many of the reforms that India is in need of today will not be possible in the near future. British government has committed itself to the principle of religious neutrality and more often to our sorrow and disappointment side with the orthodox reactionary group than with the progressive and enlightened people of the country. If one studies the records of the government as well as the discussions in the assembly and the senate one will be convinced of the truth of my statement. The untouchability evil has been recognised by the British courts and is enforced with the help of the British government as you would see from the memorial presented to the Viceroy by the depressed class representatives.

Our education is very backward and our health record is the poorest in the world. We have to pay a salt-tax and the revenue from the drink is increasing with each year even though the great religions of India prohibit drinking, because the present government cannot manage without drink revenue. Fifty per cent of our revenue is spent upon the army and only five per-cent on education. Most backward in education, with the lowest literacy figure in the world and the poorest health record how can India rest content under the present rule? Every reform is hampered for want of scientific knowledge and enlightenment. Among the people, except in a few cities, there is not yet a system of compulsory primary education and no proper medical inspection of schools. The whole thing works in a vicious circle. The Hindu society has been the subject of much criticism by foreign writers, but I appeal to the audience to study the above facts and then come to a conclusion. Before I finish I wish to give my impression of the American people. We in India have been under the impression that the Americans are materialistic-minded and they are only mindful of amassing wealth and enjoying themselves, because we have only heard of the American millionaires and we have read about the beautiful sky-scrapers, about your inventive genius, engineering skill, about your advance in science, medicine and surgery. But till we came to your country and saw you in your place ourselves we did not know that you also have among you good and spiritually-minded men and women who are moved by the same thoughts and ideals as the oriental philosophers and saints. We have found also that some of you are actuated by that love and nobleness which recognises greatness and goodness wherever it may be, irrespective of colour, race, creed or country.

Above all, as you are free and you enjoy the blessings of freedom you love and respect all those who suffer and sacrifice for freedom of thought and action. I shall convey to my people in India your most warm and cordial greetings and your good wishes for the success of our country's cause.

Sarda Act in Rewa:—His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa has given his assent to the Child Marriage Restraint Bill passed by the Raj Parishad (Legislative Council) in its last sessions. The Bill is modelled on the lines of the British Indian enactment, known as the Sarda Act, and penalises marriage of boys and girls below the age of 16 and 12, respectively. Further, a Bill for the abolition of the *Tilak* and dowry is under the consideration of the Parishad.

RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING.

(By Arthur Young)

Truth fails every time we try to measure the whole of it by any single one of its aspects. We, each of us, live and cognate in our own individual frame of reference. However much the present system of mass education may develop mass mentalities, our vocation, environment and peculiar circumstances must inevitably build up an individualistic understanding.

This understanding is the measure or *maya* we apply to all our appreciations. Einstein's theory of relativity is in a way, just as applicable in the realm of religious thought as it is in our scientific calculations. In the "Tibetan Book of the Dead" Prof. Evans Wenty decribes a Priest reciting to the "Departed Spirit" the kind of gods and sights he will now encounter on his new journey; but, he completes the rite by warning the "soul" that he sees them thus simply because he has been taught to do so. In other words, he will translate his experiences according to his own particular vehicle of cognition and expression.

However, nothing can alter truth or Reality. All that changes from time to time is our personal appreciation of it and since from our nature we cannot all think alike, these modern movements towards a world religion can never succeed.

The 'fact-finding' lay commission which recently came over from America to study the missionary problem in India seems to have recognised this and did not give over-emphasis to the work of proselytising.

Certain fundamental truths are, nevertheless, the common property of every religion. These truths are the basis of all our creeds and customs and it is from them man has learnt to love the Deity. It is the sincerity of this love quite apart from the dogmatic or religious practice, which develops spiritual realisation. Not a world religion but a recognition of these principles is wanted today and in this we will find what we need most, a religious understanding. For this reason the practice of conversion should only be left in the hands of really experienced psychologists and not with the average missionary. To deprive a man of his faith, however crude, is a dangerous experiment if it cannot be replaced by something more uplifting. For this reason Mr. Gandhi's campaign of temple-entry may cause untold harm.

Arya Preacher in America:—Pandit Ayodhya Prasad, the representative and delegate of the International Aryan League, Delhi, to the World Fellowship of Faiths Conference at Chicago, informs the League that Dr. Charles S. Braden, in charge of the Department of History and Literature of Religions, North-Western University (Chicago), invited him to deliver a series of lectures on "Vedic Dharma" and that in future "Arya Samaj" shall form part of the Theological syllabus in the comparative study of religious movements in the world.

Indian Students Abroad:—Simultaneously with the Asiatic Students' Congress, the Third Convention of the Indian Students abroad was held, about 100 students attending. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was unanimously elected President. His Excellency De Stefani, for the Rector, welcomed the Indian students. Many useful resolutions affecting Indian students' welfare were adopted. The convention decided to reorganise the central office of the Federation and the office was shifted from London to Vienna. At the close of the Convention, there was a social gathering which was attended by prominent Italians. Under the Presidency of Mr. Bose a debate on "What Indian students learnt in Europe" was held. Thereafter the newly formed Council of the Federation met and laid down the programme of work for the next year.

ASIA AND ITALY.

The Asiatic Students Congress held in Rome on the 22nd of December last, under the auspices of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East which has for its object the promotion of closer association between Asia and Rome, was attended by 600 Asiatic students from different European Universities including 100 Indians headed by Mr. Subash Chandra Bose. The Italian authorities were lavish in their hospitality towards the delegates to the Congress. A crowded programme was arranged for a whole week including visits to important places. The delegates were successively received by the Governor of Rome, the Rector of the Rome University and the Pope.

In his inaugural speech on the opening day of the Congress, Signor Mussolini said :—

"I am indeed happy to welcome this first gathering of students from every country of Asia in Rome upon this Hill which has played so great a part in the history of civilisation. Your arrival is by no means without significance. A man once said and many others have since thought and repeated that "East is East and West is West and the twain shall never meet. Historically the relationship had always been one of reciprocity and such a statement is nonsense. Twenty centuries ago Rome achieved a union in the Mediterranean between the East and the West which has been of tremendous importance in world's history. Rome colonised the West but in the East,—in Egypt, in Syria and in Persia,—she attempted to foster a creative understanding. This union was the corner-stone of our entire history and it gave rise to the European civilisation. This must now become "universal" once more or else it must perish. The unity of the Mediterranean Civilisation, which was the East and the West welded into one by Rome, lasted well over a thousand years.

"But new currents of traffic, the increasing flow of gold and the exploitation of rich and distant countries gave rise to Capitalism as the basis of a new civilisation of a materialistic and exclusive character with its seat far from the Mediterranean. It was then that all intercourse between the East and the West came to be placed exclusively on the footing of mere subordination and was restricted to a purely material sphere. Every spiritual link tending to a creative collaboration came to an end and the belief became widespread that Europe and Asia must be antagonists. And the cause of all this was merely a type of mentality existing in some parts of Europe which was incapable or unwilling to understand Asia, which considered Asia as a market for produce and a fountain-head for raw materials. Its failure is, therefore, being felt in each continent. Therefore it is a matter of deep concern for all the continents to follow the reaction against the degeneration of the capitalistic system.

"This reaction has found its expression in the revolutionary faith of Italian Fascism which has fought against the lack of soul and ideal of this civilisation that in the last few centuries has prevailed throughout the world. In the evils under which Asia suffers in its resentment, we see the reflection of "our own self." The differences are in details; the foundation is the same. To-day Rome and the Mediterranean, through this Fascist renewal, look again towards resuming their historical function of unification. That is why this new Italy has invited you here. More than once in the past,—in periods of fearful crises—the world's civilisation has been saved by the co-operation of the Orient and Rome. In to-day's crisis of the whole system of the institution, the ideas of which are soulless and which paralyse mankind, we hope to resume the old tradition of our constructive co-operation."

After Signor Mussolini's speech the President of the Congress and three delegates, a Persian, an Arab and an Indian, spoke reciprocating the sympathy expressed by the Italian Premier. Before dispersing, the Congress decided to establish a permanent Bureau in Rome and continue useful work for Asia. Mr. Amya Sarkar, an Indian student and Madame Suzanne Liao, a Chinese lady were appointed Joint Secretaries of the Bureau.

PAN—ASIAN CONGRESS IN TOKYO.

Pan-Asia, by reviving the common civilization of Asia born 5,090 years ago, and by unifying the common spirit of Asiatic peoples to-day through honest co-operative effort of youth, was given emphasis in the eloquence of many tongues at the Hibiya Public Hall on 16th December, when the Congress of Young Asia was held under the auspices of the Seinen Kyodan, the Young Men's Cultural Organisation.

Young men from Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Siam, Annam, the Malayas, Indonesia, the Philippines and Manchukuo stood on the platform to address the capacity assembly of more than 4,000 persons who had jammed into the auditorium by one o'clock, when the conclave was opened.

The main thread in the address of all the representatives stressed the vital need for Asiatic unity and co-operation if Asia is to advance both culturally and materially. Prejudices among Asiatic countries was admitted, but there was agreement in the opinion that deep in their hearts the peoples of Asia want a united Asia.

With nine flags (including the tri-coloured Indian National Congress flag) of various Asiatic nations as their background, the young representatives faced an audience that cheered and applauded their sentiments.

"Let us ever cherish the cultural heritages of Asia and let us, through a united Asia, hold high the torch of our ideals to enlighten ourselves and the world toward justice, morality and peace," one of the representatives declared. "We have been subdued into a state of fear complex by the overwhelming brilliance of western civilisation and its materialism, and we have turned to self-suppression. But we have a culture of which we are proud. Let us awaken to the realization that while the West is advancing its own civilization, we must make Asia a noble Asia."

Another speaker stressed the fact that he feels the necessity of a unified and progressive Asia all the more when he realizes the humility of being under the "claws of European nations which have set foot in Asia." Human equality must be exalted not through demand, but through an honest effort that will attain the qualifications and requisites of equality, he said.

Several of the speakers appealed to the Japanese people to be the torchbearer of an united Asia. One speaker said:

"Japan, progressive and mighty Japan, with the cultural heritages of Asia and the material strength of the West, must not betray her Asiatic brethren. She belongs to Asia as the leader of Asia. We sincerely ask Japan to use all her resources and all her power and influence to take the lead in Asiatic unification."

Spontaneous applause met the statement of the speaker from Annam when he said, "My personal wish, if it can be carried out, is to ask China honestly and sincerely to cease her dependence for national existence on European and American diplomacy.

I want to ask her to emphasize her diplomacy and her unbreakable relations with the peoples of Asia. And I ask Japan to stimulate China to win them over to the idea of unity and co-operation for the constructive progress in Asia. I want also to make the statement: Japan, stimulate our neighbour China, but please avoid stimulating her to antagonism."

After the addresses of the representatives from 10 Asiatic countries, Mr. Rinsho Makino, chairman and one of the leaders of the Seinen Kyodan, read the Preamble of the Congress of Young Asia, and the English translation.

The latter part of the Congress included messages and addresses of high government officials, political leaders and city officials. They included representatives of Prince Konoye, president of the House of Peers; General Araki, War Minister; Mr. Ryutaro Nagai, Overseas Minister; Mr. Hatoyama, Education Minister; Mayor T. Ushizuka; Mr. Yosuke Matsouka and Mr. Mitsuru Toyama, leader of the Black Dragon Society, who attended in person and had his message read by his representative.

All the speakers agreed on the necessity of a unified, peaceful and a co-operative Asia that will promote the highest ideals of the race. The revival of the spiritual civilization of Asiatic races, they said, has strength and purpose and is a sound basis upon which to lay the foundations of a new Asia.

The Congress opened with the singing of "Kimigayo," (Japan's national anthem) and an address by Mr. Kumpei Matsumoto, president of the Seinen Kyodan and former member of Diet. It concluded with the singing of the Japanese National Anthem and banzai.

The preamble of the Congress in part declared that Asia is the cradle of the human race and the origin of human civilization, and that Asia already had a flourishing civilisation before the Christian Era. But Asia has bowed before the imperialistic and materialistic advance of the West, and the glory that was Asia's is no more, the preamble went on to say. Now is the time for the youths of Asia to band together and revive the ancient traditions and culture of the East. Only by youth bravely facing the realities of the modern world and fostering mutual goodwill among themselves can the Asiatic races come to their own.

When the inspiration of the past arises in the heart of Asia's youths, then shall Asia find her way illuminate, the preamble said.

The platform of five articles adopted by the Congress included the points that Asia must be a happy home for the Asiatic races; a firm conviction in a new spirit of mutual understanding, sympathy, co-operation and unity must be interfused among the peoples of Asia; the spirit of Asia demands freedom and justice, liberation from all forms of slavery and oppression; Asiatic youths must unite and co-operate for the fulfilment of these aims through the inspiration of the past; and the new spirit of Asia promises to humanity the rise of a higher and happier world from the ashes of materialistic modern civilisation.

India was represented by Mr. Rash Behari Bose, and two other young Indian gentlemen.

Sir C. V. Raman's Religion:—The Bangalore Association at its annual meeting had for its principal speaker Sir C. V. Raman, says the *Young Men of India*. He went on to tell something of his own religious history, how as a boy he had "narrowly escaped being converted to Christianity", and would have been but for the restraining influence of his mother. Thereafter he became a Theosophist, after that a Buddhist, and then "a man of science, and then nothing at all."

INDIA AND GERMANY.

Germany's friendship with India, is continuous. It extends to every sphere of activity and is not confined to the appreciation of India's religious and philosophic past. It is an open secret that Rhodes Scholarships and many other types of scholarships and exhibitions, obtaining in the British Empire, are not open to Indians, mainly on racial or political grounds. But in Germany many scholarships—though modest in size and, value—have been created with the object of enabling the Indian students of moderate resources to continue or complete their studies in this country. In Berlin itself, there have been years when four or five Indian students got a scholarship of 125 rupees a month, even though the competition for them from various European countries—including American and Canada—was intense, writes Dr. D. N. Bannarjee in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

But it is not for what she gives to Indian students in terms of stipend or exemption from University fees and other facilities that Germany must be appreciated. Germans of all classes and walks of life welcome us as Aryan brothers; they appreciate our great men, they identify themselves with what is permanent and creative in our life and culture; they sympathise with our struggle for complete self-expression. Many are the happy memories that Indian students must carry with them, of encouragement and help received from the Professors, of warm welcome in German homes, of inspiration received from fellow-students and friends. It is important, therefore, that the two countries should continue to cherish for each other sentiments of friendship and high esteem, as it is only on such a foundation that a right understanding and continuous interest in each other's welfare is possible. It is in India's own interest that more Indian students should come to Germany for scientific and technical instruction, that a systematic exchange of professors and students should take place between the two countries and that trade relations should develop between them.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.*

The committee recently appointed by Mr. Hofmeyr, Minister of the Interior whose members are Messrs. J. Young (chairman), P. F. Kincaid, G. Heaton Nicholls, M. P. and S. R. Naidoo and whose terms of reference are to explore the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries and to find out how many Indians from the Union would be prepared to take advantage of such a scheme, concluded its sittings in Durban. It will meet again in Pretoria on December 20 and in Capetown on January 9, when the South African Indian Congress, it is learnt, will submit their statement which runs to about thirty foolscap sheets.

The report is expected to be published at the end of January.

Evidence in Durban.

The committee heard evidence from Mr. H. Clarke, of the Lion Match Factory, and Mr. E. C. Rees, Manager of African Explosives.

Vital statistics of the Indian population in Natal show that although the death rate has been reduced since the early days of immigration by a tremendous margin, the birth rate is still one of the highest in the world.

Mr. H. Robinson, Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants, who was questioned by the Committee submitted figures which adequately bear testimony

* *Indian Opinion.*

to this, and according to the details secured by a representative of the *Natal Advertiser* it is apparent that the death rate and emigration alone cannot by any means prevent an increase of the Indian population proportionately far in excess of that of the European population.

The Indian population of Natal at the end of last year was 150,483 (this figure representing immigrant Indians and their descendants only and not passenger Indians, who number thousands.) This represents a net increase in eight years of 23,291.

Up to the end of last month the births among Indians this year totalled 5,200 and the deaths 1,646, while approximately 700 returned to India under the assisted emigration scheme. It will be seen, therefore, that during the 11 months there was a net increase of nearly 3,000.

In 1926 the Indian birth rate was 56·79 and the death rate 13·98. Both figures showed a slight decrease in later years, and last year the birth rate fell from 51·61 in the previous year to 42·62 and the death rate rose from 12·86 to 20·45. The exceptionally high rise in deaths was due mainly to the epidemic of malaria, and the fall in births was also in a large measure attributable to the effects of quinine. Last year, therefore, cannot be counted as normal, and to obtain a fairer comparison it is better to take the figures for 1931 and compare them with the Union European birth rate of 24·40 and the death rate of 9·37, which clearly indicate that while the death rate among Indians is not considerably above that of Europeans the birth rate is more than double.

At one time the exodus of Indians was fairly high, reaching a peak figure in 1928 at 3,400, but recent totals have been much lower, and it is considered that four vessels a year carrying from 250 to 300 passengers each represent the steady level of emigration.

KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH'S EVIDENCE.

The Agent of the Government of India, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, came specially from Johannesburg last Saturday to give evidence before the Colonisation Committee. The Agent said he did not think there was any chance of the Government financing a scheme of colonisation to British Guiana. He believed that the economic depression precluded consideration of colonisation to any country, and he did not think the settlement of Indians, even from India, in British Guiana would be practicable. He did not think the Indians from South Africa would fit into conditions in British Guiana, whose climate was much less healthy than that of South Africa.

In reply to Mr. Young, the Agent said he did not wish to make a statement, but he would be glad to reply to any questions. He wanted to explain, however, that his report on the colonisation of British Guiana made in 1925, which the Committee had read, dealt exclusively with the settlement from the United Provinces of India where there was great congestion and poverty.

He had recommended the colonisation of Indians in British Guiana in 1925 under a definite scheme by which the men would be given land and money to build houses and buy implements and seeds. His suggestion had been adopted by the Government of British Guiana but had never been carried out owing to lack of finance.

The Government of British Guiana had been willing to finance the scheme, for there was at that time a shortage of labour in the Colony and it was anticipated that the new settlers would be free to work on the sugar estates for six months in the year.

The climate of the coastal area of British Guiana was more equable than that of the United Provinces, but was not as good as the climate of Natal, which he considered was one of the best in the world.

He did not think there was any chance of the Indian Government itself financing a colonisation scheme in British Guiana.

Mr. Nichols: Surely that would be the financial responsibility of India?

As far as he knew, said the Agent, and he had a lot to do with the colonisation of Indians from India, the Government of India had never considered financing any colonisation scheme.

"In my opinion," he said, "the present economic position puts out of consideration colonisation from any one country to any other country. In almost every country in the world there is unemployment. There is considerable unemployment in British Guiana where the rice industry is in a precarious position. The sugar industry has also been very badly hit."

The Committee suggested to the Kunwar that there might be a country with scarcely any population where extensive colonisation could be carried out if sufficient finance could be secured. The Kunwar, however, considered it impracticable, for he did not admit that it could be financed.

The members of the Committee suggested that Borneo, which had the same climate as Ceylon, might prove a suitable place for colonisation. The Kunwar said, however, he knew nothing about the country except that it was inhabited by savage head-hunters. "As far as I know the Government of India has no scheme for the colonisation of Borneo and I would not like to commit them to the smallest degree.

"I know of no country suitable for colonisation and having regard to the present world wide depression I should be very surprised to hear of any country where colonisation is possible. It would be impracticable in British Guiana at the present time."

The Kunwar said that he did not think that the Natal Indians would fit into the conditions in British Guiana. They would find it difficult to adjust themselves, for the Indian from India had a lower standard of living, was less dependant and was less westernised.

Mr. Nicholls: Assuming India was serious about colonisation, would not the India from South Africa, after his training in the art of colonisation and with his greater efficiency through his contact with western standards, enhance such a scheme, presuming he would go?—I presume they would not go, and further I do not think colonists from South Africa and colonists from India would fit in with one another.

LADY MAHARAJ SINGH ON INDIAN WOMANHOOD.

The following appeared in the "Rand Daily Mail" of South Africa:

"Give the Indian women in your midst the same chance as they get in my country and see if you cannot find another poet like Sarojini Naidu," said the Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh in an address to the Overseas League.

"Are you afraid of educating them? You make what use you can of them, and then allow them to die like flies. Any decent woman would be aroused to indignation by the conditions in which my people live. You call them coolies and say they belong to a humble class. A coolie is an honest labourer. I

am proud to belong to my coolie people who supply labour for you who are too lazy or not strong enough to do your own work. What were your people when they came out to this country, probably with not sixpence in their pockets either? Many of your people are just as unfit. My people do not get drunk and disorderly, or commit crimes of murder and indecency. They are decent, law abiding people. Are you afraid of us?

"One per cent of the population in the Transvaal is Indian, yet not even primary education is free for the poor Indian. Your servant pays for your spoonfed education. You do not give our little girls a chance to develop. They live in miserable hovels. The greed and selfishness of the Europeans is appalling.

"Our Indians have been here for three generations. They are as South African as you are. You can make them an asset to your country. We are proud inheritors of Aryan blood.

"If you think you can continue to be South Africans of the European type you are living on false foundations. You must fuse all elements to have a culture of your own. You cannot have it in water-tight compartments.

"The Sermon on the Mount is the sound standard of government. Until the world realises this, conferences and commissions of inquiry will be useless."

The Kunwarani led up to her impasioned appeal for consideration for the Indian people by giving an impression of the life of women in India in the past and the present day. She explained various customs, described the family life of the past when women were economically dependent and lived a humdrum existence in seclusion.

Yet in spite of these handicaps Indian princesses had led their armies to victory and were saints and writers.

She described the work of Ramabai, a woman pioneer of 70 years ago, who, after studying in England and the United States, bought a village in India and taught women to become citizens. She did a great work for her nation, and at her death there were 1,200 women and girls in her village learning trades and going to Universities.

Hindoo women now were highly educated. Many were doing excellent service for their country as doctors, lawyers, barristers, heads of schools and universities. Women's colleges were affiliated with the Universities.

"Women in India will be given equal franchise with men,' said the Kunwarani, "because we have deserved it and because we have worked for the good of our country."

"India is the mother of most of the culture of the world," said the Kunwarani. "Our Sanskrit is the mother of all classics. Aryan people have been ancestors of most of the Hindoos in India. Your scholars in Europe have to make a study of Sanskrit before they can appreciate the highest in literature."

She referred to the famous epics, "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata," which all people who claimed high culture must know as well as the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey."

The Kunwarani paid a tribute to the many noble people who had the cause of the Indian at heart. But she felt a frank talk was necessary to make the majority think.

Bombay Swadeshi League:—The Bombay Swadeshi League has arranged a series of public lectures in Bombay from this month on various topics connected with Swadeshi. The series of lectures will be inaugurated by Mr. K. F. Nariman with an address on "Students and Economic Swaraj" to be delivered on Saturday January 20, at 6 p. m. at the Blavatsky Lodge Theosophical Society Hall, French Bridge, Uhowpatty Bombay. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will preside.

THE BIG POWERS AND DISARMAMENT.

(By Bertram Pickard.)

The Disarmament Conference to all intents and purposes stands adjourned until the middle of January following the meeting of the League Council. Despite the many political and technical complexities of the disarmament question the broad problem facing the Powers is really a very simple one. There is universal agreement that the Disarmament Conference cannot end in a Convention under which Germany will be permitted to rearm whilst everyone else keeps the armaments they have. This would be to fly in the face of an overwhelming demand from public opinion for some disarmament, not to mention the repeated undertakings of statesmen at the Conference to reduce as well as limit armaments.

But, since the other Great Powers will refuse to apply a Convention which does not include Germany; and since the German Government and people have shown that they are determined to have equality of rights (which does not mean equality of armaments at once however) the choice is obvious. Either there must be more and speedier disarmament on the part of other powers than has yet been proposed to Germany, or there will be no Convention.

That is not all, however. The French Government is very loath to disarm in view of the present temper in Germany. France demands what she calls 'guarantees of execution'. This means that supposing a party to the Convention were found later to be violating the terms of the Convention and secretly arming, then something must be done collectively by the other signatories to prevent such illegal preparations. This is surely a very reasonable point of view, but it involves a larger measure of international solidarity and *esprit de corps* than has yet been evident. The Sino-Japanese dispute is a case in point.

The moral of all this is not just that the situation is hopeless and disarmament impossible. The moral is this: Disarmament is one part, though an essential one, of the larger task of organising peace; and if you want peace you will have to pay a big price for it in the sacrifice of national sovereignty in many directions.

But the alternative to this is—War!

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY.

(By Shoran S. Singha.)

You have given publicity to Colonel Gidney's memorandum on the future of the Anglo-Indians. They deserve this sympathy undoubtedly. But there is another side of the picture which needs to be understood by the British public and faced frankly by the Anglo-Indians themselves.

Why Europeans in India show a cold shoulder to the Anglo-Indians is for the former to answer. My purpose is to clear the air so far as the Indian side is concerned, from what I have seen and know.

If the Anglo-Indians find themselves pushed into the corner by the Indians, is it entirely the latter's fault? I do not agree with Colonel Gidney that, because of their great loyalty shown to the Empire, they are meeting with unfriendliness from the Indians. During the war there were hundreds of thousands of Indians who fought for the Empire and whose loyalty could not be questioned. They are not being either persecuted or being given a cold shoulder because of that. The reason, if we are to be honest, lies in the

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*The above letter recently appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*.

fact that the Anglo-Indian had been far too concerned to associate himself with the history and institutions of what Colonel Gidney calls his 'fatherland' and very little with his 'motherland'. He has been very lacking in the knowledge of the culture of India, whether historical or architectural or philosophical. He has been more or less ashamed of the Indian side of his nationality. The darker he is, the more has been his ignorance of things Indian.

Moreover, and this is much more serious than the lack of intellectual interest, the attitude and behaviour of the Anglo-Indians towards the Indians has been anything but cordial or courteous. The average Englishman will think twice before he uses the word 'native' to an Indian, but the Anglo-Indian has been free in its use, either to a main's face or when talking of Indians with another of his fraternity.

It has been a very painful thing at times to come across one's fellow Indian Christians who change their names into an anglicised form for the sake of better jobs and disown their own relations if they come across them in Indian clothes.

While I quite agree with Colonel Gidney that his community should be given every possible facility to advance, a great deal of work towards creating a better and saner outlook towards the people amongst whom the Anglo-Indians' lot is cast would be worth while. Given the right kind of education and a larger vision, the Anglo-Indians could be a great factor in bridging the gulf between Britain and India.

BASIC ENGLISH.

An editorial in the *Indian Witness* under date of December 7th puts before us India's language problems. A few sentences from that editorial set forth the need of a common language so well that they are worth quoting as an introduction to our subject.

"The World gets forward through the extension of a common understanding and the language that is most widely understood will help most. For India that language may be English but it will be a greatly transformed English."

Perhaps there are many readers of the *Witness* who are not yet acquainted with "Basic English" which, it is hoped, may be the "greatly transformed English" required. It is already in use in many countries of Europe and in Asiatic countries like Japan. It is claimed that adults of average ability can learn to speak and read Basic English in a few weeks if their native language is European. If it is one of the languages not so closely allied to English, the process of acquiring it will take more time but can be accomplished in a few months instead of requiring years, as does the average English course.

The vocabulary of Basic English is primarily limited to 850 words, 600 nouns, of which 200 are picturable. Gramaphone records of these words can be bought and the student can acquire the correct pronounciation of them from these records even if a teacher is not at hand. Such an exercise would prove valuable in addition to the teacher, as the best English accent can be secured from the records, and that is not always true of the teacher.

In addition to the nouns other essentials of English are given but no luxuries. A book of simple rules called the A B C of Basic English should be in the hands of the teacher. If this were translated into a language which the student already knows, he could teach himself. It teaches the forming of the plurals of the nouns, the declension of pronouns, the uses of propositions, adjectives, adverbs, etc. Very few verbs are given and conjugations are luxuries to be dispensed with.

Eight hundred and fifty words can easily be mastered and then real conversations are possible. This is not *pidgin* English. It is correct as far as it goes and the claim is made that the student that continues his studies beyond its limits will have nothing to unlearn.

Ten books concerning the value of Basic English and its application to business and science are available. This includes a dictionary which puts 7,500 words most used in ordinary English into Basic English. In addition to the above books, such classics as Lamb's Stories from Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Stories from the Bible, Robinson Crusoe, etc., etc., can be secured in Basic English. They are all one price, 2s 6d, or Re. 1-14-0 per volume. These may be secured from Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co. Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E. C. London, if they are not carried by your local book dealer. Most up-to-date book stores in India handle them.—L. J. in *Indian Witness*.

FREUDIAN FALLACY.

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—

Since what is called psycho-analysis, expounded originally by Dr. Freud, became so popular a study and served so generally to explain that which was previously considered unexplainable, nobody has dared to criticise it vigorously in public to the extent which, by implication, Dr. Cyril Burt did in an address before the Winter School for Health Visitors and School Nurses at Bedford College for Women.

Dr. Burt is professor of Psychology in the University of London and one of the first things he did in his address was to criticise the common belief that human sex instincts are so strong and so violent that it is difficult for people to withstand them. Many people, said D. Burt, were actually hypnotised into thinking that they could not possibly fight against these temptations.

"As a matter of fact, we attach far too much importance to the sex instinct," he added, "and people who have been brought up in a medical or biological home are amazed at the nonsense which is talked about the temptations of sex. Actually the sex instinct is a comparatively weak affair in the human race. Instincts that are no longer absolutely necessary tend to weaken and die down. Hunger is a much more violent instinct in human beings.

"You hear people saying that sexual immorality and promiscuity will never be stemmed because the sex instinct is so strong, whereas the sex instinct is no more violent than the acquisitive or pugnacious instincts, both of which we have been able to control."

A great deal which was put down to sex was merely curiosity in the child. Regarding the age at which sex instruction should be given, roughly speaking, if a child had been brought up properly the correct time was when the child asked for it.

Dr. Burt thought that fear was one of the things which psychologists would have to discover and treat in the near future.

Mrs. C. D. Rackham said that it was generally assumed that unemployment among young people was the cause of much juvenile crime to-day. But she suggested that overwork, together with monotonous and uncongenial work, was just as likely to be the cause of juvenile crime as lack of work. Thus in this machine age, when much of the work was bound to be monotonous, they should aim at getting hours of labour as short as possible, so that the effect on the young worker was not too bad. They must also provide opportunities for wise and useful leisure.

LEAGUE'S REPLY TO THE MAHASABHA.

The following is the text of the letter received by the Hindu Mahasabha, New Delhi, from the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in connection with protection of minorities :—

I am writing in acknowledgment of your letter of the 19th October, enclosing a copy of the full text of the Resolution No. 2, passed at Ajmer on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of October 1933, the summary of which you had already been good enough to cable me.

I am venturing to send you under separate cover the following documents : (1) Protection of Linguistic, Racial and Religious Minorities by the League of Nations Provisions contained in the various international instruments at present in force. C. L. 110. 1927 I (Annex.) (2) Resolutions and Extracts from the Minutes of the Council, Resolutions and Reports adopted by the Assembly, relating to the procedure to be followed in questions concerning the Protection of Minorities. C. 8. M. 5. 1931 I (3) Pamphlets concerning the Protection of Minorities and (4) Protection of Minorities. Discussions in the sixth Committee of the XIV Session of the Assembly C. 634 1933 I.

From these documents you will be in a position to judge the legal commitments of the League in connection with the subject of the protection of minorities. You will observe that the responsibility of the League in connection with the protection of minorities is based either on special treaties concluded between certain Governments and dealing in each case with the protection of a minority in a specified state, or on declarations made by certain Governments and dealing in each case with the protection of a minority in a specified state, or on declarations made by certain Governments, members of the League, by which they have accorded to the Council of the League certain responsibilities in connection with the protection of minorities in their countries.

There is no provision in the Government of the League of Nations which would admit of an extension of its rights and responsibilities of the Council in connection with the protection of minorities in any country not covered by such treaties or declarations, except as the result of official Governmental initiative and the consent of the Government concerned.

The Council has no powers in regard to protection of minorities in the case of countries which are not bound by such treaties and declarations, and the resolution which you quote, which was adopted at the third Assembly of the League and which was again repeated at the last Assembly, could not confer any powers on the Council.

The resolution which you brought to my notice refers also to Article 11 of the Covenant. This article applies only to cases of war or threat of war and in circumstances affecting international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends and it can only be invoked by Governments.

I trust that these explanations and the documents I am sending you will be of value to you and show clearly what is the legal position in connection with the subject of protection of minorities.—United Press.

Bose Researches :—The interest aroused in the researches made at the Bose Researches Institute under the able guidance of Sir J. C. Bose has been so great that French and German editions of the works have been published. Timiriazoff, the eminent Russian plant-physiologist, has given an account of these discoveries in Russian language. The interest evinced in Poland has been equally great and it is learnt that permission has been asked for a Polish edition of the account of some of the important researches carried out at the Institute.

WOMEN'S VIEWS ON BIRTH CONTROL.

At the concluding session of the All-India Women's Conference held at Calcutta, interesting discussion centred round the resolution demanding birth control which runs thus.

"In view of the appalling hygienic and economic conditions of society, this Conference is of opinion that immediate efforts be made to spread scientific knowledge on birth control amongst parents through the medium of recognised clinics."

The resolution was moved by Mrs. S. N. Ray, who sought to meet the arguments that were advanced generally against it on the ground of morality.

Miss Rani Ghosh who opposed the resolution contested that many members of the audience would question her right to speak on the subject as she had not experiences of labour that a woman undergoes when a child is born. But it appeared to her to be undignified for the Conference to discuss openly a subject which should be settled between a husband and wife in the bed-room. She could well remember the agitation they had when the subject came up for discussion in Madras and also in Lucknow when the resolution on the subject was carried with great majority. She enquired what practical work had been effected by the Conference in the direction within the course of a year or two.

To judge the number that one wished to have in the family by advocating birth-control seemed to her to be a futile task. All of them have their own standards of value by which they would measure the worth of the pleasures, privileges and duties, comforts, and satisfaction of life. What was meant for one might prove poison for another. By championing the cause of birth-control at this time in this country they would be beaten as a nation by a decrease in its numerical strength. Could India at this critical stage of her history afford a cause which would decrease her number. She asked the audience to realise the responsibility for having to take such a course when the new reforms were to come and when for the army, navy and for the development of economic and material resources of the country they would be handicapped. At the present moment India was steeped in darkness and men and women who were real representatives of India were in want of food not because they had not been taught to control the birth but because adequate provision had not been made for them for the development of their physical, mental and moral capabilities. Let those who favoured birth-control teach the masses to respect themselves to control their purse instead of births

Mrs. A. Kale supporting the resolution said by way of introducing herself that she was the mother of five children while she found it to be a matter of wonder that most of them who opposed the resolution were unmarried. Many of them were under the wroing impression that birth control meant birth prevention. Nobody would bother with the number of children if adequate provision for their upbringing could be arranged for. Nobody would question the fine civilisation that was developed in India once when other nations like pilgrims had to come to India for learning. But the question was the present position in which they were placed. Birth control was a means that was absolutely necessary for getting rid of the present crisis. As soon as it would be over when India would be able to adequately maintain her children the method should be discarded at once. Nobody had held the view that birth control was the only method which would remain in the Indian social regulations for all time to come.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by a huge majority.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Oldest Woman of the Punjab Dies :— Probably the oldest woman of the Punjab and certainly one of the oldest, died in Lahore, aged 111½ years. Srimati Shubedevi was born in 1822 and her centenary was celebrated by her family in 1922. In perfect health, the old lady retained keenness of the mind and alertness of the body till the end and both her sight and hearing were good. The death was due to heart failure. Srimati Shubedevi leaves behind four grandchildren the eldest of whom is 55.

India and Italy :—The Consul-General for Italy in Calcutta has offered the Calcutta University an endowment for two scholarships of Rs. 10 each to be awarded to students securing the highest number of marks in the Italian language at the Matriculation examination and taking up Italian in the Intermediate course. The Consul-General has also proposed, understands the "Amritbazar Patrika," to place at the disposal of the University the services of a scholar for teaching the subject, his honorarium being met from the endowment. The Consul-General desires that no extra fees should be charged from the students for learning the language.

Indian Academy of Sciences :—When the Indian Science Congress meets again next year, a carefully prepared scheme for the establishment of an Indian Academy of Sciences will be laid before it. The preliminary work of drafting a constitution for the Academy is to begin forthwith. A Committee, comprising, among others, representatives of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, the Indian Chemical Society, the Indian Botanical Society, the Mining and Geological Institute, the Indian Mathematical Society and representatives of the various departments will, it is expected, meet in Calcutta from the 18th January to the 21st January, to discuss the necessary steps.

Japanese Delegation to Afghanistan:— A Japanese Delegation, consisting of Mr. Ippei Tanaka, (leader) Taro Yamamoto and Heidezo Yama Nouich departed for Kabul on Sunday. Interviewed prior to their departure, they stated they were proceeding to Kabul as official representatives of the Foreign Ministry of Japan with a view to cementing the friendly relations between the two countries. They expected to stay in Kabul for a month. They landed at Colombo on January 6 and after three days' stay at Bombay left for Kabul.

Assyrian Refugees :—The vexed problem of the settlement of Assyrian refugees is seemingly approaching a solution following a communication from the Brazilian Government agreeing to the settlement of the refugees in Brazil, providing that they are agriculturists and that the Brazilian Government is not involved in any expense in connection with such a settlement. The League of Nations Committee is still discussing the Brazilian Government's conditions and the consent of both the Government of Iraq and the Assyrians is necessary before any final arrangement is possible.—Reuter.

Indian Unity:—In an interview with the "United Press", Pandit Jawaharlal gave the following message to Bengal: "My message to young Bengal is the same that I wish to give to the whole of India. All of us stand or fall together or to quote a famous writer, let us hang together or we hang separately. The problem of India is one and indivisible. It cannot be separated into Provinces or even as between Indian States and the rest of India. The sorrows and misfortunes of one Province are the sorrows and misfortunes of the whole of India. Likewise, the triumph of one Province is the triumph of All India. Therefore, though we may function in separate areas and spheres, we work for the same ideal, namely, the salvation of our Motherland. We in other Provinces feel keenly the misfortunes of our countrymen in Bengal although the whole country at present is in the grip of the severest type of repression. One of the objects of my visit is to convey to our brothers and sisters of Bengal how very much the rest of India is watching with anxious interest the happenings in this Province, and how much they desire to show their solidarity with this Province."

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With effect from 15th April 1933, interest on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at 1 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Mr. Devadhar's Address :—In his presidential address to the National Social Conference held in Madras last month Mr. G. K. Devadhar reviewed the past history of the Conference and offered several valuable hints for the future of the movement. The results of the movement so far have not fallen short of expectations. The old complaint that people who preached reform did not practise it, is no longer true. On the contrary many people nowadays are practical social reformers without being interested in the movement. They may not even like to be called social reformers. Their daughters remain unmarried upto a late age, attend schools and colleges, even go to foreign countries for study, take part in sports and disregard the caste restrictions which sat so heavily on their mothers and grandmothers. Still, the families remain orthodox Hindus. Mr Devadhar was, therefore, not quite correct in complaining of the neglect of social reform by educated Indians. The time when social reform was practised as a matter of principle is passed. It has become normal and a part of Hindu social life. We have already noticed Mr. Devadhar's observant remark about the Anti-Untouchability Movement with special reference to temple entry. He warned reformers against placing wrong emphasis on wrong principles. A right grasp of principles is what differentiates purposive social reform from aimless social innovation. Social reform leaders have a double function: The engine has to pull up the social train when its track lies uphill and act as a brake when it lies downhill. At the present time there is need for both the functions to be exercised with prudence and caution.

A Confession of Failure :—The Government of Bengal makes a noteworthy confession of the failure of its measures so far adopted to cope with terrorism in the province. It is bringing in a Bill to make the existing temporary law permanent and in the statement of objects and reasons we learn that in the opinion of Government terrorist conspiracy has unfortunately gone past the stage when it can be regarded as an ephemeral movement. In other words the evil from being an epidemic has become endemic. The Government of Bengal nevertheless persists in its faith in the policy, exemplified in the orders of the District Magistrate of Chittagong which we print in our news columns. Commenting on these orders *The Servant of India* makes the following apt observations: "In attempting to furnish a *raison detre* for the orders at a representative meeting held at Chittagong the next day after their issue, the District Magistrate was constrained to admit that the actual number of terrorists was perhaps very small. His fear (however) was that they were being assisted by large numbers of people. We do not know how far the fear is well grounded. But even assuming it to be not lacking in foundation, it would be difficult to justify such exceptionally severe restrictions upon the freedom of movement of a large section of the population. Rounding up terrorists and controlling their nefarious activities are matters to which no reasonable objection can be taken by anybody; but to issue exasperatingly vexatious orders of the kind referred to is really to carry matters too far. It serves to penalise large numbers of innocent and law-abiding people for the misdeeds of a very small number of the mischievously-inclined variety. This must be avoided at all costs. We cannot persuade ourselves that this very necessary precaution is observed in connection with these orders. In their ruthless war on terrorism, the authorities must see to it that their measures, so far as their rigour is concerned, do not exceed the strict needs of the situation. For if they did, their execution, while removing one evil, would create another, not less serious by any means, by adding to the existing volume of political discontent."

Emperor of Manchuria :—The idea of creating an Emperor of Manchuria and the restoration of the deposed boy-Emperor of China to the office, are events of far-reaching significance. The Emperor of Manchuria has the great advantage of being a Manchu himself. He comes of a long race of Emperors and as such is sure to evoke the loyalty and patriotism of his subjects. The revolutionary leaders of China made a great mistake in deposing the Emperor and discarding the Imperial office. The Chinese people have not taken kindly to

the Republic and China has lost ground steadily under the new-fangled constitution. It is quite possible that now that the Imperial dignity has been restored in the old Chinese Province, Chin itself may be drawn towards re-union with Manchuria and that the ancient Empire may be revived and may become the means of conferring unity and the strength which comes of unity on our north-eastern neighbour. The Japanese have acted with wisdom and circumspection in their policy in Manchuria, whatever one may think of the methods by which they acquired control of its affairs.

Andhra Province:—The cry of "Andhra for the Andhras" which was strident some years ago had not been much heard of since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. An explanation that has been suggested, is that the Madras Ministers under the reforms have been mostly Andhras and the grievance of the Telugu-speaking population that its interests suffered owing to being included in the Madras Presidency, has thus been found to be untenable. We are surprised that the Northern Circars' Indian Christian Conference which met at Guntur on the 20th January raked up this old demand in a resolution advocating the constitution of the Telugu-speaking districts into a separate Andhra Province simultaneously with the inauguration of the future constitutional reforms. The only explanation for this desire on the part of Andhra Indian Christians, would seem to be that the large majority of Indian Christians are in the Tamil districts and the Telugu Christians expect to fare better as regards representation in the legislature and other bodies if Andhra was made a separate Province. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, who sits for an Upper India constituency in the Legislative Assembly, has given notice of a motion to make Malabar a separate province.

Indo-Japanese Agreement:—We welcomed the announcement that negotiations between India and Japan regarding their future trade relations would be conducted in this country by representatives of the two Governments assisted by non-official advisers. The negotiations are now completed and the agreement is ready for signature. It seems that it has to be signed by the Secretary of State in London and not by the Government of India. Mr. B. Das raised the question in the Legislative Assembly, pointing out that Indian representatives had signed the Treaty of Versailles. Sir Joseph Bhore who negotiated the treaty, on behalf of the Government in India, thought that it was not worth while contesting this point when the terms of the new Agreement would be those settled between Indian and Japanese representatives in this country. He told Mr. Das that he was straining after a shadow when we already have the substance in our hands. This argument cuts both ways. Why should the British Government be so very punctilious about the shadow when they have left the substance in the hands of the Indian Government? What was there to prevent their giving plenipotentiary powers to Sir Joseph Bhore as the Japanese Government did to Viscount Sawada? The point is one of constitutional importance and Mr. Das did well in raising it in the Assembly.

Indo-European Marriages:—The *Mahratta* published last week an article by Miss Ethel Sheppard, of Lahore, on intermarriages between Indian men and European women. Although she tries to be fair to the Indian husband, the impression conveyed by her observations is that the great majority of such marriages are and are bound to be unhappy, and that, on account of the faults and failures of the husband. On the first point she was promptly contradicted by Mr. Husain Malik, also of Lahore, who, while admitting that there were a few cases where such marriages had actually ended in tragedy, pointed out that in Lahore there were a good many families with European daughters-in-law without any tragic results. The problem nowadays has lost much of its complexity and European girls who marry Indians are often, indeed, more nationalist than their husbands. Miss Sheppard's suggestion that English girls marry Indian students out of pity for their loneliness, is out of date. Moreover, of late Indians who married European wives have found them in the Continent.

Causes of the Earthquake:—The Director of the Geological Survey of India has addressed a letter to the press asking for full descriptions of the earthquake shock of 15th January from observers with a view to assist in the compilation to enable its cause to be better understood. There are current at present three distinct types of explanations of the causes of the earthquake—the theological, the geological and astronomical. The latest to advance the theological explanation is Mahatma Gandhi who speaking at a mass meeting at Tinnevely referred to the calamity "as a chastisement sent by God for our sins." The geological view finds expression in the theory that there is a fault in the crust of the earth in area of Raniganj. The astronomical viewpoint claims two schools among its adherents. The first traces the cause of the earthquake to the juxtaposition of the seven planets whilst the second traces it to the appearance of a star which was seen by Cawnpore inhabitants at 2 o'clock in broad daylight on the 15th January. It would be wrong to conclude from this that the three different explanations of the earthquake are irreconciliable with each other.

The Barrows Lectures:—Dr. Shailer Mathews of Chicago is here in Bombay delivering the eighth series of Barrows Lectures. In his addresses, three of which we print this week, Dr. Mathews has broken fresh ground. Dr. Mathews and Mrs. Mathews who has accompained her husband, have made many friends in Bombay where they have received a cordial welcome.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JANUARY 27, 1934.

THE WHITE PAPER CONTROVERSY.

The scheme of constitutional reform outlined in the White Paper and explained and elaborated by the Secretary of State for India before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, has evoked a variety of comments. Sir Umar Hayat Khan, a member of the India Council in London, arrived by the Air Mail at Karachi last Saturday. He told a Press representative, as his personal opinion, that the money which has been spent on the Reforms would have been better spent had the Government granted a remission in revenue to feed the starving millions of poor India. It would also have incidentally benefited big landlords like Sir Umar himself, but that consideration, of course, was not consciously present to his mind in forming his opinion. Since, however, some reforms seemed to be inevitable he stressed the importance of Second Chambers in every province; otherwise, he thought, "there would be great danger from hot-headed young enthusiasts, doing certain acts in the absence of more mature politicians." Sir Umar explained that the Second Chamber was needed chiefly in the interests of Government. "The responsibility (for the certain acts of hot-headed young enthusiasts)," he said, "will be on the shoulders of the Government which would become more and more unpopular. But if there were two chambers, then the Governor's duty will become easier." Sir Umar is a fair representative of the landlord classes in the Punjab and elsewhere.

In the South Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who is one of the ablest of Indian political leaders, defended with some warmth the White Paper scheme against the severe criticism to which it was subjected in a recent speech by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. But he approved of the amendments suggested in the memorandum of the British Indian delegation and thought that a useful purpose would be served by supporting it at the proposed All Parties Conference. Mr. Sastri in his address had shown that the scheme of the White Paper as amplified in Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, was a complete travesty of what India had been led to expect by authoritative declarations of the Prime Minister and Lord Irwin as Viceroy of India. But he did not believe in non-co-operation, and urged that every effort should be made to get the scheme improved and, when finally passed into law, that it should be utilised to push forward the cause of self-government. We are surprised to see that the *Bombay Chronicle* takes Mr. Sastri to task for saying what Mr. Brelvi in a long signed article in the *Chronicle* not long ago declared, should be the policy of the National Congress itself! What is sauce for the Congress swan is evidently not sauce for the Liberal gander.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, speaking at Nagpur, took the same line as Mr. Sastri. He said no one in India wanted the White Paper scheme but he feared it would be passed in perhaps an even less acceptable form; in which case he said that it should be worked for all it was worth, without relaxing our efforts to make it more satisfactory. Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee have generally taken the same view. Prominent Congressmen are divided in their opinion of what the proper thing to do is in relation to the scheme. None of them is in favour of the scheme but while one section would have nothing to do with it and would presumably boycott the legislatures if it is passed, another would on no account resort to this method but would, like the Constitutionalists but only more vehemently, work to accelerate the advent of full self-government. The extreme Congress view of boycotting the White Paper is thus not shared by any considerable section of articulate opinion among the politically minded classes. It has, therefore, been thought that a Conference of all Parties should meet and consider what essential changes should be made in the White Paper scheme in order that the introduction of the new Constitution may bring peace and prosperity to the country.

The mere idea has thrown some prominent publicists into a rage. They seem to think that the right to call such conferences belongs by prescription to themselves, and that it is intolerable presumption for any one else to do so. This, of course, is an untenable position. The Congress would have been the best agency to convene such a conference. But for reasons, obvious or obscure, it is not able to do so now, and, therefore some other body has to do it. The work cannot wait. The letter of invitation to the All Parties Conference has been issued to representative people irrespective of party, and is very wide in scope. Its wording regarding the Communal Award and the so-called "sanctions", has led to some criticism. What is meant is obviously not that these two questions are not of consequence. For the sake of convenience it is necessary to concentrate first on improvements in the White Paper. The Conference will evidently be free to consider any suggestions, however far-reaching in this direction. Among others, we trust that it will have the opportunity of formulating a considered recommendation on the question whether British India should enter the Federation as a unitary government or as a conglomerate of separate provinces. Another conference may be convened to deal with the two questions, when it becomes necessary to do so. By the way, it should be remembered that the Communal Award embodies the Poona Pact and those who approved the Pact tacitly accepted the former as amended by it. As for "sanctions", it is too early to talk of them.

THE EARTHQUAKE DISASTER.

Reports of the damage done by the earthquake of January 15th have been coming with greater accuracy during the week. They reveal that Bihar has been the most affected province and that, in three towns Mongbyr, Muzaffarpur and Durbhanga, the total deathroll cannot be given with accuracy. The breakdown in communications has further enhanced the difficulties. The Governor of Bihar and Orrisa, however, in a recent speech conveyed the impression that the number of deaths in the whole province would be roughly four thousand. Replying to a question in the Assembly Sir Harry Haig informed the members on Wednesday that in the three principally affected towns half the brick houses have been reduced to ruins and are damaged beyond repairs. In the villages destruction of house property has been less. The Railway settlements and workshops at Jamalpur have been seriously damaged and restoration work there, it is estimated, will amount to over rupees fifty lakhs. Both Government and local bodies have suffered heavy loss owing to the distruction of public buildings as well as through the damage to roads and bridges. It has not been possible to form an adequate idea of the loss in agricultural lands but the most serious blow to cultivators comes from the distruction of the sugar factories. As for the standing corps, low-lying lands have suffered to a greater extent. Several of the affected towns were isolated from the outside world. Durbhanga, according to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna was "a solitary prison till the arrival of the plane sent from Calcutta by the Maharaja of Durbhanga on the third day. The State and Government hospitals in that town collapsed resulting in the death of their indoor patients and the Maharaja's palace was reduced to an unrecognisable heap." A Lucknow professor who had sent his family to Muzaffarpur, went there himself on receiving no reply to his urgent communications and returned with his daughter, the only surviving member of his family. Three-fourths of Muzaffarpur has been wrecked and it is reported that the dead in that city numbered about a thousand. Almost the entire population is living now in the open air or in tents.

The *Times of India* which has displayed commendable enterprise in presenting the latest information regarding the disaster to its readers, reported in its issue of June 20th a strange phenomenon noticed by an eye-witness of Patna, where "the waters of the Ganges subsided, as by the magic into the sands." The observer narrates that there was a dull roar followed by a hissing noise and within a few seconds the bed of the river was laid completely dry. "Opposite to where I stood," he writes, "there had been an island of sand in the middle of the stream with a narrow passage on the near side of the water and a broader stream beyond on which steamer and boats plied. Soon after the shock the island became joined to the mainland and several boats and river steamers were stranded on what had been a narrow passage. A number of bathers were left half sunk into the sand by the force of the receding waters. For the space of five minutes the river bed was dry. Then as suddenly as it had vanished before I saw the Ganges appear again spouting up from the sand with considerable force. Great cracks and fissures, some of them fifty feet long and several feet wide, appeared at irregular distances and from them columns of water shot up to a height of five or six feet with loud bursting noise. The largest fissure appeared where the island had been and as the water poured from it the sand there was thrown out and blown away. In a few seconds the level of the river had risen again and it spread from bank to bank. The Ganges had resumed its interrupted flow. The phenomenon described above must have been witnessed by numerous individuals, particularly in view of the fact that the eye-witness observed a number of bathers at the time of its occurrence.

Relief work was undertaken in the stricken areas with promptitude. On the 19th instant the Viceroy appealed for funds to relieve the distressed population and on the 22nd the Governor of Bihar and Orissa also opened a fund for the relief of sufferers from the earthquake at a public meeting in Patna over which he presided. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Patna Congress leader, had also appealed last week for money as well as materials for relieving the distressed people of Bihar. Prompt and generous public respose has been forthcoming from all parts of the country. The Mayor of Bombay and Calcutta called citizens' meetings in both cities and funds have been opened. The havoc caused by the earthquake of January has been as disastrous in Nepal as in Bihar. Two of the daughters of His Majesty the King of Nepal and a grand-daughter of the Prime Minister perished. Old historic monuments have been destroyed and heavy damage has been done to Khatmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. Pandit Malaviya has wired to the King of Nepal conveying the sympathy of the Indian people and asking if any help might be rendered from India.

China has also suffered from earthquake shocks of varying intensity during the last week. The last shock was recorded on the 25th instant. An earthquake, lasting two to three minutes, was experienced in the provinces of Shansi and Suiyan: A number of buildings in the Wu-han district in south Suiyan collapsed, and several soldiers and civilians are reported to have been buried under the debris. Four thousand people have been rendered homeless, and hundreds of homes have been damaged by the overflowing of the Yellow River on the borders of the provinces of Honan and Chihli. Three thousand refugees have been rescued from roofs and the tops of trees. Only ten are reported to have been drowned, but a major catastrophe is feared as the river continues to rise.

Pandit Jawharlal on Women's Education:—In the course of an address to the students of Allahabad Mahila Vidyalay on January 20th Pandit Jawharlal said: It is sometimes said, and I believe the Vidyapitha itself lays stress on this, that woman's education should be something apart from that of man's. It should train her for household duites and for the widely-practised profession of marriage. I am afraid I am unable to agree to this limited and one-sided view of women's education. I am convinced that women should be given the best of education in every department of human activity and be trained to play an effective part in all professions and spheres. In particular, the habit of looking upon marriage as a profession almost and as the sole economic refuge for woman will have to go before woman can have any freedom.

British Schoolboys' Visit:—*Twenty British schoolboys arrived in Bombay on the 19th January in connection with the Empire School tour. The purpose of the tour is mainly educational. Mr. H.C.A. Gaunt, Master of Rugby, Director of the tour, said: "We hope to see the Indian people and make friends with them. We have heard of the traditional hospitality of Indians, and want to meet them and exchange ideas."*

The Late Lord Halifax:—*Death has occured of the nonagenarian Viscount Halifax, father of Lord Irwin, ex-Viceroy of India. He was a leading layman of the Church of England and he worked life-long for the re-union of the English Church with the Church of Rome.*

ASIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION—I.

(By Jabez T. Sunderland.)

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But its size is not its chief importance.

It is not only by far the largest continent and probably the oldest; but in the world's whole career, whole history, it is unquestionably the most important. It has been very fittingly called the World's Mother Continent.

That is a good name. Asia is the mother of most of the world's *races* (of all the most *important*); the mother of all the world's most important *languages*; of all the world's most important *religions*, including our own. Even those religions that have spread and attained their great careers in other continents—as Mohommedanism in Africa, and Judaism and and Christianity in Europe and America—even *these* had their birth in Asia.

Asia was the creator and therefore the mother of the earliest nations, of most industries, of most of the arts, of nearly all the sciences, of commerce on a large scale, by land and sea, of the world's most important civilizations. Europe is Asia's daughter. America—civilized America—is Europe's daughter, and therefore may very properly be called Asia's grand-daughter.

Let us look a little further at Asia, to see what she has done for civilization—for the world's higher life.

If I were to ask, What is the most important invention in the whole history of man's intellectual life, I would probably be answered, The alphabet. The alphabet came from Asia.

If I were to inquire for the invention second in importance in the whole history of civilization—at least of Western civilization—I should most likely be pointed to the Arabic numerals and the system of decimal notation. These too came from Asia. We call them Arabic numerals; really they are Indian—the Arabs obtained them from India. But whichever country gave them to the world, they came from Asia. To be sure, without an alphabet—a phonetic alphabet—there can be written language, but it is poor, unwieldy, cumbersome, very imperfect. So too, there can be mathematical operations and calculations; but they are very crude and limited. Without these numerals there could be no logarithmic tables; and indeed on these numerals all modern mathematical sciences are based. Nor is this all. Since the physical sciences are based so largely on mathematics, of course the absence of these numerals and the system of notation connected with them, would mean also the impossibility of a large part of our physical sciences.

The foundations of astronomy were laid in Asia.

The mariner's compass, making possible the navigation of wide oceans, came from China.

Gunpowder was invented in some oriental land, probably China.

Printing was an invention of incalculable importance. We generally *think* of printing with movable type as German in its origin, and we ascribe its invention to Gutenberg. But we now know that *much* printing was done in *China* three hundred and fifty years before Gutenberg's day, and in Babylonia earlier still.

What could our modern world do without paper? The world is indebted to China for paper.

China gave us silk and porcelain.

Our popular folk-lore, and our fairy tales told to children in all parts of Christendom, have come in large part from the East, from Arabia, Persia and India.

To Asia, to the Mohammedan people of Asia, we are indebted for such instruments of pleasure and pastime, as chess, checkers and cards.

Ancient Babylonia gave us our week of seven days and our Sabbath, or Sunday, our religious and rest day.

Our moral codes come from Asia—our Ten Commandments from Palestine, back of which and much earlier we find the code of Hammurabi, of Mesopotamia.

The Golden Rule is Asiatic in origin. We get it from Jesus; but other forms of it come from other great religious teachers of Asia earlier in time than Jesus.

I have said that our own religions, Christianity and Judaism, come from Asia. When we are tempted to look down upon Asia and Asiatic peoples, it will do a little to take away our senseless arrogance and our groundless race pride if we call to mind that Moses, Isaiah, David, Solomon and the other great characters of the Old Testament, and Paul and Jesus of the New Testament were Asiatics.

Our Bible comes from Asia. Neither Europe nor America has produced any religion that has endured, nor any sacred book; nor any great religious prophet or teacher that the world places even in the same category with those of Asia.

Until recent time, nearly all the important literatures of the world have been created in Asia. China has a vast literature. Persia has a literature not only extensive but rich in genius. Arabia has a literature hardly less notable.

India, in addition to its extensive and fast-growing modern literature, has a literature in the ancient Sanskrit more extensive than the combined extant literature of Greece and Rome. Embraced in that literature are philosophical works that take rank beside the writings of the greatest philosophers of ancient Greece or modern Germany; epic poems that take their place among the five or six greatest in the world; dramas that are harldy excelled by those of Shakespeare (for example, those of Kalidas), and a vast amount of lyric poetry which ranks among the finest ever written by man. Is there a greater poet in the world to-day than Rabindranath Tagore?

We look down upon China and the Chinese. We find persons on every side who seem to have formed their judgment of the people of China from the laundrymen that we have in our cities. It would be as correct to form our estimate of the people of England from the charwomen or the street-sweepers of London. Not but that our Chinese laundrymen are generally most law-abiding, trustworthy and faithful persons, and worthy of our respect; but we shall do injustice to China if we do not bear in mind that as to education, social standing and culture, these men represent generally not the highest class, or the middle class, but the lowest class of the people.

For many years, large numbers of students have been coming from the Orient, particularly from China, Japan and India, to our western universities for study. How do they compare in intellectual ability, in culture and in moral character with our own students? I have taken pains to make extensive investigations in universities where these Oriental students have been, and are, most numerous; and with hardly an exception I have

found the professors who have had most to do with them, testifying unequivocably that, taken as a whole, they are not inferior; that their best men are quite the equals of our best; that their average men are as bright as ours; that as a rule they work harder, and have among them far fewer loafers and shirkers; that in character, culture, refinement and moral qualities they rank well up to our average American standards and are often distinctly their superiors.

At a recent great banquet in the International House, New York, the question arose for discussion and an expression of judgment; Who are the two men to-day most widely known and honoured in all the world? The chairman of the occasion, a professor in Columbia University, expressed the belief that there are two such men; who are they? Are they American? Not many answered, "Yes." Are they Englishmen? Most doubted. Are they French, or German, or Europeans of any nation? Few felt sure that they could answer in the affirmative. When the chairman asked: Are they Tagore, the distinguished poet of India, and Mahatma Gandhi, India's great political leader and saint? the reply in the affirmative was almost unanimous.

What European or what American of our generation ranks higher as a hero, a statesman, and a nation-builder than Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic? A few years ago, in the last days of the Empire, a great Chinese statesman, Li Hung Chang, had a remarkable career, which attracted the attention of the world. General Grant, in his tour around the world (after the close of his Presidential term), visited China, and was greatly impressed by him. I remember that on General Grant's return to America, he declared in a public statement that, in his judgment, Li Hung Chang was not inferior as a statesman to Gladstone of England or Bismarck of Germany. I remember something still farther back. One of the most eminent and most important early ambassadors, or rather ministers, that the United States ever sent to China, was the Honorable Anson Burlingame. He was there long, and became more thoroughly acquainted with China, and the real Chinese people, and China's civilization, than any one before him had ever done. I recollect that when he came home, he told us, that while we in America had one Ralph Waldo Emerson, China had a thousand.

In China, both the scholar and the magistrate have always ranked socially higher than the soldier, and do so still, except in those circles which have come most under the influence of Europeans. Which shows the higher civilization? Which shows the higher civilization, China or we who place the soldier above the most eminent scholar or educator?

Sir Robert Hart, the distinguished Englishman who for more than forty years was the Inspector General and Director of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, and who knew China as no Englishman had ever done before, said at the close of his long career there: "The people of China are among the most remarkable in the world. They are intelligent, industrious, economical: they can learn anything and do anything; they are punctiliously polite; they worship talent; they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think that it does require to be supported or enforced by might; they delight in literature, and everywhere they have their literary clubs and coteries for learning and discussing each other's essays and verses; they possess and practice an admirable system of ethics, and they are generous, charitable, and fond of good works; they never forget a favour, they make rich return for any kindness, and, though they know money will buy service, a man must be more than wealthy to win public esteem and respect; they are practical, teachable, and wonderfully gifted with common sense; they are excellent artizans, reliable workmen, and honest and honorable to a degree that everyone acknowledges and admires in their commercial dealings; and in no other country that is or was has the commandment 'Honor thy father and thy mother' been so religiously obeyed, or so fully and without exception given effect to, as in China."

The educated Chinaman travelling in Europe or America (and the same is true of the educated Hindu) is struck with the crudeness of manners and want of politeness of the people, as compared with the people of his own country. Especially is he impressed with the widespread lack of respect shown by children to parents and by the young to those who are older than themselves.

Turn from China to India. The first time I visited Bombay, I went out a few miles to see the wonderful Elephanta Caves, filled with statues and the most elaborate sculptures, cut out of the solid rocks. I found many of these statues broken and many of the finest carvings defaced in the most deplorable manner, and inquired what was the cause. In reply, I was told that when the Portuguese came to India and took possession of that part of the country, finding that these caves contained statues of Hindu gods, they brought cannon to the entrance and fired in, to destroy the statues, as an expression of their hatred of idolatry. Who showed the higher civilization, the Indian artists who created these fine sculptures, or the Portuguese who in their religious fanaticism and vandalism sought to destroy them! Lord Curzon, a Viceroy of India, took occasion several times during his Viceregal term and later to tell the English people that they are quite mistaken if ever they think of India otherwise than as a land of high and ancient civilization and culture, and to remind them that the Indian people had given to the world profound philosophies and noble literature and art while yet the inhabitants of the British islands were half-naked savages running wild in the woods.

THE MIDDLE CLASSES' HEAVY DEBTS.

(By Ossa.)

Why not a Civic Bank to alleviate the financial distress of the middle classes, run on lines similar to those on which Rural Banks are run for the benefit of the ryots? Most efforts to assist the indebted concentrate on the rural areas; in India this is natural, perhaps inevitable, for the peasantry form a very big majority of the population and are, generally speaking, the most heavily in debt in proportion to their resources. Hence the many and far from unsuccessful efforts, both private and Governmental, to alleviate rural distress by means of Co-operative Societies, Banks, and similar institutions, which lend out sums varying from twenty to twenty thousand rupees at low interest (about 8 % today) for long periods on the security of land, buildings, implements, livestock and crops. No one would wish this indispensable work to abate by one jot of energy or capital; the wealthier and the healthier our peasantry the sounder and more prosperous our national and economic life. But need the relief of indebtedness be confined, as it is today, almost entirely to the farmer and the ryot? The middle classes—the physicians, surgeons, civil and military officers, lawyers, clerics, and others—need relief just as much as the peasants and are seldom able to find it. Yet there is no solid reason why this state of affairs should exist; it is not peculiar to India, for middle class debts are as common in Europe and America

as here; and I have a few suggestions to make which may serve as food for thought, even if not providing a final remedy.

Any banker will tell you that one of today's chief problems is not a shortage of money but a lack of investments to put it in. Any investment promising more than bank interest which comes along is snapped up and the success of the recent Mysore State 3½% loan is proof of this, if proof is needed. Five years ago the investing public expected at least 6% on their money; today they are happy to get 3½% and the majority of them bemoan the fact that no good investments *exist* for their capital. In fact India today possesses an enormous amount of capital which is either lying idle or is earning little or nothing in fixed deposit accounts. A big loan giving 7% interest would be over-subscribed a dozen times; but no Government or State would be so foolish as to float one, since it can without difficulty borrow a crore of rupees at half that amount. What is to be done with India's surplus capital? I suggest that it should be lent to the middle classes at a moderate rate of interest, which procedure, I hold, would bring in its train benefits to the community at large unrealized by the majority.

An investigation of the books of all our leading shops and merchants would reveal scores of overdue accounts, amounting all told to hundreds of lakhs of rupees. And the debtors are mainly to be found among the middle classes which, in proportion to their incomes, pay the highest taxes, receive the least return for their money, and are compelled by society to keep the highest standard of living. These middle classes are not the breeding-ground of constitutional "bilkers"; they are composed mainly of those professional and Service men who try, year in and year out, to keep their heads and their families' heads above water, normally on incomes which, whatever world prices, vary little and in times of depression are curtailed by cuts and decimated by the demands made by the privations of others. It is on the donations, support, and taxes of these middle classes that our social and public services, our hospitals and societies for rescue and prevention work, depend. Moreover, it is their contributions and charity which enable a whole host of poorer relations and friends to survive the hardships and to pay the rent and doctors' bills of these terrible days. The peasantry may be the backbone of the nation, but the middle classes are its nervous system and its brain, at least in an age which has seen the disappearance of the purely agricultural State. And the middle classes are more heavily and more unhappily in debt than John Citizen, preoccupied with his personal and domestic worries, realizes. Further, they form a group which it is difficult to reach by Governmental means.

The middle classes need help; the holders of capital need investments; and I suggest that the latter should invest in the former. The investor will immediately object that as a rule the middle classes hold insufficient security to cover his loan in the event of default, whereas the agriculturist does at any rate possess land. The reasoning is not so sound as it appears: in these depressed days which is the better proposition, a loan of ten thousand rupees for 15 years at 8½% on the security of land which, should the borrower default, may find no purchaser, or a loan of the same amount for seven years at 7% to a Service man receiving a salary of Rs. 1000 a month to whom default means a scandal possibly ending his career?

The latter, too, can almost always offer the assignment of a life insurance policy as a guarantee to the lender in case death should cut payments short. To take a typical case (the writer knows many such): A is an official earning Rs. 1000 a month; he owes Rs 5000 accumulated debts, often unavoidable, of the past several years; if B, the investor, will lend him the amount, he is prepared to pay back Rs 200 a month at 7% interest per annum. The advantages of such a transaction are manifold; the entire debt is repaid in under 2½ years; B has received far higher interest than he would receive elsewhere in an ordinary investment which compensates him adequately for the rather greater risk involved, and he is protected by A's assigned life (or endowment) policy in case the latter unexpectedly dies. On A's side he has wiped out all the debts which, carrying with them a constant fear of possible Court actions, have been for years a source of worry and have thereby reduced his efficiency both as citizen and as official. Moreover, the tradesmen and merchants who were A's creditors have received new life blood and have reduced their own interest charges with their banks. Money which had been doing no good or had been earning B a nominal interest has quickened the economic and financial pulse of A's and B's neighbourhood all round.

It is ironical that a man in A's position can borrow money without much difficulty at reasonable interest in order to create new debts! If he wants to buy a new car, A can borrow from an insurance society the sum involved, pay for the car, and repay the society in monthly instalments spread over two or three years, but he cannot do so in order to settle old debts; and settlement of old debts is at least as important to prosperity and progress as the creation of new. In parenthesis, one reason for the greater facility with which money can be borrowed for the purchase of the new, as opposed to payment for the old, is that in the former case the lender has the assurance—for what it is worth—that the borrower has in his possession an object (the new purchase) which forms in itself fairly good security for his loan. But if A is in debt his sole hope at present, in the absence of considerable real property, is to borrow from a firm of money-lenders, whose interest charges are generally so high as eventually to put A in a worse position than he was before. It is ironical again that a company which finds itself in difficulties can file a petition of bancruptcy without any stigma worth talking about attaching itself in society's eyes to the individuals who composed the company, whereas bankruptcy in most cases means the social and professional ruin of the lawyer, civilian, or soldier.

The real difficulty in the way of the middle class borrower is always one of security, but this, in my view, is not insuperable. It is, at any rate today, generally easier to raise immediate money by auctioning moveable property—cars, household effects, and the like—than by selling land and houses; and the type of solid middle class man I have in mind usually possesses at least ten thousand rupees worth of personal property and has more often than not taken out a life or endowment insurance policy. Moreover it would be comparatively easier for a society formed to aid middle class debtors to ascertain the soundness or otherwise of, say, a surgeon or Indian Civilian than of a ryot whose debts may go back to the time of his great-grandfathers. Such organized relief for the middle classes is essentially work for private persons with capital to invest; it cannot be done by public or Governmental enterprise; and bankers and others with whom I have discussed the ideas very roughly outlined in this article are agreed that they are neither impracticable nor objectionable, while the relief of middle class debts by loans at reasonable interest would bring in its train benefits not only to the borrower but, as I have pointed out, to the community at large, and such

benefits far outweigh whatever risks may be attached to loans not based on real property. Defaults are likely to be rare, because repayment of such loans as I suggest would be fairly easy and also because the middle classes are worked upon by a psychological and social compulsion against default which is stronger than in other classes. Many a member of the middle classes has gone from youth to death in debt and the worry caused by debt because he could not afford the money-lender's exorbitant interest who, helped as I suggest, would have been happier, more prosperous, and of definitely greater value as a citizen.

PROSPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM.*

(By G. K. Devadhar, M.A., C.I.E.)

Social Reform so far in this country had naturally to direct its attack against the citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism in which all reactionary and onesided factors of the so-called national advance remained perched but now in my opinion, the time has arrived when social reform could be freed from that narrow rut and placed on a wider and more constructive and less critical plane of social reconstruction in which several have been labouring without much moral support from the politicians. But luckily the spirit of the age and the shrinking of distances have caused even involuntary change of heart and outlook, which would facilitate the work of amelioration of the Society as a whole. In the past it was quite necessary to deal with the elementary problems of social reform such as sea-voyage, women's education, abolition of caste, stopping of infant marriages, promotion of widow remarriages, and of post-puberty marriages, and furthering the age of consent, inter-dining and even intermarriages, etc.

The bogey of untouchability and unapproachability still haunts us, but its days are numbered as its foundations are unmistakably shaken by the most powerful influence of Mahatma Gandhi whose work in this connection, I have always likened, to that of a powerful and tremendous blast.

While, therefore, not neglecting work in these abovementioned directions, we must now begin to concentrate our attention on problems that embrace wider fields and touch the bottom and the top of society. The justification for such widening of the outlook of Social Reform work lies clearly in the imperative necessity of flowing with the world currents of the rapidly advancing tide of what we call civilization. India fortunately has not lagged much behind though the inevitable need for social reform is recognized by only the so-called educated few—using the phrase in its widest sense; it is a matter of no small surprise, however, that even after a century and a half of the spread of English education and contact with Western Culture, improvement in evil customs and demoralizing superstitions has not yet taken place on a wider basis, and advanced view or higher thought in social life is today possibly, the *luxury* of the comparatively small number of those who crowd into big cities and towns where reformed life has its attendant evils as well.

We are all increasingly anxious now to lead a higher, purer, and truly nobler national life, in keeping with the changing ideals of higher social being so as to secure the advance of our society along lines of advance of the whole human race or humanity. In our search for truth of the science of human society we may in vain expect today, at any rate, any guidance to lead us safely to the goal, because among the many seekers after scientific truth and foundation for the human society there has not yet been reached any unanimity of basic principles that ought to regulate the conduct of human beings that constitute society as we see it developing today. Science has very miserably failed in this direction of supplying the much needed guidance, though its vast, wonderful, and epoch-making achievements have surpassed the imagination of even those toiling long in the field with great faith and expectations.

If we go on worrying ourselves with the result of the so-called scientific research in the sphere of human society and wait till the guidance is forthcoming we may have to wait till Doomsday. We must, therefore, prepare for our onward march by taking stock of the progress which society has made so long with the help of historical records in various countries and in different times with special reference to the history and institutions of our race; we would be securing sufficient data for us to proceed in that way. Most of our trouble is due to the confusion caused by the mingling of the little spheres of religion and Hindu social polity and political public policy. If we could only avoid this confusion much trouble could be saved. We must bring our work, our social reform work, in line with the other national activities each one working in its own sphere or domain. Politics uptill now has attracted the largest attention because thereby is afforded a common platform and differences with regard to religious or communal interests are reduced to the lowest minimum.

Thus, the arena of the politics is more attractive to those who wish to carry on their public activity along more constructive lines, and be least critical. Now we shall have to examine whether the work of fighting, on destructive lines, so heroically done by the early venerable pioneers in this field is not sufficient and whether the time has not come to interpret now, the correct scope or sphere of social reform in the terms of the changing conditions of the world which are sooner or later bound to affect us. This will establish the necessity for our familiarity with the culture and science, of the Western Christianity; it will also establish a clear necessity for living contact with life under modern conditions in the New Far East countries as well.

The country has been making experiments along social lines, and she will have to continue doing so for many years to come. Change is an inevitable social factor, and reform is its necessary concomitant. I have not, therefore, ruled out of court consideration of many of the modern problems—in fact I would be myself touching on some of them briefly, making here and there my own independent contribution. But the reason why I defer that treatment to a later stage is due to my desire to emphasise the need for changed outlook on problems of social reform of to-day and distinguish them from those of yesterday that still loom large, and to define what constitutes the sheet anchor of social amelioration.

Now I shall deal with some of them very briefly alluding to several of the special features of development that need emphasis. Take the women's problem. Women of to-day have learnt to organise, to educate public opinion with regard to their needs and have a regular net-work of their organisations all over the country. They have all along supported men in their advocacy for a wider franchise and some of them have also emerged out of their seclusion or purdah in a few places only to participate actively in the struggle for freedom. But I would like to see them engaged in common with men in day to day

* Address delivered at the Indian National Social Conference, Madras.

spade work for the general amelioration of their sex to entitle them to secure the fullest possible measure of freedom and liberty from men who have also to learn to trust women as their equal partners in national and social uplift. Active participation in public life should not be a mere matter of momentary sentimental enthusiasm. They should not commit the mistake of devoting all their energies to some of the barren fields of politics but should take upon their shoulders sufficient responsibility of sharing men's national work in the spheres of education of the masses, social reform for their advancement and the economic and other improvements of the rural parts of our country. I am glad to notice that some of these ideas have found favour with the women of India that met in a conference in Calcutta on the 27th of December. While proclaiming their readiness to enjoy adult franchise, they claimed greater attention to widening their rights and privileges in respect of inheritance and widening of their franchise, the necessity for building an army of whole-timed workers for carrying on social reform activity, and the need for effective propaganda with the judicious and wise use of the cinema and vocational education.

The communities formed into caste and religious and racial groups—the so-called caste groups—are in my opinion, one of the most practical problems for solution before our country. It must be both the creation and restoration of harmonious relationships, among members of various communities. So long as we have not learnt to trust each other and allow ourselves to be guided by the narrow interests of our groups, all will suffer because the rest of the world has no concern whatsoever with our local differences which we have not yet learnt to adjust ourselves, and intervention with which on the part of outsiders would be a clear indication of our unfitness to rule ourselves. They have disintegrated completely our Society, to which process momentum has been added by the preponderance of the widely different creeds, in our social polity. The only solvent of this situation is to learn to look upon ourselves, as our master the late Mr. Gokhale used to say, as Indians first and Moslems, Hindus, Christians, Jains, Parsis, afterwards. Some classes have to make a beginning to adjust their life along these lines, and it must be seen how consideration of larger self will propel some of them to practise these principles in life and realise the true unity of the society.

The third large question which should attract our attention is the position in the midst of our so-called depressed and suppressed brethren numbering between 40 to 50 millions. Mahatmaji has done the greatest service to this class directly and to the Hindus indirectly by sponsoring their cause, and offering even to fight, at the cost of great popularity, the stubborn attitude of the conservatives who are very vocal and loud in their denunciation of the political disabilities under which they labour in their own country and outside, but which can scarcely bear any comparison with the existing disabilities to which this vast mass of human being, is unwittingly subjected, let us say, by the rest of the Hindu community. It is, therefore, the duty of the Hindus, as also of those in whose power it lies, to improve their lot in most constructive ways, though such improvement is an equal necessity of the vast majority, in common with them, of the community at large. But their need has been rendered greater and more urgent by the fact of their being ruthlessly subjected to untouchability for generations past in the name of religion, contrary to the spirit of humanity, by our orthodox brethren. Untouchability which is universally condemned by all thinking sections as the darkest spot on the fair face of exalted Hinduism is doomed for ever. But our business as social reformers is to see that no wrong emphasis is put by any of the parties immediately concerned on any wrong principles, and true constructive work is taken up as a lever to lift them up with special reference to the eradication of untouchability and unapproachability. Here in Southern India in some parts, some roads around some shrines are barred against these human beings whereas they are open for dogs and donkeys to tread upon. Some of us are very keen on their social and economic uplift and that is why we have to-day in India more than 200 centres of active work started in the name of the Servants of the Untouchables Society now which has been again changed to Harijan Seva Sangh. Temple entry and legislation thereabout are bones of contention, more so because, the depressed classes have not shown much active enthusiasm for temple entry for the satisfaction of their truly religious cravings, while others who advocate it, in spite of this indifference of the community in some places, are directly concerned to do so, because in this sphere of social reform they do not like to be accused of allowing a weak point in the Hindu social polity to remain "an inferiority complex."

Cannot India do some thing under the new Reforms by state legislation? While on this topic, I would like in passing to refer to the furious controversy that raged round the question whether social reform should be pushed on, in spite of people's wishes, with the help of legislation. But that controversy is buried now. It had poignancy when the spirit of the administration and controlling forces were mostly moulded by foreign spirit and outside considerations, but now all our Provincial legislative Councils and the Central Legislature are mainly Indian, composed of the representatives of the people and many Provinces, like C.P., U.P., Bombay, Madras, and the Punjab, have lost no time in introducing useful pieces of legislation for the improvement of the general masses of the people in social, economic, and international spheres. Moreover, it is further very refreshing and re-assuring to note that many of the leading Indian States have utilised their legislative machinery and their peculiar position of independence in getting social legislation enacted in many matters of domestic social reform. In this connection I would mention the names of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Indore, Cochin, Kashmere and Hyderabad (Deccan) and other small states. But it is very interesting to note in this connection that the British Government who were in the earlier days of their rule very keen or in any case friendly to the introduction of social legislation have changed that attitude now. Their present attitude in this behalf seems to many of their admirers and frends as extremely halting if not quite hostile, and some of us would like the central legislature to be much bolder and imaginative in this behalf as they would be pushing on the cause of general upliftment of the vast masses of this country. One of the grounds in support of such an attitude being that Society is advancing, and it would not carry out its functions vigorously with the old wornout institutions which may have justification in their own days.

Another most important sphere in which a colossal amount of work lies ahead of us, I mean in the direction of the improvement of conditions of life in rural parts. It is a pity that the vastness of the subject and its many sided solutions would require more detailed treatment. Another greater and more urgent need of the people residing in rural parts is public health, and the many problems affecting this vast question, which need immediate attention such as, village sanitation, personal and public hygiene, food reform, so as to secure the best results with the least expenditure as is at present being experimented by some of my colleagues in Bombay in the work of

the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association. Lastly, the new question which has begun to attract attention on the part of the intelligent public as a result of some of the figures published in the recent census report by Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner of India. Birth Control has offered a suggestion as one of the tried and possible practical remedies to combat the enormous rate of increase in the population of the whole country. We know our population has grown in the past ten years by nearly four crores but to give you a much clearer idea of this enormous growth I can cite figures from Travancore State where the population has risen to 51 lakhs from 41 lakhs ten years ago, thus showing an increase of ten lakhs during the past decade, and in this increase of ten lakhs five lakhs, 50 per cent of the growth is supplied by one community, the Christian alone. Indian's solution of the problem of birth control, will be determined ultimately by the view she is compelled to take of the unit of a family, whether it is a social or a spiritual unit or it has only an economic character and relationship. I am interestested to find that, in your province barring a few small religious communities, a great deal of public opinion is educated in its favour, and some women's conference in Berars held recently adopted a resolution in support of birth-control clinics. Women have even begun to express their opinion emphatically on the need for divorce being sanctioned by legislation.

An important problem, to the solution of which some of the vested interests of the country will have to bring to bear all powers of imagination and larger human interests, and of industrial welfare, is the problem of labour. Those who need the employment of labour in their industrial pursuits must treat them with better consideration than they show to their tools. While dealing with labour, the Central Government will have to recognize some of its special responsibilities which it cannot easily leave to provincial governments. Several international conventions, having a more intimate bearing on the daily life of the people engaged in industrial production in British as well as in Indian India have to be given effect to and it falls within the purview of the Central Government, and also when it assumes a Federal character, to see that they are put into practice.

In considering problems dealing with the improvement of rural classes we cannot afford to pass over the need of the problem of temperance and discouragement of the habit of drink among them and the avoidance of unnecessary and wasteful litigation. I am told that litigation and drink have absorbed between them both a sum of not less than 100 crores of rupees a year to err on the safer side, though it is reported that some Committee which sat to consider the question of prohibition estimated the total expenditure in India on intoxicants alone to the extent of 100 crores. The rejection of Prohibition by U. S. A. and the the comparative failure of local option in this Presidency need not dispirit us. Our efforts at organising temperance leagues and Village Panchayats of settlement of disputes must go on in faith, and a regular net-work of such institutions should be undertaken as is done in the case of temperance by the United Provinces.

I have enumerated in their general aspects some of the outstanding problems of social reform before the country, but have not dealt with my own views with regard to the method to be adopted for their solution. When a social reform ceases to be fighting in its attitude and lays considerable stress on its constructive side, considering the urgency for work in different fields it naturally assumes the character of social service which must be and should be rendered by as large a number of Indian men and women as the magnitude of the problem demands. This in brief, in my opinion, is the case for Indianisation of social service. To complete our just demands from the political platform for Indianization of civil services and Indianization of military services, we must also be ready to take up the responsibility of Indianising, without detriment to the work of other friends from foreign lands, in this sphere of social and educational reform. What is needed now is immediate action for which the country must supply a very large army of patriotic young men with missionary zeal for this great task before the nation. If a well thought out and defined programme of social uplift is to be worked out seriously then there is need for those who feel the urge to come forth and husband all their resources. It is a matter in which Government and the people should work conjointly securing help from every available source.

THE BARROWS LECTURES.

"RELIGION CANNOT BE SHUT OUT."

"You can no more shut religion out of human life than you can shut out food." "Many of our superstitions are based on the fear of happiness."

These were some of the characteristic sentences which formed part of the first lecture in the Eighth Series of the Barrows Lectures, 1933-34, delivered by Dr Shailer Mathews of Chicago University in the Wilson College Hall, Bombay, on Saturday.

The subject of the evening was "Religion as a form of Human Behaviour." Prof. P. A. Wadia who presided, in introducing the lecturer to the large audience, said that the substance of Dr. Mathews' lectures was a message of peace and goodwill in which the world was interested to-day.

Dr. Mathews at the outset pointed out that at the time of his appointment as the Barrows lecturer, Mr. K. Natarajan was in America delivering a series of lectures. This interplay of thought between the two countries was intended to bring about a better understanding. He added: "I have not come to India as a member of any commission, and I am not going to write a book on India when I get back."

The purpose of these lectures, the speaker said, was not an apologia but a historical and sociological study of the moral and religious aspect of western civilization, with the hope that it might suggest a method for meeting the moral crisis in the modern social trend.

Human history was a series of connected experiences of people passing down their civilization in a continuous stream of life. A religion which originated in a certain civilization always carried with it the qualities of that civilization where it was formed.

All religions were of a social origin, and the principles of human life, therefore, were dramatised in some form of social technique. It was not possible to know everyting about a religion by a mere study of its literature. It was not possible, for instance, to know all about the Christian movement by a study of the New Testament.

There were two distinct classes of followers of any religion; those who behaved in a manner dictated by their religion, and another, intellectual class, whose vision could pierce through religion and see its universal aspect.

Dealing with the conception of God, the lecturer said that people conceived God as the personification of a force on which they depended to direct their

actions according to their needs. A shepherd, for instance, imagined God as an ideal shepherd who directed herds of sheep. The general conception of God was as the supreme sovereign over the whole world and the universe.

Dr. Mathews called attention to the fact that Christianity was a social movement as well as religious, though it carried itself on ideals and techniques. Technique, whether in thought or practice, was derived from social relationships in which the followers of a religion participated.

Man was something like a machine which could not direct itself, but which required a force behind it. Similarly, human affairs required the sanction of religion to direct them along proper channels and to avoid moral confusion.

Rise of Christianity.

An appeal to Hindus to study closely their religion in order to see whether it had in any way governed their social customs, was voiced by Dr. Mathews in delivering the second lecture of the Eighth Series of Barrows Lectures in the Wilson College Hall, Bombay, on Monday evening. Sir Stanley Reed presided. In the course of a comprehensive survey of Christianity as an aspect of Western civilization, Dr. Mathews declared that Christianity did not organise or give direction to the forces making for social changes, but impregnated these social forces with the ideals that formed the very heart of the movement itself.

Opening his address, the lecturer said that it was first of all necessary for the historian to recognise the fact that Christianity was a religious-social movement and not a philosophy: it was not identical with the teachings of Jesus, although he was the centre of the movement.

Christianity began with the Jews ascribing to it all the qualities of the Messianic hope. This hope was really a national hope for deliverance from the nation that then held the Jewish race in subjection.

Tracing the historical background of the movement, the lecturer said that at the time of its formation the Romans who were in control of Jewish affairs, were instituting an era of peace and prosperity. But with increasing internal peace and prosperity an idea gradually arose among the people that the king of the Jews would be a descendant of the house of David, and that the world would also be ruled by a descendant of the same house.

One section, the zealots, believed in Jesus as a Messiah. The disciples desired Jesus to bring about a Messianic kingdom, but Jesus pointed out to them the futility of attempting to establish a kingdom by violence. For if a divine kingdom was to be established, it must be by way of the King, the Heavenly Father, and His way was the way of love.

The disciples at first did not understand the principles expounded by Jesus, but they called him Christ. After his death they looked forward to his return to establish a kingdom by violence. This was far from the idea of Jesus, who died rather than submit to that method of establishing a kingdom.

The Messianic hope was an expression of the sublimation of nationalism. By the end of the first century, Jesus was no longer a national hero and the Jews had repudiated him. But the Gentiles accepted him as the Saviour. Later the Gentiles altered his teachings into a philosophy, attaching to it their own social experiences

The lecturer discussed the rise of mystery religions in the Greco-Roman world, which were all subject to the ways in which men thought they could be saved from death. These peoples instilled their conceptions into Christianity, and in this way the sacramental and priestly elements were brought into the movement. But still the basic centre of Christianity was Jesus; neither a philosophy nor a moral code.

The lecturer then dealt with the growth of the church as a social institution, and explained how the doctrine protected the solidarity of the Christian bodies during the Reformation, which was really the setting-up of Churches outside the Roman Empire.

Analogies From Social Experience.

In his third lecture, delivered on Tuesday evening, at the Wilson College, Dr. Mathews, this year's Barrows lecturer, spoke on "The Moral Nature of the Christian Religion." Mr. Justice Barlee presided.

Dealing first of all with the theological superstructure of Christianity he showed how it was built up in accordance with analogies taken from social experience. Theology is a formulated system of relations which are believed to exist between man and God. The vocabulary of this theology is largely derived by analogy from judicial and political experience.

For example, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was explained by Tertullian by analogy with the Roman legal custom whereby one man might appear as more than one "persona," according to the different legal aspects in which he was involved.

So too, when the Roman Empire was at its height, Augustine in his "City of God" developed the idea of the sovereignty of God in the pattern of the Roman Emperor. This conception was retained through the Holy Roman Empire, with the difference that God now ruled through two viceregents, the Pope and the Emperor.

With the use of Feudalism there was a further differentiation. The idea of the dignity and honour of superiors in rank was brought into the concept, and Anselm, the leader of scholasticism in the 11th century, wrote his famous book a Christian apology addressed to cultured non-Christians, to justify the Incarnation without using the authority of scripture. He did so by analogy from the feudal system. The incarnation, he said, was to render satisfaction to the dignity of the Divine Lord wounded by man's rebellion—a satisfaction which man by himself was unable to make. So arose the "satisfaction" theory of the death of Christ, which is still set forth in Christian doctrinal documents.

Later in the west feudalism passed into nationalism centred round an absolute monarch, and to this pattern Calvin shaped his doctrine of an Absolute God, who passed decrees about which his people had no right to reason, and who chose in an arbitrary way the elect and condemned the others.

But the lecturer went on to say, through all these differentiations in doctrine the basic values of Christianity were carried on. These basic values all have a moral nature. They assert that the universe is not merely mechanistic, but is instinct with personality-producing activities; that these activities culminate in love, that is, the co-ordinating process of the universe on the level of personality; that when man tries to act in accordance with this he always finds God's help; and finally that death does not check the further development of personality.

The attitudes of Christianity are moral, the way of the Christian life is the way of love, but the technique of love should be guided by the knowledge of science.—*The Times of India.*

TRAVEL BY AIR.

Addressing a meeting of the members of the Rotary Club of Bombay at the Taj Mahal Hotel on Tuesday January 22, Sir Phiroze Sethna visualised the possibility, at no distant time, of flight by air from Bombay to London during a week-end or a little over. The subject of the address was "My Flight to Europe and Back."

Sir Phiroze observed that in 1933 he had to go to Europe twice as a British Indian delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs. The first time, he went by steamer to Marseilles and from there flew to London the same day. The whole journey from Bombay to London was therefore accomplished in a little over 11 days.

During his stay in England, he had to go twice to Geneva and back. On both the occasions he did so by air. When the Joint Parliamentary Committee rose for the recess in August last, he came back to Bombay by steamer. His stay in India was limited only to three weeks. He decided to return to Europe by air so that he might have three or four more days in India.

He went by train from Bombay to Karachi and thence left by the Imperial Airways plane HANNO on Wednesday, September 20, at 9-50 a.m. and reached Croydon on the following Monday at 11 a. m. If the difference in time were allowed for it would be seen that the flight took just 5¼ days from Karachi. On the return trip, he left Croydon on Saturday, November 25, at 12-30 p. m. and reached Juhu (Bombay) on the Saturday following.

One could now fly from India to Europe by three different air lines, namely the Imperial Airways, the K. L. M. which was a Dutch line, and by the French line. The K. L. M. machines carried only four passengers each. The French perhaps carried some more. The Imperial Airways machine could carry 24 passengers.

At present there was no night flying, but it was under contemplation, and when it was begun, it would be possible for letters posted in London to be delivered in India on the fourth day. The seating accommodation in aeroplanes by the Imperial Airways was comfortable and passengers could read, write, or sleep in the air during the day.

Wherever there was arrangement for supplying meals on land, passengers were so served; otherwise they were provided in the plane itself on small folding tables opening up in front of the seats. The menu served in the plane for a breakfast consisted of grape fruit, bologne sausage, scrambled eggs, marmalade, bread, butter, and coffee.

In between meals in the plane, passangers were served bovril, biscuits, and coffee or fruit, if desired. In the evenings, they came down so that dinner and sleeping accomodation were provided, whether at first class hotels, where available, or in specially built rest houses of the company, which were fairly up to date.

Formerly the noise of the engine was so great that one could hardly speak to one's neighbour and because of the noise passengers had to plug their ears with cotton wool to prevent slight deafness on landing. This is not the case in the new machines, where one could talk without having to raise one's voice.

The speed was never less than 80 miles an hour, but generally about 100 and with a favourable wind, even 120 miles an hour. Land planes to avoid clouds or winds, as the case might be, went up high and the highest he flew while going from India, said the speaker, was 9,000 ft. at one time over the desert. No smoking was allowed at any time when flying.

Travelling by air was certainly costlier than by sea or land at present for long distances. One had to pay anything from 25 to 40 per cent. more. Whilst the fares for long distances by air were stationary and uniform throughout the year, those by ships varied with the season and also with the kind of accommodation provided, according to the deck or cabin.

In the planes all seats were alike and a single fare from Karachi to Croydon was £95, and a 10 per cent. discount was allowed on a return ticket. The fare from Bombay to Karachi and Karachi to Bombay was extra. The fares by air for short distances in Europe were about the same as by rail or ship, if not even lower during some seasons of the year.

For the long distance flights there was a combine between the three companies coming out East in regard to the rates for passage money and freight. A passenger was allowed 221 lbs. between himself and his luggage. It was estimated that the average weight of a passenger was 166 lbs. which would leave 55 lbs. for luggage to be carried free.

The heaviest man carried by the Indian National Airways weighed 287 lbs. Any excess over 221 lbs. had to be paid for at the rate of about Rs. 3-4-0 per lb. from Croydon to Karachi. When the company allowed just 221 lbs. between one's weight and one's luggage, a wag who turned the scale at 220 lbs. observed that the only luggage he could carry free would be a tooth brush. The rule had been altered recently, and a passenger was now allowed luggage free up to 83 lbs.

There was no question, continued Sir Phiroze, that travelling by air was becoming increasingly popular. During the official year ended March 31, 1932, as many as 1,241 persons availed themselves of this mode of transit between India and England bothways. In the succeeding 12 months, the number rose to 2,494 which was an increase by 101 per cent.

In every single flight, he saw women travelling young and old and even with infants in arms. That showed how people were becoming more air-minded day by day. It could not be denied there had been accidents. Have there not been also railway smashes? The aeroplanes do not mind storms or gales so much as the ships do, but the one enemy it has not yet completely conquered was the fog.

Aeroplanes afford the same facilities as a train with the added advantage of saving in time. Everything was done for the passengers and they would be as cool and as fresh when they alighted as when they started. Less people were air sick than sea sick.

Apples from Japan:—Japan is now exporting apples to India. Bombay has imported more than fifty thousand of these apples during the last five weeks. The first consignments were received in the beginning of 1933, as an experimental measure, but before the season was out, fifty thousand cases containing five million apples, had been landed in Bombay. And this in spite of the fact that the duty was levied on the tariff value and not the invoice value.

Mr. Subash Bose on Fascism:—A Reuter's message from Milan says: "Through the initiative of Mr. Subash Bose, an Association of Indian students has been formed here. Welcoming the new Association at the inaugural gathering, Senator Fantole said that the advent of Indian students in Milan for the polytechnic was the beginning of a greater relationship between West and the East. Mr. Bose, lecturing on India and Italy, expressed admiration for Italy and Fascism and said that he considered Signor Mussolini the greatest man of the epoch."

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Race for Government Posts:—The results of the competitive examination held by the Public Service Commission for filling appointments in the Ministerial Service (First and Second Division) of the Government of India Secretariat have been announced. There were 1,069 candidates, who sat for the examination. Among the first twenty in order of merit, there are nineteen Hindus, and one Muslim. Out of the 19 Hindus, 15 are Madrasis, two Bengalis, one from Sind and one from the C. P.

Mahasabha and the League:—It is understood that the Hindu Mahasabha is shortly sending a reply to the League of Nations' letter in regard to the communal settlement and that the draft is almost ready. The outlines of the draft, it is understood, are that the Mahasabha recognises that the League has no authority to force its resolution on member States but that it has moral force! India is one of the original members of the League and is a signatory to the resolution on minority treatment which was re-affirmed in 1988 with the consent of India. The draft then points out how the minority resolution has been violated by the Communal Award in India and suggests ways and means of discussing the subject at a meeting of the League. The Mahasabha hopes that the League would not obstruct its discussion. Lastly, the draft suggests discussion of the whole question informally and unofficially with a delegation of the Mahasabha during the next summer.

Delhi Discovery:—The long-lost site of the Hall of a Thousand Pillars (Kasr-i-hazar Satun), one of the glories of mediaeval Delhi, has been located among the ruins of Siri, the second of the Seven Cities, a quarter of a mile off the Qutib Road, writes the "Statesman" correspondent: The discovery was made by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Deputy Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, whose opinion was confirmed by a party of professors from Aligarh University when they recently inspected the ruined buildings of the Khilji and Tughlak dynasties. The Hall of a Thousand Pillars is mentioned in historical documents, but passing centuries have played such havoc with the City of Siri that its site was forgotten. Siri was founded in 1303 by Alauddin Khilji, the most remarkable monarch of his dynasty, to give greater protection to the older city clustering round the Qutib Minar.

Chittagong Magistrate's Notification:—The District Magistrate has issued an order directing all Hindu "bhadralok" men in eight thanas adjoining Kotwali Chittagong, upto the age of twenty-five, to remain indoors for one week. Another order prohibits (a) for 48 hours the running of trains on the main line to and from Chittagong with the exception of the Calcutta Mail and the Assam Mail. These trains are not to stop at any place within the district to pick up or set down passengers except at Chittagong; (b) prohibits for forty-eight hours on the Chittagong-Nazirhat line, trains except the No. 47 Up and No. 42 Down, from stopping at any place between Chittagong and Hathazari; (c) prohibits for forty-eight hours on the Chittagong-Dobazari line the running of trains except the No. 55 Up and the No. 52 Down from stopping anywhere between Patiya and Chittagong. A third order prohibits for forty-eight hours Barisal and Cox's Bazar steamers from taking up or setting down passengers until they have passed the outer-bar at the Chittagong Port entrance. A fourth order prohibits for forty eight hours the plying of passenger launches on the Karnafuli river. A fifth order directs all courts and offices under the control of the District Magistrate, Chittagong, to be closed for forty-eight hours. A sixth order prohibits for forty-eight hours motor traffic beyond the Julahat-Chittagong-Dacca Road, and the Sholasahar crossing on the Chittagong-Hathazari Road. The orders are enforced from the 18th instant.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Barrows Lectures:—The Barrows Lectures were delivered in Bombay commencing from the 20th January by Dr. Shailer Mathews, an eminent leader of contemporary religious thought in America. Excellent summaries of the lectures were published by the *Times of India* alone among the Bombay daily newspapers. Three of these were reprinted in the *Reformer* last week and we reprint the remaining three in this issue. They are distinguished by their independent and courageous attempt to disentangle the purely social elements in modern Christianity. Dr. Mathews suggested that similar attempts should be made to separate the non-essentials from essentials in Hinduism and other religions. If this is done, it will be seen that the core of all great religions is much the same and the greatest dividing influence among human beings will be converted into a potent harmonising force among nations. Dr. Mathews' handling of his thesis was masterly. It is a great pity that the lectures did not attract larger audiences and that Principal John MacKenzie who presided at the last lecture felt obliged to apologise to Dr. Mathews on this account. It is not altogether the fault of the public. In the early years, there used to be formed a citizens' committee which was very useful in getting the Barrows lecturer in touch with local culture. For some reason, this practice has been lost sight of. We should like it to be revived so that the benefit of these lectures which are always of abiding interest to Indians may be extended, as they are delivered, to the largest number of citizens. Dr. Mathews and his wife during their short visit were nevertheless able to see something of Indian life and they carry with them the respect and goodwill of all those who were privileged to meet them.

A Unique Institution:—Twenty-three girls from the Arya Kanya Pathshala of Baroda left last week for East Africa on an educational tour. The expenses of the tour are being borne by a wealthy Hindu merchant. The girls are under 16 years of age. They look smart in their dark short trousers and a white shirt open at the throat, which evoked an appreciative remark about the ideals of young Indian womanhood from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who bade them *bon voyage*. The *Subodh Patrika* trusts that this dress was adopted for convenience in travelling and not from imitation of western ways. The dress, however, is the one which the inmates of the Pathshala wear ordinarily. This writer paid a surprise visit when he was in Baroda last year and was highly impressed by the healthy, keen and determined faces which he saw there. The girls who come from well-to-do Hindu families, are brought up in strict accord with the principles of the Arya Samaj as to diet and religious, physical and mental training. A young boy who saw the lathi play of these sturdy girls was struck dumb with astonishment. The girls were absolutely free from self-consciousness. This writer was particularly struck by the collected, cool manner in which one of the girls gave orders at a drill which was hastily arranged on the occasion. A shrill whistle, and a score of young girls ran out from different part of the buildings and took their places in the ranks. The dress, shorts and shirts, did not seem in the least outlandish in the surroundings which had so much else to emphasise the national character of the training imparted at the institution. On the other hand, one appreciated the independence of mind which did not shrink from adopting a foreign-seeming costume when it was found necessary to the active and free life in which the girls were being brought up. The Pathshala, by the way, is not a State institution. It is maintained from private funds,

Mr. Sastri and Mr. Brelvi:—In the leading article last week we wrote that Mr. Sastri in saying that the White Paper scheme which he strongly disapproves of, should nevertheless be utilised to forward the cause of self-government, only advocated what Mr. Brelvi in his signed article in the *Bombay Chronicle* declared should be the policy of the National Congress. Mr. Brelvi writes to say that while he was for giving up Civil Disobedience he did not accept the White Paper nor the policy of the Liberal Party.

This is quite true. What we had in mind was, the policy of the Congress towards the present system as recommended by Mr. Brelvi is not dissimilar to the policy recommended by Mr. Sastri to the White Paper Constitution.

The Indo-Japanese Trade Pact:—In an appreciative comment on the labours of Sir Joseph Bhore and others which have resulted in the Indo Japanese Trade Pact, the *Indian Witness* offers an apt criticism of the principle underlying all such pacts. The Pact provides that the amount of Japanese cloth imported into India should bear a certain proportion to the amount of cotton which Japan takes from this country. The *Witness* observes: "Why should India be anxious about selling raw cotton when what is needed is cloth? Japan is the one who should be seeking favours. She cannot make cloth without cotton and she must go some where for it. India is throwing away her advantage and is forced to make trade agreements. She ought to be able to buy her own cotton at a higher rate than Japan can give and still sell her own cloth at less than Japan can quote. As it is India loses twice—once by taking less for her cotton than local markets should be able to give and again when she pays for Japanese cloth a price that includes the freight on the cotton to Japan and on the cloth to India in addition to the cost of making the cloth. India will never prosper as she should while this goes on."

Search for a Sterile Period:—We reprint from the Catholic *Examiner* in another column a paragraph headed, "Is there a Sterile Period?" It would seem that the Catholic opposition to the use of contraceptives does not extend to the timing of marital relations to periods which preclude conception. This method too is a contraceptive method and advocates of birth control have discarded it only because they think that there is no "safe" period. It seems, however, that a Catholic scientist has discovered that there is one. It is interesting to note that from ancient times Hindus have a belief that there is a certain period which is most favourable to conception. This implies that there are other periods which are less favourable and the be researches of the Catholic scientist seem to corroborate it. But the point of interest is, if it is irreligious to use contraceptives can it religious to choose deliberately a time when conception cannot occur? The motive in both cases is the same: "Safety first."

"Repatriates" from South Africa:—*Indian Opinion* gives the following figure of Indians "repatriated" from South Africa under the assisted voluntary repatriated scheme. Altogether 2,363 Indians were repatriated to India during the year 1932-33, states the Auditor-General in his report on various Government accounts for that year. This was done at a cost of £55,617 to the Indian Immigration Bureau, which included £34,257 paid as bonuses and £13,668 in respect of ship passage money.

Back in China:—We had occasion to refer some months back to the famous novelist, Mrs. Pearl S. Buck, who gave up missionary work in China on acount of differences with her mission board. We print from *The World Tomorrow* the report of a speech delivered by her on her return to China a couple of months ago. Mrs. Buck is not only bilingual; she is bi-cultural. In a shilling booklet issued by Messrs. Methuen and Co. last year entitled "Is There a Case for Foreign Missions?" she remarks, "By birth and ancestry I am American; by choice and belief I am a Christian; but by the years of my life, by sympathy and feeling, I am Chinese." In another respect Mrs Buck also presents a singular example: many workers in mission fields have felt obliged to sever their connection with their mission boards. But few have been able to return to the field of their misssion activity after the break.

Limitation or Disarmament?—Speaking at the Bombay International Fellowship on January 22, Dr. Shailer Mathews remarked that the Disarmament Conference had concerned itself rather with the kinds of armaments to be allowed to nations than with the abolition of armaments. The very restriction of arms by agreement is undoubtedly no mean achievement but there has been little to show that even this small reform is nearer today than when the conference first met. The latest developments reveal that Britain has recommended equality in armaments for nations. As a substitute for the old international anarchy of "to each according to his need" there is much to commend it, and efforts directed towards securing its general acceptance are not altogether wasted. Something more will have to be done, however, if the dangers of "ultra-nationalism" to which the Pope alluded in a recent interview, are to averted in Europe.

Women's Education:—The attitude of Indian Universities towards woman's education is widely differing. Whilst Bengal has shown itself ultra-sensitive to the needs of its women students —an experiment, not very successful it is true, was made recently by way of meeting the objections of those who opposed co-education by instituting morning classes for women —Bombay has steadily refused to provide for a hostel for women studying at the affiliated colleges in the city. At a recent meeting of the Syndicate a proposal for a central hostel under University control and supervision for women students, was thrown out. One of the arguments advanced against the resolution was that if such a hostel was set up in Bombay all the other centres will have to similarly provided for. Apart from the fact that every individual demand can be dealt with on its merits, and we do not see how conceding a hostel for women in Bombay will prejudice this right of the Senate, this objection does not sufficiently allow for the different conditions maintaining to Bombay and the greater field from which its students are drawn.

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BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1934.

COMMUNALISM AND PROVINCIALISM.

The greatest and worst fault of the White Paper scheme of Indian constitutional reforms, is the splitting up of British India into eleven separate statutory units. From the first we have regarded this as a feature portending infinite friction and confusion. We strongly support federation of British India as a unitary Government with the States. The fullest autonomy can be given to the provinces by devolution from the centre. Instead of cutting up British India into eleven pieces and, then devising safeguards to keep them together, the unitary form should be maintained and the largest possible measure of freedom allowed to the provinces within it. By adopting this course many difficulties can be solved with greater simplicity and certainty than by following the one proposed in the White Paper. One of these is the amount of autonomy to be given to different provinces. All provinces may not be ready at once for the same quantity and quality of autonomy. Within unitary British India, suitable variations can be effected from time to time in accordance with the requirements and capacity of each province. Then, there is the important question of deficit provinces. If British India continues to be a whole, contributions to these provinces will be a legitimate charge on its revenues. These are some important issues. But more important than them is the fostering of the sense of unity which is the most valuable result of British rule. This sense of unity was the basis of the Indian National Congress and allied organisations. The introduction of communal franchise did much to break it up. Within recent years, another and worse disruptive force has made its appearance. This is Provincialism which threatens to destroy all sense of unity and common-nationality in the minds of the people of the provinces.

We are glad that this danger is coming to be realised. Sheth Mathuradas Vissanji, President of the Indian Merchants Chamber called attention at its annual meeting last Saturday to the growing tendency to import provincial rivalry in questions of trade and commerce. "I hope," he said, "I need not make any excuse for referring in my speech to the existence of provincial feelings even with regard to commerce and industries. There are communal feelings and we have learnt to our cost what a force for evil these have become not only with regard to our political progress but even with regard to our trade and industry. It was the provincial feeling which made itself manifest and voting both in the committee stage and in the Assembly stage (on the question of super rates) was to a certain extent deflected by provincial consideration." Sheth Mathuradas went on to explain how leading men in Bombay and Bengal had striven to compose the difference between their two points of view. He added: "It is not only with regard to several other issues that the provincial considerations are likely to be exploited by interested parties for driving a wedge in the national forces; and it behoves all of us to see that we do not allow this new cancer to have its growth as we have already allowed the cancer of communalism which is sapping away the vitality of the nation as a whole." What chances are there of our being able to prevent this new calamity when the provinces are formally and legally created separate units as proposed in the White Paper scheme, when even now provincialism is fast becoming a menace to national solidarity? Careful observers have remarked that there is less of inter provincial sympathy now than there was fifteen or twenty years ago. The *United Bengal* in its issue of January 20, bitterly complains of the treatment of Bengal by Bihar and Bombay. It observes: "It cannot be expected that Bengal will all along maintain a spirit of altruism. It has been declared that Bihar is for the Biharis, Madras for the Madrasis, U. P. for the U. P. Wallahs, Guzarat for the Guzaratis, and Maharashtra for the Mahrattas. Bengal cannot consequently continue for all. Time has come when she also must go back upon her age-old policy of open door and bang and bolt it against all intrusion from outside."

The *Tribune* of Lahore in a thoughtful leading article in its issue of the 21st January also calls attention to the new danger of provincialism. "For close upon fifty years," it writes, "the Congress has been preaching the ideal of Indian unity. For a still longer time the existence of a Central Government and of the same laws and civic and political institutions, the railways, telegraphs, English education and the more intimate contact with the rest of the word which modern conditions have rendered possible, have been slowly and silently but none the less potently influencing the minds of men and women in India in the same direction. But the fact remains that for some years now a conscious and deliberate attempt has been made to weaken and undermine the ideal of united India." In addition to the communal separatism, two others are in operation to obstruct unity. These are the provincial division and the antagonism sought to be created between rural and urban interests. The *Tribune* observes that in all three cases the forces of disintegration and division have had a semi-official origin and they have throughout been partially backed by officials though it is only fair to add that in all three cases the forces have been carried a long way farther by non-officials. It derives satisfaction from the fact that the three forces are antagonistic to each other. Communalism cuts athwart provincialism and rural-urban antagonism. Provincialism cannot co-exist with

communalism nor the difference of interests between rural and urban areas. The *Tribune* believe that the three forces will destroy each other and leave the field clear to nationalism. We are afraid this is a vain hope. The communalists are the great champions of independent provinces. The White Paper proposals to vivisect British India are in accord with their ideas. People who are able to think nationally have in despair acquiesced in the proposal. But the issue is too important to be allowed to pass without at least a strong protest. We have ever since the publication of the White Paper pointed to this feature of the scheme as the root evil. We are glad others are now awakening to its dangers. We trust it will be possible to make an organised attempt to get this proposal modified. It can be modified without touching other parts of the scheme. The States do not care whether British India enters the Federation as a whole or as separate provinces.

INDIAN STATES AND PUBLIC OPINION—I.

(By K. Natarajan.)

I am not the subject of any Indian State. But I had chosen early in life a field of public activity which overleaps political jurisdictions. The Indian social reformer has to take note not only of the state of things in British India but also in the Indian States. The great leader of the social reformer movement, Mahadev Govind Ranade, indeed, held that what is happening in the States is of even greater sociological interest than happenings in British India. For the heart of India, he said, beats in the Indian States. Some of the States have outpaced British India by the measures which they have taken to advance social reform. Mysore and Baroda adopted measures against child-marriage and the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes years before we in British India were able to do. In respect of free elementary education, if woman's rights of property and of removing legal impediments to the mitigation of caste divisions and restrictions, Baroda is even now ahead of British India. I may also mention Bhavnagar which alone among the States and Provinces of India has introduced and is successfully carrying out the policy of total prohibition in its territories; Travancore whose young Maharaja has signalised the opening years of his reign by according to his subjects of the untouchable classes rights and liberties previously denied to them, which has earned for His Highness the warm congratulations of Gandhiji, the great champion of Harijans; and the powerful impetus given by His Exalted Highness the Nizam to the cause of woman's emancipation from cramping customs by his public declaration and practical example in his own household in favour of the abolition of purdah which, with child marriage, is responsible for the stunting of the physique and intellect of Indian women. To me, as a social reformer, these are services of the first magnitude to the cause of national regeneration; and great is the debt of gratitude we owe to these States and rulers for their powerful support of these vital reforms. The political backwardness of the States naturally strikes the politician as the chief fact about them. The social reformer, however, is necessarily obliged to set against this backwardness, the greater facilities which the States have, and in some cases have already used, to advance social progress. In my younger days I was an admirer of Lord Dalhousie's policy of painting the whole of the country red. This, I thought, would have simplified the union of India into a single nation. So would have the conversion of the whole country to one of its important religions, or better still the abolition of all religions. These fancies are attractive to young minds; but they do not stand the test of mature study and experience. The decision to retain the States, which had not been already annexed, under their own ruling houses, was a sound one, sounder than the reasons which led to it at the time when it was taken. I am, therefore, a believer in the beneficial possibilities of the States and would support every measure calculated to consolidate their strength and to stimulate the enormous potentialities for good which they possess. I have no hesitation in echoing the sentiments which my friend Dewen Bahadur A. B. Lathe expressed in his admirable address to the Deccan States' Peoples Conference last month. "I have," he said, "all my sympathies with the attempts of the Princes to defend their rights, inherent as well as acknowledged by treaties, against encroachment. They are so many attempts to safeguard Indian freedom as far as it exists. There is no doubt that it exists to a greater degree in the States, if well managed. It is, therefore, a service to the cause of Indian freedom that the Rulers of the States should make every effort to maintain their sovereignty in their own States inviolate."

In introducing the Indian States' Protection Bill which this Special Conference is called to consider, the Hon. Sir Harry Haig, speaking as the Home Member of the Government of India, said, "Geographically, India is a whole. The Indian States and British India are inextricably intermingled. No great (or, I may add, small) geographical barriers, no racial distribution really separates the States from British India. We pass imperceptibly from one to the other. For good or for ill (I say only for good) the Indian States are part and parcel of India." We are grateful to the Home Member for recognising and so clearly enunciating this basic fact which is a commonplace to us, Indians, but which is often overlooked by the Paramount Power. We should have been still more grateful to him, if he had followed these premises to their legitimate conclusion, instead of pressing them into service as an argument for a measure which is bound to have the effect of penalizing the Press and people of British India for exerting themselves to bring about improvements in the Indian States, whose people are, so to speak, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. The Home Member, I am aware, assured the Assembly that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent the ventilation of genuine grievances, putting forward proposals for reform, the whole range of activities comprised in the word "Constitutional". We have had similar assurances in regard to other laws. Unfortunately, the courts do not take notice of assurances even by members of Government in interpreting statues. We know from experience that the laws now proposed to be extended to the States, have, in British India where they have been in force for sometime, not always or invariably been interpreted in the light of the assurances given when they were before the Legislature. The Home Member's own conception of what is unconstitutional action is as vague as it is wide. "Bringing the administration into hatred or contempt" has been interpreted in various ways in British India where personal rule is largely a thing of the past. In many, perhaps most, States the ruler is the administration and the State. His personal likes and dislikes, virtues and vices, tastes and habits, affect the administration as they do not do in British India. These, therefore, attract

criticism in connection with the administration. A city set upon a hill, cannot be hid. Weaknesses and foibles which in ordinary men pass without comment, are magnified and seem heinous in a person who stands on the highest eminence in the State. The fierce light which in all times and countries beats upon a throne, does not spare the gadis of Indian rulers. It is the penalty of their great position. The only sure way of avoiding it, is for them to interpose between themselves and the world outside Ministers responsible to representative popular bodies. Wherever this has been done in India as well as in other lands, the throne has become immune from criticism. The universal indignation recently caused by an inadvertent remark of a Labour leader, Sir Stafford Cripps, reflecting on "Buckingham Palace", is an eloquent testimony to the sanctity which a constitution confers on the person of the monarch and the institution itself of monarchy.

I lay so much stress on this, as I have been often sickened by the amount of personal invective which bulks so largely in some criticisms of the administrtion of States when the rulers are personally responsible for it. I have discussed this unsavoury feature with responsible States' subjects, and their explanation is that the personal character of a ruler in such a case has a definite influence on the integrity of his officers and the purity of his administration. The Paramount Power can best protect such States and help them to a stable and prosperous existence by using its tremendous influence to induce them to adopt some form of constitutional administration, even of an elementary character. I suspect that it is these personal attacks which Princes feel most keenly, and this seems to me to be the only sure means of protecting them from them. Meanwhile, I would earnestly impress on all journalists who are conscious of the responsibilities of their great profession, to avoid as much as possible personal attacks on rulers, because such attacks defeat the very purpose of their criticisms, which is or ought to be to bring about improvement in the administration. To tell a man he is a hopeless imbecile, is not the way to encourage him to do better. There is, as the great religions teach us, a spark of the divine in all of us high and low, and reverence and charity are the qualities which kindle it to high endeavour.

Sir Harry Haig assumes, I do not know why, that the States should continue in their present condition for all time and that they should be maintained in them for the good of the country as a whole. This is so surprising a view to take for a responsible member of Government that it should be quoted in his own words. "I do not think", he said, "it requires much argument to show that the various Governments that exist in India—Governments certainly of widely different types, for the general type in the Indian States is quite different to that in British India and there are wide differences among the States themselves—these various Governments in India, however much they may differ in form, so long as they remain the Governments established by law and by constitutional right, so long it is necessary in the interests of the country as a whole, in the interests of the general stability of India as a whole, that those Governments should receive the support they require to protect them against attempts to subvert or interfere with them." Some States have made marked advances during our time, and with beneficial results to their own and the country's interests, and there is no reason why the others cannot do likewise. There is a law of survival applying to States as well as to races and species, and States which will not or cannot adapt themselves to the spirit of the time, by being protected from wind and weather, do not contribute to the interest or the stability of themselves or the country as a whole. Even if the Indian press abstains completely from commenting on the affairs of States, there are newspapers outside India and there are writers and publishers of books who are not amenable to British Indian laws and who do much more to bring the Princes into contempt than Indian newspapers of the most virulent type. It does not enhance the reputation or dignity of the Indian rulers to say that one of them spent £ 20,000 not many years ago on the marriage of two pet pigeons; that another summoned all his economists to consider how taxation might be raised in order to feed all the ants in the State in face of the increased price of rice, that intrigues are stated in the palace by jealous men and members of the royal house mysteriously disappear, as if this was an everyday occurrence; that one has three hundred motor cars in his garage, forty-two of them Rolls-Royce; that his father bought up a large Calcutta Store for £ 60,000 as he was annoyed at some delay in being served; and that yet another constructed a golden cow and crawled through it in public as a penance. All this is taken from a single book published in England. It was recently banned from being brought into India but several copies had arrived in India before the ban. Why does not the British Government which, after all, is the Paramount Power protect the Princes from the grossly vilifying caricatures that are published in England? Nothing that has been written in this country has done so much to injure the Princes in the eyes of the civilized world, as some of the things that have been written of them abroad. So long as Indian Princes remained in their own States or at least in the country, it did not matter what was written about them. But now they are going to Europe in increasing numbers, and exaggerated statements of the kind quoted above cannot but bring them and Indians as a nation into disrepute. As the Indian saying goes, you cannot shut the mouth of the world. The supression of the small stream of crude Indian criticism is of no avail against the loud roar of calumny abroad.

ASIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION—II.

(By Jabez T. Sunderland.)

At the great Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in the year 1893, there were distinguished representatives of all the leading non-Christian religions of the world, and also of all the more important Christian denominations of Europe and America. Among all the speakers there, who was listened to with the most profound interest? Who was very generally felt to represent at once the highest eloquence and the noblest and most impressive spiritual teaching in the Parliament? Was it some eminent Christian preacher or Christian teacher of the western world? I think I answer with candour and truth when I say, No; it was Mr. Mozoomdar, the representative of the Brahmo Samaj, and the Swami Vivekananda.

I recollect a conversation held some years ago with a merchant connected with one of the large shipping houses of London, which sold goods to nearly all parts of the world. The question came up of the honesty and moral character of different nations, Christian and non-Christian, European and Asiatic; and he informed me that of all the classes of people that his house dealt with, the Parsi merchants of India were regarded on the whole as the most entirely honourable and trustworthy.

Professor Max Muller of Oxford, the eminent oriental scholar, wrote a book entitled, "What Can India Teach Us?" The book contains a long and impressive chapter on "The Truthful Character of the Hindus." The writer begins by saying that there is an impression among many that the moral character of the Indian people is low, especially as regards truthfulness. This impression he endeavours to trace to its source; and then he lays before his readers testimony of many kinds and from the highest and most trustworthy sources, mainly English, showing that the Indian people, in their own native life and before they come in contact with Europeans, are singularly moral and truthful, as well as generally industrious, polite, and in many cases well qualified to be our teachers in the things of the higher life.

But enough has been said to help us a little, as I trust, to understand whether the leading nations of Asia are civilized or not: whether Asia has made as valuable contributions to the world's civilization and culture and higher life as has Europe or America, and whether the so-called white race has any justification for looking down with superciliousness or arrogance on the so-called yellow or brown race; or any justification whatever for refusing to meet the leading peoples of Asia as their equals in civilization, in culture, in intellectual ability, in moral worth.

We talk about the civilization. What is civilization? What is the test of civilization?

Is it military preparedness and a love for military things? Is it proficiency in war? If so, we must confess that Europe is more highly civilized than Asia, for Europe is an armed camp to an extent that Asia never has been and, let us hope, never will be.

Is the test of civilization the love of peace and the spirit of peace? Then I think we must confess that Asia is much more civilized than we of the West. Calling myself a Christian as I do, I confess with shame and humiliation my conviction, forced on me by my studies of history, that during the past thousand years the professedly Christian nations of Europe and America have fought more and bloodier wars than any nations of the Orient.

Is the test of civilization wealth and luxury? If so, then doubtless the West is in advance of the East. For while in certain parts of the East there are individual princes or hereditary rulers of more or less extended territories who have large hoarded riches and live in great extravagance, the number of these is small, and taking the East as a whole, there is nowhere such accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of the few, and nowhere such luxury, as in Europe and especially in America.

It was in Asia that there once lived a very great teacher, named Confucius, and another named Buddha, and another named Jesus, who taught that wealth and luxury are not the true marks of civilization or of high and noble life, but rather the opposite; who taught that the elevation of a land or a nation is to be measured not by its money but by its manhood.

Is the test of civilisation philosophy, literature, and art? Then perhaps we must say that the Orient and the Occident—Asia on the one hand and Europe and America on the other—probably stand about on an equality. At the present time, perhaps the Occident is superior. I am not quite sure; but, taking the whole of human history together, I think the Orient must be given a not inferior place in art, in literature and in philosophy.

Is the test of civilization temperance? Then the Orient, Asia, is clearly superior. The East knows no such drinking and drunkenness as for centuries has been common in the West, and it has to be confessed that such drinking and drunkenness as has existed in the Orient has been caused largely by western liquor and western liquor saloons, practically forced on the eastern peoples. Buddha and Mohammed both forbade the use of intoxicating drinks. I think I may justly call the Buddhist and Mohammedan religions the two greatest temperance societies or temperance agencies in the world.

Is religion the test of civilization? Then clearly Asia stands far above the rest of the world. For, as we have seen, Asia is the mother of all the great historic religions of mankind, including those of both Europe and America.

I think many of the people of the West would make Science the supreme test of civilization.

Unquestionably Science is important, immensely so. But, is it the *most* important thing in the world? Is it not possible that this preeminently scientific age of ours is overestimating the value of science as compared with some other things? Science can produce money and wealth. It can produce ease and luxury. But can it produce men? Can it produce character?

Let us not forget that long, long before our boasted modern age of Science came into existence, some of the noblest and greatest men of all time lived and rendered their unsurpassed service to humanity, Confucius, Zoroaster, Buddha, Asoka the Great, Socrates, Plato, Aeschylus, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Isaiah, Paul, Jesus. Has our modern scientific age produced greater or nobler men than these?

In our age of science we are mad to pile up money, to amass vast wealth. We are mad to create buildings higher and higher, overtopping any that past ages dreamed of. We are mad to talk from city to city, from country to country, and round the world. But do we ask whether living in skyscrapers and talking around the earth makes us any better men, or life any happier? We are mad to cross the Atlantic in four days, instead of in weeks as our fathers did. We are mad to get a railway train service of 85 or 90 miles an hour; and an automobile speed as great or greater; and to fly at a speed far, far beyond that.

But is all this lightning change of pace adding to our manhood and womanhood? Are we any better men and women *flying*, than our fathers and mothers were *walking*?

Do we care for any higher things morally and spiritually; are our friendships truer, are our homes more full of kindness and love, are we living for any worthier ends of life, now that we press a button and light our houses with electricity, than we did when we went to bed with a tallow dip?

These, questions, and others similar, are being very seriously asked by the people af Asia. Would it not be well if *we*, of the scientific West, asked them much oftener than we do?

Is the test of civilization its power to produce contented and happy people? There are many intelligent people in Asia who believe that the degree of happiness and contentment found there is much greater than in Europe or America.

Comparing the civilization of Asia with that of the West, the former seems to have the greater simplicity, the greater naturalness, the greater poise, the greater power to satisfy. There seems to be in Asia more leisure, more time for thought and enjoyment, less slavery to money and material conditions,

less torment by ambition, more reverence for the past, more respect for parents and for the aged, less competition, more co-operation, more attention given to good manners and the amenities of life, quite as much appreciation of nature, quite as much appreciation of friends, quite as much enjoyment of home, less strenuousness of life in business and in money getting, more strenuousness in religion, less care for the temporal, more for the eternal, less absorption in the material, more in the spiritual.

Unquestionably the East has much to learn from the West. But I believe, too, that the Occident has much to learn from the Orient. That is to say, I find myself *compelled* to believe that the too haughty and too opinionated daughter, Europe, and grand-daughter America, have very much to learn from their great, old-fashioned mother and grandmother, *Asia*, who has very much more wisdom in her sage old head, and very much more goodness in her kindly old heart, than the daughter and grand-daughter have humility enough, and teachableness enough quite to understand.

We complain because Asia is not like Europe. Why should she be? We complain because oriental civilization differs from our own. Is it any *worse* for that? Is it desirable that all civilizations should be of one type? Asiatic civilization has its excellencies and its defects. European civilization has its defects and its excellencies. Let us each get the appreciative and teachable spirit, that will enable us to learn each from the other.

What will be Asia's future? Will she become like Europe? In some respects, yes. In more respects, no. Asia is going to receive our science, our knowledge, our inventions. Everything shows that. But she will not receive them indiscriminately or blindly, and she will not be carried off her feet by them to anything like the extent that we have been.

Asia will learn from Europe whatever of value Europe has to teach. The question for us to ask is, Will we learn from Asia the land which has been the mother of the world's civilization, the land of *wisdom* greater than we realize—will we learn from *her* what she has to teach?

Is there a Sterile Period. Thus catholic *Examiner*:—Dr. Raoul de Guchteneere, who writes on this subject in the December *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* is impressed by the enormous importance of the Knaus-Ogino discoveries regarding the agenesic period; he foresees "a time when the Knaus-Ogino method will be universally known, and young people will contract marriage with an exact knowledge of the sterile and fertile days." He thinks that the fears expressed by certain Catholic moralists that "periodical continence is simply a stepping-stone to Neo-Malthusianism" may easily be exaggerated, and that it is to be expected that "the moral education of our Catholic youth will preserve them from such a total lack of generosity. Throughout the article it is assumed that the question of an agenesic period has been definitely settled." On this point a wellknown moralist, writing in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for November is less positive.

"We are of opinion that there is need for caution in regard to acceptance of the medical findings. On the question of the length of time during which the ovum remains fertilizable there has been no direct investigation or direct evidence; there has been an inference from experiments on other animals, such as rabbits. It is quite possible that the human ovum may in certain circumstances remain fertile for several days. A further point—there is no evidence to exclude extraordinary ovulation or the occurrence of ovulation several days before the normal period. With these reserves, we, however, must admit that a very strong case has been made for the existence of a sterile period."

INDIAN STATES IN THE DECCAN.*

(By DIWAN BAHADUR A. B. LATHE.)

Our States were in their origin the subordinate but essential parts of an organic Empire. They sought to free themselves from the duties which a limb owes to the whole of which they were parts. They succeeded. But in the process, they became as dead as the body itself. The Mahratta Empire fell; but in its fall, the independence which all its constituents shared also perished. British India ceased to be India and the States also ceased to be Indian States and became *British* Indian States. Both were equally conquered by a foreign Power, though the appearances were different in the two cases. The Paramountcy of the Crown as the Rulers prefer to call it was in truth the equivalent of the supremacy of the British in the annexed territories of what were the Indian States of the past. This is a fact which some of our Rulers seem to forget. It is needless to justify the birth of this external supremacy throughout India, whether British or Indian. Those who want to claim that the States are internally sovereign make much of the terms of treaties between the East India Company and the States. I have all my sympathies with the attempts of the Princes to defend their rights, inherent as well as acknowledged by treaties, against encroachment. They are so many attempts to safeguard Indian freedom as far as it exists. There is no doubt that it exists to a greater degree in the States, if well-managed. It is therefore a service to the cause of Indian freedom that the Rulers of States should make every effort to maintain their sovereignty in their own States 'inviolate and inviolable'. But this does not mean that hard facts should be ignored. The Princes have devoted very great efforts and funds to limit Paramountcy to a contractual liability on the one hand and a right on the other strictly limited to the terms of the contract embodied in treaties. They have hitherto failed in that contention, and in one sense they have failed rightly. It is quite true that under the guise of Paramountcy resulting from usage and sufferance the British Government has made unjustified inroads on the domain of internal powers retained by the States. But to say that the relationship between the British Power and the States is merely contractual is to ignore the fact that treaties were far from voluntary contracts on the side of the States, and in most cases they were dictated by hard necessity if not by compulsion. In spite of the terms used—and the British Government will never admit that they have ever gone beyond those terms—the Paramount Power has always dealt with the States as subordinate Governments subject to what is euphemistically called 'political advice.' In its true inwardness, the character of Paramountcy is determined by the strength of the conquering Power and the weakness of the conquered States. The remedy lies not in the construction of words used a hundred years ago but in the strength of the parties concerned. Military strength is obviously out of the question and one may be excused for expressing one's feelings with a smile when a champion of the States gravely announces that the secession of the States from Federal India does not mean their going out of the British Empire. Held together by the chains of the military power of the British nation, it is futile for the States to talk of Paramountcy being limited to this or that—in fact it is limited to what the British Power considers it expedient to limit it to—or of their willing loyalty to the Crown without acknowledging the all-pervading supremacy of the British Power

* Presidential Address at tenth session of Deccan States Peoples' Conference.

in India—British as well as Indian. It is in the enhancement of the moral strength of the States—and this consists entirely in the States becoming living, growing entities with an internal vitality of their own—that the justification for the restriction of Paramountcy within well-defined limits lies. Rulers claiming absolute powers of personal rule, unable to provide for as good administration as is demanded by changing times, suppressing popular agitation by force, assuming that *they* are the States and the subjects are their property, arrogating all wisdom to their untrained and even inexperienced selves, relying upon an external authority for protection not only against internal commotions but even against newspaper criticism outside their areas, praised to the skies at one moment and faced with an enquiry or virtual abdication at the next, what moral justification or political strength can they claim for the demand that Paramountcy should be a strictly limited authority confined to the four corners of century-old treaties? A living body is living because it possesses witthin itself a power to arrest decay, to destroy poisonous bacili attacking from outside and to enable itself to grow in strength. A State is a living reality only insofar as it is self-limited and self-corrected, eliminating faults not by advice from outside but bv the action of internal vitality. The exact form of Government is of secondary importance. The essence lies in the capacity of the Ruler and his subjects to correct each other, to help to live and grow a corporate life. The freedom of the subjects must be limited by the authority of of the Ruler and the latter must exercise powers under the control of the people in the State. When identity of interest is established between the two, when the greatness of the Ruler becomes a source of strength to his subjects and the latter's prosperity becomes the glory of the former, the mutual control ceases to be a control at all and the people's obedience to the laws of the Ruler becomes their true liberty in the same way as the checks on the Prince's authority strengthen that authority. This implies, firstly, absence of external control and, secondly, growth of a strong public opinion capable of self-assertion. Paramountcy makes both these essentials of a healthy State impossible. Under its shadows, the Ruler learns more and more to be a puppet wirepulled from behind the curtains and unaffected by the will of his subjects. On the other hand, instead of attempting to influence and check the Ruler by the exercise of an effective popular will the people in a State living an inane life under that shade, look up to the good offices of the outside Power to redress their grievances. This leads to the further weakening of the Ruler and his increased dependence on external forces. Circumstanced as the Paramount Power is in India, its intervention merely seeks to keep the evils within bounds but not to remove their causes and exterminate them. While under the Bombay Government, our States had the corrective treatment of Paramountcy administered to them in small but perpetual doses. The Government of India, acting as an outside political authority would ordinarily do, leave evils to grow until they become intolerable and its blow falls very heavily when it does fall. The Ruler pursues his wrong policy in false security until misgovernment becomes incurable except by his abdication, by his leaving the State for an indefinite time or by his deposition. Even then, the Paramount Power only checks the more acute evils and stops the grosser forms of injustice. But it does not consider it part of its duty to adopt radical changes in the Administration so as to make the rebirth of those evils impossible. The Political Department would not make a generation-old Municipality in a State under its temporary management even partially elective or introduce a merely consultative Legislature in that State on the ground that the Ruler may not like it on his attaining majority. The neighbouring States may have adopted such reforms. The Regent may consent to them. But the Paramount Power does not, and the Princely Order would not, introduce them and asks the subjects to wait for decades for a small and elementary reform which they must hope to secure after their Ruler chooses to grant it. He in his turn would make organised public opinion impossible by promulgating his Press Laws and his Public Meetings Acts. So any public agitation within the State is impossible and if made outside, it is the mischief of disgruntled men running away from their homes! Whatever it is, the Paramount Power looks on with apparent indifference, or even with satisfaction, if the Ruler concerned is shrewd enough, or the agitators are unwise enough to be associated with what are considered undesirable movements in British India until again matters become what they did recently in Kashmir or in Alwar or in Dewas. This vicious circle is unavoidable as long as our States derive their very right to exist from the Paramount Power. The helpless condition of the subject, due not only to the repressive policy, which is not always within the bounds of Law, but due equally to the lack of character and public spirit among the people and their communal and caste cleavages, drives them to seek shelter at the hands of the Power to which the States also owe their life, so that the Ruler as much as the ruled are without initiative, without self-reliance, and without internal vitality. This also leads to the interference in States affairs by outside bodies like the All-India Kashmir Committee. As matters stand, the action of everyone concerned, the Ruler, his subjects, the Political Department and the British Indian people, has some justification for itself. But this is the result of the unnatural condition in which our States are living and that condition makes real progress in the States impossible.

AN APPEAL FROM BIHAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The undersigned, being the Committee formed for organising the collection of the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund in Bihar and Orissa, are using their best efforts to encourage subscriptions from our own people, in order that those in other parts of India and in the Western world may know that we in this Province are doing our utmost for our own people. The damage has been so great that the work of reconstruction in the stricken towns and villages will involve an enormous amount of money. To justify adequate generosity on the part of others, it is necessary that we should tax our own charitable resources to the utmost limit. The distribution of all funds collected will be in other hands and does not immediately concern this Committee, but subscribers may rest well assured that arrangements will be made for the strictest control and economical management of their donations, and a Committee for this purpose has already been appointed by His Excellency the Governor. The membership of this Committee is such as to inspire complete public confidence.

Donations from persons in Bihar and Orissa should be sent to the Imperial Bank, or to the Collector of the district or through the Sub-divisional Officers, who have received the necessary instructions for this pupose. All subscriptions will be duly acknowledged. Subscribers (particularly those whose contributions

must of necessity be limited to small amounts) should refuse to pay anything to unauthorised collectors. No collections for the Viceroy's Fund should be made except by persons duly authorised by the Sub-divisional Officer. Donations from persons living outside Bihar and Orissa should preferably be sent direct to the Agent of the Imperial Bank of India (Patna Branch), who will acknowledge the same.

COURTNEY TERRELL, (*President.*) J. T. WHITTY.
NIRSU NARAIN SINGH. GANESH DUTTA SINGH.
SYED ABDUL AZIZ. SULTAN AHMAD.
SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA. AMARNATH CHATTERJI.
CHUNI LAL RAY, (*Secretary.*)

"THE MIDDLE CLASSES' HEAVY DEBTS."

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer,
Sir,

I was very much interested to read the article on "The Middle Classes Heavy Debts" published in last week's issue of the *Reformer*. The writer is probably not aware that the benefits of the co-operative credit system are not confined to the rural classes, but that co-operative credit societies have been formed in urban areas as well, principally among the middle classes. The city of Bombay alone possesses nearly 200 such societies. Some of these being for employees of various firms and offices, others for persons belonging to different castes and sub-castes and a few being people's banks of the cosmopolitan type. Further information about the membership, constitution and working of the societies may be obtained from the undersigned.

Yours etc.,
V. P. VARDE,
Secretary,
Bombay Provincial Co-operative Institute.

30th January '34.
9, Bakehouse Lane,
Fort, Bombay.

THE BARROWS LECTURES.

"INDIVIDUAL HAS ETERNAL PERSONAL VALUES."

Complete individuality as the goal of Christianity was the subject of Dr. Shailer Mathews' fourth Barrows lecture, which was delivered in Wilson College with the Rev. A. N. Warner in the chair.

Dr. Mathews said that the fundamental presupposition of Christianity is that the individual has eternal personal values. Psychology has lost its consciousness by concentrating on the subconscious part of personality. Hedonistic and sensualistic philosophers arise when study is confined to things outside personal human values.

The goal of life determines the moral system of a religion. No ethnic or national religions have been based on the belief that personality is extinguished by death. It is difficult to see the significance of the Christian doctrine of salvation without taking into account the conception of the future life.

But Christianity does not claim to give a detailed acoount of what the state of the future life shall be. Paul spoke of a "spiritual body" and Augustine believed that the bodies of all would be massed together and that out of that mass bodies would be made and assigned to individuals. The important thing is that we are to be real personalities and not ghosts.

The concentration of Chistianity upon deliverance from Satan, sin and death explain the emphasis put on certain means of salvation. This concentration upon the saving of the soul is often oriticised as being selfish and unworthy.

But the criticism is unfair and rises from a misunderstanding of the value of personality. According to the Christian point of view perfection does not come by introspection, but by a socialization of the individual that is, by becoming loving. Christianity is thus at one with modern philosophy in insisting upon the social quality of love instead of acquisitiveness.

Christian thought, however, is not identical with certain modern doctrines of self-realisation, since the idea of social service as the way of realisation is not present in them.

But the technique of Christianity has not always been as perfect as its motive. For instance, asceticism, the withdrawal from society, was brought in from the pagan world but it is not found in the New Testament.

The lecturer then went on to show the part played by Christianity in the growth of democracy and the recognition of the political rights of the individual. Tracing the development of the idea of equality he showed how it came gradually to include women in its comprehension. The Christian Church never denied the privileges granted to woman by society, although at times it had given its sanction to inequalities.

Through periods of licence and violence it was the protector of women, and it has maintained the monogamist family as a permanent institution.

The lecturer concluded by saying that it was the task of this generation to organise equality into a morality.

CHRISTIANITY AND GROUP MORALITY.

Dr. Shailor Mathews, in his fifth Barrows Lecture, spoke on "Christianity and Group Morality." Mr. Francis Low presided.

The social trend, he said, has been towards the recognition of groups which are economic in character. These groups, which are almost self-conscious bodies, affect the individuals that make them up.

The behaviour of groups is only gradually influenced by Christian ideals. It must be borne in mind that these groups are instrumental in character, and should not be made ends in themselves. The group exists to enable individuals to achieve in common what they cannot accomplish by themselves.

The neglect of this instrumental character of the group becomes marked as the group becomes more highly organised. We find even the Christian community so far forgetful of its real end as to have recourse to persecution in order to preserve its integrity as a group.

Groups must get their morality from a higher groups, a sort of super-group, because morality requires more than one unit. The basic values of Christianity will render supreme value here. These groups must be brought under the control of what we think religion stands for.

The Christian movement has never succumbed to economic passivity, but nevertheless it has been slow to recognise the bearing of its principles on economic life. The early Christians had no interest in economic life.

Historical study shows that what is often spoken of as "communism" in the early Church was nothing more than an emergency charity.

Charity as distinct from economic re-adjustment became the expression of Christianity; it was the application of Christian principles to existing social conditions.

The lecturer then described how Capitalism in the economic sphere and Calvinism in the religious

sphere both arose from the desire for security in life. Calvinism gave the security of the Sovereign God. To-day we are again faced with a feeling of insecurity. Can love and co-operation be bases on which society can be built, or must groups be coerced into doing what is good for them.

With the Industrial Revolution there were changes, the serf became the wage-earner, but there was still no intelligent treatment of social problems. To-day we are faced with the rapid introduction of machinery. The problem is "What is to become of the men ?"

An attempt had been made to check the introduction of machinery but not enough has been done to try to meet the new social conditions caused by the introduction of machinery.

Dr. Mathews then showed how in this century the Christian Church has been awakening to its duty in facing these problems and the need for social readjustment. He spoke of the development of the "social gospel."

The real difficulty, he concluded, is that the social senses have been developed, but a technique has not yet been invented which can be universally adopted.

This is the great opportunity of to-day.

The Problem of Peace.

The last of the series of Barrows Lectures was given by Dr. Shailor Mathews On Friday, January 26, when he spoke on "Christianity and Internationalism". The Rev. John McKenzie presided.

Dr. Mathews said that modern nations had become very self-conscious and anthropomorphic; for example in the matter of international debt, nations are treated almost as individual debtors or creditors. Christian writers assert that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount should be applied nationally, and this is a good ideal; but the question arises whether nations can be brought within the category of individual morality.

The relation of presidents and kings has always been one of hostility modified by treaties. Only in recent years has there been an attempt to introduce judicial measures in place of war. The moral character of a group differs from that of the individual because the group is an instrument in the life of its constituents and not an end in itself. The individuals making up the group would continue even if the group were destroyed. But nationalism once made moral would be a real aid to a happier world.

What is more important than the banishing of War is the development of things which positively made for peace and right international relations. We must remove the causes of war—economic retaliation, the dumping of surplus products on another nation, unscrupulous journalism and other things.

The ideals are there, but the technique lags behind. What would morality expect of a nation, he asked.

We are not yet clear what national morality involves. Internationalism is a morality between nations. Some super society—a society of nations—is required. There is no short cut to internationalism. It will only come by experience in living together in good will.

The world depression cannot be removed until men live according to the cosmic process, which religiously speaking, is the will of God. It is the business of every religion that believes in the principle of love to see that the world faced with the alternative of morality or chaos, shall chose the way that leads to peace and progress.

Dr. Mathews then spoke of the influence of the Christian churches in politics and the conflicts between Church and State. He declared that social reforms have always been inspired, if not directly by Christians, undoubtedly by the fermentation of Christian ideals.

It is the duty of Christians to prevent nationalism from taking the place of religion.

The lecturer then showed how even the medieval Christian Church did make some attempt to put limitations upon war; and how later under the influence of Grotius Christians endeavoured to bring Christian morality into international affairs. But the tide of belligerent nationalism has been too strong. He closed with a strong appeal to the audience to do what they could to give politics a moral direction.

The Chairman summing up, thanked the lecturer and suggested that what was needed was a better understanding of God. The important thing he said is not so much what we think of God but what He thinks of us.

HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

(By Mr. J. T. Gwynn, *I.C.S.*, *Retired.*)

The other day I saw with interest that "The Indian Social Reformer" had fallen foul of a lecture delivered by Sir Malcolm Hailey in England. The cause of offence seemed to be that Sir Malcolm had spoken of Hinduism as about to disintegrate. "The Social Reformer" took this as a slight to what we may, for convenience, call the Hindu Religion and countered by our old friend, the "*Tu quoque*" contending that Sir Malcolm showed himself prejudiced by ignoring the far more serious progress towards disintegration in European Christianity.

I have not now before me the text either of Sir Malcolm's lecture or of "The Social Reformer's" rebuke but I suspect a misunderstanding of the kind which so often engenders heat when an European ventures to speculate on Indian tendencies. I do not remember that Sir Malcolm Hailey indulged in any direct or implied comparison of the state of Hinduism and the state of Christianity and when I read the lecture it did not occur to me that a Hindu would be likely to take offence at anything that was said in it of the disintegration of Hinduism. That is because we Westerners usually use the word Hinduism to describe not so much a religion but rather a social system. Of course no sharp distinction can be drawn between the religion and the social system—they merge and blend. Still we Westerners, in speaking of Hinduism, are thinking of that aspect which is analogous to "Christendom" rather than to Christianity. In Europe "Christendom" characteristically manifested in itself in the growth of highly organised authoritarian churches with fixed and definite creeds and elaborate and efficient systems of government. The corresponding aspect of Indian "Hinduism" has manifested itself chiefly in the caste and family system. Now modern tendencies in Europe, democracy, universal literacy and the scientific habit of mind have certainly gone very far towards disintegrating the Christian churches. In fact, we may almost say that the Protestant churches have been thoroughly disintegrated and that the Church of Rome alone shows any power to resist the process that being because she alone has organised herself consciously or at least she has done the work far more thoroughly than the others. Undoubtedly this process of disintegration, which has affected vitally the power of the clergy—once a great political force—has gone very far—much further than the disintegration of the caste system in India. I hardly

think that either Sir Malcolm Hailey or any other Western observer would be inclined to deny this. But as "The Social Reformer" rightly points out, the disintegration of the caste and family would leave untouched the core of Hinduism, those philosophical speculations on the essence and relations of God, Man and the Universe, which have taken us as far as human thought can go and perhaps a little further. Similarly many Westerners hold that the disintegration of the churches of Christendom will help rather than hinder an understanding of the moral teaching of Christ and may leave the West more ready to be influenced in action by the spur of his teaching.

It must, however, be admitted that both in the East and in the West there are men of high character and great intellectual power, who fear that the process of disintegration will prove fatal not only to the body but also to the spirit of religion. At least I understand there are men of the first class in India who fear the consequences of the admission of un-touchables into the caste temples or of caste intermarriages. Similarly, here in the British Isles we have heard Hugh Cecil calling for legal action to stop the Bishop of Liverpool from inviting the disintegrators of old doctrines to expound their views of the essence of Christianity in his churches.

We may find it difficult to sympathize with such particular examples of the opposition to the process of disintegration. Yet we cannot be blind to many facts which warn us that disintegration is always a dangerous process and may be the starting point for new unpleasant and unwholesome forms of integration. We need caution and patience with our opponents whose strength and virtues we must learn to understand; still the process of disintegration must go on and the duty of all Liberals Western and Eastern alike is to help, guide and control it both in the West and in the East.

Far indeed be it from us Westerners to quarrel with you Easterners over this process of "modernization" or renovation by disintegration or to say scornfully "you are disintegrating faster than we." It is in this powerful process of modernisation that West and East can help each other. For the West has some experience of the individual's freedom of action in the social system which you in India are only now acquiring through the disintegration of caste and family systems. On the other hand India has for ages been accustomed to a freedom of thought which the disintegration of the churches is only now making possible for the average European. Your religious speculations have never been trammelled by divinely ordained systems of church government and authoritarian dogmas which even to-day in the British Isles, the schools painfully in-culcate into the children of sceptical parents. I read the other day in the Madras "Guardian" an Indian Christian's impression of the famous book in which a Protestant clergyman describes the motives, arguments and experiences which led him into the Church of Rome. To the Indian Christian his mental processes seemed unintelligible or uninteresting because they were concerned with questions like the dogma of the sacraments, apostolic succession and so forth. The Indian Christian regretted or pretended to regret that he and his fellow Indians had not yet interested themselves in such subjects but surely his state is therefore the more gracious. These subtleties only appeared important to Western eyes because the authoritarian churches rashly made authoritative pronouncements on them. The essence of Christianity was to be sought elsewhere as Indian Christians instinctively feel because they enjoy the advantage of the Hindu background and tradition with its freer and therefore larger, wider and better proportioned view of things spiritual.

CHINA, OLD AND NEW.

(By Mrs. Pearl S. Buck).

I have the greatest pleasure tonight in being here, and in seeing a group of people like yourselves interested in literature and in arts and in all culture. Even more than that, however, I am glad to be back again in China, a country which is in a peculiar way my own, even though I cannot claim as my own her race or her traditions. Fate has compelled me to be a sort of internationalist whether I will or not. I belong because I must to two countries, and am in a strange way divided. I remember my consternation as a very small child once when my little neighbour and playmate, a Chinese child, in a fit of disagreement over some game called me "a foreigner." I ran to my mother weeping and asking her, "Mother, I am not a foreigner, am I?" She answered very quietly, "Go back and tell Bao Lei that only your outside is foreign. Your heart inside is Chinese." But I think my own idea of such things was best expressed once by one of my own children, who when she was four years old or so ran upstairs to tell me a guest was come. I asked her, "Is she a Chinese lady or an American?" The child opened her eyes very wide at me and replied in astonishment, "I dont know. I didn't ask."

It is not however about internationalism that I wish to speak tonight. In the first place, I am not really an internationalist, I am a nationalist. I do not believe in a future Utopia where the nations shall become one, when all people will speak the same language, live in the same kind of houses, wear the same clothes, have the same culture, even have the same laws and type of civilization. To me the world would be immeasurably poorer and life far less rich, if this were true.....

Therefore I would like to see the Chinese thoroughly himself, as I would like to see the American thoroughly himself, or the Englishmen, and so with all peoples. I believe each people can contribute most to the world when he is most throughly himself, an expression of his own history, his own race, his own culture. In fact, I am an ardent nationalist, and believe in my own country. I have the great advantage of having more than one country, and therefore I am an ardent Chinese nationalist and an American nationalist, and I find no confusion in myself, having my dual nationalism founded in an equal respect for both my countries, as one respects both father and mother. If America is my motherland and gave me her body, China is my fatherland and gave me his spirit and his mind. My heart they share.....

The first half of my life was spent entirely in old China. The old traditions are my traditions, even as they are yours. I learned the ethics of Confucius. I was taught how a girl should behave in the home and what her place in life should be. I was taught old fashioned courtesy and conventionalized speech. I lived among country people and among city people, with ignorant and with learned, for twenty-seven years. During these years I cannot remember that I knew at all beyond perhaps mere acquaintance, and I cannot remember even that, a single Chinese who had been abroad or who spoke English beyond a few words learned in school. The last thirteen years I have lived in a city where congregate for many purposes hundreds of modern Chinese. My neighbours, my friends, my associates today are three-fourths of them modern Chinese who have been abroad, who speak English, French, German, Italian, Russian, who know more about the literatures of the West than I do, who know more about the life of those countries than I do, whose demands

are far more western than mine, who eat more western food, speak more in a foreign tongue, live in a more western manner, than I do myself. The contrast between the first twenty-seven years of my life and the last thirteen could not be more sharp than it is, and this contrast I have observed with keenest sympathy and interest.

To me the old China had and has, for it is not past, nor do I believe it is passing, its inestimable value. For dignity of living, the old China is unequalled. There is a very noble pride about the old Chinese. The modern China has equally my admiration. When I consider how during these troubled years, when wars within and without have harassed; when there has been one of the greatest famines of history, when problems of social change and of the formation of a new type of government in an enormous country have presented complications beyond the imagination; when world conditions have been such as to drive foreign nations to selfish and self-protection policies, in such times there has been steady progress in China. Air lines and roads, development in building, improvement in health measures, in provincial and national government, and many other less obvious improvements have been going on in constructive development. I never come back to China from abroad without thinking with the utmost satisfaction, "Here is a nation homogeneous and mature and self-aware in every sound and natural way. Everything is possible in the future." I have every confidence in modern and young China. To me the common man and woman of China is the most noble in the world. I know them. I know their lives, their joys, their sufferings. I respect them with all my heart. Some of my truest, warmest friends have been among them—women who couldn't read a letter, but who were noble and unselfish, simple and good, living life the best they knew and therefore superior to all those who know better and do not do it. Let no one of us dare to despise one of the common people.

BANDRA.

With a population of 41.189 inhabitants in an area of 3.3 square miles, Bandra can still maintain its boast that it is one of the healthiest suburbs of Bombay. Vital statistics for last year, which have been prepared by the Municipality, show that the death rate was as low as 11.94 per 1,000 inhabitants.

There was not a single case of cholera, plague or influenza in the town during 1933. The only epidemic disease that spoiled the clean record was small-pox. It appeared at Bandra, last January, when it had assumed a virulent epidemic form in Bombay. Special preventive measures were taken by the Municipality as a result of which there were in all only 22 attacks and seven deaths.

The mortality from malaria was very low, there being only two deaths during the year, as compared with ten in the previous year. Respiratory diseases including pneumonia and phthises, took a toll of 143 lives, the figure being higher than that of any other group.

The birth rate was nearly twice the death-rate, 926 births being registered during the year or 22.48 per 1,000 of the population. The infantile death rate per 1,000 births registered was 151.19. More than two-thirds of this infant mortality was in the first four weeks of life, 61 or 43.57 per cent. dying in the first week, and 20 or 14.29 per cent dying in the age period of one to four weeks. Of the 926 babies, 477 were males and 449 females.—*Times of India.*

NON-EUROPEANS AND DRINK.

A deputation from the Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee waited upon the Colonial Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, at the Colonial Office.

Lord Rhayader, who introduced the deputation, and Major Richard Rigg, the chairman of the Executive Committee, who presented the case, urged that as the importation of spirits into West-Africa was lower than it had ever been, it presented an opportunity to do away with the traffic among the native races. They stressed the fact that the House of Commons as far back as 1888, and three successive Colonial Ministers had recognized that the liquor traffic among the native races was an evil. The committee had in their ranks many who were not abstainers, but who realized the harmful effects of spirits upon native peoples.

Rev. H. Cullen Young, representing the Church of Scotland and the Religious Tract Society, said that he had lived for many years in East Africa. He had been editor of a vernacular newspaper, and found that the natives were very observant, and were watching closely the actions of his Majesty's Government. The natives there could never understand why the selling of spirits in West Africa was tolerated while in East Africa heavy penalties were enforced for so doing.

Rev. G. L. Brander, of the Presbytarian Church of England, said one could not help feeling that the large increase of licences in Palestine since the war, and the fact that women have been introduced into licensed premises to serve and for entertainment purposes, suggested a lack of adequate supervision in the handling of the traffic. With a population who by virtue of their religion are forbidden to take intoxicants, one feels that this traffic should be discouraged by Britain as the Mandatory Power, and he was glad to learn that the Palestine Government intended to restrict the issue of licences, and introduce other reforms.

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister said, that in his opinion, which was borne out by statistics, drunkenness was negligible in Palestine, and the licensing of premises for the sale of liquor was subject to much more control and supervision than the deputation appeared to realize. He doubted whether it would be practicable to take away from the municipalities this small source of revenue, but he would mention the suggestion to the High Commissioner. With regard to West Africa, whatever might have been the case in the past, it was certainly not the case that the importation of spirits presented any serious social problem today, and he could not afford to forego a material source of revenue unless there were strong practical reasons. The problem which really was acute was illicit distillation on a large scale. The local Governments in the Gold Coast and Nigeria were becoming seriously alarmed by the spread of this evil. The problem was causing the greatest concern, both to him and to the Colonial Governments and the Governor of the Gold Coast was at present consulting responsible native opinion in order to ascertain their views as to the most effective policy to pursue to combat the evil.—The *Christian World.*

CHILDREN IN JAPAN.

Intimation has been received of the enactment of a law in Japan for the protection of children from ill-treatment and employment in certain occupations harmful to their moral or physical development.

When the bill was drafted by the Japanese Bureau of Social Affairs, two years ago, a difficulty was anticipated in the enforcement, as interference with

parental rights is contrary to Japanese tradition. The need for legal protection had, however, already been felt for some time, for, on account of the rapid industrialisation of the country and the consequent change in the social structure, the number of destitute and ill-treated children had increased. Moreover, since the coming into force of the Reformatory Act in 1900 (which provided that, when the governors of prefectures consider it necessary, delinquent children under fourteen years of age may be taken into reformatories and may stay there until the age of twenty-one) and the Juvenile Court Law in 1923, closer attention had been paid to the causes underlying juvenile delinquency which were often found to be ill-treatment in childhood, neglect, illegitimacy, poverty, bad neighbourhood, etc.

So far there had been no uniformity in dealing with cases of ill-treatment of children. Ten prefectures had rules for the proper treatment of children which were enacted to prevent cruelty on the part of foster parents. In the rest of the provinces, it was left to the police to admonish guardians or parents and to inform the Prevention Society when children had to be taken away from home.

The following are the main provisions of the new Act:

"When parents or guardians ill-treat or neglect children under fourteen years of age, the prefectural authorities may place such children under the care of the private family or a suitable institution.

"The prefectural authorities may also, in appropriate cases, order children to be returned to their parents or guardians.

"Children must not be employed for the exhibition of deformities, or as beggars, or to accompany beggars. The prefectural authorities may prohibit or restrict the employment of children in circuses, acrobatic or similar performances, street or house-to-house trading, dancing, or waiting at table, or in other occupations liable to cause injury to their moral or physical development.

"Any person who contravenes the provisions of the Act will be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or a fine not exceeding 500 Yen."

The House of Peers has adopted a recommendation urging the Government to enforce this Act vigorously.

Rural Reconstruction:—The Associated Press understands that the committee formed a few days ago at a conference called in Calcutta by Sir Daniel Hamilton to formulate a scheme of rural reconstruction, have finished their labours. The scheme was further discussed, and adopted by the Committee. It has been decided to start institutes at the Gosaba and Mayurbhunj estates of Sir Daniel Hamilton and at Birnagar (Nadia), the estate of Rai Bahadur N. N. Banerjee. Work will commence simultaneously at Gosaba and Birnagar. Both Sir Daniel and the Rai Pahadur have arranged to provide the institutes with necessary building and funds to start with. Rai Bahadur N. N. Banerjee has contributed Rs. 1,000 to the permanent fund. The scheme provides for one year's allround practical training in farming and in some small industries to be imparted by an efficient staff, both stipendiary and honorary, with a view to infusing a spirit of self-help and co-operation among the students. The students, according to the scheme, must be of good physique and not less than fifteen years of age—the maximum age being fixed at 22. Preference will be given to literate candidates by the Selection Committee. The candidate will be regarded as a co-operative colonist with 20 bighas of land, a hut and a tank at the end of the course provided he can subscribe Rs. 200 to the initial capital required.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Late Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar :—The death of Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, editor of the *Hindu*, after a short illness on Sunday came as a great shock to the public. To those who were priviliged to enjoy his friendship, it came as a personal calamity. During recent years Rangaswami had come to occupy a position in many respects unique. At the time of his death he was perhaps the only public man in India who was in a position to mediate with any hope of success between Government and Gandhiji. He was deeply devoted to Gandhiji personally; at the same time he enjoyed the confidence of the Government of India to a considerable degree owing to his mastery of important constitutional problems and the completely unbiassed mind which he brought to bear upon them. The messages of regret and sympathy which have been sent by the Secretary of State, the Joint Committee and the Viceroy and other high officials of the Government of India and the universal appreciation in the British and Indian press attest to the remarkable position which he occupied in Indian public life at the time of his death. Rangaswami's eminence is only partially due to his editorship of the *Hindu*. The foundations of the greatness of that paper were laid and it had been largely developed into the great organ that it has become under his predecessors. It is as a statesman rather than as a journalist that Ranagaswami will be missed. Had he lived he would certainly have been called to one of the principal ministerial positions in the Federal Government where his great grasp and detailed knowledge would have been invaluable. We offer our deepest condolences to his family.

Tagore on Gandhi :—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore takes Gandhiji too literally when he feels obliged to expose the fallacy of connecting the earthquake in Bihar with the practice of untouchability in its worst form in Malabar. Gandhiji has himself explained in the *Harijan* the many implied qualifications underlying his apparently absolute declaration of belief. Even without his explanation, those who have followed Gandhiji's career can easily see that he feels intensely when he feels at all and likes to express himself in the strongest language he can think of. Whether it is the thumb-impression or the three pound tax in South Africa, an excessive increase of the land assessment in Gujarat or the salt tax, when he is engaged in fighting against it, he sees it as the greatest of sins. When other people would be content to call an order or a system mistaken or even evil, he calls it Satanic. At the present time, Gandhiji is engaged in removing untouchability from the Hindu social system. The earthquake in Bihar may or may not be God's punishment for untouchability—the orthodox may hold with rather more plausibility that it is a punishment, for the attempt to break it—but if the natural phenomenon is made to lend support to the social movement, some good will be got out of the evil. This is a very ancient method which has the sanction of prophets in all lands. After all, no one is obliged to believe it, if he thinks that a just and omniscient Deity would not avenge the wrongs of Nayadis of Malabar on the mothers and infants of Monghyr and Muzaffarpur, and the God of Love would have other means of saving sinners and sinned alike from social and spiritual depression. It is not known that a single temple has been thrown open to the untouchables on account of Gandhiji's abjuration : on the other hand, the anti-untouchability Bill has been further postponed till August.

A Sisyphian Constitution :—While the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Committee have decided to divide British India into eleven separate, statutory provinces, proposals are being officially and non-officially made to establish various Central Boards to co-ordinate provincial activities in the several provinces on Education, Public Health, and other departments. This is a wasteful and expensive method of ensuring co-ordination which is essential to the even progress of the whole country. These Central Boards involve the travelling of a number of officials and non-

officials from distant parts of the country, at much expense of time and money. Continuous work is impossible and there is also the possibility of friction when units which normally function in complete independence meet occasionally for the purpose of evolving a common policy or programme. Lord Curzon introduced a system of Inspectors-General whose advice and even presence were often resented by the provinces. The new Central Boards will really be the old Inspectors-General writ large. Instead of one, there will be a dozen or fifteen for each Department governing over the country and coming in each other's way. We earnestly trust that it is yet not too late to undo the mischievous proposal to vivisect British India. The Bihar earthquake has shown that at a crisis, only the united efforts of the whole country can save any part of it.

Legislating about Names:—The Law Member of the Government of India mentioned as an objection to the Removal of Untouchability Bill now before the Legislative Assembly that it omitted among other things to indicate under which one of the main Hindu castes the untouchables should be included for legal purposes, when untouchability was removed. This point did not present any difficulty to Mr. Justice Anantakrishna Aiyar of the Madras High Court who recently decided that untouchables being Hindus were Sudras and that the Hindu law of marriage applicable to Sudras applies to them. Mr. Ranga Iyer does not seem to have noticed this case. He has given notice of a Bill to declare that untouchables when they cease to be untouchable shall be regarded as Sudras. Mr. B. V. Jadhav has given notice of another Bill to abolish the recognition of Hindu castes by Government and to call all Hindus "Brahmans" in courts of law. So if Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill promotes Harijans to Sudras, Mr. Jadhav's Bill is at the door waiting to make them Brahmans. Mr. Jadhav has paid the highest tribute to the Brahmins by his proposal.

India and the Anglo-Indians:—The current number of the *Journal of the East India Association* contains an interesting report of a speech by Sir Henry Gidney at a discussion meeting of the Association. Sir Henry objecting to the anomalous position of the Anglo-Indians, said, "For economic purposes we are called statutory natives of India and as such we are expected to work amicably with our Indian fellow workmen. Suddenly a railway strike develops.....The Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employed on the railway (still classed statutory Indian) has to don his uniform, and turn out as a member of the Auxiliary Force to quell the disturbance, but by doing so he is suddenly metamorphosed into a European British subject." Sir Henry Gidney, however, in this very speech has himself contributed to such a confusion. In the first place, he demands preferential treatment from the British Government, as, for instance, when he refers to "the price" that the community has had to pay for loyalty to the King and Empire; and at the same time, asks that the Anglo-Indian be regarded as an Indian for the purposes of Indianisation of the services. Sir Henry concluded his speech with a plea that the "safeguards" allowed to Europeans in the White Paper scheme be also extended to his own community because "the Anglo-Indian owing to his adherence to all that is British and Western and his loyalty is also considered alien and a foreigner." The last reason advanced by Sir Henry, the loyalty of the Anglo-Indian, is untenable since there are Indians who have been even more "loyal" than the Anglo-Indian and yet do not ask for safeguards as a community. As for his adherence to all that is British and Western, we are glad to observe Sir Henry's recent admonitions on his return to India, to his community to regard themselves as sons of India. This is a surer method of stabilising the Anglo-Indian's position than by seeking "safeguards" from the British Government.

Animal Protection in Germany:—Commenting some time back on the new law relating to the protection of animals contemplated by the Hitler Government in Germany, *Progress Today*, the anti-vivisection organ of Britain, regretted that an earlier order forbidding vivisection in Prussia had been modified. The current issue of that journal contains the full text in translation of the new German law which has come into force from the first of this month. The act has left the vivisectionists practically free to perform their experiments in allowing them "only when they promise useful results not hitherto attained or serve to elucidate an unsolved problem and provided infliction of pain, not necessary for the purpose of the experiment, be avoided." Apart from the anti-vivisectionist's point of view, however, the act has some curious provisions. The clause forbidding the tearing or ripping off of the legs of living frogs is likely to convey to an outsider the impression that this is a favourite pastime in Germany.

(*Concluded from page 371*)

between the illustrious rulers who are held in universal respect because of their concern for the true welfare of their subjects manifested in their administration and the disreputable ones who live only to gratify their whims and fancies. The suggestion that a Commission appointed by His Majesty the King Emperor be set up to enquire into the condition of the people in the States, has been made. We do not see how the Princes whose loyalty is unquestioned, can object to it. There is another matter to which attention should be called. At the Special States Peoples' Conference held at Delhi last week, a lady speaker complained that the hard condition of women in the States had not been referred to in the President's address. The All-India Women's Conference is to meet in Bombay next March. We commend the subject to its urgent and earnest consideration.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1934.

STATES PROBLEMS.

The Indian States Protection Bill now before a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly is thoroughly misconceived. It will not protect the States. It will not protect even the Princes who, in the eyes of Government as in their own, are the States. What it will really do is to isolate the States and their rulers and make their destinies wholly dependent on the goodwill of the Political Department of the Government of India which, in the White Paper constitution, is to be directly administered by the Governor-General. That Department, if it continues to adhere to the dictum of the present Home Member, Sir Harry Haig, that the States are and must remain autocracies, will accelerate the doom which other autocracies have called down upon themselves. The fact that Dictatorship rather than Democracy is the fashion nowdays has no bearing on the issue so far as it concerns autocracy in Indian States. The Dictator must have no superior either to protect or punish him. The very idea of a Dictator who needs protection from a stronger power is a contradiction. The ruler of an Indian State no doubt exercises dictatorial powers but he does so by sufferance of the Paramount Power and can be prevented from doing so by the same Power. It can require and has in very recent cases required him to hand over his authority to its own nominee as his Chief Minister nominally, but really as a Dictator not only over his people but over himself and every member of his family; it can request him to take a holiday out of his territories and can command unquestioning compliance; it can, without his application and without his permission, send its troops to put down disorder in his State.

We are bound to acknowledge that the intervention of the Paramount Power in every recent case has, according to the testimony of States subjects themselves, resulted in immediate relief in respect of their most urgent grievances. The appointment of British officers to chief ministerial positions in the disturbed States, has almost miraculously resulted in their instant pacification. One may be inclined to think that this was due to the consciousness of the irresistible might of the Paramount Power but this writer, from recent conversations with people directly concerned, found that this was not the case. In one State, the English Minister won over the people almost as soon as he assumed charge of the administration by repealing an irksome order which had long been in force, forbidding peasants to kill wild animals which ravaged their crops by severe penalties. The prosecution and conviction of a dissolute favourite who had been terrorising the people, restored public confidence and rallied public opinion to the support of the administration, in another. The presence of an English officer by itself exercised, one was told, a restraining effect on Princes who were unaccustomed to exercise restraint on their impulses in the pursuit of pleasures. Apparently, Indian Ministers had no corresponding moral influence on the Princes concerned or did not try to exercise it. The aversion felt at the appointment of British Ministers to Indian rulers in British India is, it is astonishing to learn, not shared by the people of the States who on the other hand see in it the only means of immediate relief from their most pressing burdens. There is plenty of nationalist feeling among the subjects of States, but naturally they attach more importance to improvements in everyday administration. A very curious practice in some of the cotton growing States, does not seem to be generally known. Ginning and Pressing which is an indispensable preliminary to bringing cotton to the market, is a monopoly either held directly by the State or leased to some financier. In either case, heavy fees are charged at the few factories maintained in the State, and cultivators are obliged to get their cotton ginned at heavy rates in these alone, although they may have to convey it over long distances while there may be factories much nearer at which the operation is more cheaply performed just outside the State limits. A friend calculated that on account of this practice which in some cases is aggravated by a heavy export duty, the cultivator gets less than a third of the price which his cotton fetches in Bombay.

The Government of India will not interfere to protect the cultivator. It must wait till the discontent swells into a disturbance sufficiently serious to justify its placing the administration under a Minister of its choice with whose orders the Prince will not be allowed to interfere. This is typical of the present situation in the States, with the exception of a dozen at the most. What the people of the States want is really that they should have the same amenities, such as they are, which their kith and kin in British India enjoy. This writer was astonished to be told not once or twice in Northern India that if a plebiscite were taken 80 percent of States subjects would vote straight for annexation to British India. Fifteen years ago, this would have been a rare thing to be said of the States people. But now a great change seems to have come over them. It is no doubt due partly to the contagion of constitutional demands in British India. To some extent it is due to a few Princes—a very small number—misbehaving in ways which can only be characterised as outrageous. Much is said of the gutter press. But what of the rulers who, if a tenth of what has been publicly alleged against them is true, have behaved as no gutter urchin would think of behaving? The great defect of the Protection Bill is that it makes no distinction

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INDIAN STATES AND PUBLIC OPINION.—II.*

(By K. Natarajan.)

Sir Harry Haig, in the Assembly discussion on the Princes Protection Bill, stated that the States represented that the present law was no real safeguard for them. We are not told which of the States represented that the present law was no real safeguard for them. We are entitled to ask the question. The present law itself was passed in response, it was said, to a demand from the Princes. But I have heard it from the lips of one of the biggest of them that His Highness had not only not wanted it but was actually opposed to it. There were no doubt others also who did likewise. In the Legislative Assembly's proceedings, the debate on the States (Protection) Bill is preceded by the discussion on the Cotton Industry Protection (Amendment) Bill. Before this Bill was drafted, careful enquiries were made by the Tariff Board as to whether the Industry deserved protection or not. Was any enquiry made as to whether the States which were dissatisfied with the existing law and asked for more drastic ones, deserved to get what they wanted? The progressive States are most unlikely to seek protection at the hands of the Indian Legislature. They are quite able to protect themselves and, as a matter of fact, no Indian newspaper ventures to criticise them. The States which demand protection are the badly administered States. In the case of many of them timely criticism, even if a little violent, would help them to pull themselves up before they are confronted with a Commission of Enquiry. In the eleven years since the Act of 1922 has been in force, there have been more cases of States which had to be sharply called to order by the Paramount Power than in any corresponding period previously. I need not mention names as they are familiar to all. The present law designed to protect the States have landed several of them in humiliation and disaster. The latest case is not without a comic side to it. The ruler left his State and sought and found medical advice and spiritual solace in Pondicherry, of all places, for his maladies. In vain, the Viceroy entreated him to return to his State. The ruler has started a "fast unto death," of the progress of which the country is kept duly informed from time to time. But he refuses to come. The Government of India may in the near future have to enter into extradition treaties with neighbouring foreign states to get truant Princes back to their States, if the present Bill becomes law. That the Indian States, (with notable exceptions) have tended to become more autocratically governed than before the War, is a fact which he who runs may read. The reasons for this are many and complex. In Mr. Lloyd George's "War Memoirs" the ex-Premier casually mentioned that when he was Minister of Munitions and a new gun called Stoke's Gun was rejected by the War office, he was enabled to demonstrate its value by experiments carried out with a sum of £ 20,000 which he had received "from one of the Indian Maharajahs to be expended by me on whatever war purpose seemed to me most useful for the Empire." (p. 619. Vol II). It is not stated whether the Government of India were aware and approved of this private transaction with a British Minister. I refer to it as an authenticated instance of the tendency to which I referred, of rulers to become more autocratic and irresponsible since the War. One of the most marked features of autocracy is its impatience of criticism. The Government of India passed a Press Act in 1922 to humour the Princes. It was practically thrust upon them as shown by the fact that the Act has practically remained a dead letter—there have been only three prosecutions under it.

Sir Harry Haig in his speech in introducing the present Bill gave some reasons for the little use that has been made of the Act, which must strike people who are better informed in these matters, as far-fetched. These are, that prosecution is a slow process; it gives added publicity to the allegations complained of; there is nothing to prevent the publisher or the writer from indulging in his offence during the pendency of the prosecution; and finally when a conviction is obtained, there is no assurance that the person convicted is the real offender. These are incidental to every system which has a judicial basis. "Off with his head, so much for Buckingham", represents a more expeditious method. After all, justice is not more expeditious in Indian States than in British India. In any case, the Home Department is responsible for the speedy administration of justice, and the Press should not be made to suffer for the faults of that Department. Are there enough judges to cope with the work of the Courts? Delayed justice is a greater hardship to the people and the journalists, than to Princes, and we shall all be grateful to the Home Member if he can devise suitable measures to speed it up.

The reasoning of the Home Member would justify the abolition of all Courts of Justice in the land and their replacement by Star Chambers whose proceedings are swift and secret. The greatest benefit conferred by British rule, Ranade thought, was the substitution of the Rule of Law for the personal rule of Hindu and Muslim sovereigns. We have declined during recent years from the rule of law to the rule of ordinance, and if the Home Member's reasoning reflects the official mind, we may find ourselves once again back to the personal rule of Indian rulers. 'British India instead of helping to advance the States will have itself retrograded to the States' system. It will be one more proof that benefits which we have not secured by our own exertions have no permanence and are enjoyed only on sufferance. "The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

I am not an undiscriminating believer in what is called the freedom of the Press. Writing is, in the words of a great writer, a noble, a difficult art. It is also unfortunately a much neglected art. But there is this to be said, that the writer who flings about words without thought of their relevance, justice and truth to fact, although he may make a splash for a short while, seldom leaves a permanent impression or opinion. Readers soon learn to appraise his words at their true value. Sunlight and open air are great destroyers of noxious life, and the abuses of freedom of the Press carry with them their own corrective. Far more formidable and poisonous in their effect are propaganda which "without utterance save the shrug or sigh, deal round to happy fools their speechless obloquy." I have often suggested to influential friends that each State should have a semi-official organ to correct misrepresentation and keep the public acquainted with the objects and results of administrative measures. But though they all agreed that it would be a good thing, none has been able to give effect to the suggestion. The fact is, and it is one which fair-minded commentators ought to keep in view, that the States are not always in a position to explain or justify publicly the purpose or reason of all their measures. A newspaper organ of their own is, therefore, likely to be an embarrassment rather

* Presidential address at Indian States Peoples Conference, Special Session at Delhi. Concluding part, the first half appeared in the *Reformer* of February 3.

than a help to them. In these circumstances, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner has set an example which other Princes may copy. His Highness has publicly contradicted an allegation in some unnamed newspaper that he had written a letter to the Viceroy suggesting some of the recent repressive measures. The Maharajah unequivocally denies that he wrote such a letter. Some one referred to blackmailing. It is a despicable offence but no special law is needed to bring offenders to book. His Majesty the King the other day prosecuted a man in the ordinary courts for trying to blackmail him, and I do not see why the Princes should not follow his august example.

Sir Harry Haig indicated in another surprising passage of his speech that the duty of setting things right in the States, was the exclusive monopoly of the Paramount Power. "It may sometimes be said," he observed, "that there may be in certain States misgovernment of a scandalous and intolerable kind which justifies and demands interference from outside. Well, Sir, if those conditions arise, my answer is that we cannot allow such interference to be organised by irresponsible people in British India. There is a constitutional way of effecting that interference; it can be done by the action of the Paramount Power, recognised by constitutional practice." As an argument against organising jathas, this has some force. But even there, the jathas may be the only means of awakening the Paramount Power to its duty to the people of the States. Modern Governments assume that all is well in their administration, unless people agitate, organise and otherwise make it impossible for governments to rest in this assumption. Newspaper criticism is the mildest form of agitation, and in this country with its vast mass of illiteracy which is much greater in most of the States, it is also the most harmless kind of agitation. We recognise that the Paramount Power is the sole authority to call rulers of States to account in the last resort, but criticism in the Press and on platforms may often obviate the necessity of its intervention after maladministration has reached the magnitude of a scandal.

The States' Protection Bill contains provisions not only for controlling the Press, but also to punish conspiracy to overawe the Administration of a State by criminal force or show of it. To this provision, no reasonable person can object provided that the law is carefully defined and limited to attempts of this objectionable character. The provision relating to jathas, which are meant as peaceful demonstrations, seems to be indefensible. The risk of such demonstrations breaking out in violence, should be averted by suitable police vigilance in the States rather than in British India. The general power which Government propose to take to prevent agitation within British India with the object of interference with the administration of the States, is replete with serious possibilities. "Interference" is a vague term which may cover trivial matters, and so is causing disturbance of public tranquility in a State. The Bill purports to place the States in possession of the same protection as the Government of British India enjoys. But this ignores an important difference. The administration of British India is carried on in the name of a democracy. Although as a rule it is content to leave matters to men on the spot, it may wake up some day and call its agents to account. The possibility of this is more remote in the case of the States, and, therefore, the incidence of the same laws may be different in the British India and the States. These, however, are points on which members of the Conference will speak with more knowledge and experience than myself. I have, therefore, dwelt largely on the Bill as it affects journalism of which I have some experience. I have had to prepare this address in a very short time, and that is another reason why I could not do more than make a passing reference to other matters.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SAAR.

(By Bertram Pickard.)

The Saar Basin is a densely populated and highly industrialised triangle of territory between present Germany and Lorraine. It is first and foremost a coal field with important metal and glass industries dependent upon the mines. For a quarter of a century (1792–1815) it was under French domination. Otherwise, with the exception of one town (Saarlouis) it has been German soil for a thousand years, with strong German sympathies and is almost exclusively of German tongue.

Nevertheless, as the result of a determined effort by Clemenceau and his friends at the Peace Conference to annex, and failing that to control, the Saar, Germany was obliged, under the Treaty of Versailles, to hand over to France the coal mines of Saar as compensation for the destruction of mines in northern France, and to surrender the government of the territory to the trusteeship of the League for a period of fifteen years. At the end of the fifteen years (*i. e.*, before January 10, 1935) it was fixed to hold a plebiscite by which the population is to decide whether they would like to: (*a*) remain under the League's administration; (*b*) be reunited with Germany; *c*) be united with France.

The government of the Saar by the League's Commission has been very far from satisfactory. The local population resented its arbitrary fate from the first, and no doubt complicated greatly the work of the Commission. But unfortunately the Commission, at any rate between 1920–1926, failed lamentably to create the impression that its work was being carried out in the spirit of a temporary trust, with the result, that there was constant friction between the Commission and the local population.

The position improved somewhat after the signature of the Treaty of Locarno, and there was every hope uptil the rise of National-Socialism in Germany that the plebiscite would easily be organised and that the Saar would return to German sovereignty, an amicable arrangement being come to as between the French and German Governments for the repurchase of the mines by the latter.

The advent of Hitler however, created an entirely new situation. The people of the Saar were naturally deeply influenced by the Nazi Revolution. But being outside the jurisdiction of the Reich, the opponents of Hitlerism were left relatively immune except for a violent agitation against them which the Commission has quite naturally been compelled to resist.

The question now is can a free plebiscite be organised that is worthy of the name? And if so what, if anything, can be done to protect those elements of the population—and particularly certain officials—whose past co-operation with the League's regime will certainly be regarded as villainy by the Nazis in the event of a pro-German vote.

Because of these obvious dangers and difficulties it is suggested in some quarters that it would be consistent with the spirit of its trusteeship for the League to postpone the plebiscite pending definite undertaking by the German Government to refrain from political persecutions in the Saar in the event of the territory's return to Germany.

But there are obvious difficulties in such a policy. First it would, in effect, be an intervention in German internal politics. Second, it would increase the already violent hostility towards the League amongst wide circles in Germany which have always believed that the League's control of the Saar was a disguised attempt by France to annex the territory.

The task of the League Council in this dilemma is a thorny one.

A MODERN POLITICAL PARADOX.

(By Recluse.)

Speaking before the Historical Association at King's College, London, Professor Gilbert Murray recently characterised present-day civilization as one 'full of humane ideas and scientific knowledge about politics and government, yet pierced by savage discontent and in places brutally misgoverned; wealthy, yet full of extreme poverty; enlightened, yet bristling with fashionable superstitions." Indeed it is very interesting to study this political paradox which the modern world presents to an average student of the science. So far as political theory was concerned, it was believed up to the last world war that parliamentary democracy was the ideal type of government to which all states gravitated. But a careful study of the posture of presentday political affairs, however, brings into bold relief the fact that democracy as a political creed is at its lowest ebb. Indeed the set-back which democracy has received since the war is so severe that unless one is a great optimist in regard to the ultimate destiny of mankind, one will not be prepared to lay a wager for the sucoessful restoration of Demos on his erstwhile throne. Even great intellectuals like George Bernard Shaw show in their recent published works that they have lost faith in modern democracy. Yet it must be recognised that it is the only political institution which satisfies the natural aspirations of man and secures the greatest good of the greatest number. In this connection it is interesting to note the recent resolution passed by the British Labour l'arty pinning its faith in Democracy. The resolution declares that the party bases its appeal to the public on far-reaching economic and social changes which it hopes to bring about by a democratic government, in a free electoral system and an active and efficient parliementary machine. At a time when dictatorship is the order of the day, this resolution must be considered a very welcome sign.

The question, however, arises as to why such a noble creed has gone to the wall. The answer to this question is obvious and must be sought in the iconoclastic tendencies of the world events following the last war.

A successful democracy always postulates a close contact between the rulers and the ruled. Wherever this contact was obtainable as in ancient City States, democracy not only succeeded but became the only form of government. That is perhaps the reason why the Greek philosophers proposed a definite population basis for their City States. It is true that there is a limit to this contact at present owing to the sheer impossibility of bringing together the vast populations of a modern state, and except perhaps in its mountain stronghold in Switzerland, democracy in its unadulterated and pure form has never existed since the time of the Greeks. Such contact as is possible was, however, sought to be maintained until the last war by means of wider franchise broadbased on adult suffrage and in proportion to the proximity of this contact the success or failure of democratic institutions was gauged. Unfortunately after the War, modern governments have assumed more responsibilities and functions than they used to do before, as a result of which their hands are too full to allow them to attend to the primary duties of democracies. Another factor which has retarded the successful working of the democratic institutions is the complicated nature of the various problems that face modern governments.

Trade depression of a colossal nature, unemployment, breakdown of currency and exchange mechanism, War debts, reparations—these and similar problems which are the direct legacy of the War are engrossing the minds and attention of modern statesmen. It is true that democracy throws up the right type of man but it must also be said in fairness that it creates fissiparous tendencies in the body politic. Parliamentary Democracy, with its corollary the party system, inheres within itself a constant warfare of principles. In such a state of affairs it is simply impossible to solve the tangled skein of presentday problems. In this connection the recent history of Great Britain easily comes to mind. Before the national government came into existence, the Tory and Labour Governments in turn tried to grapple with the several questions that faced the country singlehanded but it was soon discovered that unless the talents and resources of the whole nation were pooled together the stupendous problems like unemployment, industrial and commercial recovery could not be solved. It was also noticed at the time that in the absence of a clear solution of these many-sided difficulties Britain would lose ground. This gave rise to the present national Government. Elsewhere as in Italy and Germany even the parliamentary form of government was thrown overboard. Hitlerism, Fascism are not only the order of the day but bid fair to tow the whole world in their line. To all appearances, the benevolent autocracy of the 17th and the 18th centuries has again raised its head under a different name, and although it must be admitted that these modern phases have done considerable good to the countries concerned, they contain within themselves the seeds of their destruction. The lesson of history is evident and it is bound to repeat itself. The dictatorship of the modern type is but a passing phase and the pendulum is bound to oscillate to the old position.

It is no doubt an irony that the war which was declared to have been waged to make the world safe for democracy should have loosened forces reactionary and almost destructive of democracy itself. Out of evil cometh good. Although democracy is tottering and is on its last legs in some countries, inter-nationalism has won the day and today the world is closer than it was before the war. In their adversity, nations seek counsel in international conferences and bring their difficulties to the world forum for solution. The secession of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations may naturally cause anxiety with regard to its future.but this much is certain that the common adversities have tended to breed an international outlook in the peoples of the world and therein lies the safety and strength of mankind.

Indian Dentist in U. S:—Dr. Mahamed Sulaiman, a dentist living here, has become a citizen of the United States after a struggle lasting eight years in the courts. He came to the United States from Calcutta in 1904 and graduated from the Chicago College of Dental Surgery. In 1919 he was granted final papers of naturalization by the judge at Chicago, but a few years later Congress passed an act barring Hindus from citizenship. Nothing was done to enforce the Act in Dr. Sulaiman's case until 1926 when he applied for a passport to go to India to visit his ailing father. In reply, he was informed by Washington that he was no longer an American citizen. He then took the case to court on the ground that the Act was not retrospective in effect.

SANSKRIT RESEARCH IN TRAVANCORE.

(FROM OUR TRAVANCORE CORRESPONDENT.)

The Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Travancore, took place at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, on January 28.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore, presided.

Mr. K. Sambasiva Sastri, the Curator of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Travancore, delivered the welcome address in the course of which he said that Maharajah Marthanda Varma (1729–1750) was a great warrior-statesman as he was the conqueror and consolidator of Travancore, but Maharaja Swathi Tirunal was a well known patron of art and letters, being himself a composer and singer in different Indian languages, Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindustani, Malayalam and Tamil. It was given to Sri Mulam Tirunal Maharaja (1885–1924) to have established a Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts. He then dwelt upon the progress made by the first Curator, the late Mahamaho-padhyaya Dr. T. Ganapathi Sastrial of international reputation for Sanskrit learning.

In his introductory speech Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer said that the work of resuscitation and research has not evoked that amount of public interest which was expected. It was indeed a matter of sincere gratification to him to preside on the auspicious occasion which has coincided with the wedding of Her Highness the First Princess. The Department owes its existence to the kindly and generous interest evinced by His Highness the Maharaja Sri Mulam Tirunal of revered memory. It was generally the practice to take credit for the great and glorious heritage they had inherited. From his experience of antiquities, he could say that India had its own treasure in arts and culture. He had seen a temple in Kashmir in which there were seven gates dedicated to the seven planets, but five of which were in ruins. Among those Indian States which had done valuable work in the revival and resuscitation of Indian art and culture was Hyderabad which through its learned and patriotic citizen, Sir Akbar Hydari, was doing magnificent work in the restoration of Ajanta frescoes which was an inspiration to lovers of India. He regretted that there was not in India a sense of historical pride in its greatness. In the Paris Museum he has seen the gateway removed from Cambodia and Siam. He then made a survey of the ruins of Egypt, Syria and India and paid a high tribute of praise to Lord Curzon for his generosity in the revival of Indian monuments. What was required in India was a patriotic sense of practical action in the preservation of Indian art and culture as symbolised in the imperishable work of the past. The only Indian States, besides Hyderabad, where the work of preservation had been attempted were Baroda, Mysore and Travancore. In Kashmir Saiva literature was being preserved. Perhaps it was wise to confine attention to one ambit of support and preservation. Hyderabad symbolised Persian and Urdu culture of the times of old. Travancore deserves praise for bringing to light some of the priceless gems in Sanskrit literature which have won world-wide importance and renown and are considered international works throwing considerable light on many human problems of life and death. For instance the publication of Bhasa's dramatic works, has turned the attention of the savants in the two hemispheres to the treasure house of Sanskrit culture. Another work was *Aryamanju srimula-kalpa* which pertains to Buddhism. It was also, like Bhasa's Plays, unearthed in Travancore from a private library by Dr. Ganapathi Sastri. When Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris was addressed about the discovery of this work, he replied to say that he has come across only a Chinese translation of it and strongly recommended its publication. When it was published, Pandit K. P. Jayaswal, the famous historian and research scholar, extolled it on the ground that it embraces the Imperial History of India from 600 B. C. to 770 A. D. from (a) the time of the Buddha upto the Mauryas (b) the persecutors of the Buddhist religion (i. e., Pushyamitra) under the name of "Gomin" then (c) the revival—of Buddhism–a dynasty of two kings from Yaksha country identified with the two Kadphises (d) provincial histories and (e) Imperial history of Inner India. Mr. Jayaswal is decidedly of the opinion "that the treatment of Indian history from the Gupta time up to the Pala period has to be radically changed." This great scholar is now engaged in preparing a new history of India, based on *Aryamanju srimula Kalpa*, discovered in Travancore by the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts. Such has been the work turned out by Travancore. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer then enlarged on what is being done by the British Government in the way of the preservation of ancient works. He then disapproved of the idea of getting secondhand things and insisted on our people going into original works.

Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, retired High Court Judge, Madras, on being called upon to address the meeting, said that every thing possible was being done in Travancore which always stood for culture and art. It was, therefore, auspicious that the celebration of the Silver Jubilee should take place synchronously with the marriage of the First Princess. He was a close observer of Travancore for the past 50 years and had always been struck with the part she has taken in the development of art and culture in this land of temples, charity and beauty—this land of Sri Parasurama. He conveyed his felicitations to the city on the international importance of the work it has been doing. Every home in Travancore was a treasure trove of valuable manuscripts. He appealed to the Department to carry on its investigations and enquiries. In conclusion he hoped that the Department would turn out more work under the auspices of His Highness the present Maharaja Sri Chittira Tirunal.

Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, retired High Court Judge and a member of the Council of management of the Department, regretted the parsimonious way in which Government spend money on the Department though it has issued a larger number of books than Baroda and Mysore at considerably less cost than those two States.

In bringing his concluding remarks to a close the Chairman reminded the audience that the Travancore Royal House was always reputed for its patronage of art and letters and hoped that, like Bhoja Raja of old, His Highness Sri Chittira Tirunal would show his wonted generosity in the preservation of art and culture.

With a vote of thanks proposed by Rao Sahib S. Parameswara Iyer, retired Devan Peishkar and a well known Sanskrit scholar, the proceedings were brought to a close.

Bishop Chitambar's "Mahatma Gandhi":—We have been requested to inform our readers that copies of "Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Work and Influence", by J. R. Chitambar which we reviewed recently in this paper, can be had from the Agent, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, U. P.

EARTHQUAKE HAVOC IN NORTH BIHAR

(Associated Press.)

The fact that even 18 days after the catastrophe the outside world has little conception of the appalling magnitude of the recent earthquake, is shown by the issue of an important statement by the Governor of Bihar. The attention of the public in India and abroad has hitherto been concentrated mainly on the necessity of providing immediate relief to the sufferers. The statement demonstrates that this part of the problem (which has now, as a result of splendid efforts on the part of the Government and independent relief units, been practically solved) is no more than a minute fraction of the whole, and that real difficulty arises over the task of reconstruction which has yet scarcely been approached and is stupendous.

The earthquake is now known to have been one of the greatest of which human records exist. The exact length of the epicentre (line on the surface immediately above the actual fracture in the earth's crust) is not at present certain, but there is likelihood that it stretches entire the way from Motihari to Monghyr, a distance of about 135 miles. It seems probable also that there is a second epicentre, beginning at the point near the middle of the first one and running at an angle to it in the direction of Purnea. No dislocation on anything like this scale has been recorded in any part of the world for decades.

The epicentres of the disastrous Japanese and New Zealand earthquakes in recent years were, I understand, not more than about twenty miles long. The nearest approach made to the size of the Bihar earthquake, within this century, was probably the great Californian earthquake.

After a catastrophe of this magnitude, it is inevitable that detailed information about it should take a long time to come in. This is so after all major earthquakes, owing to the destruction they wreak upon the communications, which on this occasion over an area of about fifteen thousand square miles, have practically ceased to exist. The situation has been further complicated by the geographical factor, hitherto insufficiently appreciated in other parts of India, namely that Bihar proper is completely bisected by the Ganges (here the immense annually-shifting stream is unbridged throughout its whole two-hundred mile course across the province) and that in consequence, the communication between North and South Bihar have always been bad, a journey from Patna to Muzaffarpur, only 35 miles away on the other side of the river, normally occupying about four-and-a-half hours. Possibilities even for contractors by aeroplane are strictly limited, as will be realised at once by anyone, who like myself has flown over the large parts of the devastated areas. Among such few natural landing grounds for small planes as are to be found in the densely cultivated rice growing country, several have been rendered quite unusable by floods resulting first, from the ejection of vast quantities of subterranean water from fissures and blowholes in the surface and secondly, from the recent heavy rains.

Although the death roll is now well over 6,000 and the number of injured very large, it is a matter for amazement to one who has clambered through choked streets of ruined towns and surveyed the shattered country side from air, that casualties were not vastly greater. The explanation is to be found in three facts. First, that the disaster occurred not at night but in the early afternoon, when the maximum number of people were up and about. Secondly that the actual duration of the shock, three minutes, was a good deal longer than in most of the world's big earthquakes, thus enabling more inhabitants to escape from houses before they collapsed. Third and the most important, that the area worst affected being entirely agricultural, a relatively very small proportion of the population occupied brick or masonry dwellings, a majority living in low roofed mud huts. In one of the big cities such as Cawnpore or Delhi, the number of dead alone would certainly have run into many tens and probably some hundreds of thousands.

The total population, however, of the area immediately above the actual seat of the disturbance, including five hundred thousand town dwellers, referred to in the Governor's statement, is about twelve millions and although the casualties among them, considering the magnitude of the convulsion, are light, it would be true to say that the lives of every one of these people have been deranged by the earthquake and that it will be months before existence for them can be restored to normal.

Probably the most impressive feature of the disaster, to one visiting the affected areas for the first time is not the smashed towns, but the astounding large scale alterations to the whole structure of the countryside. Over thousands of square miles of land is traversed by the enormous jagged fissures and filled with objects which, from the air look like small volcanic craters, from which circles of sand or grey mud have spread over the fields. The road and railway bridges are down in all directions and hundreds of miles of railway lines have been wrecked metals, in some places having been flung clean of the track. At one place I noticed an abandoned train standing in a station, the whole length of which was traversed by an enormous crack several feet wide. As the entire devastated area consists of flat alluvial land, large blocks of which have suffered vertical displacement of several inches if not feet, and have in several places already changed courses of streams, it seems certain that there will be extensive alterations in the drainage of the country when next the monsoon rains come down, resulting in disastrous flooding.

The general survey of the situation makes it perfectly clear that North Bihar has suffered one of the greatest natural calamities of human history and that many months, if not years, will be required together with enormous sums of money, before her prosperity can be restored.

THE EARTHQUAKE, PUNISHMENT OR CALAMITY?

1. GANDHIJI SEES DIVINE WRATH.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:—

A friendly wire says, 'Will you not lay aside untouchability and go to Bihar?' An angry wire says, 'Must Mahatma fiddle while Bihar is burning?' Both the wires pay me an undeserved compliment and exaggerate my capacity for service as they assume that I can do more than my comrades. I have no such hallucination about my capacity. Rajendra Prasad is one of the best among my co-workers. He can command my services whenever he likes. The Harijan cause is as much his as it is mine, even as the cause of Bihar is as much mine as it is his. But God has summoned him to the Bihar relief as He has chosen the Harijan cause for me. When the call comes from Bihar, I hope I shall not be found wanting. Champaran discovered me when I was a mere

wanderer. Babu Braj Kishore Prasad and his band of workers gave me their complete allegiance when India was wondering what place I had in her public life. I am tied to Bihar by sacred ties which are indissoluble. Therefore I need no spur to send me to Bihar. Perhaps I am serving her best by remaining at my post for the time being. All the world is directing her attention to the catastrophe. It would be presumption on my part to rush to Bihar when all are ready to assist her. Those also help who know how and when to wait.

But another wire says I must use the Harijan collections for Bihar relief. I think it would be a clear breach of trust on my part if I listened to the advice. We can not afford to be unnerved in the face of great calamities. Not all the riches of the world would restore Bihar to her original condition. Time must elapse before reconstruction takes place and things become normal. What is necessary is that those who have anything to give are induced to give the most, not the least, they can.

But I make bold to suggest that, in reconstructing life in Bihar, if the wisest use is to be made of the help that is being sent, the organisers would have resolutely to set their faces against reproducing evil customs and habits. They may not encourage untouchability or caste divisions unperceivably based on untouchability. Nature has been impartial in her destruction. Shall we retain our partiality—caste against caste, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Parsee, Jew, against one another—in reconstruction, or shall we learn from her the lesson that there is no such thing as untouchability as we practise it to-day?

Tremendous responsibility rests both upon the Government and the unofficial agency as to how reconstruction is to be undertaken. And as both are working in cooperation for this purpose, it ought not to be difficult to rebuild Bihar in human and sanitary lines.

I share the belief with the whole world—civilized and uncivilized—that calamities such as the Bihar one come to mankind as chastisement for their sins. When that conviction comes from the heart, people pray, repent and purify themselves. I regard untouchability as such a grave sin as to warrant divine chastisement. I am not affected by posers such as 'why punishment for an age-old sin' or 'why punishment to Bihar and not to the South' or 'why an earthquake and not some other form of punishment'. My answer is: I am not God. Therefore I have but a limited knowledge of His purpose. Such calamities are not a mere caprice of the Deity or Nature. They obey fixed laws as surely as the planets move in obedience to laws governing their movement. Only we do not know the laws governing these events and, therefore, call them calamities or disturbances. Whatever, therefore, may be said about them must be regarded as guess work. But guessing has its definite place in man's life. It is an ennobling thing for me to guess that the Bihar disturbance is due to the sin of untouchability. It makes me humble, it spurs me to greater effort towards its removal, it encourages me to purify myself, it brings me nearer to my Maker. That my guess may be wrong does not affect the results named by me. For what is guess to the critic or the sceptic is a living belief with me, and I base my future actions on that belief. Such guesses become superstitions when they lead to no purification and may even lead to feuds. But such misuse of divine events cannot deter men of faith from interpreting them as a call to them for repentance for their sins. I do not interpret this chastisement as an exclusive punishment for the sin of untouchability. It is open to others to read in it divine wrath against many other sins.

Let anti-untouchability reformers regard the earthquake as a nemesis for the sin of untouchability. They cannot go wrong, if they have the faith that I have. They will help Bihar more and not less for that faith. And they will try to create an atmosphere against reproduction of untouchability in any scheme of reconstruction.

2. Dr. Tagore Protests.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has issued the following statement through "United Press":—

It has caused me painful surprise to find Mahatma Gandhi accusing those who blindly follow their own social custom of untouchability for having brought down the God's vengeance upon certain parts of Bihar, evidently specially selected for his desolating displeasure. It is all the more unfortunate because this kind of unscientific and materialistic views of things are too readily accepted by large sections of our countrymen.

I keenly feel the indignity of it when I am compelled to utter the truism in asserting that physical catastrophes have their inevitable and exclusive origin in a certain combination of physical facts Unless we believe in the inexorableness of universal laws in the working of which God himself never interferes imperilling thereby the integrity of His own creation we find it impossible to justify his ways on occasions like the one which has sorely stricken us in an overwhelming manner and scale.

If we associate the ethical principles with cosmic phenomena we shall have to admit that human nature is morally superior to Providence that preaches lessons in good behaviour in orgies of the worst behaviour possible. For we can never imagine any civilised ruler of men making indiscriminate examples of casual victims including children and members of the untouchable community in order to impress others dwelling at a safe distance who possibly deserve severer condemnation. Though we cannot point out any period of human history that is free from iniquities of the darkest kind, we still find citadels of malevolence yet remain unshaken, that factories that cruelly thrive upon the abject poverty and ignorance of famished cultivators, or prison houses in all parts of the world where the penal system is pursued, which most often is a special form of licensed criminality, still stand firm. It only shows the law of gravitation does not in the least respond to the stupendous load of callousness that accumulates till the moral foundation of our society begins to show dangerous cracks and civilisations are undermined.

What is truly tragic about it is the fact that the kind of argument that Mahatmaji used by exploiting an event of cosmic disturbance, far better suits the psychology of his opponents than his own and it would not have surprised me at all if they had taken this opportunity of holding himself and his followers responsible for the visitation of divine anger. As for us we feel perfectly secure in the faith that our own sins and errors, however enormous, have not got enough force to drag down the structure of creation to ruins.

We can depend upon it, sinners and saints, bigots and breakers of conventions. We, who are immensely grateful to Mahatmaji for inducing by his wonderful inspiration, freedom from fear and feebleness in the minds of his countrymen, feel profoundly hurt when any words from his mouth may emphasise elements of unreason in those very minds, unreason which is the fundamental source of all blind powers that drive us against freedom and self-respect.

MEN AND ANIMALS.*

(By J. H. Harwood.)

A recent article in the *Indian Witness* taken from the *Indian Social Reformer* informs us that in the eyes of the editor of the latter periodical the cows of America lack the almost human graces of their Indian bovine sisters. One can imagine his feeling as he was given a haughty stare by some well-fed and flourishing Holstein or Jersey under whose smooth coat lay those "unwieldy" masses of flesh covering the bones which are so painfully obvious among India's emaciated herds. It all sounds fine to think of the social union which makes a cow consciously a member of the family in an Indian village home—fine, perhaps, for the cow! but not so elevating when one thinks of the status of humanity which accepts such membership in the family circle.

Isn't there a peculiar kind of anthropomorphism in popular Oriental ideas about the sacredness of animal life? It is either anthropomorphism or a survival of animism, probably the latter. After all there is a distinction between animal life and humanity, and there need be no foggy misunderstanding.

Some of us are apt to view the animal kingdom too sentimentally and ascribe to the lower orders the feelings we would have if we were in their circumstances. This is the Western more than the Oriental tendency. We are apt to make too much of the perpetual struggle for survival, forgetting that as far as evidence is available birds and animals live joyously on the whole, even pursuing or pursued as the case may be, but with no nervous fear of consequence or haunting memory of dangers past. As a lad at home I remember how a shaggy old shepherd dog on our farm loved to chase rabbits. He was always so sure he would win some day. The rabbits appeared to have an equally good time out of their share in the race. None of them became nervous wrecks in the process. A human being, such bundles of nerves as we are, under the rabbits' circumstances would nearly collapse with panic and live the scene over and over in our imaginations after it was over. The pursued animal just puts all he has into the God-given instinct to survive; and no fluttering nerves disturb the smooth functioning of its body as it speeds on its way. If it is caught, that's just too bad; but it's all over in a jiffy and no regrets.

Most of us are apt to feel that the Oriental view of animal life is not one of too much sentimental pity but a view shaded deeply by the transmigrationist superstition. A Burmese taxi driver slaps on his brakes and skids his car to avoid running down a mangy pariah dog, not because he pities the dog but because of an unreasoning taboo on the taking of life. This superstition is so strong that millions of our Asiatic friends would not lift a finger to bring the relief of death to a miserable and disease-tortured quadruped; they would not even destroy the verminous animal life which imperils humanity. A few years ago at a physical trying camp an American Y. M. C. A. Secretary was trying to introduce this subject of comparative values to a group of Buddhist vernacular teachers. He hesitated to speak plainly lest he should offend the religious feelings of his class. One of the Burman instructors in the camp, an emancipated Buddhist with modern training and outlook, took the situation plainly in hand and told the class plainly that if they tolerated rats and ownerless dogs around their communities it just meant that they loved animals more than their human neighbours and that was all there was to it; it could not be "both and" but "either or."

* From the *Indian Witness*.

There appears to be no historical ground for any supposition that scrupulous regard for the sacredness of animal life implies a high standard of personal values in human relationships. India's excessive zeal for cow protection was not accompanied by any largehearted application of the ideals of human brotherhood. In fact so-called "cow protection" has not even proved good for cattle. If the animal's measure of joy in life consists in the enjoyment of creature comforts while life lasts rather than length of days under conditions of neglect and starvation, the cattle of the Western world certainly enjoy a fulness of life which is denied those of India.

The fact is that the rights of men and the rights of animals are on an entirely different plane; and it is morally detrimental to mix the two. This applies to people of all nations. Many of us know of American and English people who are capable of carrying a whole hearted affection for a pet dog into an excess of sentiment that is not good for the dog and which blinds the doglover to the claims of near by and needy human neighbours.

There is no great exposition of this animal question in the Gospels because there was not any excessive stress on the subject in the world of the days of Jesus; but the Son of Man certainly put the issue fairly and reasonably once when he asked, "How much is a man worth more than a sheep?" It was a rhetorical question requiring no answer because the contrast of values was plainly implied in the putting of the question. The needs of sheep and of all animals are simple and may be satisfied quite readily; but the needs and aspirations of humanity are infinitely deeper and broader.

Man's Place In The Cosmic System.

Mr. K. Natarajan writes :—

Mr. Harwood seems to be hurt by my casual observation that American cows are not so gentle as Indian cows. I am sorry. But when he compares the fatness of the former with the leanness of the latter, he might remind himself of the well-fed condition of the American farmer with the semi-starvation of the Indian peasant. Then, again, the American tends the cow not only for her milk but also for her flesh. When the Indians adopted *Ahimsa* as their guiding principle, and abjured flesh food, the preservation of the milch cows became a national concern and was eventually transformed into a racial instinct. The same was the case but in an opposite direction with intoxicating drinks: Mr. Harwood proceeds on the basis of my casual remark to contrast the Christian with the Hindu and Buddhist view of the place of man in the cosmic system. This is a very large theme to be dealt with in this short note. I may, however, say that my study of Christ's teachings leads me to think that his view was more akin to the Hindu than to the Western Christian view. The examples of the lily and the sparrow are unhesitatingly used as exemplars for human conduct.

The Saree:—Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, at Lucknow, writes: "I have noticed something curious about the sarees of Indian ladies. They are worn differently in different parts of the country. Some ladies put them over their heads, some don't. Some put them over one shoulder, some over another and some over both. Some wind them one way, some another. In colour they are more varied than the hues of the rainbow or the flowers of the field. But all Indian ladies who wear the saree have one characteristic in common. They wear the saree gracefully. The saree seems to me to express something characteristic of Indian womanhood whether worn by the coolie in the field or by the Rani in her palace—grace and gentleness."

INDIAN STATES PEOPLES' CONFERENCE

(*Hindustan Times.*)

The special session of the States Peoples' Conference was held under the presidentship of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the "Indian Social Reformer" in a tastefully decorated pandal behind the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi.

About 500 delegates from different States in the Punjab, Central India Kathiawar, Gujarat, and the Deccan were present, besides a large number of distinguished citizens, members of the Bar, business men, States subjects and other visitors.

Mr. K. Natarajan, on his arrival in the pandal, was accorded a very hearty reception. The addresses of the Chairman and the President were read and the session adjourned to the next day.

Prominennt amongst those present at the Conference were B. S. Pathik, B. Narsingh Das, Mr. Despande, Mr. Shankar Lal Varma and Mr. Prayag Raj Bhandari from Patiala State. The following prominent persons came from Punjab, Sardar Radha Singh, Giani Kehar Singh, Mr. Talib Hussain of Maler Kotla, S. Madan Singh of Sangrur, S. Kartar Singh, Mr. Sant Ram of Nabha, and Mr. Labhu Ram of Kapurthala. Several others from different parts of India including Mr. Akbar Shah Khan of Afghanpur (U. P.), Pandit Sri Krishan of Dholpur, Mr. Tansukh Rai of Kotah and Mr. Apte of Ratlam. Among the local prominent persons were Mr. S. C. Mitra, M. L. A., Mr. Jog, M. L. A., Mr. B. Das, M. L. A., Mr. Amarnath Datta, M. L. A., and Messrs. L. N. Gadodia, B. Banerjee, Tawaqli, Raghubir Singh and Diwan Singh Maftoon.

The *pandal* was packed on Sunday with delegates and distinguished visitors.

The proceedings commenced with national flag songs, recited by Seva Sadan girl students. Messages of sympathy from Sjt. Abbas Tyabji, Mr. Satyamurti and several organisations were then read.

The first two resolutions were moved by the Chair.

"This Conference is deeply grieved at the terrible calamity which has befallen the people of Bihar and Nepal by the earthquake, assures them of its heartfelt sympathy in their sufferings and appeals to the Princes and the people of the States to render assistance to the best of their capacity in men and money to the distressed people."

The President in moving the resolution said that the calamity that had befallen Bihar and Nepal was an unparalleled one in the last hundred years and even foreign countries were moved by the sufferings of the victims of earthquake. He appealed to the princes to contribute liberally towards the relief fund.

"This Conference records its sense of the great and irreparable loss the country has suffered by the death of Mr. V. J. Patel, one of our greatest nationalists and patriots and an inveterate fighter for the country's freedom who laid down his life in the service of the Motherland, and sends its condolence to the bereaved family."

The President in moving the resolution said that the late Mr. Patel was his neighbour and friend. He had devoted his whole life to his country and even on his death bed, he was continuously deliberating on the situation in India. The death of such a learned, wise and influential politician at this juncture, was a great and irreparable loss.

The following resolution relating to the Princes Protection Bill was next moved by Mr. P. L. Chudgar:

1. "This Conference is of the opinion that the Indian States (Protection) Bill now before the Legislative Assembly,

(*a*) is absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for.

(*b*) is further an unwarranted encroachment on the liberty of the press.

(*c*) is calculated to perpetuate autocracy and misrule in the Indian States.

(*d*) deprives the people of the States of their only available remedy to ventilate their grievances.

(*e*) is calculated to defeat its own purpose.

(*f*) is contrary to the spirit of federation, and the Conference fears that the Bill may drive disaffection under ground and tend to secret sedition.

2. In particular this Conference strongly protests against Sections 4 and 6 which should be omitted and also against the inclusion of the following words in Section 5, which too should be dropped.

1. Interference with the administration of the said state

2. or a disturbance of public tranquility

3. or any affray."

Mr. Chudgar in moving the resolution made a most forceful and able speech. He said it could not be denied that in almost all the native states except a very few, the ruler was the supreme authority and 80 millions of people were at the mercy of these autocrats.

Mr. B. S. Pathik (Rajputana), Mr. Talik Hussain (Maler Kotla), Mr. G. Pathak (Nabha), Mr. Anant Rao and Shrimati Chando Bibi also spoke.

Mr. Manishankar Trivedi (Western India States) next moved the following resolution:

"1. This Conference very greatly appreciates the sympathy of these members of the Assembly who have advocated and are advocating the States peoples' cause and offer them their hearty and grateful thanks.

2. This Conference appeals to all the non-official members of the Assembly to put up a stout opposition to the Princes' Protection Bill and to throw it out; or at least do their best to secure the modifications set forth in the Resolution No. 8."

The mover made a moving speech on the condition of people in some States in the Punjab and told the members of the assembly to watch the interests of millions of voiceless people.

Mr. Narain Vyas and Mr. Sant Ram (Nabha) also spoke on the resolution.

The next resolution ran as follows:—

"This Conference is indebted to the press, for their great support and sympathy for our fight against the Bill, thanks the volunteers for their great labours, thanks Seth Jogdhyaniji for kindly giving the site for the Conference *pandal* free of cost, and Sheth Anand Raji Surana for placing at our disposal his office, his staff, and his resources for the use of the Conference."

Baba Narsinghdas and Mr. Raoji Bhai Patel who moved and seconded the resolution paid special compliments to the press in Delhi for assisting the authorities of the Conference.

Mr. P. L. Chudgar moved a vote of thanks to the Chair.

PRESIDENT'S ADVICE.

Mr. Natarajan in the course of his concluding speech said he was not a politician but a social reformer. But there were no two methods for social reformers and politics. "If you perservere with moderation and sincerity you will achieve your aims," said he. He said the Princes were our own flesh and blood and it was no use abusing them since we were

also responsible for their deplorable condition. Replying to Shrimati Chando Bibi's allegation that he being a moderate had said nothing about the deplorable condition of women in the native states, he said no constitution could prevent atrocities against women. He said that the All-India Women's Conference, which was affiliated with the International Women's Conference, should take up the question of ill-treatment of women in the Indian States and if they take up the question seriously he was sure the troubles of women would disappear.

Continuing, he suggested that since the Indian Princes were always proud of their loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, let the States subjects approach the King-Emperor to appoint a commission of enquiry to enquire into the conditions of 80 million people living in States and he hoped the princes too will have no objection to such a Commission.

He also advised the formation of a Standing Committee to prepare a list of grievances of the people of native States and present them before the Home Member.

He was sorry that the Princes Chamber session was postponed this season, but he advised the princes to come out in the open and lay their case before the people. Concluding he made an appeal for the continuity of the order of princes, since he said it was an ancient historic continuity and an institution peculiar to India. He said: "Let us sympathise with the princes, let us pity them, control your words, act righteously and you will win in the long run."

The Conference came to an end after a song.

HINDU TRAITS IN ARABIA.

Striking observations on the inhabitants of the hinterland of the south-eastern coasts of Arabia were made by Mr. Bertram Thomas, the explorer, at a lecture under the auspices of the London County Council at Birkbeck College (Chancery Lane).

He found that in that outskirt of the "Empty Quarter" as the Rubial Khali is called, inhabitants and fauna had traits which associated them with Ethiopia rather than with northern Arabia, while certain customs approximated more with Hindu culture than with that of their near Muslim neighbours.

The men of this strip of densely wooded hills had fuzzy hair, Mr. Thomas said, if not negritic distinctly negroid as in Ethiopia, while the callipers showed him to be round headed like the South African negro, and not long-headed like the "Armenoid" Arab.

The tonsure of the male, was often shaved into one thick central lock falling on the nape of the neck, as worn in a certain Hindu caste.

While these aborigines, as he believed them to be, would swear faith by God and break it without a qualm—a thing abhorrent to the Muslims on the other side of the "Empty Quarter"—if they swore faith by one of the ruined shrines dotted about the country, they would be most careful to keep their word.

So while in some respects like Ethiopians, with traits in common with South African negroes and customs resembling those of certain Hindu sects the people discovered by Mr. Thomas was definitely non-Arab.

The lecture was illustrated with slides, first showing the abortive attempts to cross the Rubial Khali which covered 250 miles and lasted two months and failed, because the camels were not acclimatised to the zone.

The second attempt, in which Mr. Thomas was aided by Sheikh Sari, and which succeeded, was finely illustrated all the way from the Hadhramant to Bedah, and with a thrill of admiration one heard from Mr. Thomas that his Bedoun guides could tell the footprint of any man, woman, child or camel in their tribe and conversely could tell if any foot-print was that of an enemy tribe.

INDIAN ARTS EXHIBITION.

It is understood that attempts are being made in Calcutta to form a Regional Committee in Calcutta to collaborate with the Council of the India Society, London, of which Marquess of Zetland is the President, towards the holding of a representative exhibition of the Fine Arts of Modern India. The Calcutta committee would collect and despatch exhibits from the province.

It is held that the exhibition which will be held at the New Burlington Galleries in September and October, 1934, will be as great a success as the Persian Art Exhibition at the same place about three years ago.

The aim of the exhibition will be to show to the public in England and funds permitting by repeating it on the continent of Europe, a selection of the best work done by Indian artists in modern times in painting and drawing, sculpture and architecture. It is the desire of the Council that it would be convenient so far as painting and sculpture are concerned, to exclude work prior to the twentieth century; in regard to architecture, the latter part of the nineteenth century should be included. All work submitted must be original work by Indian artists.

The Council is composed among others of Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy, Mrs. Rhys Davids, The Director of the Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, the High Commissioner for India, the French Ambassador, the Japanese Ambassador, Lord Irwin, the Persian Minister, Sir Denison Ross in London and of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore and Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore in India; the Chairman of the Council is Lt.-Col. Sir Francis Younghusband and the Secretary, Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

NEW LEPROSY CURE.

The *Hindu* correspondent at Ramnad writes :—

According to the instructions by the Surgeon-General, Madras, to demonstrate his new leprosy cure, under the presidency of Dr. Narayanaswami Aiyar, District Medical Officer, Ramnad, Dr. P. S. N. Moorthi Naidu, President of the Indo-British Welfare League and discoverer of a new leprosy cure, started a demonstration on some select cases of leprosy at the Leper Asylum, Dayyapuram, in Manamadura, Ramnad District.

There was a very large gathering of eminent doctors from various parts of the Presidency, besides several prominent gentlemen on the occasion eagerly watching the mode and the methods of the cure by Dr. Moorthi.

The District Medical Officer, Ramnad, introduced Dr. Naidu to the public of Manamadura and said that he has found out a medicine to kill the dire disease—leprosy, that he would give his demonstrations in the leper asylum for two months. He made an appeal to the public and all those present on the occasion to co-operate with him and wished the doctor all success in his attempts.

He was followed by Dr. Wolsted, Superintendent of Leper Asylum, Manamadura who in his address surveyed the activities of the Asylum in curing leper patients since its establishment, and said that people were sent out every year, only with the certificates, that the patients had no symptoms of the disease. He could not say that they were completely cured. He felt glad however to see Dr. Naidu coming forward to eradicate completely, the disease. He stated that the Americans did not generally believe

that leper patients would be completely cured. But now, as it was claimed that cure was going to be complete, he was prepared to give all convenience to the doctor in his Asylum and wished him all success in his attempts.

Dr. Viswanatha Aiyar, thanked the doctor on behalf of the public of Manamadura.

Dr. Moorthi Naidu in thanking them all for their welcome, requested the public to co-operate with him in his attempt and watch the methods to eradicate leprosy in two months' duration.

After the function was over, the D. M. O., Ramnad, Rev. Wolsted, Dr. Moorthi Naidu, Dr. R. P. Haran and others motored to the Leper Asylum, where ten acute cases were selected from the patients in the Asylum and demonstrations were made. The remedy which has been discovered by the doctor was administered both internally and externally. Dr. Naidu is staying at Manamadura in connection with the demonstration and facilities have been provided for him by the authorities of the Leper Asylum at the Dayyapuram Hospital. The results would be announced after some time.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

How Indian Women View Communalism :—"Modern Materialism was endangering the very foundations of religion. The over-emphasised individual was striking at the root of society. The spirit of self-aggrandisement could be seen in communal strifes and strifes among the nations. Indian women were free from the taint of religious bigotry. They could best banish communalism from Indian public life." The above observation was made by Lady Wazir Hassan, wife of the Chief Judge, Oudh Chief Court, Lucknow, in her address to the Lucknow Women's Association. She continued:

"What was the need of fettering an intellectual being like man with religious restrictions when he could discriminate between good and evil. The popular belief was that religion aimed at engaging human beings in the worship of God. While this was true to a large extent, the real aim behind religious observances and ceremonial went much beyond the question of mere betterment of the individual.

"To every religious institution could be traced the idea of some social virtue like devotion or 'tapasia' and charity or alms.

"All religious institutions were social in their nature, they aimed at bringing together human beings to enable them to partake of each others thoughts and feelings.

"Such communion created a bond of sympathy and understanding among fellowmen and women, a trait that distinguished human beings from the lower forms of life."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Prayaschit and Social Reform:—Prayaschit is a Sanskrit word which has through long usage come to mean 'penitential act'. The literal meaning of the term is 'after thought'. As repentance comes after sin and not before, it is associated with afterthought and also identified with it. Prayaschit is prescribed for the several sins recognised by the Hindu Code and varies from pouring moulten lead down the throat for addiction to drink, to a bath and change of clothes for pollution caused by contact with forbidden persons or objects. There are between these two extremes numerous major and minor penalties. They generally consist of a religious ceremony and an offering as an act of sacrifice. In course of time, the ceremony became a mere formality but the offering became the principal item of the prayaschit. The expenses connected with some prayaschits were heavy, and Ranade, when he persuaded the Shankaracharya to reduce the cost of expiating for an alleged offence of drinking tea at the house of a Christian Missionary to the nominal sum of annas four (which by a curious coincidence is also the price of the Congress franchise), half-humourously claimed that he had made smooth the way of intercommensality by making it cheap. The Social Reform Party, as a whole, however, stood out against prayaschit as opposed to the very basis of reform, namely, that it is the right way of life and that a man can not repent for what he did because he thought it the right thing to do. Neither orthodox Hinduism nor social reformers ever thought of, prayaschita except as an individual penance for an individual's sins of omission and commission. The idea of sin and repentance by a whole people is familiar to readers of the Old Testament and even Jesus occasionally spoke as if it was not incongruous with His central doctrine of the supremacy of Omnipresent, Omniscient Love. But it is not only unknown but wholly repugnant to Hinduism. When Mahatma Gandhi calls untouchability a national sin, it is only those Hindus who have read the Hebrew scripture who grasp his meaning. You can not indict a whole nation, said Edmund Burke. It is sound political philosophy. It is also sound theology. So much as regards the theory. The Prayaschit doctrine in social reform has also a practical disadvantage. When a man pays a rupee to his priest by way of prayaschit for the sin, say, of dining on *ekadasi* day—which most people do nowadays without any thought of atonement—he believes that the sin has been wiped off and will not count against him after the payment is made. Many of those who have made contributions to the Harijan fund as a prayaschit, seem to be of the same view. They have paid their fine and done their duty.

The Aga Khan on Communal Electorates:—The Aga Khan in an interview reported by the Associated Press pleaded for the acceptance for the time being of communal electorates as a necessary evil, but added that they were utterly incompatible with democratic notions and were bound to die a natural death in a short time as it will surely be realised that they do not serve the purpose of protecting minorities which they are supposed to serve. His Highness used much stronger language but this is the substance of his observations. This has been our own view and we are glad that the Aga Khan has come round to it. We say 'come round' because it was a deputation headed by him which secured from the late Lord Minto the fateful declaration in favour of communal electorates. The Aga Khan's observations, therefore mark a turning point in Indian constitutional reform. According to an unconfirmed report by the United Press agency, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has sent word to the Aga Khan suggesting that Hindus would be prepared to concede to Muslims all the demands regarding safeguards to them in the provinces where they are in a minority, and that they on their part should agree to join the electorates without any reservation of seats in provinces where they are the majority. If this suggestion is agreed to, the main obstacle in the way of a settlement in the Punjab and Bengal will disappear and His

Highness will have rendered an important service to the country.

A Government House Innovation:—We reprint from the *Times of India* an excellent summary of an address on Indian music delivered at Government House Bombay on the place of India in Musicology by the Dutch savant, Professor A. A. Bake. It is a most thoughtful and suggestive address and will be read with interest by all who welcome an appreciative cultural understanding between East and West as the best means of promoting international friendship. Lord and Lady Brabourne are to be congratulated on this departure from the long established routine of Government House. If Government Houses in this country become cultural centres instead of confining themselves to social functions of a narrowly exclusive character, they will ensure more intellectual co operation between the official and non-official worlds which at present move largely each in its own orbit.

Failure of Co-operation:—The central idea running through the carefully thought-out address which Mr. Vaikunt L. Mehta delivered as President of the United Provinces Co-operative Conferences last week, is that co-operation to strike root in Indian soil must establish enduring contacts with other phases of national life. This is a truth inattention to which is responsible for the sterility of many measures started with the best of intentions but without reference to the main currents of thought and life in this country. Bureaucracy can work out measures. It can not put life into them. The Co-operative Movement became some years ago a fashion in India just like rural reconstruction at the present day. The defects and drawbacks of a statutory, spoon-fed system were kept in the background as long as possible. But the economic depression has exposed its weaknesses. It is to the credit of Mr. Vaikunt Mehta that he has the candour to confess that a great change has come over his hopes of Co-operation. Without the fertilising manure of literacy the message of co-operation has fallen largely on barren soil. The gospel of non-co-operation thrives best on illiteracy because it merely asks that nothing should be done or attempted. By the way, we are surprised to see some journals which ought to know better, still recommending Mr. Brayne's much-belauded scheme as a model. We have heard that the whole structure collapsed when its sponsor left the district.

Women in Politics:—Many people who strongly supported the extension of the suffrage to women, did so on the ground that the coming of women into politics would humanise politics. It is too early to judge but we are sorry to say that the course of events so far has not altogether been such as to give support to this belief. The repeal of the Prohibition law in the United States was made possible by the defection of women voters at the polls. Of much less importance but not without significance is the pertinacity of the Duchess of Atholl in the British House of Commons in urging the Secretary of State for India to stiffen the alreay unprecedented repressive laws and orders, some of which we published in previous issues, now in force in the two districts of Bengal where there have been murders of officials by revolutionary anarchists. Sir Samuel Hoare pleaded that he has given all the powers which the officials wanted but the lady is not satisfied. The best thing under the circumstances is to send her out as Special Commissioner to take charge of the disturbed districts with plenary powers to deal as she likes with the unfortunate inhabitants.

India and the British:—That British writers are at last realising that Indian history is something more than the history of the British connection with India is strangely shown by Graham Seton Hutchinson in his latest book, "Arya or the Call of the Future" published by Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson is well-known as an author of detective stories and his intrusion into more serious spheres is likely to be resented by those who consider themselves final authorities on the subject. Mr. Hutchinson, however, has to be congratulated on having stated with force what Indian leaders have been urging for some time past. "In order to understand," he writes, "the difficulty of the Indian problem, it should be realised that every expert with scarcely an exception, certainly nearly every one who occupies a place in the British public eye, accepts as the foundation of his views the superficial Anglo-India, with which for twenty or forty years he had rubbed shoulders. The standard histories of India which provide the text works for British statesmen and for generation after generation of administrators, demonstrate a total misunderstanding of the Indian mind as expressed in the great monuments of Indian art."

Soya Beans:—His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, as one result of his recent visit to Japan, has become interested in the introduction of the soya bean as a nutritious and easily cultivable crop in this country. The Maharaja has had the seed sown in the Government farm at Baroda. As a means of popularising the use of this lentil, a Baroda officer, Mr. Kale, has been put in charge of a stall in the Japanese village in the "Help Our Hospitals" Exhibition now open in Bombay. In this a large variety of preparations made of the bean is available for inspection and tasting by visitors. Practically everything on an Indian menu can be made of the bean—chutnies, papads, sweets, and even tea and coffee. The superiority of this lentil over others lies in its greater proportion of protein. The experiment in Baroda to grow it, will be watched with interest. We do not suppose that it will be a substitute for rice or wheat. Even in China and Japan where the soya bean is well-known, it has not displaced rice as the principal article of diet. But it will add variety to the dietary of rich and poor alike and that is a great advantage.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1934.

THE FILM OF KARMA.

"Karma," the first Indian talkie with English dialogue, has several points to commend it. In the first place, it is one of the few stories shown on the screen in which Indian characters are shown neither as villains nor as comic personalities. Then, again, it is the first picture with a mainly Indian cast in English. One welcomes with relief the absence of incongruity which Western producers of Oriental pictures are only too frequently led into. Mr. Himansu Rai, the producer of the picture, and Devika Rani, who is starred in the film, are fortunate in the official and unofficial welcome which their production has received and on that they are to be congratulated. The film is also valuable as it sets in relief certain requirements which will have to be met before a perfect Indian film with dialogue in English is produced.

The story of Karma is a thin one, and the dialogue, mainly in classical, not to say archaic, English, is throughout feeble, verging at times dangerously on the fatuous. The scenic effect is nothing exceptional. Only from the point of photogrophy does the picture surpass the good type of Indian production. One has a feeling of incongruity in listening to beggars, snake-charmers and beaters at a tiger hunt, talk in Shakesperian English. By the way, the large majority of English-speaking people do not find it necessary to speak it as it is spoken in its homeland, and it is not clear why in India where it has been established as a vernacular, men and women should not speak it naturally. The music is evidently a combination, and a rather mechanical one at that, of Western and Eastern. We are not sure that the manner of showing emotions, and even some of the emotional reactions, are native to India.

It is not difficult to understand the wild enthusiasm with which, in spite of these, to the Indian so obvious, defects, the English press welcomed the production. In the first place, British critics are apt to forget that English-speaking Indians, however small a minority they might be, have had nearly six generations of training in the art behind them. They are also increasingly recognising that the pronounciation of the language cannot be standardised even as between individuals. In the second place, India still holds for the Westerners the glamour which drew the first adventurers out East. There is in the story an Indian Prince, a tiger with a couple of elephants thrown in and a snake-charmer, a palace, a holy man, an old orthodox Maharaja who at the appropriate place taps himself on the forehead and whispers, without any relevance except that of justifying the title of the film, the word "Karma"—sufficient ingredients to bring the 'thrill of the Orient' to Western audiences; whilst, at the same time, the love scenes in the picture, a happy ending, A couple of songs and a dance serve to preserve enough kinship with the productions of Hollywood and Elstree to make it intelligible to an European audience.

The film was released to the public in Bombay on Saturday the 10th. The trailer which was shown a week earlier with a view to introducing it to the public, announced, regardless of the Indian audience to which it was to appeal, that it would bring home to them the glamour of India and the thrills of another world—an introduction which might appropriately have preceded the release of an American or European film in India. One might have expected that the Indian press would have been more critical of the film than the British had been. Yet it was surprising to find the same sentiments echoed with varying fervour both in Bombay as well as at Delhi where it was shown a week earlier.

PANDIT JAWHARLAL'S ARREST.

Several days before the earthquake, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru delivered some lectures and speeches which, it was stated in a newspaper, might lead to action being taken against him by the Government of the United Provinces. To the great relief of everybody, in particular of those who dissented from and criticised the Pandit's theories, there was a prompt official contradiction of this suggestion. Then, the earthquake came and the Pandit for many days past has been actively interesting himself in the problem of relief in the districts devastated by it. The news that he was arrested was published on the same day and almost side by side with the announcement that the Government of India had extended the concession of remitting contributions by money order without the usual commission to the Relief Fund controlled by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the much respected Bihar Congress leader who came out of prison just a few days before the earthquake, as it was being administered in close cooperation with the Government of Bihar and Orissa. Pandit Jawharlal went to Bihar at Babu Rajendra Prasad's urgent request and he had thrown himself into the relief work with characteristic zeal. We are yet hoping that the co-operation induced by the great calamity may lead to co operation in other directions, and that this may turn out to be the soul of good in the earthquake disaster. The Pandit's arrest is something of a setback to this hope. We trust it will not prove to be a serious handicap to Babu Rajendra Babu and to the relief operations. We are unable to reconcile the arrest of the Pandit at this juncture with the recent trend of the Government of India's policy. It was reported the next day that the warrant for the arrest of the Pandit was issued on the complaint of the Government of Bengal regarding a speech or speeches made in Calcutta.

LIMITATIONS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.*

(By Vaikunth L. Mehta)

I look upon myself as too much a part of the internal machinery of the co-operative movement in a sister province of yours to be in a position to give any useful lead or offer any helpful advice in these troubled times when we find the co-operative systems everywhere in India being nearly overwhelmed by the unpredecented economic depression through which they were passing until about four years ago, I must honestly admit, my faith in and zeal for co-operation were so unbounded that I could scarcely conceive of any rural economic problem that would not be amenable to treatment on co-operative lines. Even though my faith may be undimmed to-day and my zeal as ardent as before, I have a growing feeling that there are economic forces which are wholly beyond the power of co-operation to control, and that there has to be a veritable revolution in our agrarian and economic system—and in our outlook on life—before we can really bring happiness and prosperity to the agriculturists whom we have attracted to the banner of co-operation by the promise of relief from usury and of better farming and better business.

To bring about this transformation, the first desideratum is the diffusion of education and the immediate liquidation of illiteracy. It is now over twenty-five years since the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, with the far-seeing vision of a statesman, called upon the reformed Government under the Morley-Minto regime to inaugurate a new era in this country by introducing throughout India a scheme of free and compulsory education. His pleadings, however, fell on deaf ears with the result that we find to-day the doors of knowledge closed to no less than 92 per cent, of our population. My most vivid recollection of the first provincial co-operative conference that I attended in my province in 1913 is the vigorous advocacy by Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the joint founder of the institution with which I am connected, of compulsory education at least for the children of the members of co-operative societies. The officials and their satellites scoffed at and turned down his proposal which, however, if adopted would have yielded us, by now, a new generation of rural co-operators, teachable and receptive to new ideas, as happened in Denmark through the development of its system of folk high schools. The same veteran co-operator endowed a scheme of night schools for adults, full fifteen years before the Government of Bombay began thinking in terms of rural uplift, but we had unfortunately to witness his experiment abandoned for lack of resources after his demise in 1922. These were true statesmen and true co-operators who insisted that education was the foundation of all progress. To apply the words of Lenin to our conditions, as long as we have such a calamity as illiteracy in our country, it is impossible to talk of economic progress. The illiterate person is an outsider to all progressive thought, for without literacy there can be no progress —there are only rumours, gossip, prejudices, fairy tales—anything but conscious organized effort to achieve common economic ends. Let us hope that in view of the newly awakened interest of various governments in India in schemes of rural welfare, there will be inaugurated—if necessary with the aid of large subventions from the Central Government—a vigorous campaign for the liquidation of illiteracy in all parts of the country. It should be the duty of co-operators never to cease insisting on the introduction of free and compulsory education and at the same time according to the education both of children—boys and girls—and of adults—men and women—the foremost place in their programmes of better living and rural reconstruction. We want a redirection of our system of education, so that every individual becomes well-equipped both as a citizen in a new society and as a helpful unit in the economic life of the nation.

A problem of equal importance that has hitherto defied solution is the abolition of usury and the relief of the peasant from the burden of debt. The co-operative movement—originally confined to credit—was introduced as a method of dealing with the evil of usury which, it was argued, led to the accumulation of debt; but within less than two decades from the introduction of the movement, we come to realize—at least in Madras, Bombay and the Punjab—that the problem of indebtedness was not capable of solution through our ordinary system of co-operative credit.

The income of the cultivators in India has been reduced by nearly a half in 1931-32 as compared with 1928-29. It may be that the United Provinces, according to statisticians, may not have suffered as grievously as other provinces, the decline being 38 per cent. as against 54 in Bengal and 48 in the Bombay; but compared to Bombay, Madras and the Punjab the cultivator in the United Provinces has much less resisting power as he has no resources on which to fall back in times of distress. The proceeds which the agriculturist obtains from his produce are reduced by half by the fall in prices and as it is from such reduced proceeds that he has to meet his cash payment which are more or less fixed, such as revenue interest and instalment on debts, the difficulties of his situation may well be imagined.

In any system of ordered rural economy, such as the co-operative movement seeks to bring about, a very prominent place is occupied by organized marketing. The illiteracy and backwardness of our rural population are undoubtedly a handicap; but, this notwithstanding, it is time that we set about developing some machinery for the co-operative sale of agricultural produce on lines that have commended themselves to the Agricultural Commission and the Banking Committees. I refer particularly to the latter's recommendation for the grant of liberal subsides to co-operative agencies for the construction of godowns and the provision of finance at concessional rates for the development of co-operative sale societies. In Bombay, we have achieved a fair measure of success in the organization of arragements for the joint sale of cotton and gul—the former under the guidance, in the early stages, of the officers of Government, and the latter of the Provincial Bank. But our experience is that for the development of these arrangements, their extension throughout the Presidency and the handling of the fruit trade it is essential that the State should interest itself more actively in these efforts than it has done so far. In this connection, I would like to point out that in India, owing to the peculiar structure of our rural credit organization, it will be wise for co-operative credit to be linked organically with the functions of purchase and sale; and I agree with your Provincial Banking Committee that the partial failure of our efforts so far is due to the divorce of credit from supply and marketing. Hence the organization of supply and marketing acquires an additional significance in our country because of the strength and stability it imparts to our mechanism of rural credit, in as much as the linking up of credit with supply and marketing will enable us to ensure the

*From his presidential address at the U. P. Co-operative Conference, Lucknow, February 11, 1934.

proper use of loans and to secure genuine recoveries through the produce that is sold.

The fourth factor of economic life that affects rural progress in general is the removal of the pressure of population on the land by the revival, introdution and development of art-crafts, small industries and subsidiary occupations. As the Provincial Committee observe in their Report, a system of farming combined with industry, which gives regular employment throughout the year, enables some agricultural countries of Europe to maintain a density of 200 to 800 persons to the square mile.

Coming as I do from a province the special feature of whose co-operative development is the vitality, if not the strength, of its banking organization, I am inclined to agree with the Provincial Banking Committee that the co-operative credit structure in the United Provinces remains incomplete in the absence of a provincial co-operative bank at the apex. You have, no doubt, in your midst a large number of strong well developed central banks and banking unions, which may be serving very satisfactorily the requirements of the primary societies that are affiliated to them. But these isolated units must come together for common economic ends, such as the investment of their surplus funds and the securing of external financial assistance on the most favourable terms.

Co-operators can do much, in the meanwhile, to educate public opinion, especially in rural areas, to secure action on the part of the State for the introduction of free and compulsory education, the raising of agricultural prices, the inauguration of a rural credit policy–including the enactment of agrarian legislation and the provision of cheap long term credit —the promotion of works of land improvement and the development of subsidiary rural industries. Such a programme alone can, in my opinion, constitute the proper background for the campaign of rural reconstruction through co-operative agency that you have been vigorously pursuing during the last few years. Valuable as social work is, it can never be a substitute for the strength that is acquired through economic betterment and education, which should, therefore, be in the forefront of any programme of reconstruction.

It is my very firm belief that co-operation will succeed only in so far as it carries public opinion with it, but that it will positively fail the moment it is looked upon as an integral part of the machinery of Government. In an outspoken memorandum addressed to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the late Sir Horace Plunkett bewailed this tendency, but he was naturely unacquainted with the factor responsible for it. It should be Government's endeavour to withdraw more and more the control over their movement instead of stiffening such control and attempting to centralize power and responsibility in the Registrar. In our Presidency, we have found local supervising unions a valuable agency for decentralizing authority, building up internal strength and recruiting a class of responsible and representative rural leaders. The future of the movement depends more on these rural leaders than on any amount of efficient official direction, from Delhi or even from within a province itself. And the more affinity the movement possesses towards the other forces that go to build up New India the more vigour and life it will enjoy in future. I say this, in all humility, as one who, since his days of study were over, has been a co-operator first and last—and practically nothing else. Co-operation is, undoubtedly, one of the world forces seeking to build economic society more in accord with the dictates of humanity than the capitalist order which has apparently brought the whole world today to the brinkof ruin. But co-operation has its limitations, both internal and external, and it is inconvincible that it can flourish in a social atmosphere which is hostile or apathetic. It must be the concern of co-operators, therefore, to bring about a change in the atmosphere by education and propaganda and by establishing live contact with other forces working in the same direction.

RELIEF WORK IN BIHAR.

The Mayor of Calcutta left for Bihar on February 2nd and after on aerial inspection of the devastated area returned to Calcutta on Monday (5th February). He issued the following statement to the Press:—

The scenes of utter devastation and ruin, which I have witnessed throughout North Bihar not only in the towns but also in the rural areas beggar description. In the principal towns of North Bihar such as Monghyr, Muzaffarpur, Durbhanga, Sitamari and Motihari the destruction of brick-built houses is practically complete. In Monghyr there is not one single house which has been left untouched. The Bazaar area —with its beautiful asphalted roads and long rows of masonry buildings attached to each other wall to wall, some of them three or four-storied, stocked with costly furniture and thickly populated, not only by the prominent residents but by customers who had come to the Bazar on account of Id festival and the Monday Fair,—now presents a long and continuous mass of ruins. Some of the roads have just been made slightly passable by the clearing of debris but the debris still remain in the same condition outside the roadway.

The relief organisations who are helping in the work of clearing the debris are doing their best and a small fleet of lorries sent from the Calcutta Fort with the requisite staff are doing excellent work, removing the debris and throwing them out mostly into the moat of the Monghyr Fort. I was told that 400 tons of debris were thus cleared on Sunday by means of these lorries and two dead bodies were recovered in the process of clearing.

I had the advantage of coming into close contact with the work of the various relief organisations who have rushed to the help of unfortunate Monghyr with men and materials. I do not find words to express my appreciation adequately of the excellent work that these workers are doing throughout the day and night including patrol duties in the devastated areas, thus supplementing the work of the police. There may have been some amount of confusion during the first few days, which was inevitable in the face of a terrible disaster of such unprecedented magnitude and intensity. It is also true that during those days the middle-class population, both Behari and Bengali, who would not come to the relief centres even at the risk of starvation, did not receive that amount of attention which could have been given to them under somewhat more normal circumstances. I made a special point of inquiring not only in Monghyr but also in Muzaffarpur as to their needs and whether they were being met. I raised this question in my interview with His Excellency the Governor, who was very sympathetic on this question and agreed that the sentiments of the middle-class sufferers should be respected. The same question was raised by me in the course of my discussion with the Commissioners and District Magistrates both of Muzaffarpur and of Bhagalpur Divisions at Monghyr.

In Muzaffarpur the relief parties from Calcutta as well the representatives and workers of the Bihar Central Relief Committee assured me that they

were taking special interest for the sufferers belonging to the middle-classes. An organisation of local Bengali youngmen supported by assistance from Calcutta have been doing, with limited resources, very good work in that direction. In Monghyr I had discussion with the leading relief organisations the names of whom it would be invidious to mention, but some of whom—from Calcutta and Bihar,—assured me that inspite of their communal namns they were taking special interest for the relief of middle-class sufferers, unswayed by any communal considerations. I also spoke to Mrs. Lilavati Mitra, a highly respectable lady of Monghyr, who had been visiting the middle-class families at Manghyr and carrying relief to their very door. At Monghyr I raised this question before the Commissioner and the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate, who seems to have been taking a good deal of personal interest in relief work, promised to me that he would at once place an experienced Bengali Deputy Magistrate to look after this particular branch of relief work, namely rendering assistance to middle-class families who could not come to the relief centres.

At Patna, on the day of my arrival, I mentioned to Babu Rajendra Prasad the complaints which had reached Calcutta from middle-class sufferers and invited his attention to that matter. Babu Rajendra Prasad at once agreed that it was extremely helpful to get such information conveyed to him, so that he might investigate into the matter and remedy the defects, if any. I must observe that the work that Babu Rajendra Prasad is doing without the slightest regard for his own health and comfort can be expected only from a man like him. I am convinced that so far as Babu Rajendra Prasad is concerned, he is not only inspired by the desire of dealing out relief to whomsoever in need, but is taking every possible step to ensure that his ideas and intention for even distribution of relief are carried into execution in every corner of the province.

If there has been any falling off in the standard at any particular place it is to a certain extent inevitable in such a great undertaking. I do not suggest that there was no cause for complaint anywhere; on the other hand some of the sufferers whom I personally met complained of just grievances, but it was generally agreed by the residents of standing position and respectability as well as by the devoted workers themselves that the cause for complaint had considerably lessened and was fast disappearing.

One word about the devastation in the rural areas where lands have been submerged under sands thrown out from the fissures along with the sub-soil water which came out of them. The desert-like appearance which the entire countryside presented was heart-rending. Huge pools and lakes of sub-soil water thrown out of these fissures have been formed on the surface. Wells have become choked by sand and in many cases the masonry work has been completely destroyed. People are drinking the sub-soil water, which is stagnating from day to day, pointing to a new danger of epidemic disease.

The immediate need in the countryside is the provision of tube-wells upon which the authorities in Muzaffarpur district are fast concentrating. The reclamation of lands and the future cultivation thereof is a tremendous job, particularly in view of the change that has been brought about in the contour of the earth surface making the restoration of communication extremely difficult. The approach of the monsoon brings another potential danger and difficulty and the Government and the popular relief workers—who have combined in excellent co-operation inspired by one common ideal of service and sacrifice—will have to husband all their resources in providing shelter to homeless and water and means of subsistence to the people of the affected areas.

I have returned with first-hand experience overwhelmed with a sense of the immensity of the task. I have no doubt that my countrymen and the Government and the Local Authorities will continue to respond to the call of humanity in that magnificent spirit which is the great redeeming feature of this terrible catastrophe.

MADAME CURIE. *

Marie Sklodowska, the future Madame Curie, was born in Warsaw in 1867. Her father was a teacher of mathematics and physics in secondary schools, her mother, headmistress of a girl's school. She lost her mother when she was nine years old. Her father became her tutor, teacher and friend. She learned to read at four, playing with cardboard letters with her sister, who was two years older. Nobody knew when and how she mastered the art of reading. It was a great sensation in the family circle. Everybody plied the child with questions, how it happened. "It is really not my fault," answered the child, nearly crying.

She left school at 15, with a golden medal, and two years afterwards she took a place as private governess with a family in the country. She was obliged to do so, on account of the family's difficulties. Working, she not only ceased to be a burden to her father, but helped her elder sister, who was studying medicine in Paris.

After some time, she returned to Warsaw, working further as private governess, but her life's dream was to go abroad and continue her studies. For the time being, she worked at the Physical Laboratory of the Trade and Industry Museum in Warsaw.

Her great desire was at last realised in 1891. She went to Paris to study at the Sorbonne. As a student she occupied a little room on the 6th floor, which she kept tidy herself, without the help of any charwoman, and where she cooked her own meals. She worked at her studies with passionate zeal.

She finished the physico-mathematical studies in two years, and at the end of the third, she obtained a diploma of mathematics. She used to say at this epoch, that she only felt well when working 14 hours a day. She obtained a scholarship for her studies, which she afterwards entirely repaid from her first earnings.

When she finished her studies in Paris, she returned to Poland, wishing to stay and work in her native country. Professor Witkowski, an eminent physicist of the Cracow University, tried to get her a place as assistant at the University. But at that time women were not admitted even to such modest posts in Universities. She was therefore obliged to return to Paris, where she could find work in her special subject. It was very painful to her, as she was and is very much attached to her native country. Before giving a definite answer to the man she loved, she hesitated a long time, as she writes in her book: "It was not easy, for me to decide," says she, "because it would mean giving up the idea of living in Poland."

However, four years after having finished her studies, she married Pierre Curie. Love united them, mutual love, and also the love they both felt for scientific work and research. Pierre Curie, who always feared that marriage would hamper him in his work, used

* From *Les Femmes Polonnaises.*

to say that his wife was a Godsend to him. They had the same humanitarian ideals and the same scientific dreams. Fate allowed them to realise those dreams and those ideals. After their marriage, they took a little flat of three rooms. The conditions in which they worked were extremely difficult. Their laboratory consisted of an unheated shed in the courtyard of the Municipal "Ecole de Physique", where Pierre Curie was laboratory assistant. One of the professors, writing to Madame Curie on the 25-th anniversary of the discovery of radium, mentions this shed, saying it was "a stable, open to all winds." In this stable, radium was discovered. After the discovery of radium, Pierre Curie was nominated professor of the Sorbonne: his wife became head of his laboratory. Their married life lasted 11 years, never separated. Once, being obliged to leave his wife for a few days, Pierre Curie wrote in a letter to her: "I am thinking about my beloved one who fills my whole life." They were united in life, united in work to a common purpose. They had two daughters. They were happy.

And suddenly a dreadful thing happened. Pierre Curie died tragically in 1906, run over by a heavy cart. The cruelty of blind and illogic Fate deprived Madame Curie of her best friend. The reaction was such, as was usual in this family, so often scourged by Fate, a frantic passion of work.

This frail woman of delicare health was endowed with superhuman energy. She took her husband's vacated chair at the Sorbonne, carrying on all the work she had previously started in her laboratory. She ordered and completed her husband's manuscripts and proceeded to the publication of his works.

She did not neglect the education of her two daughters, the youngest of whom was then two years old, devoting to this much time and care. She found time and strength for everything.

She is working until now in the so-called "Curie Foundation" a State foundation of France, consisting of a biological, and a physico-chemical department, a laboratory, a therapeutic establishment and so on. She is at the head of this institution, continuing to give lectures at the chair of radioactvity, a chair specially created at the Sorbonne for her husband.

Almost from the beginning of her scientific career, Madame Curie devoted herself to the problem of radioactivity, a new problem of physics, the foundations of which have been laid by Pierre Curie and his wife. Only after her husband's death did she obtain really desirable conditions for work. In her book "Pierre Curie", which is a sort of memoir, she goes back now and then to the melancholy complaint, that work could not go on as it should, for want of appropriate room, materials, assistants, and so on. After the discovery of radium and polonium came honours and distinctions. Madame Curie received jointly with her husband the Noble Prize of physics. She received it afterwards a second time alone for chemistry. She has been nominated Member of the Academy of Medical Science in Paris, and so on. All funds from these prizes were used to create better conditions of work. Those two people were most exceptionally disinterested. They never derived any material profits for themselves from their discovery. Radium was for them an "object of public usefulness". Other people made big fortunes on this discovery, they did not even try to get it patented.

Not only would they not derive from it material profits. They proved the same disinterestedness as to scientific ambitions. They gladly imparted all the details of their research to the scientific world, facilitating to other scientists further research on radioactivity and helping them to make new discoveries. They never accepted any orders or distinctions and did not attach any importance to such matters.

The income of Madame Curie is derived only from her professor's salary, and from the pension, granted to her by France as national gift on the occasion of the 25-th anniversary of the discovery of radium.

Only to prove what tremendous efforts this discovery cost, one could mention the fact that Madame Curie was obliged to proceed 10,000 times to crystallisation processes, in order to obtain a small particle of pure radium. (1 ton of ore contains but a few decigrams of radium). These 10,000 chemical manipulations were necessary to separate by crystallisation pure radium from other elements. This meant most exhausting physical work. Madame Curie offered the radium, thus obtained by the work of her own hands, to the Institute which she herself organised and in which she is working until now. In 1921 she was invited to America. A group of women there, with the American journalist Mrs. Maloney at their head, considered it their duty to help the great woman scientist in her splendid work. They presented her with one gramme of radium which was then worth 75,000 $ (now 60,000 $). This radium has been offered by Madame Curie to her Institute. It gave her possibilities of further research. The next gramme of radium, offered to her in 1929, has been given by Madame Curie to the Polish Radiologic Institute, created in Warsaw, according to her wish. It was Mrs. Maloney again who collected the funds for this one gramme.

Madame Curie was and is greatly attached to her native country. It was a great pain to her, when she finished her studies, not to be able to work in Poland. She taught her husband Polish and he mastered this difficult language so well, that he was able to correspond in Polish with his wife's family.

Madame Curie has two daughters. The elder, Irene, followed her mother's profession, she is a chemist and married a Frenchman, her fellow-student, also a chemist. They are working together, with already very important results. The younger daughter, Eve, unmarried, very pretty, has studied music. She works as journalist and shows considerable talent.

Madame Curie's home atmosphere is quiet and earnest, charming by its wonderful simplicity. Madame Curie receives very little. It was the same during her husband's life. They never had time for such things as society life. They were always absorbed by their work and needed quiet.

During her youth, when she lived in Warsaw or in the country, she was very much interested in social work. She propagated instruction among factory girls and country women. During the war, staying in France, she devoted much of her time to the war victims. She organised several motor car Roentgen stations. Summoned by surgeons, she hastened personally to the medical stations near the the front, often risking her own life. She prepared tubes with radium emanations for the wounded, which is a process very dangerous for the health. In this work her daughter Irene was a great help to her. No wonder, true friendship and deepest understanding unite mother and daughter.

Madame Curie considers idealistic motives as the most important in life. She brought into her own home the spirit in which she herself has been educated. Her calm and self-possession are wonderful. In writing about her married life, she says: "if we often missed means and comfort, we had peace, a thing which little could disturb." After the death of her beloved husband, she remained faithful to his

moral attitude, expressed in those words of his "Whatever may happen, even if one should be left as a body without soul, one must work on."

Madame Curie is not actively involved in the feministic movement, but her conviction was and always is that full and equal rights are due to women.

Madame Curie possessed in her youth some litterary gift. She translated some French poems into Polish. Her interests were very wide, but she never had the time to distract her attention from her main purpose. She could never afford any distractions. Her favourite pastime was going for long walks in the country with her husband. She also practised some sports, such as rowing, swimming and skating. Even now she swims very well. She can drive a motor-car. Only recently has she been persuaded by her family to engage a chauffer on account of her sight.

Madame Curie is not interested in food. She is extremely frugal and simple in her tastes. The problem of clothes never existed for her, till recently, when her youngest daughter, Eve, began to tyrannise over her in this respect, according to the word of Dr. Dluska, the sister of Madame Curie. Her only passion is for flowers. She has a little house on the Riviera, on the solitary sea-side at Cavalaire, where she personally grows flowers, and is always completing her beautiful little garden by some new acquisitions. Her dream is to have a little house near Paris, where she could live for always. Thus she would be able to look on trees and to grow her beloved flowers.

Madame Curie has still another great wish to be able to devote a part of her priceless time for work inPoland. For the moment, this is impossible. There is no chair of radiology on any of the Polish Universities. An Institute of her name has been created in Warsaw, as a gift of the nation in homage to Madame Curie. This Institute chiefly owes its existence to the energy and the efforts of Dr. Dluska, sister of Madame Curie. It is not however quite finished. The physical laboratory, where Madame Curie could find her field of work is not yet completed. Only the medical division, a most important one, is already active. At Madame Curie's request, a little flat has been prepared for her in this Institute. In the park surrounding the Institute, a monument of Madame Curie has been erected, the work of a woman sculptor, Madame Nitsch. The likeness of the features is wonderful. She sits there, a frail shape cast in bronze, her hands folded quietly on her lap over a book, her eyes looking away into the space. Calm, modesty and serenity emanate from this figure. We feel, looking at this monument, and thinking about her work, that Madame Curie is not only a great scientist, but that she is also a symbol of great beauty, a symbol of dauntless, disinterested superhuman endeavour.

Miss Nila Cram Cook:—This lady known also as Nila Nagini embarked on a ship in Calcutta on the 10th February to return to America. She got aboard with her eyes tightly closed and refused all interviews. Her little son accompanied her.

Bombay Medical Women for Bihar:—The Bombay Branch of the Association of Medical Women is to be congratulated on the promptness with which, on getting an urgent message from Babu Rajendra Prasad, they managed to send immediately a contingent of six medical women headed by the well known doctor and social worker, Dr. Miss Kashibai Nowrange, to do relief work among the purdah women in the affected areas of Bihar. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu helped to secure the necessary funds for their equipment from the central committee.

THE TRAFFIC IN CONTRACEPTIVES.*

(By Elizabeth H. Garrett.)

The supporters of birth control meeting in Washington January 15 find themselves in a paradoxical situation. They are obliged at one and the same time to advocate more and less birth control. They are advocating more, in that they are fostering the opening of birth-control clinics, instructing doctors in contraceptive technique and attempting to influence Congress to pass a bill permitting contraceptive supplies and information to be sent through the mails and by express to doctors, medical schools and hospitals. They are advocating less, in that they find it necessary to warn the public against the increasing flood of contraceptive products, ranging in quality from good to very bad, but for the most part quite inferior, which are being openly sold all over the country, in drug stores, by peddlers and by mail.

Twenty years ago, when Margaret Sanger first become convinced, as a result of her work as a nurse in the slums of New York City, that women should know how to limit the size of their families, the problem seemed to her simply one of free speech. If doctors and nurses only dared tell these poor women what they know.....Later, in her own pursuit of knowledge, she discovered that the doctors and nurses themselves did not know of any simple, safe, method that could be used effectively by women with varying intelligence and limited facilities.

In 1913 and again in 1914–15 Mrs. Sanger went abroad and studied the new methods that had been evolved in France, England and Holland. It was in the last country, where birth-control clinics had been functioning over a period of years with a high degree of success, that the most progress had been made. Mrs. Sanger learned the Dutch methods from their chief exponent, Dr. Johannes Rutgers, and returned to America armed with the knowledge.

The next few years were devoted to intensive propaganda. Largely as a result, the prevention of conception, once an obscure and unmentionable subject, become a topic of open—and heated—discussion all over the country. Mrs. Sanger made the nation birth-control conscious. And in so doing she prepared the ground for the commercial exploitation that was to come. So long as contraception was wholly unknown and tabu, saleswomen could not get very far with their prospects. But when "birth control" became a familiar and at least partially respectable term, all that was needed to induce a woman to order contraceptive wares by mail, or to buy them from peddlers, or to ask her druggist for them, was skillful advertising.

In 1923 the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau opened in New York City, with a woman physician as medical director. This clinic gave contraceptive instruction and supplied with materials any married woman who needed this information for the cure or prevention of disease, this restriction being rendered necessary by the wording of the New York State law. The method taught in the majority of cases was learned by Mrs. Sanger in Holland—the use of a rubber device in conjunction with an antiseptic jelly. The device came in different sizes and had to be fitted to the individual patient by the physician.

But neither device or jelly was being manufactured in the United States, and the federal law strictly forbade the importation of any medicine or article for preventing conception. What was to be done? The Clinic promptly set about trying to find a manufacturer who would be willing to make

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* *From the New Republic.*

these articles for them. Strangely enough, in view of later developments, they found this difficult. No manufacturer was willing to produce an article which seemed likely to get him into trouble with the government and which could at first enjoy only a limited sale, since it had to be dispensed by physicians most of whom were ignorant of the method. Finally a firm agreed to undertake the job if some other company would distribute the goods.

By 1925 several other clinics had opened and doctors were beginning to take an interest in the new method, so the manufacturers met with a gratifying demand. In 1928 the distributing company began manufacturing its own materials and another company was formed to distribute the rubber device of the original firm and to manufacture jelly. A few other concerns began entering the field at about this time.

Now these first firms had high ethical standards. They were in fact, non-commercial in character, since their officers were for the most part men and women who had been active in the birth-control movement and were chiefly interested in seeing the newly opened clinics get supplies of good quality. And because they sold only to the medical profession, their profits were necessarily limited. But their employees were not always so social-minded. They were lured by the prospect of big profits to be made by selling to the general public. The rubber device, to be sure, could not be very widely sold, since it had to be fitted to the individual, but no such restriction limited the sale of jellies. These did not form a reliable method when used alone, but at that they were better, on the whole, than the chemicals—tablets and powders—that had been on the market for years. So sales managers and shipping clerks who had learned some of their company's trade secrets went off and started rival jelly manufacturing concerns of their own.

At about this time a legal case occurred which was to establish the rights of contraceptive manufacturers. A "prophylactic" concern with a nation-wide business sued a rival for infringement of trademark. The question arose whether the business was a legal one, entitled to protection of its trademark. The decision was in favour of the plaintiff, stating that the business was legal in so far as sales were confined to druggists and to jobbers who agree to sell only to drug stores. The decision, moreover, suggested that the sending of contraceptive supplies or information through the mails would not be a violation of the federal laws unless this material was to be used illegally.

This decision, handed down in 1930, opened wide the door of opportunity to the contraceptive manufacturers. Up to this time they had been afraid to advertise; now they sent circulars through the mails to doctors, druggists and the general public, and began placing advertisements in magazines. Fortunately for them, the term "feminine hygiene" had been coined shortly before. By diligent and untiring efforts they made this innocuous-sounding phrase, to which the government had no objection, synonymous in the public mind with "contraception." Hence the present ambiguous situation: You may advertise any and every kind of contraceptive product, but you must not speak of "contraception" or "birth control." You may speak of "feminine hygiene" or, more recently, "marriage hygiene," and make your meaning clear by references to "protection" and "security."

When it was perceived that, by a judicious use of language, contraceptive wares could be advertised and distributed as freely as any other class of goods, there was a big rush to horn in on the profits. Dozens of jellies were put out, and the brands of many old-fashioned products multiplied rapidly. Manufacturers of antiseptics ran national advertising campaigns to get their products used as contraceptives. The "prophylactic" concerns shared in the general expansion, their business becoming four or five times what it had been fifteen years before.

Peddling is on the increase, and the methods employed are often highly unscrupulous. One concern, for instance, sends women around selling a mechanical device that needs to be fitted by a physician to be effective and has these women advise the customer that if the article does not fit she can get it changed at the nearest birth-control clinic. Another concern has been sending its saleswomen among the very poor to peddle a certain intra-uterine device that is dubious enough even when fitted by a physician and is almost sure to cause serious trouble when placed by the woman herself.

The advertising campaigns of the manufacturers of antiseptics are, from the public-health point of view, peculiarly unfortunate. The simple use of an antiseptic is one of the most ineffective of contraceptive methods and is condemned by gynecologists. Yet public ignorance of contraceptive technique is such that high-pressure advertising on the part of a few big firms has resulted in the widespread use of their products as contraceptives. Moreover, some of these antiseptics are dangerous if employed in too strong solution, as they might be in the hands of a woman not fully instructed in their use; though some of the most widely circulated women's magazines have carried full-page advertisements of such products.

What has happened is that the contraceptive business has outgrown the birth-control movement. Today advertisers are appealing to a public still generally ignorant of contraceptive technique and unable, for the most part, to obtain medical advice. The hospitals and doctors that do give such advice cannot, of course, advertise to the public, and neither, strangely enough, can the commercial firms that supply them—at least, not in any effective manner. One large house that sells to hospitals, clinics and physicians wanted to run an advertisement in some woman's magazine urging women to consult their doctors in regard to birth control. No magazine would consent to take this, though a number of them had been running advertisements of questionable "feminine hygiene" products. The reason underlying such editorial decisions is largely a legal one: "feminine hygiene" has been permitted to run unmolested; mentioning "birth control" might bring prosecution. This same fear of prosecution doubtless holds back many doctors in states where the physician's rights in this matter are not clearly defined.

It was such considerations that led Margaret Sanger to form a National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, which aims to obtain amendments exempting doctors, hospitals and clinics from the sections of the federal law pertaining to the prevention of conception. Bills to achieve this purpose are now pending in Congress, and the Washington birth-control conference has been convened at this particular time in order to mobilize public opinion in their favour. It is the Committee's belief that if federal restrictions are removed, states having similar laws will follow suit and physicians generally will then feel free to learn the best birth-control methods and to instruct patients requiring such advice in their use. As a result, the Committee believes, the control of contraceptive methods and products would tend to revert from the commercial interests to those best qualified to possess it—the doctors of the country.

THE TEMPLE ENTRY BILL.*

(By Rao Saheb C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer
Retired District Judge.)

The campaign which Mahatma Gandhi has begun, to preach anti-untouchability, will draw pointed attention to the bill, recently ordered by the Legislative Assembly to be circulated for eliciting opinion, relating to the entry into Hindu temples of certain classes who do not have the right to do so. Custom which is as good as statutes in Courts prevents their entrance now, and the object of the bill, to put it briefly, is to enable Hindus of certain qualifications resident in the locality where the temples are situated to throw open their doors to these excluded classes. That it will cause a notable change in the practice of ages is not and cannot be denied by any reasonable student of the problem. That there is a large body of persons—call them obscurantists or by any other name—who sincerely believe that this departure is not only not to the best interests of Hinduism but is positively dangerous, cannot also be questioned. The bill, therefore, requires to be carefully examined, and the objections to it should be met before the change contemplated by it is approved.

The real defect of the bill is in the provision it makes as to the method by which the opinion of the community is to be ascertained. Shortly put, the provision is that the *Hindu* voters of the locality for Municipal and Local Board purposes are to determine in the matter. For the qualifications of such voters the readers are referred to the Acts constituting the Local Boards and Municipalities. That provision in the bill, we think, is not satisfactory. To take it as it is, it does not say who is a *Hindu* voter. Nowhere is the term "Hindu" defined. Not even in the Acts referred to above. One knows that there is a great diversity of opinion as to who is a "Hindu." Not even the qualification that he should *profess* Hinduism at the time of the voting, as in Section 23 of the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, is put in. Does this omission mean, that if a person was born of Hindu parents, he would be entitled to vote? But even profession of Hinduism would not seem to be enough. Brahmos and Jains are for some purpose classed as Hindus. Are they to vote? There are good Hindus who have no faith in temple-worship and who do not care what becomes of idols and temples. Should they be allowed to vote? Obviously it will be unjust to allow even such Hindus to vote. As the bill stands now it is not clear that it does not allow Hindu voters of even the excluded classes to vote. They are also "Hindu" voters. That is obviously unjust, as they are likely to vote in their own favour. The basic principle on which the encroachment contemplated by the bill can be justified is that the majority of those who have the right to enter agree to it. The voting should be confined to those who have something to lose. So the excluded classes must be excluded for the purpose of voting, and some sort of confession of faith in worship of idols in temples and Agama Sastras should be insisted on. For example, a special list of worshippers may be prepared for this purpose, and each intending voter should be asked to file a sworn statement that he has such faith. According to the bill some property qualification is necessary, for such a qualification is prescribed both by the District Municipalities Act and District Boards Act for a voter. This is hard on the poor. There are often more pious men among the poor than among the rich. If in any case adult sufferage is to be adopted this would seem to be the proper case. The present rule prescribes a very narrow local circle for temples in municipalities and cities. Nearest to church, farthest from God. Dwellers in cities are often less attached to temples than those in the villages near them who go there oftener to worship. It would be better if an uniform limit of a 10 miles radius is fixed for the smaller temples and 100 miles radius for the bigger ones. Perhaps even wider circles may be required for temples like Tirupati and Rameswaram, though fixing all India for them is not practical politics. According to the present bill read with the Acts referred to above, 120 days' residence in a locality is enough. This may lead to migrations for the purpose of election. One year would be a fairer test. A bare majority is all that is prescribed by the bill. This will lead to election abuses. A two-thirds majority which is often prescribed even for less momentous decisions such as the unseating of an elected official, should be insisted on. If not, a rule like the rule for admission to clubs that one vote against admission or one black ball should count as much as 2 or 3 for admission or a white ball should be provided for. To prevent hasty decisions, a period of say one year should be allowed to elapse between the voting if it is for a change and its being giving effect to. In the meanwhile, on the deposit of the necessary expenses a fresh voting should be allowed to be called for *once* by the no-changers. All these amendments no doubt involve expense and delay and work. But in view of the importance of the change contemplated they should be faced, if injustice is not to be done to those who hold honest beliefs though they may be in a minority, and if enthusiasists are not to be allowed to create inconvenient and dangerous precedents though in this particular case they may be on the right side, and if no just room is to be given for bitterness. Will Sanatanists directs their energies in these directions, and not try to mop the Atlantic? Will they benefit by the fate of their wholesale objection to Mr. Sarda's bill?

* In the *Servitor*, Nellore.

MR. JADHAV'S BILL IN ASSEMBLY.

A Bill which seeks to abolish recognition of Hindu caste by Government and the courts, and to call all Hindus as "Brahmanas" has been given notice of in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. B. V. Jadhav, a member from Bombay.

In his statement of objects and reasons Mr. Jadhav say:—

"The Hindus originally were of one status. They were not divided into classes. Then they were called Hansas. They came to be divided into four varnas or classes, *i. e.*, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. At some later date, the Depressed Classes were so called, and were treated very harshly. In some parts of the country they were called 'Adi Sudras' and in others the 'Panchamas.

"The Hon. the Law Member pointed out during the debate on the Anti-Untouchability Bill, that the Depressed Classes must be given a definite status in Hindu Society. Some think that the status of Shudras should be assigned to them. But those who are classed as Shudras, will not admit them into their fold. The present division into four varnas is almost non-existent, as their place is taken by the various castes many of which are of very recent origin. It is the duty of a King, according to the Hindu Dharma Shastras, to assign a Varna to an individual or a body of individuals and to degrade them to a lower class. Under the present conditions, the Legislature ought to exercise that royal prerogative. It will be very convenient

to refuse to recognise caste in Government records. With this object in view thousands of Hindus got themselves enumerated as Hindus. There are different provisions in the matter of inheritance and adoption according to the class of a person. All these cause a good deal of confusion and lead to bitterness and intercaste quarrels. Non-recognition of caste by Government and the courts is the only remedy. The Brahmans profess to be non-communal and above caste considerations in the service of their motherland. They will therefore support this Bill. All Hindus were called Hansas in the ancient times. 'Brahman" is a more intelligible term today and for that reason the Bill proposes to call all Hindus Brahmanas."

The following are the provisions of the Bill:

Whereas the Depressed Classes, otherwise called the Panchamas or Harijans are not recognised in the present administration of Hindu Laws.

Whereas the Varna system and its offshoots, the numerous castes are doing a deal of harm to the Hindus in general socially, politically, religiously, and in various other ways, and Whereas it will be difficult to raise the status of the Depressed Classes, by declaring them to be Shudras.

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This Act may be called "The Hindus Status Act."

2. It will come into operation from the date notified in the "Gazette of India" by the Governor General; and it will extend to all professing the Hindu religion and residing in British India.

3. All persons professing the Hindu religion, including the Depressed Classes, otherwise called the Panchamas or Harijans; shall henceforward be known as Brahmans and shall be governed by laws applicable to the Brahmanas.

PLACE OF INDIAN SYSTEM IN MUSICOLOGY.

Dr. A. A. Bake of the Leyden University, Holland, delivered a lecture at Government House, Bombay, on Wednesday evening on "the nature of research in Indian Music." The position of Indian music in the totality of the music of the Indo-European peoples, said the lecturer, was in many ways comparable with that of Sanskrit in the Indo-European languages. Sanskrit, as a language by itself, had been studied and analysed for at least 2,000 years in India, and the theoretic survey of it did not leave anything to be wished at all. The linguistic system was perfect.

When the Westerners came to India, they discovered this marvellous structure and started studying it, and were struck from the very beginning by the similarity between the phenomena in Sanskrit, and those with which they were acquainted in their own languages, not only the classics, Greek and Latin, but even the more modern ones, like Gothic, Slavonic, German, English and the Roman languages, French, Italian and so on.

Thus the study of Sanskrit initiated the study of comparative philology which achieved such marvellous results in the course of the last seven or eight decades, proving the relationship of groups of people who previously had been considered as having nothing common.

A thorough study of the Indian system of music would thus reveal its position in comparative musicology to be very much the same as that of Sanskrit in comparative philology. And, just as in Sanskrit, the study of Indian music might be taken up for its scientific value, but with equal justification for its intrinsic beauty.

India itself divided its music into two large divisions called *marga* and *deci*, in which *marga* represented the traditional classical music of divine origin, and *deci* just folk music, played and sung for the enjoyment of the people, without ulterior motive of attaining salvation. The fact that attaining salvation, the lecturer continued, was an aim of *marga* music was definitely stated in the Sanskrit texts, and was clearly visible even now in the first of the two sub-divisions of *marga*, *viz*:—the music of the Samaveda.

Without this important constituent of Vedic liturgy none of the larger Vedic offerings was complete. Its spiritual importance in the structure of Hindu religion in its oldest form was enormous. Samaveda was the only one of the three oldest Vedas of which music was an integral part. Not only that the laws of music, but also those of religious psychology, were illustrated in chants which were extremely strong and impressive in their stern beauty.

Of equally great importance was the second division *marga* music, which might be called India's classical music, a system that had its roots partly in Vedic music, partly in folk music and had a traceable history of at least a millennium and a half. It was here that the Indian theoreticians with their astonishingly sharp ear for phonetic phenomena had built up an admirable theory, closely akin to what was found in Greece.

In the extraordinary affinity of Indian and Greek music lay the explanation of the fact that the impact with Islam brought so few changes in the system of Indian music. In course of time musicians had more or less forgotten their own history; tradition had become a dead burden in many instances, and the practice of music had fallen into the hands of a class of artisans with hardly any culture at all.

A comprehensive study of both *marga* and *deci* music carried out with love and perseverance was what India needed. Only then would the goddess of music and learning be restored to her sublime throne, where she could receive the devotion of her worshippers. Then *marga* and *deci* music would be combined and would bestow liberation and enjoyment both in equal measures.

Progress in Hyderabad:—"A Hyderabad Hindu" writes in the *Sind Observer*: "When his Exalted Highness the Nizam assumed the reins of Government into his own hands there was an immense practical work to be done. The past 22 years of his administration have been indeed a period of unceasing activity, reforms and progress in all directions. There is no department of administration which has not shared his quickening impulse whether it concerns the economic development of the state, education, co-operation or industry or the growth of local self-government. The record of progress in educational, social, economic and other spheres is such that his Exalted Highness may legitimately feel proud of it and one may unhesitatingly assert that the Hyderabad state is destined to make further remarkable progress under his rule. Another prominent factor worth mentioning about Hyderabad is that there is no communal discord, all the communities living in terms of perfect friendship and amity and under his rule the state has been pursuing a career of uninterrupted development and progress. At the present moment when all the nations of the world are suffering from serious economic depression it is Hyderabad and Hyderabad alone which is in a happy position to face the present economic depression without anxiety. It is particularly due to the financial policy of the state which is widely known as the departmentalisation of the finance. Sir Akbar Hydari's management of the purse has bestowed prosperity on the people."

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.

A colonisation scheme for the relief of the unemployed amongst the educated middle class Indians is being launched this year by the United Provinces Government as an experimental measure.

This was decided by a committee set up to inquire into the question of unemployment in the province. The meeting of the committee was presided over by Mr. J. P. Srivastav, Minister for Education, and was attended among others by Mr. Allen, Director of Agriculture, Raja Visheswardayal Seth, Director of Co-operative Societies, and Nawab L. Hayat Khan, Deputy President of the Legislative Council.

The committee was on the whole convinced of the feasibility of the colonisation scheme but postponed for later consideration the big colonisation project on a few large tracts of land. Meanwhile it was decided to utilise half of the Government agricultural farm at Faizabad for the purpose of launching the scheme on an experimental basis the object of which will be to ascertain if the educated young men would be willing to settle down as farmers and whether that vocation would be a paying proposition to them.

The experiment will last for three years. In the first instance it will provide intensive practical training on business lines in agriculture, fruit and vegetable gardening, poultry farming and cattle breeding. The proposal provides for training for ten years of young men by allotting to them ten acres of land each for a period of three years under a clear understanding that they will have to move out after that period to make room for others by finding land for permanent stettlement somewhere themselves.

The farm will be treated purely as an instructional colony. Government will provide the settlers with a planned farming with necessary expert advice and supervision, facilities for taqavi loans on easy instalment system for seeds, implements, bullocks and wells etc, and also residential accommodation.

Five settlers will be on individualistic lines, while others will be on the system of collective co-operation. It is understood that the Director of Agriculture will be shortly inviting applications from Prospective settlers.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN IN INDIA.

The Fourth Biennial Conference of the National Council of Women in India will be held in Bombay, March 13th to 16th.

The opening meeting will be held in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall on the evening of the 13th. H. H. The Maharani Saheba of Baroda, President of the Council will preside and deliver the inaugural address and speeches of welcome will be given to the Delegates by the Chairman of the N. C. W. I. Reception Committee, the Mayor of Bombay, Lady Cowasji Jehangir (Senior), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. M. R. Jayaker and Mrs. Manekilal Premchand, Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The Business session will commence on the morning of the 14th in the Convocation Hall. Several Excursions and At Homes are being arranged for, and an Exhibition of Arts and Crafts will be open during the sittings of the Council. Membership of the Reception Committee is open to all women on payment of Rs. 10 and includes admission to all business sessions and attendance at all entertainments. Of the Committee Mrs. Faiz B. Tyabji, is Chairman and Mrs. Kania Secretary while Mrs. S. R. Dongerkery is Secretary of the Art Exhibition.

The National Council of Women in India has appointed an Art Committee to make the necessary arrangements for an exhibition of Arts and Crafts to be held in Bombay at the time of the Fourth Biennial Conference of the council in March next. The object of the exhibition, which is the first of its kind organised by the Council, is to create a greater and more active interest in the fine arts and handicrafts among the women of India who have an aesthetic turn of mind who lack opportunities of displaying their artistic talent.

The exhibition will commence on the 14th March 1934 and will continue till the 18th March. Exhibits will be received by the Art Committee from women all over India. The 8th March has been fixed for receiving local exhibits. Rules governing the exhibition can be had at the office of the N. C. W. I., Town Hall, Bombay, or from Mrs. S. R. Dongerkery, Convener of the Art Committee, 60 Shivlal Motilal Mansions, Lamington Road, Bombay.

Prizes and medals will be awarded for the best work in the various sections.

The sections will include pictures in any medium, photographs, needlework and other handicrafts. There will be a special children's section.

REVIEWS IN BRIEF.

A Tribute to Gokhale:—In the latest addition to the "Builders of Modern India Series" published by the Association Press, Calcutta, Mr. John S. Hoyland pays a tribute to Gokhale. The volume consists largely of quotations from speeches with explanatory paragraphs from the author's pen. Mr. Hoyland remarks in his preface to "Gopal Krishna Gokhale" (Paper Rs. 1-8, Cloth Rs. 2/8) on "the urgent need that this great man should come into his own and be appreciated as amongst the greatest of all the builders of Modern India." In assessing Gokhale's influence in present day politics, however, the author has been led into a serious error. "It is perhaps true", he writes, "that the Indian extremists hated Gokhale worse even than they hated the British...In consequence Gokhale has not come into his own. Probably another generation will have to pass before it begins to be recognised of what eminence where the benefits which this college professor conferred upon his Motherland." In his concluding pages he writes, "With his great natural power, and force of character he might have ridden the whirl wind, denouncing the iniquities of the West, and telling a people always ready to listen to such appeals that they must separate themselves from all these abomination." We should like know which Indian leader has done this and when Mr. Hoyland found Indians "always ready to listen to such appeals." However interesting they may be as a pastime, all attempts at discussing the probable conduct of dead leaders are futile. Our author has failed to inform his readers of the change that has come over Indo-British relations since Gokhale's death, and we are afraid English readers will conclude from the book that the problems of today are exactly what Gokhale faced.

A Conversion Play:—Mr. S. A. Das has published a play entitled "Lead Kindly Light" (The Modern Printing Works, Calcutta, Price Rs. 2/-) dealing with the problems facing an Indian Christian paterfamilias of liberal religious views, whose family unfortunately are conventional Indian Christians. The situation is

further complicated by the fact that the hero of the story has a kindred spirit in a Sanskrit scholar who introduces the all-inclusive ideas of Hinduism in his conversation. The play keeps a sustained interest in the theme till the end, at any rate, so far as the reading of it is concerned. In acting, however, some of the passages would be found extremely lengthy.

A Book of Short Stories:—Mr. A. S. P. Iyer, who is well-known as an author, in the "Finger of Destiny" (publishers G. V. K. Swami and Co., Kumbakonam, Price Re. 1/-) gives us six tales indicative of modern influence. Mr. Iyer is an experienced writer and he introduces references to present-day events to add spice to his narration. The lengthy dialogues, however, detract in places from the interest of the book.

A Poem on Untouchability:—Dr. E. Peters has published through the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, a lengthy poem of two thousand and odd lines dealing with the untouchability question. The main thesis of the "Cry of the Bereft" is that the untouchables ought to be allowed to develop along their own line instead of attempting "to merge them into Hindu society." Dr. Peters' verse gives evidence of the author's sincerity even though it does not carry conviction and falters often in its metre. In fact, there are portions of this poem which might be mistaken for humorous verses.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

H. H. The Aga Khan on Communalism and Democracy:—Discussing the general political situation with a representative of the *Associated Press* on the 7th His Highness the Aga Khan said that for the present communal electorates should be accepted by all the parties concerned. But he was definitely of the opinion that the practical experience of the working of democratic institutions, which where going to be introduced in the country by the forthcoming Reforms, would make both Mustims and Hindus realise that neither of them stood to gain anything by a perpetuation of communalism in the political sphere in any form whatsoever. The dawning of this realisation would spontaneously sound the death-knell of communal electorates which, he said, were a necessary evil under present circumstances. Similarly, it would be sheer waste of time and energy to strive to get the Communal Award altered so long as an equally good, if not better, alternative scheme, which would satisfy all sections of political opinion, was not put forward before the country. Experience and practice of parliamentary Government will show that communal Government was an impossibility and that the working of the reforms would lead to political parties being formed and the adjustment of communal claims by mutual consent and compromise.

Hindu-Javanese Art:—A lecture on Hindu-Javanese Bronzes was delivered on January 24 before the India Society by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers, Reader in Comparative Archaeology of Greater India in the University of Leyden. He explained that Hindu-Javanese art was created and developed by a people descended partly from Indians and partly from Indonesians. Consequently it contains elements from two distinct cultures. One of the most interesting problems of Javanese history is the study of the ways in which these elements became forged into a new entity. Compared with the abundance of Indian elements the Indonesian ones, which are found in some examples, are of little importance. The cause of the peculiar character of the ancient Javanese bronzes, therefore, is not the presence of Indonesian features but the fact that the elements inherited or received from India have been combined, changed, modified, and above all elevated into a perfect and harmonious fullness. Sir Frances Younghusband presided, and Mr. Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore joined in the discussion.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Independence and Sedition:—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for sedition by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. The Pandit said that he was convinced and declared in his speeches that India must have Independence and that if that was sedition he pleaded guilty to the charge. The learned Magistrate held that this clearly implied hostility to Government and convicted the Pandit. The Pandit's prosecution has been criticised as showing want of imagination on the part of the Bengal Government. On the other hand, we think that it shows too much imagination. The Bengal Government may retort that it showed the truest imagination in clapping the popular Pandit in jail and that its action could not fail to impress the people as an exhibition of power even at a time of dire calamity in a neighbouring province. What the public are really concerned to know is, was the Magistrate right in inferring hostility to Government as necessarily implied in the desire for Independence? If a son who has reached adult age wants to set up an independent home for himself, would that mean necessarily or even normally hostility to his parents? The British Government has always professed that it is training India to govern herself. Some of the British statesmen who founded the Indian Empire even declared that their aim was to prepare India to be independent in course of time. Neither Macaulay nor Munro would have agreed that the salvation of India depended on her remaining with Britain for all time. It is important that the point should be authoritatively settled, whether it is sedition to hold and declare that Indian salvation must come through independence. The Indian National Congress when it passed the Independence Resolution was not considered guilty of sedition and even to-day it has not been declared an illegal body. The Pandit will not appeal against his conviction but we believe the High Court of Calcutta may of its own motion take up the matter or the Bar Council can take the initiative, as has been done in some cases.

A New Caste:—While critics of the Hindu social system have been pointing to caste as the crowning proof of India's unfitness for self-government and Indian reformers have been labouring to restore it to its original form of functional grouping, it is interesting to observe the formation of a new caste under our eyes. The Government of India have issued orders bearing on the conduct of Government servants, which we publish in another column. One of them, as we understand it, makes it obligatory on the part of a Government servant not only to prevent every member of his family (in a joint family, there may be a score or more) from taking part in any activity which tends directly or indirectly to be subversive of the Government established by law. But it also lays upon him the duty of informing his superior officer he knows or even suspects that a member of his family is connected with or interested in such movements. The possibilities suggested by this rule are vast and interesting and may even be amusing. We are, however, concerned for the moment with the sociological aspect of the orders. If these orders add to the duties of Government servants, others are under consideration to add to their privileges. The *Leader* of Allahabad published a message from its correspondent in New Delhi which we also publish. It is under consideration, we are told, to amend the civil law so as to protect officers who are in debt from having their salaries and allowances attached when they are enjoying a hard-earned holiday. The two sets of orders together—duties balanced by privileges—form a perfect example of the basic principle of caste. Old Manu lives again in New Delhi.

Kemal Pasha and Religion:—The *Bombay Chronicle* published a very important communication from a correspondent on Wednesday. It related to the celebration of the Ramzan-Id this year in Turkey. The measures adopted by the Turkish Republic to westernise manners and to put down orthodox opposition created the impression that the new regime and its leaders were opposed to religion. This has no

doubt influenced to some extent the handful of "rationalists" in this country. They will be surprised to learn that the Turkish Dictator accompanied by his high officials attended 'Id prayers at the Juma Mosque at Angora and delivered an address in which he exhorted his countrymen to stick to their religion and to love their country. Two explanations may be given of this apparently sudden recognition of the importance of religion to the Turkish nation. One is that the leader of the Turkish Revolution felt obliged to keep religion in the background until he had established his authority against the opposition of the orthodox priesthood. The other is that, as the result of experience, he has come to realise that the Turkish nation can not be completely consolidated without the consent of religion. It is on their religious life, that nations repose, wrote Bryce in his Holy Roman Empire. Without religion the new nation which the genius of Kemal Pasha has created, will not easily settle down to the new order. The second explanation is probably the right one. If so, it reflects fresh credit on the Ghazi's patriotism and statesmanship.

The Depressed Classes and Temply Entry:—We published last week an article on the Temple Entry Bill pointing out some of its defects and suggesting certain modifications relating mainly to the referendum. The writer showed clearly the disadvantages of attempting to carry out reforms with the consent of the conservative elements of society. If you would have the question of admitting the untouchables into Hindu temples decided by vote it is but fair that the right to vote be restricted to those who usually resort to temples. That the result of such a referendum will necessarily be against the admission does not affect the issue although it naturally rouses the opposition of the progressive sections. The dispute over the electorates is really an attempt on both sides to secure a clear decision in its favour. The only way of effectively carrying out this reform is not to wait for the approval of the orthodox but to decide on the merits of the case and place legislation on the subject on this basis. Such a policy is possible neither for a democracy nor for a bureaucracy which in social matters seeks clear cut majorities before acting. In view of this, there is another alternative, to tackle the question indirectly. The intensive agitation in favour of temple-entry has tended to obscure the fact that it is only one aspect of the question of the uplift of untouchables. Owing to the stress laid hitherto on its emotional side, public opinion has based its judgment of the progress of depressed class reform work on the number of temples opened to the lower castes. Inevitably the more solid achievements in the educational, sanitary and economic spheres are unnoticed and in places such work has even been neglected. Mr. Starte, Backward Class Officer, in his interesting Report for 1932-3, expresses the hope that recruitment in the Public Services of depressed classes men, will lead to a better social status and to the abolition of caste restrictions in matters of wells, roads and public institutions. It is not often, however, that improvement in the status of a few individuals brings about advantages to an entire community. Now however that the question of temple-entry has been raised same solution must be formed for it. Orthodox Hindus have expressed their opposition to temple entry but in doing so they have been careful to explain that they are no less desirous of improving the lot of the depressed classes than the reformers socially, and work along these lines should make greater headway than it is doing at present.

The Second Generation:—We have dealt with the legal aspect of the conviction of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in another note. It has a human side as well. The Chief Presidency Magistrate Mr. Sinha is a son of a great Indian nationalist, the late Lord Sinha. The Pandit is the son of another equally great leader, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. The coincidence is remarkable. This is the second generation. What will the third be?

The Test Matches:—Writing of the so-called test matches after they were played in Bombay, we ventured to express our doubts about their serving the laudable purpose intended by their promoters. We are sorry to see that our doubts have not proved altogether uncalled for. The reports and comments in the Press show that the most that can be claimed is that the test matches have not materially affected the relations between the Indian and British communities. This is chiefly due to the fact that an Englishman who umpired in two of the matches has been the foremost and severest critic of the methods of the English team. Mr. Frank Tarrant has really saved the situation from taking a communal aspect. If other Englishmen in this country take an independent line in matters of controversy, whatever politicians may say or do, there will be little chance of the race issue obtruding itself into Indo-British relations.

Earthquake Relief:—We publish this week Babu Rajendra Prasad's article on the problem of administering relief to the earthquake victims. He warns the public of the dangers of indiscriminate charity and urges the necessity of impressing on the people of the devastated areas the fact that though the earthquake may have left them destitute it has not made them resourceless. Viewed in the light of his exhortation the help rendered by other provinces is welcomed as a valuable supplement to the efforts of the victims themselves. Babu Rajendra Prasad appeals for the construction of a better Bihar on the ruins of the old. Another statement on the extent of the suffering inflicted on on Nepal was given in a press interview last week. General Shumshere Singh gave us the reassuring news that Nepal had not suffered to the extent that Bihar had from the earthquake. Nepal has already been assured of Indian sympathy and we trust that relief will be extended to that country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1934.

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN INDIA.

A Reuter's telegram of the 15th reported that a meeting at the Lambeth Palace of the Committees formed under the Presidency of Lord Halifax to appeal for Christian Colleges in India, decided to launch an appeal at a meeting at Mansion House on 1st March when the Lord Mayor will preside. The Archbishop of Canterbury will be among the speakers. It is stated that the immediate need is the reconstruction and extension of six colleges. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Mr. Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare and the Viceroy are among the supporters of the appeal. The Archbishops' support calls for no remark. Lord Halifax (Lord Irwin) is an ex-viceroy and the limitations attaching to the position no longer exist in his case. As members of the British Cabinet, he and Mr. Baldwin are bound by the principle of religious neutrality which is the basis of British rule in this country. This is more particularly the case with Sir Samuel Hoare who, as Secretary of State for India, is directly responsible for upholding the underlying principles of British rule; and still more so in the case of the Viceroy who is the head of the administration and His Majesty's representative in this country. We daresay these high officials have satisfied themselves that by supporting this appeal they are not doing anything contrary to the principle of religious neutrality and they are most unlikely to change their opinion whatever may be urged to the contrary. Nevertheless it is our duty to point out that so long as the primary object of these institutions is to substitute Christianity for the ancient religious faiths of the country, support to them means support of their propaganda and not merely of their purely educational activities.

To obviate the possibility of misconception, we quote the following passage from the Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India presided over by Dr. A. D. Lindsay, which was published three years ago and was the outcome of an extended enquiry into the working of Christian Colleges in this country. "We have seen in considering the India of the present day," the Commissioners observe, "that Hinduism and Islam are largely losing their hold over the mind of the ordinary student and are being replaced by an irreligious materialism: that there is little in either Hinduism or Islam which can resist the irreligious influences of economic and psychological determinism." Then, again, "If the Scriptures are still regarded by all as the spearhead, there is no longer a well-fitted handle. We have got to see whether we can remake a handle to the spearhead, and we have got to see whether we can combat those influences in the system which, so far from helping, make against the Christian purpose of the Colleges." We do not know on what evidence other than the disinterestedly interested one of Christian Missionary Professors, Dr. Lindsay and his colleagues formed their opinion that Hinduism and Islam were largely losing their hold on the mind of the ordinary student in India. If this was true and so far as it is true, the Missions, having themselves been actively engaged in bringing about this result, should regard their work, including educational work, as having succeeded; whereas the Commission was appointed to enquire why it has failed. It is altogether false to say that Hinduism and Islam have lost their hold on the ordinary Indian student. On the contrary, the great religions of India, reformed of their excrescences and enriched by nationalism, have a stronger hold today on the youth of India than at any previous time. The Mission Colleges themselves, paradorical as it is, have helped towards this result. Some of the greatest leaders of the revival movement in Indian religions, were educated in these colleges. Swami Vivekananda and several of his fellow workers in the Ramakrishna Mission were products of Mission Colleges. We suggest that if a hundred students of each of the three religions be taken at random, there will not be a greater proportion of materialists amongst Hindu and Muslim students than among Christians; perhaps, less.

Further, it may interest Dr. Lindsay to know that higher education in Bombay Presidency has for the best part of 60 or 70 years been controlled by Oxford graduates. One of the most eminent of them whose name is still remembered with affection, declared publicly that Western civilisation had escaped the control of Christianity. We put it with all respect to the Master of Balliol College that if he really wants to save Indian students from materialism, he would do well to begin nearer home. India in order to save herself from Western materialism is carrying on a painful struggle against the powerful forces which are arrayed on its side. The assumptions of the Lindsay Commission's Report are not in accord with the views of an increasing number of religious leaders of thought in Europe and America. What they desiderate is co-operative action on an equal footing of all great religions to stem the tide of materialism which threatens to overwhelm all religions. The World Fellowship of Faiths recently held at Chicago was intended to give effect to this desire. The Hocking Commission which followed Dr. Lindsay's Commission, and in fact adopted the title of its Report, "Rethinking Missions," from the latter's Report, urged such collaboration between religions, which, of course, is entirely opposed to the spearhead or sword point policy. We are fully conscious of the great services rendered in the past by Mission Colleges to India. But this was in spite of their avowed object of proselytising. Nor

should it be forgotten that two-thirds of the expenditure on these colleges come from fees paid by Hindus and Muslims, and from Government grants, and that only a minute fraction of the students attending them are Christians.

INDIAN MUSLIMS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The papers this week reported the suicide of a Muslim girl in Bombay. Her marriage was to have taken place a month hence. Suicide is rare among Muslims. Suicide by burning herself to death after drenching herself with kerosine oil, is an even more marked departure from Muslim ideology. Such suicides among Hindu girls have frequently occurred, generally owing to the incidence of rigid marriage customs on minds sensitised by social and religious propaganda for three generations. This is perhaps the first case of a Muslim girl adopting this method. The contagion is evidently spreading. Communalist politicians may flatter themselves with the belief that there is a gulf between Muslims and Hindus and that the two communities have fundamental differences in social life. The Age of Consent Report pricked this bubble. It showed that in the important matter of early marriage, Muslims were only some distance behind their Hindu compatriots. It is well known to those whose minds are not obsessed by political exigencies that the life of the general population is moulded on much the same lines socially and economically irrespective of religious beliefs, and that even as regards religious beliefs there is a good deal of overlapping. It can not be otherwise with communities which for centuries have dwelt side by side and have been subject to the same physical and political conditions. So long as public life remained a monopoly of the male sex; it was possible to keep this fundamental unity out of sight. But with the growth of the women's movement in strength and influence the purdah has been irrevocably lifted. Women are the only realists in the true sense, as they are closest to life. The Women's Movement in India has steadfastly refused to recognise communal catchwords for the simple reason that they have no relation to reality as women feel it every day and hour of their lives. Some Muslim leaders made a great fuss about the Sarda Act as being opposed to Islam. But a thousand Muslim women of the best families in the land sent a representation to Government expressing their uncompromising opposition to the attempts to get the law modified so as to exclude Muslims from its operation; and the opposition to the Act collapsed at once. The suicide of the Muslim girl has a significance which the leaders of all communities will do well to recognise betimes. The social ideals of India are the concern not of one community but of all. Muslims so far have held aloof from the social reform movement with a few exceptions. They can not do so any longer. Communal electorates have absolutely no effect as barriers to the interpenetration of social forces. In Turkey and elsewhere, Islam has by itself not been able to maintain its ground against disruptive outside influences. In India, with the great conservative force of Hinduism to sustain it, Islam should be able to make its distinctive contribution to world culture.

WASTEFUL COMMUNALISM.

Some one may usefully undertake an enquiry into the economic wastage involved in the craze to communalise everything. The *Reformer* has more than once declared that it does not agree with those who would destroy communalism root and branch. There are spheres in which the communal approach is the best and most convenient. These as a rule are the ones in which the special religious doctrines and dogmas of a community largely enter. In all other spheres it is both economical and advantageous to think and act non-communally. The Governor of Bombay gave wholesome advice to the Muslims of the Konkan who, having collected a large sum of money, wished to start a High School with it for children of their community. Lord Brabourne pointed out to them that there was already seven High Schools in the Konkan open to all communities including Muslims and that far more could be done by utilising the money they have to build one or two hostels for pupils of their community, in which special arrangements could be made for giving religious and other instruction suited to their requirements. A generous Muslim donor gave a large sum of money some years ago and stipulated that it should be spent on creating and conducting a Muslim College. After much delay the Islamia College at Andheri was started. It would be interesting to enquire how many of the students attending it are Muslims and what proportion they bear to the total number on the rolls. If non-Muslim students are excluded, the College will be practically deserted, we are told. Not only is the number of Muslim students too small to fill a separate College but the brightest of them prefer to join the other Colleges where they can have the stimulus of intellectual companionship with the best of other communities. Muslim boys are the equals of boys of other communities in every respect. The ablest of them feel greatly handicapped by the badge of inferiority fastened on them by their elders who rely on communalism to maintain themselves in the positions to which they have climbed on it as on a ladder. The new generation when it comes of age will repudiate with contumely the policy to which their fathers cling with pathetic pertinacity. It is for this among other reasons that we deprecate making the abolition of communal electorates the main plank of any political platform. This only gives the artificial vitality which direct opposition almost invariably imparts to fixed ideas.

PRINCIPLES OF BIHAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(By Rajendra Prasad.)

It is just a month since the great earthquake of 15th January, 1934 violently shook to their depths the foundations not only of our houses, which toppled down pellmell, but also of the whole economic structure of our social organisation, which is bound to have far-reaching consequences. It is not unnatural or surprising that the blow stunned us and paralysed our nerves for the time being. Now that we are gradually recovering our balance and becoming able to understand, in their right proportions, the innumerable effects of this great cataclysm, it is time to consider how best we can help reconstruction of our demolished houses and, no less of the disturbed and distracted economic and social life of Bihar. If we have clarity of vision and strength of will, we may turn even this great calamity into a blessing. We have in a rough sort of way realised the immensity and complex nature of the problem of reconstruction We should now apply our minds to the principles which should underlie any plan of reconstruction and which should guide the agency engaged in it.

We shall be making the greatest blunder of our lives if we imagine that it is enough to give doles to sufferers to enable them to keep body and soul together and to re-erect their huts and hovels. The best charity is that which inspires and enables the receiver to do without it. Our efforts should therefore, be to evoke and energise those instincts of self-help, self-confidence and self respect which may be paralysed for the time being but which are always capable of revival with proper treatment: and we should avoid like poison every thing which has the least tendency of making people feel that they are helpless and resourceless. In India and particularly, in the devastated tracts there is such an abundance of population and consequently, of available human energy that it should not prove an impossible task to reconstruct Bihar on foundations which may prove safer and sounder than those which have crashed. Only we should not lose sight of fundamentals. Our people are not resourceless in the face of a great calamity, as experience even of this disaster amply proves. Particularly, our village folk are energetic, enterprising and resourceful and, if we can only show them the way, I am confident that they will respond with energy and vigour. If, on the other hand, we committed the unpardonable blunder of lulling them to sleep with opiate doses of indiscriminate charity, we shall be choking in them the noble springs of action, as even our wells have been choked with sand. We have to recreate self-confidence where dismal despair weighs them down. We have to rekindle the fire of enthusiasm where chill despondency freezes the genial currents of the soul. Our Puranas tell us the story of Rishi Kumbhaj who put the whole ocean into the hollow of his hand and drank it up in one draught, of Vishwamitra whose ambition, in which he succeeded was no less than to create a new earth and a new heaven. Our people have lost their houses and their lands, their savings and their goods. But most of those that survived have not lost their arms and their feet, their brains and their moral fibre. They need to use them now as never before and, if once this is realised, the problem of reconstruction, vast and stupendous as it is, becomes easy of solution.

We shall thus be helping them best by not giving them doles of charity which are apt to make them ease-loving, reliant and dependent on others and lacking in grit and determination. For example, it is no use feeding people, who are able-bodied and capable of labour, without taking work from them. It is no use erecting houses for those who are able to rebuild them with assistance, guidance and advice. It is equally useless to try to reclaim the devastated land of those who are unwilling to toil for it. Nor is it any use attempting to help those who sit with folded hands, ready to grab what others will have created with the sweat of their brow. Our principle should, therefore, be to help those who are willing to stand on their own feet and not those whose legs can carry them only as far as a relief camp and whose hands can reach only as far as the man that doles out relief. Reduced to concrete terms, it means that doles of food and clothing should be refused to all except those who, on account of age, sickness or other physical disability, are helpless: that every one should be expected to labour in the work of reconstruction and to labour harder than before, inasmuch as the damage done by Nature has to be repaired by many that the vast human energy, that lies unutilised and is wasted for want of work, should be utilised to its fullest capacity for the reproduction of wealth which has been destroyed; and no quarter should be given to sloth and slip-shod easy-going habits. It further means that the people in towns, no less than those in villages, should not be permitted to expect that relief organisations will clear their debris for them, unless they were prepared to take a basket and a shovel in their own hands; rebuild their houses for them, unless they were willing to contribute what they have and, above all, their labour to their rebuilding. Relief Societies cannot afford to become Dharmashala building societies. They may give them building materials at reduced rates, where necessary, or advance them funds on promise of repayment as debts of honour. They may even build houses for those who have lost them, but the occupants should be expected to earn the right to occupy them by their labour, similarly, they may help the more well-to-do with engineering advice and loans to rebuild their houses. Those small traders, merchants and artisans, who have lost their small capitals or tools, may be helped with the wherewithal to restart life, but should be expected to render social service in return. In the country-side where the land is extensively damaged, the cultivator should be helped with scientific advice as to the way of reclaiming it and where reclamation is found to be beyond the physical and moral resources of an individual or family, groups should be formed to pool their resources. Nature has reduced what was but yesterday the most fertile part of this province to the condition of a sandy desert. Those who will labour to reclaim it will create new wealth and those who will not will naturally lose the right even to the sand-heaps.

To carry out this reconstruction requires detailed and well thought out plan and a well-organised and capable agency.

As regards planning, we must make sure that the wrecked towns are not going to be a replica of what they were before, but that they are going to have wider roads, neater and more ventilated houses and healthier surroundings, that they are not going to perpetuate time-old segregation of the socalled lower castes, or recreate the slum conditions of the socalled advanced towns of modern days—in other words, they are going to be rebuilt so as to ensure the physical, social, and moral health of the community.

Similarly, in the country-side the problems of reclamation of land and rehabilitation of the cultivators have to be investigated and a line of action clearly chalked out. Can the land be rendered fit for cultivation by ordinary ploughing, deep ploughing or physical removal and disposal of the sand? Can the sand yield to some chemico mechanical treatment?

can the Himalayan streams so be trained and harnessed as to irrigate the sandy tract or yield the motor energy to revitalise the humming life of the plains between the Himalayas and the Ganges? What crops can be grown with or without the help of such energy? If rice is impossible, can we have other crops which can be grown on the sandy land? There are certain crops which serve to blend the sand with the earth and make what is sandy fertile. Can they be used here? If so what are they and how and wherefrom can seeds be got? Will fruit culture prosper? Melons and Kharbuzas are ordinarily grown in sandy lands and Diaras. Where can they be sold, if grown in large quantities? What about ground-nuts? Earth has altered, but not the sun or the season. We may expect rains and also floods. What are the crops that prosper in these conditions? Again, large tracts are under water. Can they be utilised for fish culture? Can they be utilised for culture of plants like *Singhara*? Can we hope to grow paddy in them? If the land has become uncultivable, can it be made to grow timber and converted into forest? If so, what trees are likely to prosper there?

When the productivity of the land has suddenly disappeared or is greatly reduced, it cannot support the teeming population it has been so long supporting. Subsidiary occupation and industries must be found for the people. What are the cottage industries which can be easily introduced? Spinning and weaving are old, well-established industries in these parts. They may be encouraged. Bee culture may succeed. What else that will suit the temper and the culture of the people?

If, unfortunately, the land is found to be irreclaimable after investigation by experts, among whom must be counted the agriculturists themselves, then the difficult problem of emigration will arise. We have plenty of uncultivated land in Assam and Burma on the East, Sind in the West and Central Provinces in the South. We may go further afield and find such land in foreign countries, if that is necessary and possible.

Another problem that we have to tackle is what is all this to cost? What is going to be the cost of rehabilitation of towns and the countryside respectively under each head? What is the agency which will be necessary to plan and organise reconstruction, likely to cost? Where is it to be found or got from? Next, how is all this to be financed? Are grants from the Government of India forthcoming? If so, to what extent? Are loans going to be raised? If so, of what amount? What is the rate of interest payable to the lender? Are they going to be advanced with or without interest? If the latter at what rate? What about the amounts which will require to be written off? Will the losses accruing on account of the inability of one person to repay be recouped by realising higher rates of interests from others who are able to pay. Again, are loans a safe economic proposition in such circumstances. Will they not burden and clog the economic wheel of the whole province? Are any other devices, like land mortgage banks practicable? What part can co-operative societies play in rebuilding?

I have indicated some of the problems which have to be tackled in any scheme of reconstruction, taking a long view of things and not content with mere tinkering. They are difficult enough, but we cannot afford to be deterred by them. They require engineering skill and agricultural knowledge. They require appreciation of practical economics, as distinguished from mere book knowledge. They require a through knowledge of the strength and weakness in the character and culture of our people. Above all, they require a long vision and a determined will and a band of sacrificing and devoted workers. If the country—and, particularly, this Province—can produce these, the great calamity will prove a blessing in disguise. Let us not delude ourselves that we are going to complete this work of reconstruction in weeks or months or as a matter of leisure-hour employment. It is vast and complicated enough to tax all the energy, enthusiasm and concentration. We can command and exhaust all the funds that the generous instincts of our countrymen and foreigners can furnish.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S BIHAR VISIT.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had gone to Bihar at the request of the Allahabad Earthquake Relief Committee, was unable to write his report of the conditions in the earthquake-stricken areas and on the relief operations there, for submission to the local committee before his arrest. It is learnt, writes the *Leader*, that on his arrest he left word with the secretary of the committee that, if permitted, he would send his report to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the president of the Bihar Relief Committee, Allahabad, from jail.

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena who had accompanied Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Bihar and had stayed behind at Monghyr to help in the organisation of the work of the removal of debris, started by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, arrived at Allahabad recently. He hoped that the debris would be completely removed in less than a fortnight as the work started by the Pandit was in full swing. He gave the following statement to the press.

'I was not prepared for the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, coming as it did immediately after his return from the earthquake-stricken areas and before he had even the time to write and submit his report to the Allahabad Earthquake Relief Committee at the instance of which he had undertaken the tour. I had accompanied him during this tour and I know what great impetus the relief work has received by his dynamic presence. He was so much moved by the harrowing distress and suffering of the people that he had promised to go back to Bihar again and to stay for sometime specially in Monghyr town and Muzaffarpur district. He had a very strenuous time of it. With a view to having first hand knowledge of the abnormal conditions created by the earthquake in North Bihar and to study the requirements of the situation he had to see things for himself, not by flying in the air but by mixing with the people. He had to travel hundreds of miles daily by rail, motor, boat and sometimes even on foot; taking very little rest in the night and often foregoing his meals in the day. He took exhaustive notes and scores of photographs of the ruins and the other afflicted areas. He held consultations with the relief workers and local men, ascertained their difficulties and gave suggestions for future work. He also addressed meetings at several places and exhorted the people to shake off their present inertia and to be more self-reliant and active. Instead of complaining and waiting for help from others he wanted them to gird up their loins and to begin the work of reconstruction in right earnest, to organise themselves into bands of voluntary workers and to march with pick-axes and shovels in hand from house to house and village to village until every well had been cleared and the dilapidated huts of all those who could not afford to rebuild themselves were made habitable. It is needless to say that Panditji's tour has infused a new spirit among the people and workers alike. Although much has already appeared in the press regarding the devastation and havoc caused by the earthquake

still Panditji's report, with his power of keen observation and facile expression, is expected to be a very illuminating document. His suggestions regarding future work will be of great value for the guidance of relief operations."

EAST AND WEST.*

(By Berthold Laufer.)

East and West have an entirely different attitude toward religion. All Asiatic nations, excepting those that profess Islam, look upon religion as a means of salvation, as a road possibly leading to salvation—in opposition to the religions of Semitic ancestry, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, each of which claims to possses *the* road, *the* only possible, truthful, infallible, permanent, and unchangeable road to salvation. It is at the surface merely the difference between the definite and the indefinite article, but this difference is profound, vast and far-reaching, and has shaped the trends of history in the East and West in almost opposite directions. The exclusive Semitic attitude toward religion naturally made for intolerance and persecution; the inclusive, broad-minded Far-Eastern attitude resulted in liberality, moderation, and tolerance. The Chinese in particular have been the most tolerant people in matters of religion, and have willingly listened to and extended hospitality to all religions that knocked at their door. No Chinaman has ever launched a campaign for religious persecution or would ever go to war for the triumph of a religious dogma, nor does he long to die for the glory of his country.

He desires to live for it to the greater glory of his ancestors.

China has always had plenty of religion and religions, but religions only; never however, an organized Church or a hierarchy or priesthood that would have meddled with state affairs or interfered with social customs, cr the freedom of the individual. One of the wisest institutions of China is that marriage has always been strictly a matter of civil law, the exclusive business of the family without interference on the part of a priesthood. This is the more remarkable when we consider that in all European countries civil marriage is an achievement of recent date and that our ancestors were compelled to struggle for centuries until the separation of the State from the Church was brought about and the Church was assigned to its proper place.

Among us, an individual is definitely labelled like a winebottle, in his peregrination from the cradle to the coffin. We consist of a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, a vaccination certificate; possibly a marriage certificate, and infallibly a death certificate, or, as a cynic once expressed it, when we are born they pour water on us, when we marry, they throw rice on us, and when we are buried, they throw dirt on us. Moreover, we are definitely labelled in matters of religion: we profess a religion officially and publicly, we may be associated with a certain denomination and be registered by a church to which we belong for a lifetime. Nothing like that exists in the East. The question so frequently addressed to a Chinaman as to whether he is a Confucianist, Buddhist, or Taoist is irrelevant; for; as a matter of fact, he is nothing of the kind or may be everything of the kind. No one in the East makes a showing of religion or professes it *urbi et Orbi* as we do, and no one is attached to a church, for the simple reason that there is no such institution as a church in our sense of the word. The temples of China, Japan, Tibet, and Mongolia are essentially for the benefit of the monkhood which resides in them. The layman may visit a temple for the purpose of seeking the advice of a priest or consulting the deity by resorting to some means of divination, and he may visit a Buddhist or a Taoist temple on the same day, but there is no community service. Contributions to the maintenance of religious buildings and the clergy are frequently made, but there is no obligation or coercion, and any service is voluntary. The main concern of a Chinese is to obtain long life in this life and salvation in the other life. To him religion is a vehicle carrying him into a better land of bliss, and he welcomes any religion that holds out any promises of salvation and offers the best guaranties. He has never been willing to believe exclusively in one infallible religion that alone might be capable of bringing this result about. Whatever we may think about this attitude toward religion we are compelled to admit that it has made for tolerance toward all religions and for a large measure of personal religious liberty. One of the most curious features of this development then is that the East with its non-ego, anti-individualistic tendency has ended with granting greater personal liberty to the individual, while the West with or despite its theory of the pursuance of individual happiness has finally succeeded in fettering the individual and restricting his movements to a minimum.

In studying other nations outside our own culture sphere and especially oriental nations we awaken to know ourselves and to see our own limitations. We have a great deal to learn from India and the nations of the Far East. We have frequently reproached the Chinese for their lack of patriotism and national spirit and have thereby merely displayed poor judgment and sheer ignorance of the historical factors involved. The ancient Greeks were not nationalists, but merely aimed at being civilised. True they were swallowed by the Roman politically, but their superior civilization conquered the Romans and the entire Roman Empire. Like the ancient Greeks, the Chinese people were never united by the principle of nationalism, but solely by the consciousness of a common bond of a great civilization. In a similar manner the Germans of the eighteenth century were not nationalists: Goethe and Schiller, Lessing, Herder, and Kant were cosmopolitans whose home was the world. German nationalism dates from 1871 with the foundation of the German empire. Nationalism will always run to extremes, and that extreme supernationalism such as prevails at present is no blessing we have seen from the days of the World War and see more and more from day to day. The present Chinese government in accordance with the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, inculcates and fosters the spirit of nationalism, which is alien to their people and never formed part of their traditional background. Unfortunately they are compelled to adopt it from our "civilization," together with militarism, bombing planes, and other instruments of warfare. In some quarters this may be hailed as "progress." We are confident that this will merely be a transitory stage evolving into a finer and bigger era of true culture in the near future.

* From an article in *Open Court*.

Government Servants and their Creditors:—It is understood that the Government of India propose to introduce in the current session of the legislature a bill to amend sec. 60 of the Civil Procedure Code in relation to attachment of leave allowances of Government servants. What steps are proposed to prevent creditors from securing long-term attachment of salaries of Government employee are not known but this aspect of the matter has also been engaging the attention of the Government of India and a final decision to restrict the rights of creditors in such cases might be reached very shortly.

THE ASHRAM AT PONDICHERRY.

In order to remove many misunderstandings which seem to have grown up about his Ashram in Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo has issued a statement in explanation of his ideal.

An Ashram means the house or houses of a Teacher or Master of spiritual philosophy in which he receives and lodges those who come to him for the teaching and practice. An Ashram is not an association or a religious body or a monastery—it is only what has been indicated above and nothing more.

The Ashram in Pondicherry came into being in this way. Sri Aurobindo at first lived in Pondicherry with a few inmates in his house; afterwards a few more joined him. Later on after the Mother joined him, in 1920, the number began so much to increase that it was thought necessary to make an arrangement for lodging those who came and houses were bought and rented according to need for the purpose. Arrangements had also to be made for the maintenance, repair, re-building of houses, for the service of food and for decent living and hygiene.

The Ashram is not an association; there is no constituted body, no officials, no common property owned by an association, no governing council or committee, no activity undertaken of a public character.

The Ashram is not a political institution; all association with political activities is renounced by those who live here. All propaganda, religious, political or social, has to be eschewed by the inmates.

The Ashram is not a religious association. Those who are here come from all religions and some are of no religion. There is no creed or set of dogmas, no governing religious body; there are only the teachings of Sri Aurobindo and certain psychological practices of concentration and meditation, etc., for the enlarging of the consciousness, receptivity, to the Truth, Mastery over the desires, the discovery of the Divine Self and consciousness concealed within each human being, a higher evolution of the nature.

The teaching of Sri Aurobindo starts from that of the ancient sages of India that behind the appearances of the universe, there is the Reality of a Being and Consciousness, a Self of all things one and eternal. All beings are united in that One Self and Spirit but divided by a certain separativity of consciousness, an ignorance of their True Self and Reality in the mind, life and body. It is possible by a certain psychological discipline to remove this veil of separative consciousness and become aware of the True Self, the Divinity within us and all.

Sri Aurobindo's teaching states that this One Being and Consciousness is involved here in Matter. Evolution is the method by which it liberates itself; consciousness appears in what seems to be inconscient, and once having appeared is self-impelled to grow higher and higher and at the same time to enlarge and develop towards a greater and greater perfection. Life is the first step of this release of consciousness; mind is the second; but the evolution does not finish with mind, it awaits a release into something greater, a consciousness which is spiritual and supramental. The next step of the evolution must be towards the development of Supermind and Spirit as the dominant power in the conscious being. For only then will the involved Divinity in things release itself entirely and it become possible for life to manifest perfection.

But while the former steps in evolution were taken by Nature without a conscious will in the plant and animal life, in man Nature becomes able to evolve by a conscious will in the instrument. It is not however by the mental will in man that this can be wholly done, for the mind goes only to a certain point and after that can only move in a circle. A conversion has to be made, a turning of the consciousness by which mind has to change in to the higher principle. This method is to be found through the ancient psychological discipline and practice of Yoga. In the past it has been attempted by a drawing away from the world and a disappearance into the height of the Self or Spirit. Sir Aurobindo teaches that a descent of the higher principle is possible which will not merely release the Spiritual Self out of the world, but release it in the world, replace the mind's ignorance or its very limited knowledge by a supramental truth-consciousness which will be a sufficient instrument of the inner Self and make it possible for the human being to find himself dynamically as well as inwardly and grow out of his still animal humanity into a diviner race. The psychological discipline of Yoga can be used to that end by opening all the parts of the being to a conversion or transformation through the descent and working of the higher still concealed supramental principle.

This however cannot be done at once or in a short time or by any rapid or miraculous transformation. Many steps have to be taken by the seeker before the supramental descent is possible. Man lives mostly in his surface mind, life and body but there is an inner being within him with greater possibilities to which he has to awake—for it is only a very restricted influence from it that he receives now and that pushes him to a constant pursuit of a greater beauty, harmony, power and knowledge. The first process of Yoga is therefore to open the ranges of this inner being and to live from there outward, governing his outward life, by an inner light and force. In doing so, he discovers in himself his true soul which is not this outer mixture of mental, vital and physical elements but something of the Reality behind them, a spark from the One Divine Fire. He has to learn to live in his soul and purify and orientate by its drive towards the Truth the rest of the nature. There can follow afterwards an opening upward and descent of a higher principle of the Being. But even then it is not at once the full supramental Light and Force. For there are several ranges of consciousness between the ordinary human mind and the supramental Truth-consciousness. These intervening ranges have to be opened up and their power brought down into the mind, life and body. Only afterwards can the full power of the Truth-consciousness work in the nature. The process of this self-discipline or sadhana is therefore long and difficult, but even a little of it is so much gained because it makes the ultimate release and perfection more possible.

There are many things belonging to older systems that are necessary on the way—an opening of the mind to a greater wideness and to the sense of the Self and the Infinite, and emergence into what has been called the cosmic consciousness, mastery over the desires and passions; an outward asceticism is not essential, but the conquest of desire and attachment and a control over the body and its needs, greeds and instincts is indispensable. There is a combination of the principles of the old systems, the way of knowledge through the mind's discernment between Reality and the appearance, the heart's way of devotion, love and surrender and the way of works turning the will away from motives and self-interest to the Truth and the service of a greater Reality than the ego. For the whole being has to be trained so that it can respond and be transformed when it is possible for that greater Light and Force to work in the nature.

In this discipline, the inspiration of the Master, and in the difficult stages his control and his presence are indispensable—for it would be impossible otherwise to go through it without much stumbling and error which would prevent all chance of success. The Master is one who has risen to a higher consciousness and being and he is often regarded as its manifestation or representative. He not only helps by his teaching and still more by his influence and example but by a power to communicate his own experience to others.

TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN RUSSIA.*

(By Sasadhar Sinha.)

National unity at the expense of the minorities has been attempted again and again. It was tried in Ireland; it has been tried in the case of the Jews in all Western countries; it is being tried in Germany at this very moment, but, in the long run, wherever the minority group is sufficiently large and exists in intimate spatial relation, it has succeeded in keeping itself distinct, ready to leap into resistance at the slightest provocation. It is nationalism in miniature. Like nationalism, the problem of minorities cannot be solved by simply ignoring it. The problem needs more radical solution.

A novel, and by far the boldest, solution of this delicate question comes from Soviet Russia. The Russian solution naturally forms an integral part of Communist philosophy, which in the last resort envisages a world society, but the lessons of this solution are such as to be of universal significance.

Russia, like all vast countries, is a conglomerate of racial, linguistic and religious minorities. In 1926, for instance, it was estimated that Soviet Russia contained 185 racial and 147 linguistic groups. On the other hand, besides Christians of many sects, there live in Russia Muhammadans, Jews and Buddhists. In the pre-War days Russian Imperialism followed the steam-roller method of "Russification," recognized only Russian as the official language and Greek Orthodoxy as the State religion. The Jews and other non-Russians, the *Inorodtzi* (literally, the foreign born), inhabiting the East, were treated as aliens. They had no civil rights. Thus, although the Russians were in a minority, *i. e.*, 43% of the population, the "official statistics managed to contrive a Russian majority of 68% by counting in the Ukrainians and the White Russians." The Government pursued a steady policy of apotheosizing the Russians over all the other ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. As members of the Imperial race, Russians enjoyed privileges everywhere. In Asiatic Russia, for instance, the indigenous populations were deprived of their best lands in order that the Russian colonists might settle on them. Everything conspired to keep these people economically and culturally backward. Even in European Russia, this policy found its echo. In the zeal for "Russification" the use of Lithuanian, Ukrainian and White Russian languages was forbidden. It was not until after the Russo-Japanese war that books in these languages could be published. Although the claims of the minorities were thus ignored, they were not thereby suppressed.

Indeed, in direct conflict with this centralizing policy, local nationalism had steadily grown throughout the Empire. Among the Western border states, its origin can be traced back to the 19th century, while Pan-Islamism among the Muhammadan populations grew with the resurgence of Muhammadanism in the Near East in the present century. Nationalism among the oppressed minorities and the revolutionary movement among the Russian intelligentsia went on hand in hand, one reinforcing the other. This alliance was not always plain-sailing, because the Russian Revolutionaries themselves were often patriotically-minded. Nevertheless, so long as open conflict was averted, it was a source of strength to both. It is well known that the abortive reforms of 1905 were won by joint effort.

The assumption of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917 immediately brought them face to face with the national question—the question of minority right. The collapse of the Tsarist Empire let loose two forces, which were equally important and equally dangerous. The growth of "Pan-Russian chauvinism," as Lenin called it, among the revolutionary leaders on the one hand, and the growth of separatist movements among the national minorities on the other, boded evil for the future of the revolution. "Pan-Russian chauvinism" thus stood for centralization, breaking down all barriers of race, language and religion, and the creation of a State to all intents and purposes Russian. Behind all this quibbling with words, it was evident that the old imperial ideal was reasserting itself, but only in a different garb this time. The renewed vitality of nationalist sentiments of the racial minorities showed at the same time that the situation called for delicate handling. Slavophilism in any form would set the powder magazine ablaze. Lenin's analysis of the problem or rather problems presented by these two points of view, diametrically opposed and yet not irreconcilable, was characteristic. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (March 19, 1919), Lenin said:

"It seems to me that the Finnish example and that of the Bashkirs show that in the question of nationality it is not possible to proceed from the assumption that economic unity is necessary at any price. Necessary, of course, it is. But we must attain it through propaganda, through agitation, through a voluntary union. The Bashkirs distrust the Russians, because the Russians are at a higher level of civilization and have used their civilization to rob the Bashkirs. Consequently in these remote districts, the name Russian means "oppressor" to the Bashkirs. We must take that into account, we must combat it. We have only now learnt to manage better, and even that only some of us yet. Thus there are Communists among us who say 'uniform schools,' and accordingly no instruction to be given except through the Russian language. In my view a Communist who thinks in this way is a Pan-Russian chauvinist."

The solution followed as a matter of course. The Russian Communist Party firmly laid down the principle of self-determination for all peoples and their complete right to secede from the Soviet Union. This was a solution at once bold and constructive. At one fell swoop it took the wind out of the sails of extravagant local patriotism smarting under Russian oppression, supposed or real.

Obviously, the recognition of formal or constitutional equality between the various racial and linguistic groups (religious or doctrinal differences are not recognized in Soviet Russia) is the beginning, indeed a very minor beginning, towards the effacement of the past which had embittered their mutual relations. The cultural and economic reconstruction of the Union has consequently rivetted the major attention of the Soviet authorities. The main task lay in the levelling up of the cultural and economic life of the constituents of the Soviet

* From an article in the *Modern Review*.

Union. With the removal of the economic, often disguised as the cultural, motive, the minorities problem will solve itself.

Cultural work took the form of what in Soviet terminology is called the liquidation of illiteracy and the emancipation of women. Neither of them was easy. Among the non-Russians, in many cases, there did not even exist a written literature. It was a tremendous task. Nothing daunted, the Faithful set to work. National literatures, both literary and scientific, have grown up throughout the Union. Truly national indeed are these, because the key to the Soviet linguistic policy lies, as Dr. Kohn puts it, in "simplicity and popularization." At the beginning of 1931, it is reported, "A reading book for sociology for the first grade schools" was published in the Mari language, a language spoken by one of the Finnish-Ugrian tribes living in the extreme north of Russia, who before the war had no written literature of their own. Even in some of the more advanced areas, scientific studies could not, until lately, be carried on except through the medium of Russian. But so great has been the advance that by this year "there are to be sufficient teachers and sufficient lingual preparation to enable all faculties to use the language of the peoples." The task of women's emancipation, especially among the Muhammadan tribes of Central Asia, was fraught with explosive material. Any unnecessary haste would have spelt disaster. Co-education or free social intercourse among the latter would have been unthinkable in the early days. Special schools and special clubs had to be started for these eastern women. "Red Yurts" and 'Red Kibitkas' were instituted in the areas inhabited by nomads and semi-nomads—transportable tents with which teacher and doctor and midwife and library went from camp to camp, held courses of instruction in reading and writing, in hygiene and the care of children, and made the women acquainted with their rights, and tried to organize them." All movements for freedom have their martyrs. Many a heroic Muhammadan woman paid with her life for her faith. Contrary to the usual belief, women had shown themselves more eager for their emancipation than their menfolk. Nevertheless, the civilizing influence has made rapid strides. Since 1927 the old caution on the part of the authorities has been found unnecessary. The "unchanging" East has begun to change. Indeed, in areas on a higher level of culture, like the Crimea, as Dr. Kohn points out, "the veil has completely disappeared. Tartar girls are increasingly attending the State schools.....; on the Corso in Simferopol they are hardly distinguishable in appearance and manner from Russian girls .."

In the economic sphere a similar policy has been pursued. In the pre-War Russia, the sole aim of the Russian industrial policy was Russia's enrichment. The non-Russian territories within the Empire were treated as virtual colonies. The Soviet authorities have completely reversed the process. A policy of decentralization is being deliberately followed with a view firstly, to bring up the economic level of the undeveloped territories to that of the more advanced, thereby strengthening the economic interdependence of the different parts of the country, and secondly, to create a native proletariat, who would be the backbone of the workers' State. The result of this policy is already reflected in the proportionately larger "tempo" of industrialization in the periphery as compared with the centre of Russia. The exploitation of one part of the country (or of one people) for the benefit of another has ceased. The policy of mechanization of agriculture issues from the same motive. The old antithesis between urban and rural labour, a source of friction and of backwardness in the latter case, must be abolished.

National self-determination, economic and cultural equality among the various units of the Union, however, do not in themselves or even in conjunction ensure a supra-national outlook. Indeed, nationalism often becomes an end in itself, and economic and cultural motives serve to reinforce it. The Soviet authorities themselves are well aware of this danger. The building up of a common culture, the communist culture, thus becomes the corner-stone of Soviet Policy. In other words, this culture will be national in form but common in content. "The Communist state can grant entire lingual autonomy and liberty, but it cannot recognize cultural autonomy and liberty." It is in this sense that Party solidarity assumes such seminal importance. The party organization in consequence takes no cognizance of national differences. It is supra-national in character. It is believed, and from the party point of view, no doubt rightly, that the ultimate defence against all fissiparous tendencies (as the Indian political jargon has it) must be the Communist Party which cuts across all racial and linguistic barriers and unites the party members in a common purpose. "The government and party machinery had to be 'rooted,' to use the official term, in the indigenous population, as the Soviet state could only so be assured of the active co-operation of the broad masses among all its peoples."

Paradoxically enough, the cultural backwardness of Russia has not been an unmitigated evil. The Soviet authorities have a clean slate to write upon. For the bulk of the Soviet citizens at any rate the cultural heritage to which they come is the only culture they have. Everything is new to them. The generation that is growing up today, although speaking different tongues (and even that is not strictly correct today) is imbued with the same cultural outlook. It is reported that since the removal of the Russian language from its privileged position, it is developing by free consent into a *lingua franca* for the multi-lingual Union. It is bound to be a source of enormous strength to the new Russian society.

RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN NEPAL.

General Bahadur Shumshere Jung Rana Bahadur, eldest son of the Maharaja of Nepal, who had been in Delhi on a mission, left for Calcutta en route to Nepal. Among those who saw him off were Colonel Dawkes, Major Sovaj Jung, The Raja of Patan and Captain R. R. Burnett, Under Secretary to the Foreign Department.

Interviewed by the Associated Press regarding the situation in Nepal, General Bahadur Shumshere Jung said that relief measures were progressing rapidly, and the situation was entirely in hand. Galvanished sheets, worth about a lakh of rupees, were ordered with a view to erecting temporary huts. He added that they had to buy non-Indian galvanised sheets as Tatas could not meet the demand immediately.

The general then referred to the plans for future, and said that they would await the monsoon before taking in hand a scheme of permanent reconstruction in his opinion, the damage to Nepal was not so extensive as in Bihar in respect of cultivable land. He mentioned that they had asked the Government of India to grant them a loan and also the help of an expert engineer with a view to surveying the damaged buildings, and advising the Government of Nepal on the new reconstruction programme.

Proceeding General Shumshere Jung expressed regret that the recent earthquake had stood in the way of their carrying out the programme for the development of Nepal, which the Maharajah had

in hand. However, one good the earthquake had done was that it had made the younger generation believe in God. The fact that temple after temple stood without slightest damage amidst demolished buildings around could not, he said, but make an appeal to all and enhance their faith in God.

Concluding the General gave an account of death roll in Nepal and said that in the Nepal Valley the figure of deaths was 3,400. Figures for other parts were not yet available. Luckily the ropeway remained unaffected with the result that the supplies of food were not interrupted.

He recalled in this connection that a hundred years ago, Nepal experienced a severe earthquake, when people lived in the open for about a month.

SUFIISM.

Dr. Mohan Singh of the Oriental College, Lahore, delivered his first two University Extension lectures on Punjabi Sufi Poetry on Friday and Saturday last at the Government College Hall, Ludhiana. The lecturer on the first occasion dealt with the Sufi tradition in the Punjab by the 12th Century A. D. He defined Mysticism, named its chief kinds as intellectual, love, Nature and religious and differentiated Sufiism from it, which latter he called devotional humanism. Sufiism, in his opinion, could be defined as an attempt designed for the faithful to cultivate primarily purity of heart and through it, an attitude of love or passionate adoration for and towards the one, ever present and ever-onlooking God with the help of the Murshid, of God's mercy (Fazl), dancing music, repetition of certain holy names or formulae, contemplation, etc., and generally without the aid of orthodox Muslim ritual, ceremonies and duties, in order that a certain state of ecstasy may be achieved here on earth, interpreting that ecstasy to be the Union of the seeker-lover with the sought-beloved, which union, in essence, was different from the Union of the male and the female only in degree, and not in kind. The intellectual background of the various orders of the Sufis was not very strong nor very clearly defined and pursued to logical ends. Their conceptions about life after death, about the plurality of lives, about the nature of the Union (Visal or Fana), about metempsychosis, about the place of the Holy Prophet varied and in general, as Margoliouth had put it, the chief treatises on Sufiism failed to approach the Indian treatises in power of speculation.

The lecturer gave a clear abstract of the prevailing views of the rise of Sufi-ism, its compatibility with Islam and its reactions to Hindu mysticism and concluded that the relation of individual Sufis to Islam varied from more or less entire conformity to a merely nominal profession of belief in Allah and His prophet, that Sufi experience and belief were partly the cause and partly the consequence of speculation concerning the nature of God and man, speculation which drifted far away from Koranic monotheism into pantheistic and monistic philosophies, and that Hazrat Mohammed, on whom be peace, who had in him something of the mystic, felt God both as far and near, both Transcendant and Immanent. On its practical and literary side, Sufiism was grately indebted to the Bodhisattava Doctrine, to Surat Shabad Yog of the mediaeval Indian Saints and to later Krishnaism. The indebtedness was reflected in the love of the Sufi for the personal beauty and charm of the Holy Prophet; in the Sufi's singing of the love of the seeker for god or for the Prophet or for his guru in terms of the love of the female for the male; in his acceptance of the potency of the mere repetition of the name, of the value of concentration of sight and mind on certain objects, persons, or thought forms, and of the worth of the control of breath; in his insistence on the exaltation and beatification of the Murshid who is placed on a footing of equality with the Prophet and the Lord God Himself; and in his indulgence in vehement declarations of the castelessness, colourlessness, etc., of the Lord and the worthlessness of orthodox religious practices divorced from the love-attitude. As to the utility of Sufi-ism to Islam, in the words of Edward Sell, Thwaytes, Margaret Smith and Edward Holmes, besides providing food for the hunger of the heart and finding for the orthodox a way of reconciliation between his own and the surrounding philosophies in the immediate neighbourhood of Arabia and in the distant Islamic countries, Sufiism had proved of great benefit to Islam for purposes of propaganda among the masses of all religions, particularly of Hinduism; further, the appeal of Islam to the scientific, rational mind of today also lay though the love-element in its teaching, or in other words, through Sufiism. Again, about the mystic of Islam as about the mystic in other religions, it may be said that while accepting with unquestioning loyalty the teaching of his own church or sect, he finds new depths of meaning in part of its teaching; he dramatizes those parts, makes their dry bones live. Sufis claim to be orthodox and assert that they are the true expounders of the Quaran and the Hadis. They maintain that they know, as none other do the esoteric meaning of the words given through or spoken by the Prophet.

NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION OF CHARITIES.

The need for co-operation between the trustees of various Parsi charities and the consolidation of the resources at their disposal was emphasised at the fourteenth annual report of the Parsi Charity Organisation Society, which has been published. The Executive Committee of the Society, which prepared the report, thinks that the lack of such co-operation and consolidation in the distribution of help for educational purposes would tend to the possibility of breeding mendicants amongst the school-going and college-going children.

The report, which reviews the work done by the Society for the year ending June last, states that the total number of applications for help which the Executive Committee was requested to investigate was 2,215. Allowing for duplication, the Committee estimates that it had investigated into 1,900 cases, which shows the increasing burden on the resources of the Parsi community during the last three years owing to unemployment and other cases. The number of cases renewed for help was 867, involving a charity of Rs. 7,800 per month; and fresh cases helped were 334, involving a charity of Rs. 2,540 per month. In sixty-seven cases help was arranged in regard to the payment of arrears of rent, involving Rs. 3,500. The number of cases recommended for casual help was 42, the total help given in this respect being Rs. 2,400.

These figures showed that a fairly large number of families, which at first received casual help, are now becoming normal dependents on charity funds. In two years the total amount of doles, which the charity funds paid to the knowledge of the Society, increased from Rs. 84,000 per year to Rs. 1,25,000. The report states that it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the total amount spent by the Parsi community either through charity funds or private sources in the shape of doles for the relief of distress.

The Committee has urged in the past that the resources at the disposal of the community are more

than sufficient for solving the problem of poverty. The only thing that the committee has not been able to bring into operation is a spirit of co-operative endeavour and a proper perspective in the application and distribution of its resources. Those who are responsible for the administration of charity funds, have not yet realised the need for co-operation, for co-ordination of their resources and enunciate a common policy.

Referring to the lower classes of the community, the report adds: "By our system of doles we are creating an organised class of dependents, who manage to live on the margin of subsistance and to breed at a rate which one might call alarming." In the absence of any definite policy, underlying the administration of the charity funds, they only enable the weakling and the unfit to survive and unwittingly contribute to the breeding of an increasing number of the same classes.

The first and urgent need, therefore, the report states, is co-operation between the trustees of charities and consolidation of their resources, if not their concentration. The results of this lack of co-operation cannot be better illustrated than in the working of the system of educational help followed by charity funds. The attention of the trustees of charities to this matter had been called three years ago, but so far no measures for securing co-operation have been made. The committee feels that unless speedier action was taken in this direction (educational help) they might tend to breed a class of professional mendicants even amongst the school-going and college-going children.

The Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat calls attention to this possibility of breeding mendicants in a circular letter, which he addressed to the charity funds, and the committee hopes that the trustees of the Panchayat funds will rise to the occassion and show the way to the community in regard to the distribution of help for educational purposes.

As regards unemployment in the community, the report states that there are at present 500 to 800 families, consisting of fitters, jobbers, carpenters, etc., which are receiving doles. Either these families have to be helped by charity funds permanently or they must change their mode of living. The committee hopes that when conditions improve a well-thought out insurance scheme will be introduced.

ISLAM IN TURKEY.

"Stick fast to your faith and love your fatherland." This was the exhortation of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to his fellow-countrymen on the occasion of the last Ramzan I'd, writes a correspondent to the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Reports appearing in Turkish and Arabic papers go to show that the I'd was celebrated with the usual pomp, both in Istamboul and Angora.

In Angora, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, President of the Turkish Republic and high official of the State attended 'Id prayers held in the Juma Mosque. After the prayers sermons were delivered in which great emphasis was laid on the present-day needs of the Turkish people.

Kemal Pasha in his speech exhorted the audience to stick fast to their religion and to love their country. "To love one's country is part of a Muslim's faith" declared the Ghazi Pasha. "Remember always that you are Turks, and this land of your forefathers belongs to you," he added.

Earlier in the month of Ramzan, usual ceremonies marked the celebrations. Practices, which have been observed for centuries were kept up. The Red Crescent Society (Anjuman-i-Hilale Ahmer) had made extensive arrangements for feeding the poor after sunset.

Salutes of guns from the forts in important cities carried the happy news to the people that the new moon was sighted. On the I'd day printed cards with I'd greetings to the people, on behalf of the Government, were showered from aeroplanes and thousands of Muslims attired in their holiday dresses attended the I'd prayers.

The fact that Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues attended the prayers constitutes a convincing contradiction of allegations that the President of the Turkish Republic and his colleagues had forsaken their religion.

EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE.

The following are extracts from the review of the Government of Tranvancore of the administration report of the Department of Education for 1108 M. E.:—

The number of students attending Colleges in Travancore affiliated to the Madras University was 2,915 at the end of 1108 against 2,935 at the end of 1107. The question of introducing the Geography course in the College of Science was deferred for consideration in the light of the proposal of the Education Committee. Provision was made in the Zoology and Chemistry sections of the Science College, Trivandrum, for the admission of a limited number of post graduate students working for research degrees.

There was no change in the number of departmental English Schools for Boys and Girls during the year under review but the number of private schools increased by five, so that the total number of English Schools during 1108 was 277 and the number of pupils under instruction 51,151, against 262 institutions and 53,397 in 1107. There was thus a fall of 2,246 pupils studying in English Schools. The withdrawal of the failed candidates in Form VI owing to the introduction in the previous year of the Revised Syllabus for the E. S. L. C. Examination was largely responsible for the fall.

The total number of Vernacular Schools both departmental and private, at the end of 1108 was 3,476 which is 43 more than the number at the end of 1107 M. E. and the total number of pupils under instruction in Vernacular Schools in 1108 was 5,68,704 against 5,43,329 in 1107 or an increase of 25,375 pupils.

The number of girls under instruction in 1108 was 2,46,693 against 2,35,934 in 1,107, showing an increase of 10,759. Of these, 1,63,719 girls were attending institutions for boys; in other words about 66 per cent of the girls under instruction were attending institutions for boys. The number of girls under instruction in Colleges increased from 265 in 1107 to 338 in 1103.

The total number of recognised institutions in the State during 1106 was 3,810 and the number of students under instruction 6,23,665. There was an increase of 49 recognised institutions and 23,542 students, over the figures of 1107.

The total expenditure of the Education department amounted to Rs. 45,54,692 and the total receipts to Rs. 9,29,777 against Rs. 45,14,453 and Rs. 8,32,938 respectively in 1107. The increase of receipts is due to the alterations in the rate of College fees and examination fees introduced in the recent retrenchment and the increase in expenditure is mainly due to the Education Reforms Committee.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

An Effective Protest:—An interesting finale to a marriage drama of an old man was witnessed at Dharwar. It is stated that an old man of the Bania community verging on 60, now resident at Nagpur, had settled his betrothal with the 16 years old daughter of a resident of Dharwar. The date for the nuptials had been fixed. The girl strongly resented the proposed marriage but her protest went in vain. On the day of marriage the old man arrived from Nagpur and at the appointed hour the ceremonies began. At the marriage pandal, the girl mustered sufficient courage to disavow her marriage with the rickety old man, who protesting, was slapped on the face by her in the presence of a large gathering. Excitement ran high and the marriage broke off.

A British Soldier's Humanity:—A successful blood transfusion test was carried out in the Civil Hospital at Allahabad on a patient, named S. S. Srivastava, an Engineer. Mr. Srivastava, met with a serious accident in Naini Sager Works which necessitated the amputation of his leg. Private Hughes of Prince of Wales Volunteers unhesitatingly gave one pint of blood from his body. It is understood twenty soldiers from the same regiment cheerfully volunteered but Hughes was picked upon the ground of blood suitability. The patient was on the point of death due to loss of blood but is now making good progress. Dr. Mistra of the Civil Hospital carried out blood transfusion. The action is all the more noteworthy as European soldiers offered blood for the life of an Indian. Hughes refused to accept Rs. 25 which were offered to him.

Sir T. B. Sapru Denies Message to Aga Khan:—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has issued the following statement. My attention has been drawn to certain statements in the press to the effect that I have sent a message to H. H the Aga Khan regarding the Communal Award. I desire to contradict that statement categorically. I have never sent any kind of message to His Highness or to anyone else on the subject. I can only assume that this report might be due to the fact that, at the request of a friend, I gave him a formal letter of introduction of two or three lines to the Aga Khan as he wanted to have talk with His Highness. I have made no kind of suggestion to His Highness in my individual capacity or purporting to act for any body or community. I have scrupulously kept aloof from all discussions of the communal issue, at any rate for nearly two years and have no desire to take part in such a discussion in the existing circumstances

Government Servants' Conduct Rules:—An important change defining what is meant by Government servants taking part in politics and elections has been gazetted today amending the Government servants' conduct rules substituting the following for the subrule (1) of rule 23:—(1) Subject to the provisions of rule 22 and of any general or special order of the local Government no servant shall take part in, subscribe in aid of or assist in any way any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs. Explanation.—The expression 'political movement' includes any movement or activities tending directly or indirectly to excite disaffection against or to embarrass the Government as by law established or to promote the feeling of hatred or enmity between the different classes of his Majesty's subjects or to disturb the public peace. (2) No Government servant shall permit any person dependent on him for maintenance or under his care or control to take part in or in any way assist any movement or activity which is or tends directly or indirectly to be subversive of Government as by law established in India. Fxplanation.—Government servant shall be deemed to have permitted a person to take part in or assist a movement or activity within the meaning of the clause (2) if he has not taken every precaution and done everything in his power to prevent such person so acting or if and when he knows or has reason to suspect that such person is so acting he does not at once inform the local Government or the officer to whom he is subordinate.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Mr. Sastry on the White Paper:—*The Servant of India* prints as a supplement the full text of the lectures on the White Paper Constitution which the Right Honorable Srinivasa Sastry delivered in Madras. Some remarks about salvation under the British flag which had been imputed to him in a telegraphic summary had given rise to a little misaprehension but the perusal of the lectures completely dispels it. Mr. Sastry in these lectures did not go much into the proposals of the White Paper. He viewed the subject as it has developed and is likely to develop under the influence of the several personalities associated with the enquiry by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The study of history and a fairly long period of observation, show that personality unless it is rooted in a principle, is merely a fly on the wheel of affairs. The vicissitudes in the attitude of the Prime Minister, for instance, have been far greater in British than in Indian politics. Lord Irwin is now Lord Halifax and he is a member of the British Cabinet, and it is a recognised convention of British politics that a statesman in office is not accountable for what he might have said when out of office or when he was holding a different office. In India we do not understand these conventions although even here instances are not unknown of men when they become Ministers or Members of Government changing their opinions along with their headgear. Inconsistency is as essential as compromise and is inseparable from compromise which our respected friend and correspondent, Mrs. Pitt, regards as the mainstay of British politics which differentiates it from their Ally across the Channel. Why should we bother our heads about what the Salisbury's, the Lawley's and the Samuel Hoare's think or say about what Indians are fit for? They are bound primarily to look at all questions from the point of view of their effect on British interests; and Indian leaders would do well to do the same for Indian interests instead of posing as disinterested advisers of the seasoned British statesmen in the art of satisfying India without diverging the least little bit from their determined line of action. If the protracted and not altogether painless proceedings of the last three or four years, does not teach Indians the ancient truth that only to those who ask is it given and only to those who knock is the door opened, nothing will. It is not the fault of British statesmen that they regard the interests of their own country as their primary concern. The question whether India should work out her destiny within or without the British environment is about as irrelevant as whether Indian reformers should work in and through their Hindu or Muslim heritage. The problems to be solved will remain, whether one calls oneself Krishna or Abdulla or Peter or Pallonji.

The Returned Prodigal:—A considerable circle of friends who regretted the lapse of Mr. M. A. Jinnah into communal politics, which they felt could only be temporary (so totally alien to it are his temper and training), are glad that he is likely to resume his rightful place as a vibrant force in Indian nationalism. The only possible explanation of his having ever fancied himself as a communal leader, is that, like many other generous spirits, he might have hoped to sterilise and ultimately evaporate communalism in politics by going a little way with it. But communalism is not to be cajoled into extinction in that way. People who have adopted it with a view to alchemise it have found that they themselves have been alchemised by it. It is to the credit of Mr. Jinnah, and his friends expected it of him, that he realised before it was too late the danger of being communalised, and did not prevent considerations, which would have daunted less virile personalities, from retracing his steps before it was too late. That the communal politicians accepted him as a leader with mental reservations, is clear from the fact that when he was dropped out of the delegation to the Round Table Conference, his colleagues accepted the situation with surprising complacency and went about their business as if nothing has happened. The fourteen points remained but their author or inventor was as good as forgotten. This, however, is now ancient history.

Two years' observation and reflection as an on-looker in London of constitution-making has impressed him with a sense of his duty to guide public opinion as to the course it should adopt with reference to the White Paper scheme. Without a more detailed account of his views than the scrappy reports in the daily papers afford, it is not possible to appraise his exact position. But we gather that he is no longer the same convinced advocate of what Sir Henry Lawrence has aptly described as "Balkanising British India", as when he drafted his famous points. That is what we understand by his conclusion that the new scheme, by eliminating the influence which the three Indian members of the Government of India are now entitled to exercise over the whole field—whether they do it, is another matter—from the important spheres which are to be entrusted to the Governor-General but really to a ghost in the shape of an Adviser planted by his side, would be a retrogression from the present one.

Earthquake Relief:—The Viceroy's Fund roughly amounts to twenty-five lakhs and Babu Rajendra Prasad has collected about fifteen lakhs. Another couple of lakhs must have been raised through the various agencies collecting funds for earthquake relief. Most of the money has been raised in India. A few thousands have come from Indians abroad. Little help has come to the stricken areas from foreign countries and by now the relief organisers have realised the futility of appealing to the other nations for assistance. Even Britain who in the time of her need received £ 100,000,000 from India, has scarcely managed to collect £ 1,000 for the London Mayor's fund. Of course one must not forget that Britain has enough troubles of her own without considering her responsibilities to India. Nationally too the Englishman does not respond as generously to distress appeals as the Indian. The *Searchlight* of Patna comments severely but justly on the difference between the sympathy shown to Japan during 1928 and the indifference displayed by foreign countries to India today and draws the moral that India's political dependence is the underlying cause. That cannot explain the attitude of Britain which has a special duty to India, as a Conservative member of Parliament now in India remarked. It has been made clear that India must depend solely on her own resources for meeting the unexpected calamity that has befallen her. These resurces are limited and the other provinces have had to curtail some of their expenditure to rehabilitate Bihar. There has been some talk of seizing the opportunity to improve Bihar and build it as a model city. We are sure that the organizers of relief operations will be careful to avoid the danger of establishing a standard far above the resources of the Indian. Babu Rajendra Prasad himself in the appeal published in last week's issue of this paper, warned the public against that danger both when he remarked that emotional sympathy was almost valueless and when he wrote that assistance should be rendered only in a supplementary form.

Germany and Europe.—Reuter in cabling messages on the European situation has somehow missed a link. We were informed last week that Herr Habicht, "German Nazi Inspector for Austria", gave an ultimatum to the Austrian Chancellor to come to terms with the Austrian Nazis by the end of the month. This brought down on Germany a severe reprimand from the *Giournale d'Italia*, the semi-official organ of the Italian Fascist Government, which objected gravely to German intercession in Austria. The protest is understandable as arising from Italy's desire to maintain the balance of power in Europe. What seems strange is that the Pope should have followed up the Italian warning with a denunciation of the Hitler regime in Germany. The Vatican is a State which has hardly any political significance and whatever changes may occur in European politics it is very unlikely that they will affect its position. It is therefore curious that the Pope should have singled out Germany for condemnation. There have been cases of racial discrimination in the past which could not have escaped the attention of His Holiness. The persistent attempts to expatriate South African born Indians is a case in point. His Holiness, however, has not apparently felt called upon to express his opinion on the subject till now. We do not think that the anomaly is due to the Pope's being, like the League of Nations, concerned politically mainly with European affairs because in his receptions to the Indian delegations during the Roman Catholic Holy Year he has evinced the keenest interest in India.

India and the Population Question:—The discussion at the recent meeting of the East India Association reveals the conflicting ideals that are present in dealing with the control of population. Sir John Megaw who initiated the discussion favoured birth contol methods, so far as one can gather from the summary cabled out by Reuter. Sir Leonard Rogers, however, took the view that the real benefoctor is he who makes two ears of corn grow where one grew before and recommended increased agricultural productivity for relieving the stress of population. The Chairman, Sir George Newman, threw his weight on the side of modernity and declared that systematic treatment would solve the problem. He cited the case of England which had increased her population by thirty-three millions but was still the healthiest nation in the world. Sir George is mistaken in separating England from the rest of the Enpire in such a comparison.

Islam in The Modern World:—We publish this week a speech by Professor Henry E. Allen of Lafayette College on "Islam and Modern Social-Economic Problems" delivered at the Chicago University at a group meeting of representatives of various religions. Mr Allen approaches his

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
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ART IN INDIA.

There has been for some years past in Bombay a Three Arts Circle. The Universal Arts Circle was inaugurated last week with an address by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The President of this new Circle is Countess Vera de Crasse, who is not very well known in India. The Countess, according to the report in the *Free Press Journal*, said that the Circle felt that materialism was at the bottom of suspicion and hatred and war, and that the new Association revolted against this cult and stood for the things of the spirit and encouraged self-expression. Materialism is not the creed of India and there is far less need of a revolt against it in this country than in the West. A protest against Materialism as a creed or cult is nowhere more an act of supererogation than here. The philosophy, the culture and the social institutions of India are an emphatic repudiation of Materialism. As for "things of the spirit", these are apparently not the same to the Circle as what India has understood them for centuries to be. This is clear from the third and last object of the Circle, "to encourage self-expression". For the consistent teaching of Indian philosophy through the ages has been that not "self-expression" but "self-effacement" is the way to the "things of the spirit". Unless we understand self-effacement to be the supreme form of self-expression—mother love is the outstanding instance—the things of the spirit which are to be attained by self-expression are obviously not those which can be attained only by self-effacement. The West to which religion has meant Pauline Christianity, looking about for something to take its place, has hit upon Art as a complete substitute for religion. Art has been raised to a cult of which the central idea is "self-expression." In the West this cult has consciously set itself to encourage the expression of self indiscriminately in all its moods.

Criticising the tendencies of the present day Indian Art, says the *Bombay Chronicle*, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu observed "the intellectual domination of the West is the most tragic wrong that India has sustained." The report goes on to say that the reason why she did not want the Western form of art was that, whatever its form and nature, Indian art must be authentic and not an imitation. "The first concern of Indians, therefore, must be to liberate themselves from this intellectual bondage." Happily this danger which was very real not long ago is no longer acute. The reformers of India, among whom an honourable place belongs to Annie Besant, have by patient and persevering efforts relieved the intellectual relations between India and the West of the character of subservience on one side and domination on the other which it possessed not long ago. Simultaneously the West also has moved forward from its attitude of supersitious self-complacency. We have evidences of this double process in almost all spheres—Religion, Philosophy, Art. The political movement in India has become profoundly significant to the West just because it is the natural development of spiritual movements which preceded and are behind it. If the Universal Arts Circle is in line with the Indian renaissance movement, it may be a useful auxiliary. Frankly, however, we are suspicious of the encouragement of self-expression as an object of propaganda. Self-expression in its highest form is indistinguishable from self-effacement. But it is also capable of lower forms and in the lowest it is identical with bestiality. Tennyson warned his generation of the danger "lest divine philosophy push beyond her mark and be procuress of the lords of hell". The warning applies to Art even more. The tendency in some circles in the West, literary as well as artistic, is to regard the beast in man as of equal status as the God in him. "Art for Art's sake" is the most hackneyed of its catchwords. The anarchy in modern thought is the result of each branch of science setting up its own separate standard. Economics is a conspicuous and disastrous example. A branch of Ethics, it has thrown over its lawful allegiance and become the greatest disturber of international and interclass relations. India has been infected by this economic poison.

In his remarkable book "A Defence of Conservatism" Anthony Ludovici argues that the Jewish influence in England has tended to destroy all values except the only one which is within its reach, namely, the purchaseable. "This means," he writes, "that the Jew's form of power—wealth—will find itself opposed to all other kinds of power, such as Gentile aristocratic lineage, Gentile aristocratic character and prestige, hereditary honours of all kinds, and, above all, national solidarity (by this I mean loyalty between the various classes) which are all things that cannot be bought, which have no market price and which the Jew can not get possession of, no matter how rich he is." This, whether it is true of Jewish influence in England or not, has been, helped by political power, the tendency of Western influence in India. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's protest is not, therefore, an impulse of national vanity. It is a protest against the destruction of the soul of India. The evil has advanced far into the national life. Old social bonds have been weakened. The man whom the West adores is the successful "business man." His gospel of "nothing for nothing" has become its gospel. If one leads a blind beggar across the street, one expects to be rewarded for it if not by a medal at least by the publication of one's photograph with a laudatory notice in the next day's paper. Not infrequently he himself sends both to the Editor. If the Art of India cannot be saved from a similar fate,

we might as well have no Art at all. The Gita proclaimed work without an eye to reward as the highest religion. It is also the highest Art. For Art, in the words of the poet of Art is

The love of loving, rage

Of knowing, seeing, feeling the absolute truth of things

For Truth's sake, whole and sole, not any good, Truth brings

The knower, seer, feeler,—beside.

This also is the goal of philosophy. There is one other point. The supreme quality of Art is simplicity, spontanity, frugality of means to ends. Western influence on Indian Art encourages none of these. The dominiance of that influence inevitably leads to meretriciousness not only in Art but in every sphere. Life is a whole. Art which is not true to Life is merely artisanship.

INFLUX OF FOREIGN DOCTORS.

The Bombay Medical Association and the Bombay branch of the British Medical Association have decided to request Government to prevent or restrict the immigration of foreign doctors into India. This decision, says the *Times of India*, follows the arrival in Bombay during the last few weeks of between 30 and 40 doctors mostly Germans, who have been debarred from practising in their own country, because they are Jews. One of these doctors when interviewed argued that if India allowed the entry of foreign capital and foreign capitalists and found their entry to her advantage, there was no reason why she should not find the immigration of qualified foreign doctors to her advantage. It seems a pity, he added, that India should forget her traditions of hospitality and seek to turn out people who could really be useful to her. Dr. K. K. Dadachanji's article in the *Bombay Chronicle* headed the "Menace to Indian Doctors" did not put the case against the influx of foreign doctors in the most convincing form. Its main plea was that the advent of the foreign doctors was likely to throw out of employment a large number of qualified Indian medical men. This, no doubt, is a consideration but, from the point of view of the general public, it is easily outweighed by the fact that there is a distinct shortage of medical practitioners and that the greater part of the country is without medical aid. The medical profession exists primarily to render help to the people and not to provide incomes for doctors. Even more appealing to our mind is the immemorial Indian tradition of hospitality to strangers who sought asylum. The ancient Jewish colonies and the flourishing Parsi community attest to the wise toleration of Indian rulers in vivid contrast to the exclusive intolerance of contemporary States. This tradition is one which we should cherish as the most precious part of our heritage.

But there are other considerations which can not be left out of account. The foreign doctors are most unlikely to supply the want in the villages of medical assistance. They have a higher standard of life than the generality of Indian doctors who do not find rural practice sufficiently remunerative to induce them to settle down to it. More important still is the fact that the foreign doctors know nothing of the habits of the people, their social customs, their religious scruples, their dietary, their reactions to drugs suited to the meat-eating races of Europe. In many cases, the doses which are needed to correct the deficiencies of the alcoholised European constitution, are too strong for the Indian constitution attuned to hereditary abstinence. Before the foreign doctor learns to appreciate these factors,—the psychology of the patient which is becoming recognised as the essential part of medicine, is another important factor—he will probably kill more patients than he cures. The problem of affording medical aid to the population will not be really solved by the influx of foreign doctors any more than our industrial problem by the import of foreign goods and merchants. Then, as regards our national tradition of receiving refugees, how does it apply to the present case? If the doctors came as refugees and sought asylum, we for one should feel bound to oppose their exclusion. According to the traditional practice, they would be allowed to settle in a suitable part of the country to practice their religion and to live their accustomed lives without interference and without interfering with the social and economic life of other communities. But this is not the case with these doctors. They can flourish here only by depriving Indian practitioners of their legitimate spheres of usefulness. There is also the fact that, unlike the ancient communities which sought and found asylum in India, the modern Jews have Palestine assigned to them as a national home. We do not think that the British Government would be pleased to have the Palestine situation reproduced on a larger scale in this country.

BEWARE OF DRUGS.

A drastic pure food and drugs Act has been long overdue in America. Now that an Act on this line is going to be passed there, many shocking irregularities in the food and drug preparations are being revealed in the American Press.

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subject with sympathy and in fact reveals in his address that he looks to Islam to remedy some of the glaring defects of modern society. Mr Allen was one of the two Americans chosen to speak for Islam at the discussion, nearly all the other faiths being represented by men who had been brought up in them. Mr Allen's responsibility was, therefore, a heavy one. The address which we print this week from the *Journal of Religion*, is a valuable analysis of the reactions of Islam to modernism.

LORD BRABOURNE AND THE WHITE PAPER.

There has been some questioning in Parliament regarding the propriety of the Governor of Bombay's invitation to the members of the Bombay Legislative Council to come forward openly in support of the White Paper Scheme. In his first speech to the Council His Exellency expressed his belief that the members were all supporters of the constitutional method of securing progress. He went on to say: "I hope, therefore, that I can count upon your support of the policy at present adopted in the matter of consitutional progress in India." It does not follow, because the members are supporters of constitutional methods, that they are supporters of the White Paper proposals. Lord Brabourne did not stop here. To leave no doubt as to his meaning, he proceeded to say: "I believe that this Council is at heart in favour of what is described as the White Paper. I do not mean that it is entirely satisfied with all the details but that it accepts its general principles. If that is so, I would urge you gentlemen, to come out in definite and open support of this policy to avoid the idea that by expressing condemnation of the policy as a whole you can secure the desired modifications in detail. To adopt such tactics is merely to put weapons into the hands of the convinced opponents of the policy of His Majesty's Government, and can not but be fraught with danger to the progress of the Reforms, which we all hope to be introduced at an early date. I appeal to you, therefore, gentlemen, as the elected representatives of the people of Bombay to take the long and statesmanlike view of this question, and to come out openly in support of the constitutional method of progress and the proposed White Paper Policy which I am sure is the one best calculated to ensure that progress shall be on sound lines."

Of the disinterestedness and sincerity of this exhortation, there can be no two opinions, as Lord Brabourne thereby has staked his Indian career at its very threshhold. The National Cabinet whose policy is embodied in the White Paper shows many signs which portended the fall of the Lloyd-George-Bonar Law coalition. *Punch* which is a good reader of the pulse of British opinion, showed which way the wind blows by its cartoon depicting the Prime Minister as a circus rider standing on two restive horses. The by-elections, even though most of them returned Ministerial supporters, showed much reduced majorities for them. In his own constituency Mr. Ramsay MacDonald met with a much-mixed reception. His refusal to receive a deputation of hunger strikers led by two members of Parliament, is a fresh proof of his waning confidence in himsel which the *Times* noted not long ago. The Conservatives are becoming restive; in a recent division the Government majority in the House of Commons was the lowest recorded the bulk of the Liberals who supported the National government have crossed over to the opposition. It seems inevitable that Mr. MacDonald will soon be swept out of office by the combined force of discontent among all parties. His disappearance from the Ministry would, it is understood, involve a general election which is as likely as not to return a majority of Conservatives who are dissatisfied with Mr. Baldwin's prosaic personality and pedestrian leadership. Whether Mr. Winston Churchill becomes the Prime Minister or not, the next Conservative Cabinet will not hold itself bound to adhere to the White Paper. Lord Brabourne after his personal canvassing for the support of its policy by the Legislative Council cannot but find his position as the head of the Government of Bombay untenable. It will be a pity because he and Lady Brabourne during the short time they have been here have produced an excellent impression by their unassuming ways and their eagerness to identify themselves with the social and cultural life of the country.

Apart from the personal aspect, we are afraid that His Excellency is not quite accurately informed of the public feeling as regards the White Paper. If by its general principles, he merely meant the principles of Federation and temporary safeguards he was certainly right in thinking that Indian opinion supports them. But there are details which Indian opinion considers equally important. As the White Papar contains not only the two principles but a multitude of such details, which Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee has in some important respects tended to aggrevate, acceptance of the White Paper will be surely interpreted as acceptance of the whole—principle and detials. Nor is the present Bombay Legislative Council competent to accept the scheme. The two solid blocks in it are the official one and the Sindhis. The former must vote with Government. The latter will disappear when the reforms are introduced and its vote, therefore, will be given solely on the detail relating to the separation of Sind about which it has been very keen. The Council itself is at the end of the term for which it was elected.

EAST OF SUEZ.

To those who earnestly believe that the character of the British people is fundamentally opposed to the extremes of Fascism or Communism two short items in Monday's daily papers must have come as a severe shock. I am surprised that so far no one has apparently seen the connection between the two. The first of these is the advice given by Lord Baden-Powell to one Mr. Wilson before sending him out to India to strengthen the Scout movement, that 'some of these natives are not possessed of the same ideas and minds as White men; they have no ideas of chivalry themselves and are full of conceit and self-importance, and if this is allowed to grow without check they are apt to become insolent and mutinous which is a dangerous thing in countries like India and Africa where millions of natives are ruled by a handful of whites. It is necessary, therefore, to remind them now and then to respect the British rulers." I am not aware whether Lord Baden-Powell is a member of the small group of British Fascists led by Sir Oswald Mosley. His anxiety to maintain British prestige, however, may well entitle him to a prominent place there. Even after making due allowance for the fact that the venerable leader of the Boy Scout Movement is reported to be seriously ill and that the recent animated discussions in Britain on the White Paper scheme must have further added to his confused view of the Indian situation, this pronouncement stands out clearly amidst the ambiguous statements of British leaders. Nor can one avoid expressing admiration for Mr. Wilson for communicating these presumably confidential remarks to the press on the eve of his visit to India with the object of affiliating the numerous Scout organisations which have hitherto avoided affiliation, with Lord Baden-Powell's central organization. It is possible either that Mr. Wilson does not view the mission entrusted to him by Lord Baden-Powell seriously or has so much confidence in his personality that he believes his mere presence in India will be sufficient to achieve the object, whatever the feelings of organisers in India.

The other incident which has attracted somewhat more notice, is reported to have occurred at Colombo where the M. C. C. were playing a match

against an Indo-Ceylon team. Describing the incident the Ceylon *Observer* stated, "Clark was batting at the pavillion and when he was joined by Marriot in the last wicket, Clark walked out of his crease a couple of yards and was noticed using the spike of the toe end of his boot in breaking up the pitch in a line with the leg stump. W. S. Flindall, one of the umpires, who noticed Clark's extraordinary action went up to him and said, 'What are you doing?" or words to that effect. Clark's only reply was to use the pointed end of the bottom of his bat to make a further depression on the ground. On the remonstrance of the umpire Clark walked back to his crease." The *Observer* proceeds to explain that the captain of the M. C. C. team as well as Marriot apologized to the captain of the opposing team for the action. The first point that struck me in reading the report was that Clark had come in for a deal of criticism merely for carrying into the field of support the tactics of modern political life. His action in "breaking up" the pitch, presumably with the immediate aim of assuring his side of victory at a crucial stage of the game and the ultimate one of maintaining British prestige, is not without a family resemblance to the safeguards in the White Paper scheme for guaranteeing British interests in India. And the daring with which he acted when his side was in a precarious position, regardless of spectators, umpires and the rest, carries its own lesson to Indians. Despite the lamentations of pessimists, the age of chivalry is not dead. If history is to be believed this is exactly the stuff that empire-builders are made of. The remarks of the umpire, the captain of the rival team and of the captain and another member of the M. C. C. team place beyond doubt the truth of the adage that success falls to the adventurous. In the face of so thrilling an incident on the cricket pitch the conclusion of the *Observer*, that "there is bound to be a report of it by the authorities when the team returns to England", is mere anti-climax. Clark after all probably only meant to "remind" the Indo-Ceylon team that he as a member of the ruling race was not bound by any rule of the game in playing with the Indians.

The attention of the public has been drawn to yet another incident, this time in Bombay, by one Mr. Kesharwala who in a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* of last Saturday complained that he and a friend were insulted at the H. O. H. fete by a European gentleman who apparently was in charge of the Palais de Danse. The two Indians were dressed in the traditional *dhotee* and they were asked by the European to occupy back seats on that account. Further, the waiters were, it said, instructed not to take orders from the Indian gentlemen. Personally speaking, I was surprised to read this as two items were widely advertised on that day's programme which should have repelled many Indians from attending. One of them was a burlesque of the cancan and the other was a performance of the cancan itself—the cancan, as the Oxford Dictionary explains for the benefit of the uninitiated, is "an indecent dance". It is probable, however, that the European gentleman who is reported to have deterred the two Indians from attending really felt that only the English or the Anglicised Indian could witness these performances without detriment to their morals. The best thing that the two friends could have done, having inadvertently stepped into this Palais de Danse, was to have left the place even had it involved their losing the price of the two tickets. The incident, however, serves to show the difficulties with which attempts to bring together the Indian and European section of the population in this country, are faced. The European only too often feels that the honour of his entire race is in his keeping.

It would be rash to conclude from these incidents that the Fascist Party as such is likely to have an easy victory in England. Evidence of the opposition that the party has met with is furnished by a demand of the Oxford University Labour Club for complete racial equality and by the police action taken recently in England against certain Fascist members for administering a corrective dose of castor oil to an erring fellow Fascist. Fascism, however, thrives on opposition and even though the party may remain a negligible minority in political life, signs are not lacking to show that its ideals are having an appeal to individual members of all the three major political organisations. That Mr. MacDonald who has hitherto distinguished himself by his sweet reasonableness and passion for compromise, should refuse to meet a delegation of hunger-marchers in England on the ground that their communist purpose is "common knowledge," is not without significance. That Lord Lymington, a Conservative M. P. who recently resigned his seat in the Commons on the ground that the real work lay outside it, should reveal in various press interviews that he knows how to keep "the backward people of Indiain law, order and peace," and will visit this country evidently with a view to confirming the knowledge he has already acquired, is also auspicious to British Fascism. It is amusing to note that whilst British parties are slowly assimilating the principle of racial superiority, the leader of Italian Fascism should have expressed his realisation of the importance of inter-continental amity and understanding. But it is becoming increasingly true today that not only has Europe ceased to look to Great Britain for political leadership but Britain herself has assumed the role of camp-follower to European statesmanship.

V. A.

MATRICULATION AND FARMING.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I suggest that parents should be recommended to give their boys a year or so in the country. Contrary to what happens in the case of boys in Western Countries, our boys (and even grown up persons in the cities) are woefully ignorant of fields and flowers and the other beauties of nature and also of the commonest handicrafts.

A boy in India is put to school generally at the age of seven or eight, some times even less. The parents' only concern is to see that their boy daily attends to his lessons at home and regularly attends school. The pressure exercised by the parents increases as each examination approaches nearer.

The burden on the school boy increases with each promotion to a higher standard. Less and less time is left for daily exercise. In addition to school hours, coaches are engaged to secure a pass. The number of books to be read grows. Even the vacations are not respected. Scarcely any attention is paid to the question whether the young shoulders are, in all cases, fitted to bear the ever growing burden.

Having once put the boy to school, there is no break. If he enters school at one end, he must go on year after year, until he comes out, a Matriculate at the other.

If the boy immediately after matriculating, (as is usual), enters upon a college course, the grind begins again, to be continued without interruption for a period of four years more.

Immediately on coming out of College the youth's thoughts are centred upon earning a livelihood, where the struggle for existence is keenest and wherein he will require to devote all his energies in future.

Thus it is clear that an Indian youth does not get real respite, from the age of six until he attains the age of twenty, when he has to enter on life's battle.

The time just after a boy has matriculated and before he joins College, offers, a convenient interval, when, without serious scholastic loss, he can devote himself to build up his body in nature's surroundings and handiwork. The heavens cannot fall, if the entry into College is delayed for, say, a year. On the contrary, College professors should find it a more pleasant task to lecture to healthy boys, who understand something of life in the fields and the beauties of nature.

If those engaged in agriculture, are consulted, it will be found that arrangement can be made with farmers in villages to house and to teach farm work etc., to the boys for stated periods.

Bombay, February 22 1934. } Yours etc., NAYAN H. PANDIA.

THE RIDDLE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE EDITOR,
The Indian Social Reformer,

SIR,

The discussions and articles we read now in papars on the subject of unemployment put one in mind of certain annals of an ancient monastery that were quoted in a prospectus issued some years ago by Ruskin Hall, Oxford. The quotation is as follows:-

"It came to pass at that time that there arose a grievous quarrel among the brethren as to the number of teeth in the mouth of a horse. Great tomes were brought from dusty shelves. Such ponderous erudition was displayed as never could have been supposed to exist in those parts. For days this disputation raged without ceasing. On the fourth day, a young neophyte craved humbly for permission to speak. My fathers, said he, not in open tomes but in the open mouth of a horse, will you find the true answer to your questions. Grant me then permission, I will so seek it for you there. Thereupon, a mighty clamour arose. Surely they said "The devil has promoted this bold neophyte to ways of seeking knowledge unknown to the fathers." Then driving him forth they smote him hip and thigh. After a while, the disputation came to an end. The number of teeth in the mouth of a horse was writ down to be a mystery for the lack of clear and sufficient information in the writings of the fathers thereon. The dove of peace then sat again on the community but the neophyte was no longer among them."

We may laugh at the ancient monks but in what do they differ from our modern governments? There are many bold neophytes now telling them to look and see how much the world produces and by how many ways, we might bring its abundance to those who are in need. But they will heed only anoient doctrines suitable to past ages about the currency and other systems needed to distribute wealth. Inevitably, however all thoughtful people are waking up to the realisation of the fact that the neophytes are right and the wise and learned are blinding themselves.

The Mayor of Karachi is now become sufficiently commonsensed to inaugurate an experiment on the lines indicated by a boldly conceived bill recently placed before the United States Senate to solve this Master Problem of our time.

Karachi, February 15, 1934. } Yours etc., NAWAL KISHORE BAINDAIL.

COMPROMISE.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

"Listening in" to a broadcast account of the recent Paris riots given by an eye-witness, the narrator was heard to remark: "We Britons may look on and congratultae ourselves that we can now carry through our revolutions without riots or bloodshed, I suppose because we are accustomed to compromise."

This set me thinking how much this word "compromise" comes to the fore nowadays, and I venture to suggest that the fact of its importance is being forgotten in political India at present. Is it realised that compromise (which Mr. Baldwin said means sacrifice) is not only an essential of a Democratic system, but is the machinery which, in modern times works every conference, Disarmament, Economic, etc.?

Those politicians who see in the White Paper proposals nothing but their grave defects, and reject them on that account, appear, in this connection, to be entirely missing the point; and to the onlooker their hostile attitude gives rise to the sad reflection that the imputation which has been sometimes cast upon them, and which they naturally repudiate, that they lack "political sense", is nevertheless justified.

"They cannot see the wood for the trees."

Cambridge, February 12, 1934. } Yours etc., I. J. PITT.

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS.

The World Fellowship of Faiths (second Parliament of Religions), has fulfilled its promise by bringing together 188 eminent leaders of all faiths, races and countries who delivered 232 addresses during the Chicago World's Fair, June to November 1933.

The Executive Committee decided to extend the period of the World Fellowship of Faiths to June 1, 1934 and to hold additional sessions with a culminating convention in World Goodwill Week, May 12 to 18, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker in New York City.

Several distinguished foreign and American speakers who promised to participate in the Chicago sessions and could not because of illness or pressing duties, will be invited to take part in the supplementary sessions in New York.

The purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths is; "To Unite the Inspiration of ALL FAITHS Upon the Solution of Man's PRESENT PROBLEMS." Among the vital problems to be especially emphasized in our New York City meetings in May are "Racial and Religious Prejudices—How to Overcome Them?" "How Prevent War?" "Spiritual Recovery Necessary for World Recovery."

Several sessions were held in New York City. Among them were one on October 31, 1933, at the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker when Pandit Shri Shridhara Nehru, I. C. S., Director of the Indian Rural Uplift and President of the Indian Science College for Agriculture, delivered an address on "Shall The Withered Tree Come Back to Verdure?" Madame Raj Dulari Nehru spoke on "Hindu Women n World Progress."

President Balkrishna, Principal of the Rajaram College in India, formerly Principal and Governor of the Aryan Residential University of Hardwar, delivered three addresses; on October 31, 1933 at the Hotel New Yorker on "Hindu Theories of Cosmic Evolution"; on November 5, 1933 at St. Marks-in-the-Bouwerie on "India's Contribution to Civilisation", and on January 1, 1934 at the Church of the Truth on "The Cultural Contact between India and America."

His Highness the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda has become the International President of a new International Committee of the World Fellowship of Faiths which is to sponsor a second International Convention in London or in India in 1935 or 1936.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell is National Chairman; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. S. Parker Cadman, Mr. Patric Henry Callahan and Prof. E. R. A. Seligman are the National Vice-Chairman; Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta and Mr. Charles Frederick Weller are the General Executives of the World Fellowship of Faiths which has its headquarters in New York City at the Hotel New Yorker and in Chicago, Illinois, at the Hotel Morrison.

UDAY SHANKAR IN AMERICA.

Under the auspices of the Union of East and West a reception in honour of the world-famous Hindu dancer, Uday Shankar and his talented company of artists, was held on Sunday afternoon, January 21, 1934 at the North Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, one of the largest hotels in the world. The beautiful hall was packed to the capacity with American ladies and gentlemen and Hindu residents of New York.

Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, Director of the Union of East and West, presiding, said; "The purpose of our organization is to bring the noblest and best of the East to the West, and *vice versa*, with a view to promote a better understanding between the East and the West. Uday Shankar is the best interpreter of the art of dancing of India. We are proud to present him to you today."

Miss Mila Wellerson who is considered to be the world's greatest woman cellist, played a few numbers to entertain the distinguished guests.

Mrs. Mary Hanford Ford, one of the leaders of the Baha'i Movement in New York and the oldest member of The Union of East and West, presented the following address to Uday Shankar and his company:—

"We, the Members of the Union of East and West, greet you and honour you today in recognizing the significance of your contribution to the arts of dance and music, and through these arts to the truer understanding between the East and the West, which is the aim of our organization. In a day when the bewildered spirit of humanity is seeking new roads to unity, it is a joy to know that your delicate and gracious art has found a sympathetic reception in the hearts of our most representative scholars, artists and students. The great artist bridges the gulf between the East and the West. You have used your art to bring us grace and beauty and to enkindle faith in the reality of spiritual truth. We respond with sincere appreciation and gratitude: we express the hope that you will always remember that here in America you have friends who will nurture the seeds you have left behind and from which will spring up new leaves for the realization of Peace and Brotherhood. We wish you, under God's Providence health, happiness, ever-increasing success and long life to continue your sweet-scented labour."

Uday Shankar said: "I do not know how to thank you for this reception. Without being modest I can tell you that what I have brought out to America is nothing in comparison with what we still have in India. My dream has been fulfilled by the collaboration of able musicians and my family people, but your encouragement has proved the way to my bringing better things. I thank you all once more for the kind way in which you have received the arts of India."

Rajendra Shankar, B. Sc., a member of Shankar's company, said: "The Fellowship of Faiths has been doing a great deal in bringing about an understanding between the East and the West. But in the true sense of the word there is no East and West outside conventional and arbitrary divisions. Nevertheless, books have been written by spiteful tourists and visitors in their frenzied attempts to calumniate one another. Let us look to the evidence of good and beauty everywhere instead of finding faults and enrich and beautify ourselves therefrom. Proper understanding and harmony will break down the barriers of the East and the West till we shall all mingle into one, with the closer bond of Oneness. Let us all hope and strive for that day."

Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar, barrister-at-law, father of Uday Shankar, said; "My relation with the Union of East and West dates back to 1912. It was then I met Mr. Das Gupta at Mrs. Brown Potter's house at Staines, in England. He was a pioneer in the field of bringing the East and the West together and had just staged 'Buddha' by way of presenting dramatic arts to the British public. Nothing gladdens the heart of a father more than to see his own son honoured, especially in a City like this and I thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the kind reception you are according to him today. I shouldn't let slip this opportunity to mention that the pioneers in the field of introducing Indian histrionic arts in the West, like Mr. Das Gupta, deserve your full admiration."

With this introduction Dr. Shankar made a speech on "The Spiritual Background of Indian Music and Dancing." In conclusion he said; "What is the real end of art and how can they unite the East and the West? I hold that the real end of arts is Dharma which again means the progressive evolution of the soul. A *real* artist cannot fail to proceed in the field of spiritual progress. His path is one among the many. An artist with a penetrative faculty must sink deeper into the very essence of the objects or characters he seeks to depict. He gradually arrives at the very soul of nature and ultimately to the soul of all souls, the spirit of all things and beings. What remains then of the East and the West, North and South? The farther and farther we travel away from the ultimate souls of all beings the more we develop differences. The farther and farther we travel back from these surface developments, the nearer and nearer we approach the fundamental unity of all souls—the unity of all individuals, communities, races and nations. There is a real end of artistic progress."

IN DEFENCE OF PEACE.

(By Bertram Pickard.)

At a moment when there is much dangerous talk of war, both east and west; and when the League of Nations is menaced, not only by the withdrawal of certain governments, but by hostile criticism in many countries not excepting Great Britain, it is appropriate that the organised peace forces of the world should rally to consolidate that 'collective system' of preserving and constructing the peace of nations of which the League Covenant, the Statute of the World Court and the Pact of Paris are the outstanding symbols.

The meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, to be held in Brussels this week, have provided the opportunity for such a demonstration of public opinion. Thus, during the days of February 15 to February 17 inclusive, will be held, under the Federation's auspices, an International Congress in Defence of Peace in which many national and international organisations will participate.

The Congress, naturally enough, will not only aim to consolidate the League of Nations in a general way, but will strive to bring pressure to

bear upon governments with a view to securing concrete and positive results at the Disarmament Conference without which it is obvious the dangers of international anarchy would be overwhelming.

Lord Cecil has taken the personal responsibility of submitting to the delegates a 'Declaration of Policy' as basis for discussion in the Congress.

The Congress will conclude with a mass meeting in which many distinguished speakers will take part including Viscount Cecil, Monsieur Vandervelde, the well-known Belgian Socialist and one-time Foreign Minister, Don Salvador de Madariaga, the brilliant Spanish thinker and diplomat, Monsieur Politis of Greece, and Monsieur Rene Cassin, the eloquent Ex-Service Men's leader of France.

A GREAT INTERNATIONALIST.

The sudden death of Monsieur William Martin former International Editor of the *Journal de Geneve* in the prime of life, is an irreparable loss to the League of Nations, and a personal grief to the wide and influential circle of people who looked to him, not only as a unique journalist and publicist, but as an indomitable fighter for peace and true seer of internationalism.

It is just a year ago since "W. M." laid down his pen in Geneva, after long months of constant strain due to his dauntless struggle day after day to rally opinion to a League solution of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Since then William Martin has himself been to China returning just in time to preside over a great Disarmament Demonstration of international opinion held in Geneva on Sunday, October 15 last.

His death at the present juncture is a tragic loss to the Peace Movement; but his example will live on as an inspiring memory to a host of his admirers.

ISLAM AND MODERN SOCIAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

(BY HENRY E. ALLEN.)

I should much prefer to limit the subject of my paper to Turkey, because when one faces the prospect of embracing the whole Moslem world he finds that he has something much more on his hands than one unified country such as Turkey manifests at the present time.

However, before we discuss the social and economic problems which today confront the Moslem world, it might be well just to refresh our minds for a moment regarding the chief characteristics of the Islamic social system, and then, with this as a background, we may be better able to understand and evaluate the significance of some of the current trends.

Of Moslem society in an unspoiled state, whether it be in savage Africa or sophisticated India, one can say that it is extraordinarily God-conscious, that it is permeated, as are few other social systems, by a religious control which extends into every area of conduct. For the bona fide Moslem community laws are not made by congressmen, M. P.'s, or commissaires whose authority is granted by their fellow-citizens; the great law of Shari' at of Islam rests upon sacred foundation, the Holy Koran, which is regarded as God's ultimate revelation to His people. Never is the Moslem permitted to forget his religion and his God. Allah is everywhere, and one must pray to him five times daily—and without the intervention of a priest. There is one day a week upon which special prayers are offered, but this does not cause the Moslem to shower his adulations on God that one day, Friday, and forget Him the rest of the week. In every town or city are beautiful mosques with graceful minarets pointing skyward high above the marts of commerce, constant reminders of the simplicity, majesty, and beauty of religion. To the mosque trudges the child to obtain the only education he is likely to receive—the study and repetition of God's holy word. For her ailing babe the worried mother hastens to the marabout to secure his prescription, a scribbled text from the Koran, to restore her child to health. And for the settlement of disputes and litigation the Moslem has recourse to the Kadi, a judge trained in holy writ and its commentaries.

Moslem society, which has these features constantly to remind it of God and religion, exhibits certain other distinctive characteristics which are traceable more or less directly to religious sources. Take, for example, the high estimation accorded the warrior, resulting from the belief that one who dies in combat with infidels will immediately attain paradise. Consider the contempt with which Moslems regard bankers and business men whose fortunes are acquired not through work or service but through usury in disobedience to Mohammed's injunction. In how many Moslem communities have financial and commercial enterprises been disdainfully left in the hands of the subject races—Jews Greeks, Armenians.

Notice the emphasis placed upon generosity and sharing in Islam. The regular giving of alms, *zikat*, is one of the five important duties or Pillars of Islam. Great credit is his who donates generously to philanthropic enterprises or who gives freedom to a slave. Few religions can boast of greater proportionate wealth devoted to pious purposes than Islam, with its rich *Vakfs* or *Evkafs*, philanthropic endowments built up through the centuries as a result of innumerable individual gifts and bequests. Not for Moslems the selfish and anti-social accumulations of huge private fortunes. These were prevented not only by obligations of generosity but by laws of inheritance, which granted to widows as well as children important shares in the estates of departed husband.

A word must also be said concerning the high standards of morality and purity stressed by Islam. Moslems have always stood as uncompromising prohibitionists, and among the rigid Ikhwan of Arabia, puritanical tendencies outlaw even tobacco. As for sexual purity, one has only to point out the close seclusion of women within the sanctified enclosures of the harem to appreciate what extreme measures were taken to guard against promiscuity. In order to eliminate the degrading and anti-social practice of prostitution, Islam has preferred to legitimatize polygamy, thereby granting to surplus women an opportunity to attain a respected status in society. I might remark here that as a matter of fact polygamy was much less frequent in Islam than people have often supposed. Monogamy was much more frequent because of economic reasons. It costs more to support two wives than it does one, and except in the country, where a wife made an excellent economic help on the farm, to tote the wood or to help with the plough, Moslems tended to be monogamous. Incidentally, the factor of household and domestic tranquility was also important.

Significant, too, in Islam's social order is the absence of caste and colour distinctions. From the time of the Prophet men of every hue have co-operated in the propogation of the faith, and Islam has always insisted that all believers are equal in the sight of God.

Such in general can be said to be the chief characteristics of Moslem society, subject of course, to variations according to local influences. By and large, however, the essential elements have been manifest throghout the world of Islam, a world in which religion has long exerted a commanding influence. Had it not been for two important factors, the Moslem world might still be poised and confident,

unconfused by the cataclymic events of the last century, more specially the last twenty-five years. These two factors were, first, fatalism, the development to an extremity of the concept of God's omnipresence and omnipotence, resulting in a fatalistic reliance upon the supernatural for all development, and a resigned acceptance of the *status quo* presumably the product of God's gift; second, pride, the growth of a false sense of superiority and security, based historically on the conquests and intellectual achievements of Islam, and causing Moslems to ignore or view with disdain the new discoveries and techniques of the despised Western world. Thus having cut itself off from internal and external stimulation, Islam was suddenly knocked into a state approaching dissolution by the terrific onrush of recent world-events.

It is not our purpose at this time to deal with the factors responsible for this chaos. They were largely bound up in the impact of West upon East. We may now merely point out that Islam was rudely awakened to its inferiority by the events of the World War and succeeding years. It found itself broken up into independent units, each of which had to determine for itself how it should adjust its life to the new era. The old Moslem unity, symbolized by the Caliphate, was lost. If, in adjusting itself to the new age of industry, education, and emancipation, our Western world has become rather dazed, it is no wonder that Islam, with a much shorter time to make adjustments, casts blindly about and occasionally slips into absurdities.

By no means has the response to new conditions been uniform throughout the Moslem world, for that world contains groups in every stage of advancement. But the amazing thing is that no corner of the Moslem world, from Morocco to the Philippines, has escaped a severe wrenching. A possible exception may be noted in Arabia, where, in distant Yemen, the Imam Yahya seems to have maintained his old customs in the face of modernization. And Afghanistan, after Amanullah's premature attempt to introduce new customs into his very backward kingdom, seems to have returned to medievalism, while her scattered cities and mountain fastnesses serve as places of refuge for bigoted Moslems of other countries who cannot tolerate the changes experienced in their own lands. In some instances the changes appear to be minor and superficial; in other cases, as in Turkey, they are sweeping, but usually it is the same process: a removal of religious control from one social area after another, and a gradual restriction of the domain of religion to a narrow sphere, that of the individual conscience. In Turkey the change has apparently gone the limit; the old institutions of Islam are cut off from existing social influence and are attempting to keep alive with a status comparable to the Church in the West. One cannot predict with any certainty that other Moslem countries will follow Turkey's lead in this regard for it is conceivable that the religious forces in other parts of Islam will have time to come up to date and will not be shoved suspiciously aside as enemies of progress. One may note in this connection the new modernization of the University of Cairo, that great traditional centre of Moslem learning, and the growth of the new University in India, prticularly the university of Alegahr, and such movements as the Association of Moslem Young Men, or, as it is called Y. M. M. A., the Young Men's Moslem Association, which give indications, that in Islam, outside of Turkey, there are forces stirring which are seeking to come to date. Certainly one thing seems predictable, and that is that any religious feature inherited from the past will not be allowed to stand if it interferes with the attainment of human satisfaction and the complete life.

Examples of Islam's social upheaval and its loosening of religious controls are so numerous that selection of illustrations is difficult. Let us take first the fate of the holy law, or Shariat, which has always been the foundation of Moslem jurisprudence. What changes it is undergoing as independent states draw up their constitutions along modern lines and as externally controlled regions find themselves ruled by people with totally different legal concepts! Egypt, for a number of years, has been attempting to patch up and modernized her antiquated legal system. Turkey, under the Committee of Union and Progress, tried many years to bring her Medjelleh up to date but under the Ankara government gave up once and for all the attempt to renovate it. It is well known how, in 1924, she abandoned it completely and replaced it by modern codes from Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.

In contrast to the notion that laws are based on God's revelations, the Turkish Law or Fundamental Organization, No. 85, Article I, states that "The Government belongs unconditionally and without restriction to the nation. The system of administration is based on the fact that the people govern strictly and effectively, in fact and in person, their destinies." In the dozen or more Soviet Republics where the population is predominantly Moslem one can easily guess what has happened to the holy law under Moscow's guidance. The Soviet Republics and Turkey have also not hesitated to appropriate for state and social purposes the ready treasures of the *Vakfs* or pious foundations.

Education is no longer an affair of the mosque except in remote and untouched regions. Throughout the Islamic world one notes a compelling eagerness for education, especially for the new learning from the West. Since the religiously trained *hodjas* are unable and unwilling to impart such knowledge, the political governments in the several countries are establishing secular school systems. The teachers in these schools are much more likely to derive their inspiration from Paris, Berlin, London, or Moscow than they are from Mecca. It is an interesting thing that in Turkey the experiment is even being tried of co-education, which is, of course, revolutionary for the Moslem world.

Unprecedented activity is to be noted in the fields of health and sanitation. The old fatalistic attitude which accepted disease as the will of Allah, is giving way before determined attacks of health societies and physicians versed in the medical science of the West. Marabouts and shrines of healing are being gradually supplanted by clinics and hospitals. Turkey has even used some of her religious leaders to write sermons for delivery in mosques during the holy month of Ramadan, pointing out that Moslems should defend themselves against tiny animals like microbes just as they defend themselves against dogs or wild beasts.

Another severe blow to the prestige of religious prescriptions is to be found in the growing interest of Moslems in the commercial and financial methods of the West. Instead of leaving these long-despised matters to Christians and Jews, Moslems are themselves learning how to carry on banking and trade. No longer are they deterred by piety from lending money at interest. Mastery of European business methods seems to offer them a challenge. I will never forget the eagerness with which an Arab hotel-keeper in Beirut sought to outdo his foreign rivals with a hostelry which he regarded as thoroughly up to date. In order to escape competition from non-Moslems who are more experienced, an independent country like

Turkey, which can get away with it, has passed laws making it virtually impossible for non-Turks to do business in the country. Financial pre-occupation has reached such a stage that adoption of the Sunday holiday in conformity with European practice is even contemplated, so that the Moslems may not have to lose their Friday as a day of trading on the stock exchange!

Industrialization is not yet a severe problem so far as I can tell in the Islamic world. There are few countries of Islam which have gone in much for large-scale machine production. It is all too new to them, but before many years they will unquestionably be at it. Much more interested are they at the present time in scientific agriculture. Many are the experimental farms which are being set up in an attempt to bring better results from their crops.

Another interesting development in the modern time is the decrease of nomadism. This, of course, was started centuries ago. The civilized city and town dwellers and farmers have gradually been pushing back the nomads, but now it seems to be going faster than ever. It is interesting to notice how, in Persia, where the oil wells are developing, many nomads are for the first time finding settled occupations attending the wells and doing various other jobs which they find there.

As if the growing prestige of the business man were not bad enough, there are many indications that the career of the warrior offers far less attraction and prestige than formerly. Young Moslems do not show any enthusiasm for military service, and one can imagine many an intrepid hero of the past turning in his grave as he hears modern apologists, particularly from India, describing the inherent pacifism and tolerance of Islam, declaring that in Islam alone may one find the true practice of the spirit of Love!

In the realm of family life and the place of woman, dramatic changes are occurring. Every one is familiar with the rapid disappearance of veils and the new freedom accorded to women in various Moslem countries. While this has happened in cities where people are in touch with modern happenings, it will be many years before the status of the conservatives women in outlying districts will have perceptibly changed. Perhaps as the Moslem woman becomes better acquainted with her sisters of the West, with their penchant for vulgarity and exhibitionism, there will be less enthusiasm for complete abandonment of privacy and maidenly modesty. And it is not easy to see bars and cabarets penetrating the Moslem world and apply the world "progress."

When I spoke of the adoption of the new Swiss civil code in Turkey, that of course brought with it legalization of monogamy, because that was the Swiss law, and therefore it came into Turkey. Turkey, therefore, is the first country in Islam which has outlawed polygamy. Those Moslem lands which have been most exposed to Western influences have been rather precipitate in their abandonment of traditional ways in their rush to become Europeanized. Much of the old undoubtedly had to go, but it is to be hoped that henceforth modifications are made wisely. In its hungry rush to sate itself with those viands which make up the pottage of modernity, Islam must take care not to barter away its birthright. The followers of Mohammed, with their fine traditions of chivalry and reserve, their high esteem of virtue and morality, and their acceptance of religion as a meaningful element in society, must not abandon these treasures, tarnished though they now appear, without a clear realization of what they are giving up. Certainly Islam has something to share with humanity in its lack of racial prejudice and its ideal of generous, individual sharing for social welfare. In an era where the extremes of individualism and communism are striving for mastery, perhaps the Islamic order, with its sense of private ownership tempered by individual responsibility for community welfare may merit more careful attention than it has yet received, and may provide a harmonization of the opposing principles taught in Wall Street and the Kremlin.

INDIANS IN JOHANNESBURG.*

(By Hilda Beemer.)

There is no part of Johannesburg inhabited solely by Indians. In the slum areas everyone, Native, Coloured, Indian or poor White is forced to fraternise through the sheer force of physical propinquity. In a yard, Doornfontein, there are three Indian families scattered among Natives. Though these Indian families are not next door to each other, the distance between them cannot be judged by the fact that here are perhaps eight or more intervening "houses" and it is rarely more than a hundred feet. They consist of one room which serves as bedroom, kitchen, living room, pantry and bathroom as required. The size varies from 9' x 8' to 6' x 5' and the rent from £ 1 10s. to £ 1. Legally the landlord may not charge more than 15/- per month, but he keeps within the letter of the law by exacting the additional money but giving a receipt for 15/-.

The rooms are of iron or tin and have a gap for a window which is usually covered with wood or sacks on account of the "dangerous locality." Drains are unknown and there is no chimney; even if one thought of being clean it would be almost impossible under these conditions.

The furniture usually consists of one dilapidated bed, a dressing table, a kitchen dresser, a few stools and a gulley stove or primus. There is never anything like a carpet except in cases where the floor is sunk when a few bits of sacking and cloth are strewn on the ground. The ceiling very often leaks and is patched up with cloth.

The number of inhabitants of the room naturally varies. In one there were two grown ups and seven children. Those who could wedged themselves on the bed with their parents, the others slept on the floor. Cats and kittens are part of the slum and drop in anywhere at all hours. Children of the neighbourhood ran in and out and friends are always found in the rooms.

Every race has a national dish, but few races live almost entirely on this and nothing else. Indian curry constitutes the major portion of the diet of all Indians. It is very satisfying, rich and heavy, though unhealthy. The main reason why it may be considered unhealthy is that it is eaten at night almost immediately before retiring to sleep.

Most Indian children have something to eat three times a day, but naturally this depends upon the position of the parents.

Breakfast is never an elaborate meal among Indians. Among the majority it consists of the remains of the previous night's meal; rice if left over is reheated or made into rice cakes and there is tea or coffee, bread or butter. Among the poorer Indians there is rarely anything over from the night before and children often go to school after having eaten nothing but dry bread.

Lunch is another "scrap" meal specially among those Indians who are working and children seldom get a hot meal when they return from school. One little girl whom we saw late in the afternoon had

* We reprint the above ex ract from Miss Beemer's report to the Johannesburg Indo-European Joint Council from *Indian Opinion*. Miss Beemer is on the staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

nothing but two slices of dry bread and a cup of tea since the previous night.

Dinner is the big meal of the day. All the family are present and it is, in every case interviewed by us, preceded by some form of grace. The most important and substantial dish is the world famed curry into which everything is mixed —potatoes, chillies, carrots, cabbages, and other vegetables, ghee, and lumps of fat. Vegetables form an integral part of the diet of the Indians as they are an essential for the curry. The most usual are those which are least expensive at the time, but potatoes and tomatoes are always used. Vegetables are not eaten raw, but are always cooked.

Milk is bought by all Indians even those living in the slums.

Meat is chosen according to whether or not it will make a good stew and mutton is popular.

Fruit does not play an important role in the diet of Indian children. They like fruit but it is expensive.

Health agencies are totally inadequate for Indian children. There is no nurse visiting the poorer quarters.

The Indian Government School has its own clinic where children are treated free of charge.

When a child living at Rooiyard was taken ill, her mother had to take her to Mission clinic and stayed at home to nurse her. The mother in this case was the sole breadwinner, the father was out of work and had been so for three years, and there were two other children. All the time that the child was ill the entire family stayed, ate and slept in the same room.

The overcrowding is terribly unhealthy. The window is closed all night, there is no ventilation in the poorer houses, in winter it is icy cold, in summer fiendishly hot. It is amazing that there is no more disease because, under such conditions one infectious case would infect a whole quarter. The sanitary conditions are appalling. At Rooiyard there is the garbage heap right at the entrance, but there is almost as much rubbish strewn in the narrow alley which runs between two rows of slum rooms. This alley serves innumerable purposes; in it the children play, and if they have fruit throw away the peels, the mothers burn their gulley stoves there and sit inhaling the foul smoke, wet washing is hung on a line strung across the alley, etc. There is no bathroom and but one tap, with the inevitable result that baths are taken once a week in some cases, twice a week in others, and as the water is cold they have not much effect.

Practically every child is sent to school between the ages of six aud eight. Practically every class in the schools is overcrowded and the staff is insufficient. Hitherto, as there were no facilities for Higher Education, children left school after Standard VI.

Indian parents of the higher classes are anxious that their children should receive good education and Mrs. H has left two of her daughters in India in order that they might receive a better education than is given to Indian children in Johannesburg.

The attendance of children is not regular, more particularly if their parents are poor. One boy of eleven whose father sells bags and bottles, is absent from school twice a week when he goes with his father and helps. A little girl of eleven (who looked very delicate) must stay at home once a week to do the cooking and washing and general house work when her mother is out selling baskets.

These children have no books at home other than school books and no such things as mechanical toys or other playthings which might develop any talent in that direction.

The majority of the children can speak both Indian and English, and very often a Native dialect as well. Not many speak Afrikans. Indian parents very seldom let their daughters go out working, and it is usual for them to get married at an early age.

One of the most regrettable features of all slum life is the absence of any play ground for children. The children are therefore driven to play in the streets. When the Municipality does supply grounds the White population often refuse to allow Non-Europeans to benefit thereby. For example a plot of ground was allocated to the people of Bertrams, and swings, etc, were put up; no mention was made by the Municipality of any "colour bar" but when the Indian children played there, the parents of the white children made so much fuss and unpleasantness that the Indian children went back to the streets.

There are no organised games for the majority, and they have few toys. They are always playing, however, and running around.

Indians seem to go for very few walks, and it is a pity that there is nothing to amuse them in the evening because they go to bed immediately after their evening meal.

It is still fairly simple to differentiate between Indian and other children of Non-European parentage. Though they rarely wear the sari or other essentially Indian clothing, the girls often have exceptionally bright dresses and boys' clothing is rarely as ragged as that of the Native children.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Under the auspices of the Madras Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference, a public meeting of women was held on Friday February 23rd, at the Queen Mary's College, Mylapore, Madras to report on the work of the eighth session of the All-India Women's Conference recently held at Calcutta.

Lady Krishnamachari (wife of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda) presided. In her opening remarks she said that conferences like the one recently held in Calcutta were useful to them in deciding the course to be followed to remedy the condition of women in India and in inviting the attention of the legislators and the public to their demands. It was gratifying that in their discussions there had been a great measure of unanimity on most issues. But probably that was because compared with women in advanced countries they had many just causes of complaint. Most of the complaints were such as the men themselves should have remedied without any prompting from women. Whatever might be thought of demands like those of equal rights in property or in respect of divorce, about which women themselves were divided, even the simple reforms necessary for the wellbeing of the country as a whole had been neglected.

Proceeding, Lady Krishnamachari said that at the present moment they had to fight against the forces of reaction which had been raised by the temple-entry agitation. In order to resist entry, those opposed to reform appealed to orthodoxy and to old texts which equally opposed every kind of reform. It must be recognised, however, that people at the present day could not deny themselves the right of altering their conditions of life to suit their age. The work before them was difficult, and every woman who had the interest of the country at heart should do her best to help.

Lady Krishnamachari in conclusion gave the audience an idea of the social legislative enactments now in force in the Baroda State. Long before the Sarda Act was brought into effect in British India, she said, the Baroda State had a law restraining child marriages. In working the Act, the courts freely fined the people and the money was used for social work. The moral influence of such prosecutions had been very great. There was a law against the marriage of old men with young girls. Marriage laws

had been simplified by abolishing the Sagotra rule and only retaining prohibition up to three degrees. An Act styled "Sanyas Diksha Restraint Act" forbade the initiation into Sanyas of or giving Diksha to a minor, such initiation being made punishable with imprisonment up to one year and a fine up to Rs. 500. There was again an Act styled "Caste Tyranny Removal Act" by which it was sought to provide that no caste shall excommunicate or otherwise punish a member of the caste for a breach of such "tyrannous customs" as enumerated in the Act.

SPIRIT OF YOUNG JAPAN.

JOHN J. CONSIDINE writes in the *Examiner*:

I find it easy to call up the memory of my journey with Genkichi Yamaguchi, a Japanese student officer of the aviation corps, that bright August morning aboard the vessel which plies between Amori and Hakodate in northern Japan. I sat on a deck chair admiring the Strait of Tsugara which was beautifully calm and the shore line which, despite a slight haze, was fresh and lovely, while he in his natty uniform set near. As happens on such occasions the conversation began neither of us could say just how.

And when he left me after our half day together I had a new appreciation of the mighty ardour which glows within the breasts of the youth of Japan.

I had spoken with other Japanese men and young women and learned much, for all were affable and very courteous. But it was this boy from the military school, who in the beginning seemed so cold and reserved, who ended by convincing me of the tremendous thing it is to be a son of Japan, to be a servant of the Mikado, to be a candidate for a career in the forces of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

He was of Tokyo (I found later he was of an excellent family, resident of an exclusive quarter of the capital) and his father was a general.

And he himself? "I shall be an officer."

And this journey? Each summer he went to a different section of his country and this year it was to Hakkaido. "When I shall be an officer I must know well Japan."

Had he been to Europe? No. "When I shall be an officer I shall go."

Did he speak English? No, he had chosen to study French. "When I shall be an officer I shall have need of French."

"When I shall be an officer"—what a world of meaning was bound up in those words! Each time he uttered them, some power within him seemed to take possession of his face and, despite all his efforts to oppose, twist it into a luminous smile, particularly attractive because it appeared to come forth regardless of the boy's most desperate attempts to remain grave. In those words, he could not hide the fact, was the embodiment of all the hopes, the aspirations, the ideals that played through every fibre of his soul. And for the space of the morning he detailed to me his work, the studies he must make during the five years which separated him from his goal, the greatness of his country and the love of country of every young man of Japan, but particularly his own—"For I shall be an officer!"

What a formidable power is this Japan, I decided, that has built within the breast of its youth such temples of devotion to the fatherland.

"And have you ever heard of the Pope and of the Vatican?" I asked. He was at a loss. Evidently he had met the words before but recalled them only vaguely.

"Have you never heard of the great church of the Pope, St. Peter's in Rome?" Ah yes, most certainly! At a cinema recently he had seen the bells of St. Peter's being rung for the first time by electricity. Beyond this however, he could call up nothing regarding the centre of Christendom.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Mirza Ali Akbar Khan:—Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan whose sudden death at a comparatively, early age cast a gloom on his colleagues and a very large circle of friends in Bombay, was, before he was raised to the Bench, a centre of cultural and wholesome social influence in the city, particularly among students and others interested in things of the mind and spirit. After he became a Judge, he led a more or less isolated life but he was always at the service of any movement which had for its object the promotion of goodwill and harmony amongst the communities. He was a scholar and his interests were intellectual and varied.

Study of Comparative Religion:—British policy in India has for over half a century been based on the assumption of the existence of a fundamental antagonism between Muslims and Hindus. It is very difficult to convince the average Briton who thinks at all of India that this is not the fact, for the reason, among others, that it affords a plausible explanation of the British domination in India. Unfortunately, however, some Muslims as well as Hindus have also aquiesced in this assumption. Everything that is done to disabuse them of it, is a service to the country. We were pleased to read an excellent article in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 2nd March from the pen of a Muslim scholar on the Bhagavad Gita. The writer, Mr. S. M. Rahman of Akola, concluded that the practical teachings of the Gita "make it one of the most wonderful guides of life that humanity has ever known." Incidentally, he touched on the identity of the teaching of the Prophet of Islam with that of the Gita. In the study of the Koran (in Pickthall's classic translation) this is the very thing that impressed us. The differences between the Koran and the Gita are due to the different circumstances in which they were promulgated. In his introductory remarks, Mr. Rahman says: "I do not know of a more efficacious method of cultivating amity, goodwill and catholicism than the study of comparative religion. This wholesome and salutary study broadens your outlook and enables you to realise the striking identity of the fundamental teachings of all religions." This is the conviction of a rapidly increasing number of thinking men all over the world. The World Fellowship of Faiths held in Chicago last year, which is being continued in New York this year at the desire of many prominent scholars in different countries, is a concrete expression of it. The Indian Committee which is planning to have the Fellowship held in India will be glad to have the co-operation of Mr. Rahman.

National and Communal Unity:—The Nawab of Chhatari whom, on the nomination of His Highness the Aga Khan, the Executive Board has unanimously elected to be Chairman of the Muslim Conference, has issued a statement in accepting the position. "From the very inception of my political career," he says, "I have been a firm believer in harmonious relations between communities, and it pains me to see bitterness between the two major communities of this country or any differences of opinion among the members of my own community. Unity among Muslims is the first necessary step towards bringing about amity between the two communities." This sounds logical but life does not run on syllogistic lines. Indian Muslims will never be able to reach any but a temporary unity for specific objects such as are covered by the fourteen points so long as on national questions they are at variance with the other communities—not merely the so-called majority community—which in order to further their own development will be obliged to count on or create dissensions among Muslims who hold the key position. The causes of the present dissensions among the erstwhile solid group of Muslim leaders are quite obscure but we are certain that one of them is the strong and steady gravitation which the non-Muslim mass is exerting and will always exert on its Muslim neighbours.

The Bombay Legal Aid Society:—The Report of this useful institution for last year shows a steady advance in the extent of its service to the poor who can not afford to pay for legal

advice. Legal assistance was given to wives seeking to obtain maintenance from husbands; wives seeking divorce; wage earners seeking to recover wages from employers; those injured by accident on railways and by motor cars; persons convicted of offences, by filing appeals and applying for revision of orders made against them. An insolvent debtor was helped to prosecute his application in insolvency and some persons in obtaining custody of their minor children illegally detained. In three cases persons convicted of murder were acquitted on appeal which was filed by the Society in the High Court. In order to help ignorant victims of accidents who are exploited by unscrupulous intermediaries, the Society has issued notices in English and the vernaculars offering its services and has got them published in the Hospitals. The co-operation of these institutions has been sought. The principal Bombay Hospital, J. J. Hospital, has under instructions from Government declined to assist the Society. This deserves to be looked into. We congratulate the Society on its excellent record. Two lady lawyers have joined the Committee recently and their services will be appreciated by poor women who feel shy in revealing their grievances to males.

The Original of The Bible:—We make no apology for reproducing the rather lengthy but intensely interesting account by Mr. Dan B. Brummitt of his visit to the famous Library in Leningrad to see the Codex Sinaiticus, said to be the oldest extant manuscript of the Bible, which has since been purchased by the British Government for £ 51,00,000. Mr. Brummitt was not able to get his camera in time to take a picture of the precious document. But those who are curious to see what it is like, can find the photograph of a page of it in the last edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica alongside of one of the manuscript in the Vatican Library. Mr. Brummitt does not say from what orignal the copies were made. In his great poem, "A Death in the Desert", describing the last hours of the disciple beloved of Jesus, Robet Browning who was scholar as well as Poet, refers to a manuscript on parchment of, "three skins glued together and stained and conserved with juice of terebinth." He refers also to "the plate of graven lead" from which the Boy

> Pressing his finger in the deeper dents,
> Spoke, as 'twere his mouth proclaiming first,
> "I am the Ressurrection and the Life."

What has become of these graven plates of the Gospel of St. John?

The Barrows Lectures:—We reprint from the *Guardian* of Madras an appreciation of the Barrows lectures delivered by Dr. Sheiler Mathews in Madras. These lectures were also delivered substantially in the same form in Bombay and other centres. The pith of the writer's criticism seems to be that Dr. Mathews did not bring out the bearing of his thesis on the problem as it concerns India. Surely, this is the result of a misconception. There is a group of religious scholars, with the University of Chicago as their principal centre, who approach religion as social phenomenon. Dr. Mathews who is one of its leaders, described and illustrated the methods of this group; and he asked Indian scholars to apply those methods to Indian religions. It was obviously not his intention to undertake this task himself. It would have taken several months for him to have even cursorily attempted to do so even if he had made the necessary study of our religions. The point of view which he expounded is new to Indian thinkers and alien to their tradition.

The Goodwin Plan:—A scheme to enable consumers to ensure that the producers of the articles which they buy treat their workmen fairly as regards wages, working hours and decent working conditions, do not employ child labour and provide permanence and security of employment, has been put forward and is said to be making much progress in the United States. It is known as the Goodwin Plan. We reprint an outline from the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches in America. The Plan may with suitable modifications, prove useful in promoting the sale of genuine Swadeshi goods. Labour leaders also may find some points of interest in the scheme.

Britain to Bihar:—When we commented last week on the poor response to the Lord Mayor's appeal in London, we had only the figures published of the few opening subscriptions before us. Tuesday's daily papers published the news that by the end of the third week of February more than £ 30,000 had been contributed to the Lord Mayor's Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund in London. The donors include most of the bigger commercial houses who carry on business with this country. One of them, Lloyds', subscribed £ 10,000. The remaining £ 23,000 is from six or seven other business firms. The Secretary of State for India, ex-Viceroys, ex-Governors and retired officers find prominent places in the list. This is considered remarkable in view of the fact that appeals were issued in London much later than in this country and contributions did not start coming in till the end of January.

"The Charity Match":—The cricket match which was played between the M. C. C. team from England and an Indian team in Bombay for the benefit of the Bihar Earthquake Fund proved rather a fiasco. The Indian papers were refused admission and they responded by completely ignoring the match. The *Times of India* alone reported the game and it was obliged to note the large number of vacant seats in the public galleries. Four men of the team, it is stated, have been offered jobs as coaches and are likely to remain behind training young Indians to win future matches. Meanwhile, the Disarmament Conference, which finds itself at a loose end, may devote its attention to the vexed question of what is known as "body bowling".

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MARCH 10, 1934.

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES.

Reuter has sent a summary of the speech which Lord Lothian made at the Mansion House in London presumably in pursuance of the decision of the Committee to which we referred in a recent issue. He spoke of the great part which Colleges would play in the India of to-morrow and of the need of making the six Colleges on behalf of which the appeal was made, capable of making an adequate contribution to India's future. The reforms of the Lindsay Commission, he maintained, would result in sounder education; the colleges would be in closer touch with the lives of the people; they would be less bookish, more human, less examination ridden, more Indian and more practical. Not a word about the "spear-head" policy in Lord Lothian's speech! If this mean that the Christian Colleges frankly abandon their attitude of aggression against the religions of India, comparable only to the hostility of Soviet Russia to Christianity, we welcome the change. Really, Christianity, living as it does in a very brittle glass house, can not afford to throw stones at other religions. It needs purification as much as, perhaps more than, any other religion and a co-ordinated attempt on the part of all to rid religion of its communal character and racial and colour prejudices, and to make it an elevating influence on individual and national character, will approve itself to thoughtful men and women in all parts of the world. Readers of the *Reformer* need no assurance that the teachings of Jesus are amongst the principal sources to which it looks for support and guidance. But we are convinced that Christ's teachings by themselves are not enough. They have no meaning to the Hindu, Muslim or Parsi except in relation to his ancestral faith. Proselytising as an aim of higher education is a ridiculous anomaly. This position is not a new one. It was that of the Raja Ram Mohun Roy and all Indian reformers since his time. The Raja had a fervent admiration for the teachings of Jesus and commended them in one of his first published books as embodying most excellent moral precepts to his countrymen. But he was strongly opposed to proselytising propaganda and one of his reasons for founding the Brahma Samaj was to counteract the activities which he regarded as mischievous, of Christian Missionaries in that direction.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, supporting Lord Lothian's appeal made some observations some of which, as reported by Reuter, are coloured by unconscious bias and some others of which are mutually contradictory. His Grace condemned our system of education as too utilitarian and too little directed to the development of character. In the same breath he declared that Britain had given India a great system of education and also given great men (presumably, the English professors). The Archbishop "in this connection" paid a glowing tribute to the Civil Service and said that the latter must inevitably give place to Indians but he hoped that there should still be a long time during which his fellow countrymen could guide Indians by their great traditions. Not the educational system but it is foreign domination which is uncongenial to the growth of character. The hope that Englishmen should be here to guide notwithstanding that Indians must inevitably displace them, is not distinguishable from the wish that Indians should remain as long as possible under their tutelage. All this has no bearing on the question whether India should continue to subsidise institutions while they retain their character as part of a proselytising organisation. The Archbishop wound up with a reference to democracy. He declared that one thing which daunted him as a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian reform was the strength of caste and the bitterness of communal divisions. The Abbe du Bois was no admirer of Hinduism or the Hindus and, therefore, his observations on the caste system of which he had made a close study are especially worthy of consideration by open-minded outsiders like His Grace. "I am persuaded," the Abbe wrote, "that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into barbarism, and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization while most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism. I do not consider caste to be free from many great drawbacks; but I believe that the resulting advantages, in the case of a nation constituted like the Hindus, more than outweigh the resulting evils." Coming down several decades, read the testimony of an Englishman who held Hindus and Hinduism in contempt, as much as the Catholic Abbe. "I firmly believe," wrote Meredith Townsend, "caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages has protected Hindu society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life—it is an automatic poor law to begin with, and the strongest form known of trades union." In our own day, the great sociologist, Patrick Geddes, regarded the caste system as the crowning achievement of Indian social evolution. Of course, it has fallen on evil days and become petrified. Indian reformers have been at work trying to reform caste and other social institutions and their labours have borne fruit in no small measure. Apart from that, a caste is the most perfect form of democracy inasmuch as the equality of every one of its members is absolute and unqualified. Burke held that it is in the small platoon of our own social circles that the civic qualities are best cultivated. If democracy means real equality and not a blind to cover flagrant economic inequalities, the purest example of it is to be found in the constitution of a caste. The caste and the

village, the twin foundations of the Indian socio-economic system, are excellent schools for the cultivation of democratic virtues. The Archbishop has merely repeated one of the shibboleths of well-meaning but prejudiced Christian Missionaries who—themselves a rigid caste *vis a vis* their Indian congregations—find caste the greatest obstacle to the success of their proselytising propaganda. If intellectual Englishmen of eminence like the Archbishop think that India can not have what is called democracy until she has substituted the class system of their own country for her castes, we, for one, viewing the question purely as a sociological issue, would rather do without democracy than sacrifice the right of Indians to order their own social evolution. The price which His Grace demands is not one which can be paid by a community which is not quite dead to itself.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Sir George Schuster has our sympathy. Over and above the normal requirements of the Central Government, he has to provide this time funds to help Bihar to rehabilitate herself from the effects of the earthquake and to finance the costly terrorist policy of the Government of Bengal. Additional taxation in the shape of excise duties on Indian manufactured matches and sugar, and an enhanced import duty on raw tobacco, are to be levied. On the other hand, the export duty on raw hides is to be repealed and slight reductions are to be made in postal and telegraph charges counterbalanced by an increase in postal packet rates. The excise duty on Indian-made matches is an added burden on the rural population hard hit by the fall in the prices of agricultural produce. Matches fall in the category of necessities of life except in the case of smokers. The poorer classes should be spared this fresh impost. An enhanced duty on cigarettes and cigars will make up for the revenue which smokers contribute through the proposed duty on matches. The excise duty on Indian sugar which was protected only two years ago by a heavy import duty on foreign sugar, is not fair to those who started sugar factories relying on the protective duty. It is calculated to undermine confidence in Government's assurances regarding its fiscal policies. The remission of the export duty on raw hides at a time when fresh taxation has to be levied, is anomalous. This duty was intended to stimulate the production of leather, which it has been largely successful in doing. Apart from the loss to the leather industry, the revenue derived from the duty should not be sacrificed at this time. The reduction in the postage on letters under half a tola is less likely to benefit the poorest people than would a corresponding reduction in respect of postcards. The quarter anna which is remitted on letters should be remitted on postcards preferably. The Madras Booksellers' Association fear that the proposed increase in postal packet rates will vitally affect their trade. Their business in the main, they say, rests on sending our packet lots preliminary to actual publication and the increase of rates by three pice strikes at the root of their trade. A tax on knowledge is everywhere bad finance and we support the protest of the booksellers. The Finance Member is quite capable of finding less objectionable sources of taxation than those indicated in the foregoing observations.

The provision made to help Bihar has been severely criticised as totally inadequate by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. S. Sinha. Both are responsible public men. The latter has held office as Finance Minister of Bihar. They are, besides, men whose outlook is not limited to their province. The Government of India will, we are sure, do their utmost to meet their complaint. The earthquake calamity is not of man's making. It will be many years before the Province regains her normal condition. The reconstruction of Bihar will cost a very large sum of money and will cover practically the present generation which will not live to reap its full benefits. It seems, therefore, a proper object for a loan rather than for being financed out of revenue. The whole amount will not be needed at once but the announcement of a loan will put heart in the Government and the people of Bihar as they will be assured that the work of reconstruction will not be hampered for want of funds. We do not see anything in the speech of the Finance Member to show that he is opposed to such a proposal.

As regards the subvention to Bengal, it is largely the fault of the other provinces which had sat quiet while the provincial Government was pursuing a wasteful and ineffective policy regardless of cost. We have more than once pointed out that the problem of coping with the terrorist movement is an All-India one, and must be taken over by the Central Government which, with the co-operation and support of the whole country, can deal with it more effectively, quickly and economically. The Government of India will, of course, have the right to see that its present subvention is not regarded as an encouragement to persevere in a policy which must involve an indefinite repetition of similar subventions. If, on no other ground, on that of its uneconomic character alone, the present policy of the Bengal Government must be abandoned in favour of a less costly and more conciliatory policy. The Bihar earthquake and the Bengal financial crisis, are both warnings against the statutory extinction of British India as an organic whole. Ours has largely been a voice in the wilderness. But at last the danger of the proposal is being realised. Sir George Schuster in the course of a debate on Thursday, said: "One of the great dangers of the future is that with greater responsibility on the part of Provincial Governments, problems may not be considered from the point of view

of India as a whole. There are strong centrifugal tendencies which would work against any sound economic planning. We have tried to get the provinces together in conferences on matters such as Rail-Road, the Co-operative movements and sugar, and we have the Agricultural Advisory Council. We have done our best to advance on these lines, but the powers of the Government of India are limited, because, in all matters relating directly to economic activity, real powers rest with the Provincial Governments." The position will be infinitely worse when the White Paper proposal is carried out.

The Nazi and The Communist:—General Goering, Nazi leader, gave an interview to the Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* stressing the fact that Germany supports Britain's colonial policy. The German leader expressed violent antagonism to Gandhiji and revealed that some time back he refused to see a colleague of the Mahatma's—probably, Mr. Subhas Bose—at an accidental meeting. The climax of General Goering's interview, however, was reached when he remarked that Gandhiji was an "anti-British Bolshevik agent in India." Incidentally, it may be remarked that the British Socialist Premier took a leaf out of the Nazi book when he refused to meet the hunger-marchers' deputation on the ground that they were inspired by Communist ideas. General Goering has evidently not read Stalin's address to the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1930 which contains a repudiation of Gandhiji. "The gentlemen of the bourgeoisie," he said, "expect to flood these countries (India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Africa, etc.,) with blood and to rely on police bayonets, calling to their help people like Gandhi...Tsarism had a whole herd of helpers of the type of Gandhi, in the person of Liberal compromisers of every kind—which, however, led to nothing but disappointment in the end." (p. 21) Surely it is too much for Herr Goering to believe that the Communist Party would have as its agent in India an individual who is viewed in this light by its head. The only probable explanation of his expressing these views is that he is playing on British prejudices, and the British reactions to the recent Moscow trial have revealed a vulnerable point. General Goering's reference to blood relationship between the British and the Germans is not so much a guarantee of support to Britain as an appeal for help at a time when Europe is almost reaching unity in its resistance to Nazi methods. The interview is of no value or interest to India, though it is significant as a move in European politics. So far as we are aware, no Indian nationalist has appealed to Germany for support. Dr. Richter's speech at Aligarh reveals that there is a genuine desire on the part of Germany to maintain cultural relations with India.

TRAVANCORE IN TRANSITION.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah, lately Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, assumed charge of the office of Dewan of Travancore early this week. Sir Mahomed served as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras before he was promoted to Delhi. In both these high and responsible offices as well as in the capacity of leader of the Indian delegation to the first Cape Town Conference (which achieved a notable success) and of the delegation to the League of Nations Assembly three years ago, he himself won the confidence of the Indian public. His greatest asset is that he has none of the showy qualities which if they excite admiration also arouse distrust in the minds of less gifted men. It is vain nowadays to say of any Indian that he is free from communal feeling. Our British friends will not let him forget that he is a Hindu, Muslim, or Parsi even though he himself has ceased to be conscious of the fact in public affairs. Sir Mahomed's communalism is of the healthy, harmonising type. It is based on a realisation of the utter impossibility of one community in India advancing at the expense of another. That is why his appointment to the Chief Ministership of a State with the far-reaching Hindu theocratic traditions of Travancore, has been received with general satisfaction, even by orthodox Hindus who occupy in Travancore a position of social influence which they do not possess in any other part of the country; and also by the most articulate party in the State which stands for "Travancore for the Travancoreans." There is no Muslim problem in Travancore. The Muslims form but a small fraction of the population about 7 per cent. They are either cultivators or traders, and their laws and customs have little in common with Muslims outside of Malabar. Christians, on the other hand, form more than 30 percent of the population. They are mostly Syrians and their presence in Travancore as a community dates from the second century after Christ. They are in fact the oldest Christians in India. They did not contribute a problem until about twenty years ago, but they do so now. The communal problem in Travancore is a Christian problem. The new Dewan has no greater task than that of reconciling the reasonable claims of the Christian population with the maintenance of the integrity of Travancore as an ancient and historical State. Travancore has one of the highest proportion of well educated men and women in the whole country; and Sir Mahomed can count upon their support in the equitable settlement of this question. The condition of the depressed classes, is another subject which will claim his immediate attention, and here too he will have the support of public opinion not only in Travancore but in the whole of India. The young Maharaja has already given proof of his concern for his subjects of the untouchable classes. It may be noted in this connection that, though the position of some of these groups is the worst in the country, some others, notably, the Ezhavas have made enormous strides in education and economic and social well-being on their own self-reliant lines.

There is a faint feeling of concern which one hears expressed regarding the seemingly too rapid transition from ancient conservatism to extreme modernism in Travancore. Western society is now in a state of unstable equilibrium owing to the old moorings having been destroyed by the War and even more by the Peace which followed it. It will be sometime before Europe settles down sufficiently to be model. The wise conservatism of Sir Mahomed Habibullah will be of great benefit to the State in its re-actions to modern ideas.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF RADHAKRISHNAN'S PHILOSOPHY.

(By Sir Lalubhai Samaldas).

Since the time that human beings began to exercise the powers of thinking and feeling, they have tried to solve the mystery that still surrounds the creation and guidance of Universe including Life and Matter. The first Mantra of the Isa Upanishad speaks of the Supreme Being (Isa) pervading and enveloping whatever is existent in this Universe. The Rishis of the Upanishad period visualized this Supreme Power more through intuitions than by the use of reasoning faculties. The Hindus believe that these Seers of the Upanishads were the earliest human beings to tackle the problem of creation in a manner which has stood the critical examination of philosophers in successive ages and even now elicits the admiration and respect of thinkers and philosophers in all civilized countries. The Rishis (Seers) gave their experience of the Revelation of the Supreme Being through the Mantras of the Upanishads. They were handicapped in exactly doing so on account of two difficulties. The first difficulty was that of a finite being trying to understand the Infinite in *All* its aspects and the second was due to the imperfections of the language to depict properly what they realized. Moreover, different Seers visualized the Infinite in certain aspects only and consequently the narration of these experiences was neither a connected whole nor a repetition of one and the same experience or similar Revelation. Shankeracharya was the first philosopher of repute who saw unity through all these apparent contradictions and on the basis of that Unity founded his philisophy of Vedantism. This philosophy is recognised as Vedanta by the vast majority of Hindus and almost all non-Indian students of philosophy. Having completed this almost impossible task of framing a synthetic philosophy based on the narration of experiences of Revelation by different Rishis of the Vedic period, Sankara was faced with another and a greater difficulty which has been very clearly expressed by C. E. M. Joad in his "Counter-attack from the East"* in the following terms :

"the difficulty raised by the second question i no less formidable. This world, it is obvious, is not perfect; it contains evil and pain. Either, the ,we must say that God deliberately willed it to produce something less good than Himself, or persuade ourselves that these things, evil and pain, a e in some sense illusory."

Sankara and his followers, including Sir Radhakrishna, have all tried to evade this difficulty by saying that not only evil but everything else except Para-Brahman is mere Maya and Mayaveda is the name given to this hypothesis which was not considered satisfactory by the later philosophers like Ramanujacharya who modified to a certain extent the pure Adwaitism of Sankara.

In the Prologue of Joad's Book named the West and the East, the author gives the substance of Radhakrishnan's attack on the growing materialism of the West which he considers to be quite justifiable. While appreciating the good practical results of modern science in the following terms, "in a hundred ways it has brightened and cleansed human existance and because of it, the Western World is to-day a franker, a saner and, in some ways, a happier place then it has ever been in the past," he adds that 'while human desires are neither good nor evil but mixed, owing to the fact that we still live in a state of international brigandage, they are in their social and collective expression mainly harmful.' He adds that it is not enough that a civilized man is not worse than before but that it is necessary that he should be very much better if he wants to escape destruction by the forces loosened by science, in case they are not controlled by him. He strongly criticizes the attitude of scientists when laboriously they explain that science is 'ethically and socially mental' and says "It does not seem to occur to them that they too are citizens and that it is their duty either to take a hand in administering the fruits of their work or to withold their results until society shows itself fit to be entrusted with them."

Referring to the scientists' disinclination to come to any conclusion unless they have sufficient data for the purpose, Joad says that human beings must live and living involves the adoption of conclusions before they have been established. He adds 'In a word to live is to take risks; so is to govern, to administer and to believe.' He thinks that philosophy in the West has often lost living contact with contemporary life and that when it has lost such contact it has been least fruitful as philosophy. He adds 'Philosophy no doubt, must be different from life, but it should not be indifferent'. As regards Religion, he begins by saying "Our Religion is one which many profess, but few believe" and then adds "In general, the spirit of the West is markedly hostile to religion in at least two senses of that ambiguous word. It distrusts supernaturalism and is sceptical of any transcendental account of the nature of this Universe."

Another complaint of Joad against the modern Westerner is that he does not acknowledge any scale of values. "Modern Civilization," he says, "is the result of endowing with the fruits of the work of a dozen men of genius a population which is emotionally at the level of savages and culturally at that of school boys," he goes on to say "There was never more leisure at man's disposal for the living of good life; there was never less knowledge of how to live it." All these defects are summarized as follows by the author "scepticism in the matter of belief, guidelessness in matters of conduct, indifference in regard to value, these are the out-standing factors in the mood of the West."

Turning to the present day, civilization of the East Joad says that the East values machines not as ends in themselves, but as a means to ends beyond themselves and adds "Unlike most westerners, they can sit still and listen, they can bear themselves by themselves and many possess the technique of solitude and are trained in the art of meditation." The author realizes that on account of too much preoccupation with spiritual values—"The life of action and ambition has never had quite the same hold upon men in the East as it has in the West." At the end of this prologue, the author says "The West has energy and vitality of civilization still comparatively young, yet does not know into what channels to direct them. .....The East possess the tradition and the knowledge but is without the vitality to make the tradition live or the knowledge spread and is in the danger of being swamped by the vigorous tides that flow from the West.—Each lacks something that is essential; each has something to give—can they, then, be brought together?"

The Book under review is an honest, serious attempt to show how this blending can be done. Those who are interested in this subject can do no better than spare some time to go carefully through this book and study the various problems put very lucidly before them by the author.

India Woman's Exploit:—Finding the door of the lock-up ajar, an Indian woman prisoner escaped from the Cantonment Police Station—Rangoon.

*Publishers Messrs George Allen and Unwin, London, Price 7s. 6d.

THE CODEX SINAITICUS*

(By Dan B. Brummitt)

One day in the summer of 1931 I had an experience in Russia which bridged for me sixteen centuries, and took me back to the days of "*In hoc signo vinces*" and the Nicene Creed. It was all the more thrilling because it could not have happened anywhere else, and recent news from Europe convinces me that it never can happen again. A small party of us were visiting a library; once the Imperial Library, in Leningrad. Since most of the company were either preachers or otherwise related to church life, we had one supreme objective; we all wanted to see the Codex Sinaiticus; probably the oldest manuscript of the Bible now in the world. After slow wanderings through long galleries crammed with volumes we knew we could not read, we came at last to a room where a little old man, incredibly bent and wrinkled, stood by a flat-topped pedestal very much like a small reading desk. As soon as we moved into position, tourist-fashion, the old gentlemen, who told us he had been in charge of this treasure for fifty years, carefully removed the wrappings, and stood back.

There within our reach, like a great family Bible, was this greatest of all the world's book treasures; a book which has just sold for half a million dollars, and a bargain at the price. The smooth parchment pages were wonderfully clean and fresh and the penwork of the copyist, who had finished his work almost 1,600 years ago, was clearer and more legible than the print of that day's Moscow *News*. After the first awed and reverent silence, timidly I proposed a most audacious request, "Were photographs permitted?" The old gentleman said, "Of course;" and we gasped. Permission to point a camera at this priceless manuscript was as near unbelievable as anything I had heard or seen in Russia. Alas, my camera, according to the usual regulation imposed by libraries and galleries and museums, had been checked at the entrance.

The afternoon was far spent, and the distance to the main entrance of the library was more than I had reckoned on. Besides, twice I lost my way, turned back, and precious time went by while I made signs to the checkroom man and then retraced my steps. And I have to record, with disappointment and no small shame, that the effort was in vain. The venerable guardian of the manuscript stood by the pedestal, so that he might be included in the picture, as he deserved to be. But with every minute the light had dimmed, and by this time so little was filtering through the dusty windows that the result was an almost meaningless blur. Others tried, but with no better success. Nevertheless, we had our adventure, for the little old man was most accommodating, and he permitted two or three of us to touch the historic pages. With infinite reverence and care I put my hand on the book, and gently turned its parchment sheets until I came to the first page of John's gospel. And then, calling from the vasty deep of the years' memories what I once knew by heart, I spelled out, in the perfectly legible Greek characters, the opening words of the first chapter, which, as we have it in the King James Version, read, "In the beginning was the Word."

In a moment my eyes found it difficult to do their duty; I was seeing more than the bold Greek capitals. I was seeing the man who had written the words on a snowy white antelope skin. His had been a labour of love for the Christians of the early part of the fourth century. And I, from a land he could not know existed, was reading the work of his pen in the early part of the twentieth century.

The story of Sinaiticus is a great story, and can never be too often told. When the copyist wrote, Constantine was Emperor, the first of the Roman Emperors to accept the Christian faith; that same Constantine who thought he saw the Cross in the sky: "By this conquer." It was the time of the Nicene Cread; *Athanasius contra mundum*. The long agonies of the days of Christian martyrdom in the arena were almost over. Constantinople had just been founded, and was beginning its sixteen centuries of glory and humiliation, splendour, and squalor; battle, siege, and conquest. Now, after a thousand years as capital of a Christian empire, and five and a half centuries as the capital of a Mohammedan empire, its glory has departed. Its proud imperial name is changed to Istanboul, and it has the status of a worn-out and decaying seaport.

As I looked at Codex I was seeing also that indomitable German scholar, another Constantine, the great Tischendorf, whose romantic adventures in his search for, discovery and recovery of this very manuscript are among the most fascinating in all the history of Bible preservation. Tischendorf knew, from his studies of Bible manuscripts, that the same Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, who has told us a little extravagently what a noble Christian Constantine the Great was, was commissioned by the emperor to set up a body of scribes who should make complete copies of the holy writings of the Christians. This meant, of course, the books of the Old Testament as well as the New, and apocryphal writings also. The result was the production of perhaps fifty copies of what we now know as the Bible. It was probably the first time that the Book had been treated as a literary unit. The copies were distributed through the empire, being placed in important churches under the care of the bishops and other clergy. But centuries of confusion followed. Already the fierce men of the North were moving on the Roman peace, and sacred books had to share the fortunes of the times. Today only two manuscripts of those days are in existence. The other is the Codex Vaticanus, which, as its name indicates, is in the Vatican Library at Rome.

Constantine Tischendorf was a German scholar of ability and persistence. He had already made a name by his brilliant uncovering of the Ephraim manuscript—which is another romantic story. He was sure that somewhere in the world many precious old manuscripts of the Bible must still be hidden away. He sought them out as a modern detective would search for the evidences of crime, following up every slightest clue. One day, ninety years ago, his quest brought him to a Greek church monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai. As he sat by the fire he saw a basket filled with fragments of mouldy old parchment. A monk told him they were to be burned, being the Sinaitic equivalent for junk, and too much in the way. Tischenorf examined this "junk," and his astonishment saw at once that it was part of a manuscript of very great age. He had come to the peninsula in search of early parchments, but here was something older than any he had dreamed of discovering. So little did the monks realize what these irreplaceable pages were that they made him a present of this lot, quite casually.

He came back to Europe with forty-three pages; he copied them, described them to his fellow scholars, and determined to get more if and when he could. For years he kept secret the place of his find, and then, after getting the support of Czar Alexander II, titular head of the Greek Orthodox Church, he was able to resume his search. He went back to the peninsula of Mount Sinai twice before

*From the "Indian Witness."

he was able even so much as to be sure that any more pages existed. He would have failed, after all, if on his last visit, and at the last moment—or so the story goes—had he not become involved in a friendly discussion with one of the humble monks of the monastery. This man took him to his cell and unrolled before him from a cloth the very pages which Tischendorf had thus far vainly sought. Czar Alexander, that same emperor who freed the serfs of Russia, had financed Tischendorf's later search, and he gave monks of Sinai $3,000 for their ancient property. So the parchment became the chief library and religious treasure of the Russian Empire, and it was placed in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.

In 1914 came the World War, and in 1917 the Russian Revolution. The Codex Sinaiticus stayed on in the library, watched over by a little man who grew to a great age while he kept at his post. And there it was that I saw and handled and wept over it, less than three years ago.

This parchment contains the whole of the New Testament, and parts of the Old, as well as the apocryphal "Epistle of Barnabas," and other fragments. It is in Greek, written in "uncials," that is, capital letters, without spacing between words, or much punctuation, as we know it, and with many marks of additions and corrections by later hands—some of them written centuries afterward. That it is one of the first manuscripts to include the whole Bible is probable because we known, before the fourth century, that the sacred records existed only as separate books or groups of books, written on papyrus rolls. How it came into the possession of the monks of Mount Sinai nobody can say. It was written, propably, at Alexandria, the then capital of Egypt, or at Caesarea, on the coast of Palestine.

In the last days of last year the Codex Sinaiticus passed out of the hands of the Russian Government. It was bought by the British Museum, and the terms of the purchase are well worth telling. The British Government will pay half the price, and the museum will appeal for small private gifts to make up the half a million dollars. The gifts will come, make no doubt of that. Even if it means sacrifice, thousands of British Christians will be glad to share in the cost. To my mind that is far better than if some wealthy individual gave it all out of his swollen superabundance.

I had dreamed that the Codex would figure in a great revival of religion in Russia. There is much in Russia to-day whose wisdom one must admire; for instance, these four great ideals of the Soviets; (1) that everybody must share with everybody else, so that all may have something; (2) that the strong must do more, in order that the weak may not have to do too much; (3) that all the people must be "converted" to the new ideals of the state; and (4) that, in time of great stress, every citizen must be willing to give up even his life for the common good—not in war only, but in peace as well. My dream was a hope. I hoped that one day some young Russian student might find his way into the great library, and discover this wonderful old manuscript. I imagined that he would read it, first with an amused curiosity, and then with growing interest. I hoped that as he read there would break in on him a realization that many of the ideals which he, as a member of the Russian new order, had accepted, were actually written in this book. And I hoped that he would at last come to see that these principles were very old; older than Stalin, older than Lenin, older than Karl Marx; that they were at least three hundred years older than the 1,600 year-old manuscript in which he found them. And then, I dreamed, this young Russian student would go to his fellows and tell them what he had found, and would show them that here was not only all that was finest in the Soviet philosophy, but also much more and better teaching. He would say, or thus ran my dream, "Why, here, and not in the icons which the priests told our fathers were holy, is the true picture of Jesus Christ. He was a peasant like our own peasants. He knew what was in our hearts. He was more truly a revolutionary in his day than Lenin has been in ours, and he read more deeply into our hearts than ever our great leader did."

And so I dream that by means of a monk's ancient pen work Jesus might come back to Russia, in newer, clearer, truer ways than when Russian choirs sang his praises and the nation's leaders rejected his words. But that dream is ended. The great Codex is going to London, so that no Russian student may ever find it in his wanderings about the library. But I am not really disappointed. Jesus is not dependent on manuscripts. By one path or another, the Russian youth who is to be the rediscoverer of Jesus Christ for his country will come to his great moment. He may find it, as Luther did, in some attempt to test the old faith; or as Lew Wallace did, in an attempt to retell the story of Jesus of Nazareth. But some how it will happen.

And in the meantime, I have had my little adventure with the Codex Sinaiticus, as Tischendorf had with it the adventure of his life. For what it meant to me I shall be grateful all my days.

THE EIGHTH BARROWS LECTURES *

(By Mr. V. Chakkarai, Madras.)

My memory turns back to my school day when the first Barrows lecturer, Dr. Barrows, came to Madras, and discoursed on "The Worldwide Supremacy of the Christian Religion". He was a scholar with vast stores of knowledge as evidenced by copious citations from standard authors. He appealed to an Indian audience to accept Christianity because it stood in the name of western civilisation. Those were the time of a pathetic belief in progress, as it seems to us now, and Christianity appeared to him to need no other apology. Nay, it was almost identical with western civilization. Dr. Fairbairn was sent next who with soft eloquence upheld the banner of the philosophy of Christianity. Then came Dr. Cuthbert Hall twice, a unique honor, and he captured our religious imagination by his eloquent analysis of the sublimities of the Oriental consciousness in relation to the mysteries of the Christian faith. He was an intense spirituality that saw into the tragedy of western civilization, and he turned away from it to the primal fountains of the Christian Revelation. After him have come a line of preachers and theologians all of whom I have had the good fortune to listen to. The last of them all, a goodly company, Dr. Shailer Mathews, of the Chicago Divinity School, has just finished his course on Western civilization and Christianity; and the readers of this paper will no doubt allow me to set down some of the impressions left on my mind.

1. The contrast between the first lecturer and the eighth, not in point of learning, but of view points, is the measure of the change that has come over men's mind since the end of the nineteenth century. To Dr. Barrows, western civilisation was itself the product of Christianity, and the cause would seem to have been changed into its effect. It was firm and solid ground. It seemed then to my schoolboy mind, as it does to-day, that to call on Indians to accept Christianity because Christian nations were the masters of the

* From *The Guardian* of Madras.

world was but adding insult to injury. On the contrary, it was just the one way of rousing patriotic feelings against the very name of Christianity. I felt as an instinct in my very blood that the Christian Revelation was from another source and, appealed to other aspects of our consciousness. 'My kingdom is not of this world' said the Lord. That is the answer to all such racial claims on the ground of Christianity. To-day Dr. Shailer Matthews can hardly speak of Christianity as an aspect of western civilisation—so enormous has been the mental change wrought by the years of the Great War and after. Of even the influence of Christianity in Western history, his tone was one of hesitancy and of moderation. From being the sacred Ganga flowing through the fertile plains of Western Europe and America, Christianity has dwindled into a tiny stream, visible occasionally but oftentimes lost amidst western life. As a matter of history, the latter is more accurate than the former. The one great merit of Dr. Matthews' treatment is his desire not to claim too much for Christianity as a factor and fact in western civilization.

2. Two remarks I have heard regarding these lectures to one of which the lecturer referred as proceeding from Christians. They were not evangelical, that is, they were not meant to convert the non-Christian. The lecturer admitted with frankness that that was not the purpose or purport of his lectures, and there is an end to it. The other remark I heard from a prominent Hindu gentleman at the close of the last lecture. Dr. Matthews was very broad-minded, and there was nothing narrow in him. This comes to the same thing—he was not urging the claims of Christianity, as they are unfortunately called, in an exclusive way on his hearers which must have come as a great relief to the above gentleman and the like of him. Dr. Matthews claimed to study the social process set up by Christianity as a scientific student. In doing so, he set down things as they have been and are, and not as he would have them to be. He came before us, not as a theologian, but as a student of western civilization. Therefore, however much we may have wished that he had adopted the former attitude, we have no right to judge his lectures except as history. On this question of history we have the right to say whether we agree or not with him.

My present impression is that, while being very fair in his description of facts and institutions, his analysis was not deep enough. Let me explain myself. Christianity and Western civilisation are two great historical phenomena, and it would have been very much to the purpose to tell us what their genius respectively is. Of course, I am prefectly aware that a theologian like Karl Barth would deny that Christianity or the Christian Revelation is history; rather he would say it is super-history, that is, the ingression of God at a particular point or points in human history. But apart from this criticism, one should have liked to be informed as to what it was, as it came out of its original home amidst the culture in Jesus' days. If Christianity is to be really grasped of its original spirit, one must understand its creator. And how could he do it without entering into the significance of the culture of His times? For that is the very postulate of all historical study, the history of a historical figure in the light of his social environment. Of course, it might be argued that Jesus was not the creature of His age, but was far above it, in His moral and spiritual insight. But this does not free us from the duty of getting a true idea of the significance of the culture of the East of His times—and before and after, too. Such an idea would have enabled us to see how His message was understood or misunderstood in the Greeco-Roman world.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the lack of understanding of the eastern soul of the early centuries of the Christian era and of the centuries before. All European Church history proceeds on the assumption that there was then no other culture and civilization than what is called the classical civilization of Greece and Rome. After making some reference to the religious conditions in Palestine at the time of our Lord, historians plunge headlong into a description, elaborate and elegant, of classical religions and civilisations. But there was a vast world lying in the East where great ideas were fermenting in the springtime. It is out of this matrix that Christianity arose as Islam did later on. My complaint is that there was not even a suspicion of these in these lectures. Till recently there has been a conspiracy of silence on the part of western scholarship regarding this. It is quite true that Christianity after Paul and even he himself in certain respects, were profoundly influenced by classical civilisation. But it was essentially part of a great world culture, that of the East (not excluding India). Oswald Spengler, in his monumental treatise on *The Decline of the West*, has given to it a new name, *The Magian culture and soul.* The Christianity that is treated of as an aspect of western civilisation is not this Magian religion, as Jesus Christ taught it and lived it, but the transvaluation of it in terms far different. I can make this more clear by an illustration used by the lecturer. He said that the Logos of St. John's gospel is from Greek philosophy, probably neo-Platonism. Now, this is an old view that has been disputed by none more strongly than by Albert Schweitzer in *St. Paul and His Interpreters.* His theory is that it was thoroughly Jewish; and Spengler says that it is not a doctrine of Hellenism at all but is part of the great Magian culture, the Jewish, Babylonian, Persian and Arabian culture. What really happened is that an eastern concept become changed into a Greek one, and was subjected to all the logic belonging to it. Therefore, what is really meant is Greek Christianity and later Latin and Western Christianity is an aspect of Western civilisation.

Now, the lecturer should have told us what he means, by Western civilisation. For one thing, I think he meant to say that the classical civilisation of Rome and Greece belong to the same category as Western civilisation. But this cannot be considered in that light. As Spengler points out, the modern Western can no more understand it than he understands really Chinese and Indian cultures. However this may be, Western civilisation is a much later creation, springing from the Germanic migrations. It was born and grew up in Western Europe and does not include Russia nor much of South-Eastern Europe. What is the real genesis of this spirit, called by Spengler, the Faustian Soul? It is called the longing for infinity—extension in space. I am not competent to pronounce any judgment on such a matter which must be decided by western scholars. Besides, Spengler has too much contempt for what he calls English philosophy which is another side of English history and life. My point, however, is that the lecturer should have tried to relate these two forces, such Christianity as there is in the west to the organic manifestations of the western spirit. To-day I find that the best minds of the West, specially in Germany, are making the clear-cut distinction between the Oriental Christian Faith and the Germanic Spirit. I take it that the attempt to Hitlerise the German Protestant church is really one aimed at the elimination of all the eastern elements in Christianity. I came across something astounding in a German creed of a certain German Church party that speaks of the German God and Jesus as the ally of the Germans. This is Germanisation with a vengeance. If, this phenomenon

has any deep roots there, as I believe it has, we have really reached the final stage of the elimination of Christianity and the adoption consciously of the Germanic or the Faustian Soul, rather the emergence of the latent. Therefore, instead of leading us into these vital problems of how the western spirit has reacted to and rebelled against the eastern religion, the lecturer trotted up the now ancient idea that Christianity has been slowly permeating Westen civilisation and gave us the hope rather intangible—that we are moving slowly—that is that we are moving—that is the doctrine of a foolish evolution—towards a complete Christianisation in some distant ages. Neither the history of Western civilisation nor of the Christian evangel warrants any such hope.

THE GOODWIN PLAN.

In response to the many inquiries recently received with reference to the origin and merits of the so-called "Goodwin Plan" the following results of a careful examination of the money-raising proposal promulgated by the Goodwin Corporation are made available to the readers of Information Service of the Federal Council of Church, in America.

The Goodwin Corporation, housed in the Mather Tower, Chicago, is, according to its own publicity material, "a business concern, the primary purpose of which is to create a revitalized, interested consumer audience parallel to the readership of newspapers, in order that manufactures who engage us and our sales stimulative field force may be able to advertise effectively and sell their wares profitably. The consumer audience is planned to be contacted, organized and interested by local point-of-contact workers, who have been and are being selected from the societies of the churches because this source provides persons of excellent character and reliability. These workers will be compensated on a commission basis for the sales which they bring about among the house-wives of their communities and, under the Goodwin plan, the workers may assign their earnings to their church or division of their church."

The details of the plan are simple. The local church, or its woman's society or other church organization is to appoint as "broadcasters" a number of women—as far as possible one for every ten families, after adding to the number within the church membership an equal number of families from the general community. Each of these "broadcasters" personally signs an agreement "to cooperate with and aid the Goodwin plan exclusively and to refrain from any connections with any similar work or plan for the period of thirty-six (36) months from date hereof." It is her duty to secure the pledges of ten housewives "to accept and sign the Goodwin Church Loyalty Purchase List from which to purchase such articles and products as they are willing to purchase"; to collect, sort, tabulate and forward express collect to the Corporation once each month the "evidences of sale" specified by the Corporation and saved by such housewives. In return the Corporation will forward its check for 2 per cent of the total purchase price represented by such "evidences of sale."

The "broadcaster's" contract reserves to the purchaser and to the "broadcaster" the right to cross off such articles on the list as they do not wish included in the pledge, and continues, "*But*, it will be our effort to have the housewife leave thereon as many products as possible." The list will include all types of retail goods, groceries, drugs, automotive supplies, wearing apparel and miscellaneous household and other equipment. The list has not yet been compiled. The manufacturers will be approached after the market is assured and the "broadcasters" contracts have been signed.

The manufacturer listed by the Corporation agrees to pay the two per cent on proved sales to the Goodwin Plan field-force and 1½ per cent on the total proved sales to the Goodwin Corporation, and, furthermore, to spend three per cent of the wholesale value of such sales in a given area in newspaper or other space advertising in that area.

The value of the plan to manufacturer lies principally in the fact that only one brand in any line of goods is admitted to the list. Also, if the plan succeeds it should allow of a considerable reduction in his independent sales force.

The plan has been widely recommended on the basis of the Corporation's pledge that no products shall appear on the list unless the manufacturers are "committed to the upholding" of four "Great Social Principles." The Corporation states that it will require the manufacturers to:

"1. Pay a living wage in accordance with the concepts of the present era and as are advocated by eminent thinkers. By a living wage is understood not merely enough to enable men to survive physically, but such a wage as shall permit them to live with a degree of decency and comfort and at the same time may enable them to make provision for sickness, education, disability, unemployment and old age. This wage *shall be not lower* than that established as a *minimum* by the *Federal Government* for the various occupations in industry. Further, as heretofore stated, this basic wage shall be subject to a Retroactive Upward Revision, *in that proportion as will be determined by ourselves and our advisors* . . . but which percentage shall *be determined* and *be set* before we contract with manufacturers . . . and which percentage will go into retroactive effect after the operation of the Goodwin Plan for one year on the basis of the profits which may be brought about through increased sales, produced by the Goodwin Plan field-force, and this principle shall prevail for the period of the contract.

"2 Provide reasonable working hours for labor as will provide sufficient leisure for spiritual, educational and cultural opportunities; to conform, in times of emergencies, to those hours established by the Federal Government, but in no case to exceed an 8-hour day and a 6-day week.

"3. Provide decent working conditions for employes, especially as may relate to sanitation, light and ventilation, safety devices, protection against occupational diseases, injuries and mortality.

"4. Abstain from employing child labour, meaning agreement to employ no person under sixteen years of age in any manufacturing or mechanical process (even after present Federal emergency insistences may have passed) except that persons between fourteen and sixteen may be employed in other types of work for a period not to exceed three hours per day, and those hours between 7 A.M. and 7 P.M., in such work as shall not interfere with hours of day school.

"5. Work toward security and Permanency of Employment, meaning to agree to work toward the attainment of security and continuity of employment for workers, along the lines which have been worked out by certain leading manufacturers."

Nothing appears here about a written agreement. The guarantee stressed is that of "insistences." Thus, "the Goodwin Corporation will impress such insistences upon manufacturers in the terms of its reserved rights not to accept the sales-stimulating responsibility of any product of and not to avail the potential sales-energy of the Goodwin Plan field force to any manufacturer who does not likewise clearly comprehend his responsibili-

ty to aid in supporting the mass purchasing power from the additional new profits that may come from additional new sales through the efforts of the Goodwin plan field force." And further:

"Hence, to aid in actualizing those principles..... we propose: To set up a social justice committee composed of one representative each of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denomination from within our own organization, whose duty it shall be to see that the Principles of social Justice enunciated here are understood, and accorded with in principle, by those manufacturers before we offer them the sales stimulating service of: the Goodwin Plan; and to investigate and to endeavor to adjust any charges of violation in these principles in any such manufacturing establishment; and in the event of failing to adjust the matter, it shall be referred to an Arbitration Committee of three to be selected one by the Goodwin Corporation, one by the manufacturer and the third by these two; which Committee shall consider the complaints made and the decision of this Arbitration Committee to be final in all matters pertaining to the alleged violation of these principles; and in the event that a manufacturer refuses or fails to correct and adjust such offenses within a period of six months, the Goodwin Corporation may cancel its contract with said manufacturer in accordance with provisions to this effect, which shall be incorporated in the contract with said manufacturers.

"It is understood that rhe Goodwin Corporation shall have the right to review the records of manufacturers who may be availed the Goodwin Plan field force, to determine the manner in which they have carried out the provisions in Paragraph 1, with respect to sharing additional new profits with their employes and to cancel the contract of any manufacturer who fails or refuses to carry out the mutually agreed upon provision.

"Good faith and mutual confidence is the Basis. As adherence to lofty ideals and decent practices depends on voluntary support, based on mutual confidence, (rather than enforcement by law) the Goodwin Corporation has adopted the above principles in good faith and expresses the belief that all manufacturers whose products may be listed under the Goodwin Plan, will willingly carry them out in the same sincere spirit."

According to an advertisement in the *Editor and Publisher*, (New York) a country-wide canvass of the churches has been made by over 800 employed organizers, many of them ministers previously unemployed; "broadcasters" or "field-sales-stimulators" have been "hired," and it was stated on December 16 that 250,000 local agents representing church women's societies would probably have been signed up by December 31. The number of locally employed organizers has now increased to 1,200 and the broadcasters to 206,000.

MR. SUBHAS BOSE'S NEW PARTY.

A three-point plan for India's future was outlined by Mr. Subhas Bose in a statement to Reuter at Geneva. Mr. Bose said:—

(1) India must be consolidated as a free nation under a strong central government before she can hope for internal reconstruction and security from external attack.

(2) A strong and disciplined party must be organised before we can hope for a national government; and the entire nation must be brought under the influence and control of this party.

(3) This party must stand for the masses as distinct from the vested interests. It must stand for justice for all sections of the people and for freedom of every kind—whether political, economic or, social.

"To ensure justice and freedom for all," he said, "the party must stand for the principle of equality and work for the destruction of all artificial barriers whether of religion, creed, caste, sex or wealth.

"Thus it should aim at a really democratic State in which we shall all be equal and in which there will be no problem of minorities.

"I would call this party the "Samyavadi Sangha" of India.

"The immediate problem before this party would be to transform the Indian National Congress into an organ of the masses of India. Bitter experience has taught me that it is futile to expect the Congress to adopt a radical programme until we can first alter the composition of that body. I disagree with the Communists when they allege that the Congress is essentially a bourgeois institution and is incapable of this transformation.

"To alter the present composition of the Congress, however, we shall have to bring into our fold the three radical groups in the country—the youths, the workers and the peasants—and give them adequate representation. This will be possible only when the present constitution of the Congress which is based on the British model is radically changed.

"One of our immediate tasks, therefore, is to organise branches of the party all over the country and to agitate for a radical change of the present Congress constitution. Only when this is done, will the Congress adopt a radical programme and plan of action on the lines that we now contemplate.

"It is necessary for us in India to distinguish clearly once for all between our internal policy and our external policy.

"In the domain of our external policy, our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathy we may nevertheless be able to acquire.

"This is a universal cardinal principle in external policy and it is because of this principle that to-day in Europe a pact between Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy is not only a possibility but an accomplished fact. Therefore in our external policy we should heartily respond to any sympathy for India which we may find in any part of the world.

"In determining our internal policy, it would be a fatal error to say that the choice for India lies between Communism and Fascism. No standpoint or theory can be the last word in human wisdom. The socio-political theories and institutions of the modern nations are the product of their history, environment and needs. They are liable to change and development just as human life is.

"Moreover, it should be remembered that some of the most interesting institutions of the present day are still experiments. Time must elapse before they could be declared to be successful and in the meantime we should not mortgage our intellect anywhere.

"My own view has always been that India's task is to work out a synthesis of all that is useful and good in the different movements that we see to-day. For this purpose we shall have to study with critical sympathy all the movements and experiments that are going on in Europe and America. We should be guilty of folly if we ignore any movement or experiment because of any preconceived bias or predilection."

Referring to "certain statements made in the British Press and reproduced thereafter in the

Indian newspapers," Mr. Bose said these may have led to some misunderstanding of his socio-political views.

"I maintain more strongly than ever," he said "while it is imperatively necessary that we should study all the modern movements abroad—especially the freedom movements in countries which regained their freedom within the last 100 years—it is equally necessary for us in India to chalk out the future lines of our progress in conformity with our past history, and our present and future requirements. The geographical and intellectual isolation which India has enjoyed for centuries should enable us to adopt a sympathetic but critical attitude towards other lands and nations."

THE BEER CONSPIRACY.

(By C. Rajagopalachari.)

Every observant temperance reformer must have observed the increased number of foreign liquor advertisements in the streets of our cities and wondered whether we could not get a legal prohibition, if not of the manufacture and sale of liquor, at least of advertisements seeking to get the drinking habit instilled into men that do not at present know the taste of beer or strong spirits.

Mr. Issac Foot, M.P., has recently written to the press exposing a conspiracy hatched by the Director of the Brewers' Society of England. He has written an open letter drawing public attention to a speech made by Sir Edward Sanders at a meeting of the Wholesale Brewers' Association of Birmingham and Midland Counties, copy of which was marked "Private and Confidential" and circulated to Brewers for action. The following extracts from the circular of the Director of the Brewers' Society speak for themselves:—

"The Chief Customers of the public house today are the elderly and middle-aged men. Unless you can attract the younger generation to take the place of the older men, there is no doubt we shall have to face a steadily falling consumption. I am not saying that the present beer drinker should drink more, but rather that we want new customers. We want to get the beer-drinking habit instilled into thousands, almost millions of youngmen, who do not at present know the taste of beer.

"The main lines would be press advertising, bill posting, advertising on public vehicles, possibly by illuminated signs, distribution of literature, lectures and articles by prominent persons and press propaganda by means of editorial and news items.

If we begin advertising in the press, we shall see that the continuation of our advertising is contingent upon the fact that we get editorial support as well in the same papers. In that way it is wonderful how you can educate public opinion, generally without making it too obvious that there is a publicity campaign behind it all.

"There are plenty of footballers, plenty of cricketers etc., who would like to appear in the press saying that their strength is derived from beer—at any rate, we should consider it in connection with our scheme."

These extracts must be a sufficient warning to youth, newspaper readers and public bodies that control spaces for advertisements in public places until such time as we can induce legislatures to prohibit this kind of solicitation for the consumption of alcoholic liquors.

MODERN GERMANY.

Doctor Richter, the German Consul, was subjected to a volley of questions and criticism of Her Hitler's policy, when he addressed the members of the Muslim University Union on the present conditions in Germany.

After a tribute to the buildings and especially the laboratories of the Muslim University, he observed that though Germany was so far off from India, cordial relations had always existed between the two great countries. German Scholars and Scientists had always been interested in Indian culture and Islam.

The man in the street, he said, had to depend for news about Germany on the exaggerated and sometimes incorrect accounts published in newspapers. The intelligentsia, however, has to study things more thoroughly. The German situation was a result of the war. The economic, social political condition had combined to create a new State in Germany. In November, 1918, he said, Germany had suffered a terrible collapse and lost everything—wealth, power and Government.

The Social Democratic Government was neither Socialistic nor Liberal. The Marxists with their materialistic outlook were gaining ground and Germany was in danger of losing its idealistic outlook. The nation was split up into dozens of parties each pursuing its own selfish course. There was a feeling of uneasiness and unrest among the nationalists, especially the students and the youth. The unemployed figure had reached to six millions.

Meanwhile, the National-Socialist movement was making a steady headway. It was not right to say that the Nazis had captured power by violence or unconstitutional means. Their party has outgrown the other parties and secured an overwhelming majority in the General Hitler election as the acknowledged leader of the majority party was appointed Chancellor by President Hindenburg. He was thus empowered to carry on the reforms, very much desired by the German youth. It was not right to say they were ruled by a minority.

National-Socialism, he said, considered the nation as the highest form of human development. Mankind is a higher ideal but the best way of serving mankind was to serve one's own nation. The nation was entitled to demand any sacrifice from its citizens. They were trying to awaken in their youths strong patriotic spirit, but it was not right to suggest they were teaching them militarism. It was one of Hitler's foremost aims "to win back the nation for the German workman" and to give him full rights.

Hitler, he continued, wanted peace to be able to carry out his policy of reform successfully. In the present unarmed state, with no aircraft, tanks or heavy artillery, they could not possibly want to wage war against heavily armed nations.

Referring to the Jewish problem he declared that they could not possibly tolerate Jews who were foreigners. Being only one per cent. in population, they had captured the entire Press, Civil Service and Business. Jews were compelled to leave Government Service.

An interesting discussion followed in which a number of students and professors participated. Doctor Kunwar Mohd. Ashraf said that Dr. Richter's justification for the treatment of the Jews in Germany was wholly unsatisfactory. He held that the German workers, in common with workers of the whole world, wanted bread, but what Herr Hitler offered them was a Swastika and a Nazi uniform. It was no solution of the problem to turn out Jews and to give their jobs to unemployed Christians. Mr. K. Ahmad Abbas supported Dr. Ashraf—*National Call.*

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Urdu Nastaliq Type:—To meet Syed Abdul Karim Husaini, M. A., Assistant Director, Government Printing, Hyderabad, Deccan, who is on deputation in the Punjab in connection with the Nastaliq Type of.

Urdu script, L. Karamchand, Editor, the weekly "Paras" gave a very successful dinner party at his residence on Pattanchand Road, when about fifty prominent journalists and literary gentlemen were present. Pandit Pearay Mohan Dattatrya in discussing the possibility of the Urdu type visualised the day when Indian newspapers would receive even their telegrams in Hindustani. He thanked the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam for the great interest they had taken in this most interesting and important item in the development of the Urdu language and hoped that they would continue their interest to work it to a successful conclusion. The Pandit appreciated the success which the distinguished guest of the evening had attained in perfecting Urdu Nastalik type. Pandit Pearay Mohan was followed by Maulana Abdul Majid Salik and Maulana Tajwar, both of whom emphasised the importance of suitable Nastaliq type for the development of Urdu literature and journalism. The guest of the evening, Syed Abdul Karim Husaini gave details of the Nastaliq Type and referred to the intention of the Hyderabad Government to pursue their aim with full vigour. He described how in Hyderabad they were substituting Nastaliq type for litho Urdu printing. He stated that the Nizam's Government had decided to supply Nastaliq Urdu type at cost price to all purchasers.

A Holi Celebration in Lahore:—A dinner party was arranged by R. B. Lala Kanwar Sain, Bar-at-Law, ex-Chief Justice, High Court, Jammu and Kashmir, at his residence 43, Lower Mall, Lahore on the 2nd March to celebrate the auspicious Holi, writes a correspondent in the *Tribune*. About 60 of his friends and relations gathered to celebrate Holi and partake of the cordial hospitality of the Rai Bahadur. Each guest, as he came, was welcomed with scent, almonds, misri and of course with a little powdered colour. Right in the middle of some instrumental entertainment the Rai Bahadur who was not recognised by the guests came in dressed as an old Persian and conversed with the guests in his excellent Persian with a true Persian accent. The dinner was then served which was very sumptuous and was universally appreciated. After dinner a little more powdered colour was thrown about. The Hindu and Muslim guests participated in the activities with equal enthusiasm. The Rai Bahadur and his son gave some chorus songs. Songs were sung by some of the guests as well. After thanking their hosts for their hospitality the guests dispersed late at night.

Conversion and Married Status:—An interesting divorce petition, field by the daughter of a Hindu Raja of North Bengal, came up for hearing before Justice A. K. Roy in the High Court of Calcutta. The petitioner, who embraced Islam in 1933 and assumed the name of Jawd Banu, said that after renouncing Hinduism she called upon her husband, Mr. M. O. Ghose, Bar-at-Law and some time Judge of the Small Causes Court, Calcutta, to do so. On his refusal to comply with that request she sought judicial separation as her conscience did not allow the continuance of marital relations with a man of a different faith.

Missionary Posters on Temple Walls: Considerable adverse criticism of the action of missionary organization in placarding the Pilgrims' Trail up the side of Taishan, China's "sacred mountain," is appearing in the foreign-language newspapers in China. Several mission organizations, but particularly the Religious Tract Society of Hankow, a British mission, have had gaudy posters pasted upon the walls of temples and shrines on either side of the Pilgrims' Trail. Most of the posters depict sinners writhing in the devouring flames of hell and other "tortures of the damned." "It is hard to know which to admire the more, the boldness of the missionaries or the forbearance of the Chinese," says *The North China Daily News* of Shanghai. "One wonders what would happen if in England some Buddhist society placarded the walls of Canterbury Cathedral with Buddhist posters."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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News of the Week.

Women in Conference:—The fourth biennial Conference of the National Council of Women was held in Bombay on Tuesday and the two following days. The Maharani of Baroda, one of the pioneers and veteran workers of the Women's Movement in this country, presided. Her Highness in her address emphasised the need for a change in the outlook of Indian woman and the development by her of independence of thought and energetic action. It is not only Indian women but also Indian men who lack these qualities proving anew the great social axiom that the men everywhere are largely what their women make them. The Maharani's sketch of her ideal woman may stand word for word for the ideal man also. Indian religion has crystallised the idea that the perfect divine (and human) character is a combination of man and woman, in Ardanareeswara, half man, half women, sculptured in Elephanta and other shrines. It is in entire consonance with this concept that the Women's Movement in this country has resisted the attempts to make it a replica of the feminist movements of the West. Both Her Highness and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who followed her insisted that the movement stood for co-operation with and was not in antagonism to men. As a step towards giving effect to the Maharani's exportation to Indian women to develop active qualities, we would suggest that a short and stirring appeal be broadcaste adjuring girls and women to give up the depressing practice of committing suicide either by burning themselves or throwing themselves into a tank or well as a protest against ill-treatment by their husbands and their relatives. The number of such cases shows an alarming increase. The other day a Hindu judge in deciding a case of this type sadly remarked that this is the sort of thing which make Hindus hang their heads in shame. The Women's Conference may establish centres in the country to which aggrieved women may resort for shelter and advice in such cases. The mere fact that an institution of the kind exists in the vicinity will have a deterrent effect on men and women (for women are oftentimes more cruel to women than men). Her Highness referred to the cases of Princesses whose condition is in some cases worse than that of women in less exalted positions. In the case of the latter, there is at least the fear of being sent to jail, to check brutality. The women of royal families have not even this slight protection, and their isolation in zenanas puts them out of reach of public sympathy. We are now and again receiving publications, we received one last week, containing pitiful stories of women denied elementary rights, humiliated and even subjected to physical force. There is, no doubt, some exaggeration, perhaps a good deal. There is, however, reason to fear that there is more than a modicum of truth also in such allegations. We are unable to suggest any plan of action which will do good without doing infinitely greater harm to the victims. But women are more resourceful and the public declaration of the Maharani of Baroda that such cases exist, should send a ray of hope to the unfortunate women who suffer in the impenetrable darkness of the zenana.

Indian Representation in International Conferences :—A discussion which seemed likely to take a controversial turn was tactfully diverted to informal conversation at tea parties by the lady who occupied the Chair at the Women's Conference in the temporary absence of the Maharani of Baroda. Mrs. Hamid Ali remarked that India should be represented at International Women's Conferences by Indian women, which is a truism. It would seem that a majority of the delegates chosen has hitherto been non-Indian women. Mrs. Mackenzie explained that this was because Indian women who were willing to incur the trouble and expense of attending these conferences, have not been forth-coming. This statement was not accepted by Mrs. Hamid Ali. Indian women are not in the habit of inviting themselves to any function and, according to the prevailing practice, delegates are selected from among those who offer themselves to represent India. But surely the selection Committee or Council should see that those who represent India are Indians. There has been much trouble over Indian representation in International Conferences for which the choice

of delegates rests with Government. It is now accepted that the majority at least should be natives of the country. International Conferences of women are not official bodies and now that exception has been taken to non-Indians being selected as representatives, we are sure there will be no further doubt in the matter. Any number of Indian women of education and standing can be found to attend Conferences at the remotest parts of the world nowadays. The representatives of other countries raise their eyebrows when an European lady announces herself as the representative of India which is supposed to be inhabited by brown and black people. No European is allowed to represent Indians in the Indian legislatures.

India and America:—Mr. Foley in the article which we print today concludes that there is a wide field of co-operation between America and India. Many of America's serious problems have their counterparts in this country. The United States it must be said, have let us down for the time being in regard to Prohibition. India had hoped for much from America's example. But we are glad that the idea that drinking is a sin, which is common to Islam and Hinduism, is now also the creed of many of the Christian Churches of America Another encouraging fact is the keen interest taken by American Universities not only in the ancient culture but also in the current movements of this country. India needs to imbibe the energetic spirit of America America, on the other hand, may learn from us the importance of occasionally sitting still. It was reported the other day from Kapurthala that, just before a viceregal function was to take place, a swarm of angry bees attacked two men. One, known as the Sandow of Kapurthala, showed fight and had to fly for his life. The other sat still and the bees acknowledged his wisdom by merely buzzing over his head and he escaped practically without injury.

Jews in Germany:—Following the arrest of an eminent Jewish industrialist in Germany by Nazi storm troopers and his ultimate rescue by the police who procured the imprisonment of the kidnappers for varying terms, a decree was issued forbidding arbitrary action by Nazis without official sanction. The decree gives a certain measure of security to the Jews although they still remain there on sufferance. Herr Hitler has at the same time issued an order enforcing the Aryan clause in the army and the diplomatic service. Mr. Cohen-Portheim in "The Discovery of Europe" writes of the position of German Jews under the Empire. "The grandsons or great-grandsons were no longer satisfied with what had satisfied their parents .....They found it irksome to be Jewish. Jews could not become officers or diplomats but to the baptised all careers were open; so they were baptised and with that passed out to pastures new..... To the vast disgust of the old nobility there were even ambassadors chosen from among these." As the Aryan clause of the Hitler regime makes the issue racial rather than religious, several who were accepted as true Germans under the old regime will be thrown out for the Jewish blood inherited from some ancestor.

The Austrian Tangle:—Mr. Bertram Pickard writes from Geneva, "I shall always remember the tense atmosphere in the League Council Room when some three years ago the question of the proposed Customs Union between Austria and Germany was discussed. I recall with particular vividness the pale face and trembling hands of Dr. Benes, the able Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia as he spoke earnest words of warning to the effect that anything approaching Austro-German Union (the *Anschluss* it is often called) would mean war. You have only to look at the map of Central Europe to realise what the Anschluss means to Czechoslovakia. The *Anschluss* would leave her surrounded on three sides—a virtual prisoner, politically and economically. Anyone who has been to Prague, or who knows anything about the heroic conquest of independence by the Czechs under the leadership of Masaryk and Benes cannot fail to feel keen sympathy for this go-ahead and enlightened Republic. At the same time Masaryk and Benes must bear their share of the blame for the grave error made by the framers of the Peace Treaties after the war, when they left a truncated Austria as an independent State under conditions that made her dependence inevitable. It is true that the League has brilliantly saved Austria from chaos more than once, but these measures could, in the nature of the case be only palliative. Austria has been and still is, more or less a pawn in the diplomatic struggles of the Great Powers—Germany, Italy and France. German policy is plain. Hitler is determined to Nazify Austria, though her nominal independence would be maintained, for a time at least, to preserve the letter of treaties. The eventual victory of National Socialism is widely prophesied. Italian policy is equally plain. Italy fears an extension of the Third Reich southward to the borders of such Tyrol, and is obviously giving strong support to the Dolfuss Government and particularly to the Fascist—like Heimwehr. The signs at present point to a *rapprochement* between Austria and Hungary under Italian leadership as a barrier to Nazi control in Austria. The French position is less clear. No doubt France would resist the *Anschluss* with all her force, but it is not certain that she would intervene to prevent the victory of the Austrian Nazis, and still more doubtful whether she would oppose with real energy the policy of Italy. The ideal solution would have been a Danubian Confederation englobing the Little Entente together with Austria and Hungary. If France and England had really been disinterestedly concerned about Central European peace and prosperity they could have done much in past years. Even now it might not be too late, if courageous action were taken by the League Council."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MARCH 17, 1934.

THE BENGAL-BOMBAY FEUD.

The Indian budget has fanned into a blaze the long smouldering embers of the antagonism which has been growing between Bombay and Bengal for some years past. The origin of the antagonism dates back to the anti-Partition days. Bengal in her determination to resist the Partition which Lord Curzon had effected, decided upon a boycott of British goods. She placed her orders for piecegoods with the Bombay mills and it is admitted that the latter utilised the opportunity to make money by means some of which will not bear scrutiny. This did not imply hostility to Bengal. The same thing happened in Bombay. Last year one heard of dealers of "swadeshi" goods who imported large stocks of Japanese cloth, put the swadeshi stamp on it and sold it as "swadeshi," and made huge profits some portion of which they donated to national movements. Many people knew of it in Bombay but they merely smiled and kept quiet, or remarked such things could not be helped. The Bengalis are not business men and they were bitterly disappoimted that the Bombay merchants did not play the game in the same spirit as themselves. The incident has been rankling in their minds ever since. Gokhale had great faith in Bengal. He used to say that what Bengal thought today the whole think tomorrow. There was good ground for his opinion. No people in India has such a passion for ideas and is so ready to sacrifice everything for an ideal as the Bengalis. It is this idealism which made Bengal the leader of India in religious, social and political reform since the days of Raja Ram Mahan Roy. The Raja was followed by Keshab Chunder Sen, Devendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa, Vivekananda. In the political field, Bengal produced Surendranath Banerjee, Lal Mohan Ghose, Kali Charan Banerji, Man Mohan Ghose, Rash Behari Ghose, Lord Sinha. In Science, she has given Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman; in Pbilosophy Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Das Gupta; in Education, Gurudas Banerjee and Sir Asutosh Mukherji; in journalism, Motilal Ghose and Bepin Chunder Pal. The Poet Tagore and the mystic Arabinda Ghose stand apart by themselves. Bengali boys and girls have sacrified liberty and life in the sadly perverse belief that they would thereby accelerate the advent of India's freedom.

Bengal's influence in the country was great because of such men and such achievements. Bombay leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Gokhale appreciated her idealism and held Bengal in high regard. The great Muslim leader, Sir Syed Ahmed, held Bengal in high admiration. The Aga Khan the other day spoke of Bengal as the premier province of India—a compliment which has touched the sensitive Bengali heart. In Bombay since the days of the late Lord Sydenham who, indeed, instigated the movement, political leadership has steadily passed out of the hands of people versed in the science of Polities, into those of financier and "business men" to whom ideals mean very little. These classes are always more amenable to compromise and it was thought that they would give less trouble than politicians. They have been led into a trap. The depressed condition of Bombay is not due to Bengal. Neither is it due to the Kathiawar States, the second scape-goat on which anathemas are rained. The opening of the Cochin and Vizagapatam harbours will certainly take away a large slice of Bombay trade, much larger perhaps than Bhavnagar and Jamnagar. There has been no outcry against the opening of the two great ports in the flanks of Bombay. Every State is entitled to develop, to the utmost, its resources in the interests of its citizens. The outcry against the Kathiawar States, that they are stealing away Bombay's business, is incapable of justification on any political principle. To return to Bengal. The assignment of one half of the export duty on jute, which is grown only in Bengal, is no grievance to Bombay as some of her leading business men have been led to think. Bombay has a real grievance in regard to the income-tax collected by the Indian Government within its borders, without allowing it any part or it. Bengal would support Bombay's demand for a moiety of the income tax. Instead of urging this legitimate claim, Bombay has become embroiled in a bitter controversy with a sister province, which threatens to destroy irretrievably good feeling among the provinces. For the quarrel is already extended beyond the two principal belligerents. It is high time that far-seeing leaders—there are still some—on both sides intervened to restore peace and goodwill between Bombay and Bengal.

CONVERSION AND CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

Our protest against the participation of the members of the British Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy in the appeal for funds to strengthen some Christian Colleges in this country, as a violation of the principle of religious neutrality, has been represented by the *Guardian* of Madras as an attack on the existence of these colleges. We cannot trace any justification for this misapprehension in our leading article on which the *Guardian* bases its criticism. We should like to make it perfectly clear that our objection is not to the existence of these or any other colleges. At the moment, we are not even raising the question whether it is consistent with the principle of religious neutrality to make grants from revenues largely contributed by non-Christians to institutions whose aim is to pervert Hindu and Muslim students from their ancestral faiths. Our immediate objection is to the impropriety of the Head of the Government in India and His Majesty's Ministers in Britain publicly associating themselves with an appeal for funds to equip the mind of India against traditional influences (p. 148, the Lindsay Commission's Report). No one who peruses the Lindsay Commission's Report can deny that in the opinion of the Commission the fundamental purpose of Christian Colleges is to supplant

the Indian religions. Sentence after sentence can be quoted in proof of this. The Commission was fully within its rights in taking up this position. It is the association with it of those responsible for the conduct of the Government of India, in accordance with the principle of religious neutrality guaranteed by Proclamation and statute, to which we take exception. The *Guardian* contends that this objection is tantamount to a complete ban on men (we are concerned only with men holding official positions) of any creed associating themselves in any manner with a body which has as its object the preaching of one's faith to others. This may be absurd in the eyes of the *Guardian* but it is the declared policy of British rule and every one who holds an official position in it is bound to abide by it apart from its reason or unreason.* The *Guardian* goes on to summarise the recommendations of the Lindsay Commission omitting, inadvertently, the central purpose of those recommendations, as Lord Lothian did in his speech at the Mansion House on which we commented last week. The *Guardian* is not sure whether or not conversion is an object of Christian Colleges. It observes: "Whether the Colleges are out for conversions is an open question even among the authorities of the colleges." The Lindsay Commission had no doubt on the point. It noted that the total number of baptisms from all these colleges during the last ten years would not be more, if as many as, a dozen. But note what follows: "That is so in spite of an earnest longing for such results on the part of the Christian teachers and much distress at the apparent lack of success of their earnest efforts." The *Guardian* adds: "Our contemporary knows that it has no reason to be scared on the point." Not in the least. Even if every student who attends a Mission college is converted, there would be nothing for us to be scared about. We are concerned solely with the question of principle. Every deviation from principle today constitutes a precedent for tomorrow and this is a deviation which we should not like to see repeated—nor, we are sure, the *Guardian*—in self-governing India. If it be frankly stated that the Christian institutions stand out of the proselytising purpose of Christian Missions, and that they are not antagonistic to non-Christian faiths, we should hail the declaration as a big step towards the better understanding between the great religious faiths. The *Indian Witness*, the organ of Methodist missions in Upper India does this. It writes: "But do the Christian Colleges exist for the purpose of turning the people of India from their ancestral faiths? We insist that they do not. Christian missions in their most positive evangelistic efforts do not aim at turning anyone from this ancestral faith. Certainly such a programme would be opposed to the whole spirit and teaching of Jesus." This is the view of the Hocking Commission. This, however, is not the view of the Lindsay Commission whose recommendations form the basis of the appeal for funds made at the Mansion House.

The *Guardian's* argument may be briefly put thus: "These Colleges have been the means of educating many hundreds, perhaps, thousands of non-Christian students. They have been the means of bringing to this country several educational Missionaries of high purpose who have showed India that there is a non-predatory side to Western civilization. The *Reformer* knows that practically no conversions have taken place and that there is still less likelihood of any occurring in the future. Then, why make all this fuss about the participation of the Viceroy and Cabinet Ministers in an appeal for funds to provide better buildings and equipment for the Colleges?" The worldly wisdom of this advice, we appreciate. But somehow it does not seem to us that the issue is one in which worldly wisdom should be the primary consideration. The relations between East and West should be placed on truth, justice and love. They have subsisted too long on make-believes.

* "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances.....and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure." Queen's Proclamation, 1858.

TRAVANCORE MAHARAJA'S EUROPEAN TOUR.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The Report on the administration of Travancore for the Malabar year 1108 (August 1932 to August 1933) contains a detailed account of the European tour of His Highness the Maharaja.

"The most memorable event of the year under report was His Highness the Maharaja's European Tour." "It was," says the officiating Dewan Rao Saheb Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, "a unique occasion in the history of the State, as His Highness was the first ruler of Travancore to cross the seas. His Highness the Maharaja accompanied by her Highness the Junior Maharani, the Elaya Raja and the First Princess left Trivandrum on the 27th March." The party sailed from Bombay on the 8th April, 1932. *En route* the Royal party visited Aden and Port Said and landed at Marseilles on the 21st. After spending a couple of days they left for Nice where a week was spent in visiting Cannes Grasse, Manaco and Monte Carlo. They then did the continent, Vienna *via* Milan and Venice; the Austrian capital indeed was a great attraction and after spending 17 days there during which His Highness was honoured by the President of the Austrian Republic and the British Ambassador, the party moved to Karlsbad and then on to Marienbed and Prague. Paris was reached on the 9th June. His Highness and party were entertained at lunch by H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda and H. H. The Maharaja of Kapurthala. After 5 days' stay His Highness arrived in London on the 14th June. The three weeks' stay in London was crowded with social engagements and His Highness made the acquaintance of several distinguished persons as the visit coincided with the session of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms and the World Economic Conference. His Highness, Her Highness and the First Princess had the honour of being entertained at lunch by Their Majesties the King Emperor and Queen Empress at Ascot. Leaving London on the 5th July, Their Highnesses and party went to Brussels and reached Berlin on the 7th July. A very instructive tour to various places of interest having been made, Their Highnesses passed on to Italy which was reached on the 2nd August. At Rome His Highness visited His Holiness the Pope at the Vatican. A couple of days at Naples and on the 12th August Their Highnesses left Brindisi arriving in Bombay on the 24th August. About four and a half months was taken for this tour. In concluding the account of this tour, the officiating Dewan says:—"In this European tour His Highness the Maharaja was accompanied, besides the members of His Highness's family, by a very modest suite which consisted of a Private Secretary and Tour Agent, an A.D.C., the tutor to the Elaya Raja, one valet and one cook. This circumstance as well as the fact that Their Highnesses were all along taking only their own food and wearing only their Indian costumes, were specially noticed and highly commended by all the pressmen and publicists who came in contact with Their Highnesses."

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE.

The World War of 1914–18 and the peace which followed its conclusion has achieved one thing. It has forcibly drawn world attention to the need for a constructive peace—a peace which will be something more inspiring and beneficial to humanity than the present 'breathing space between wars.' Thus, in spite of the economic nationalism which has so dismayed Europe in recent years, it is increasingly felt that a war of armaments would be suicidal and a war of tariffs disastrous to civilisation. An even healthier development is the realisation that this task of ending war has been left too long in the hands of experts. And best of all is the recognition by experts themselves that if they are to progress at all they must get the general public behind them. An effort in the direction of educating the public is made by the eight writers who have contributed to "The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War", (Messrs Victor Gollancz, London: Price 5sh.). Mr. Leonard Woolf who, as the editor, contributes an introduction to the book, points out the divergent views on peace that have been collected between its covers and oommends the publication as a protest, or rather as so many protests, against the barbarism of the period. Viscount Cecil and Mr W. Arnold-Forster are apologists for the League of Nations and believe that progress can be achieved best through the League organisation. Sir Norman Angell, Sir Gilbert Murray and Mr. Charles Roden Buxton regard the League as defective but are convinced that it can be reformed to suit the necessities of the time. Professor Laski and Mr. C. M. Lloyd are as sincerely of the view that only in a Socialist world can peace be a reality. It is no doubt a remarkable feat to have gathered such different views on the subject of peace in one volume. But it is confusing to the "intelligent man."

Lord Cecil in his Chapter on the League of Nations deplores that during "the tenure of office of this Government (the National Government in Britain), and largely owing to its attitude, the League has declined in influence more than under any Government since the War." He asks the "intelligent man" to study the League technique and its achievements. Finally he coucludes with the remark that the advantages of peaceful co-operation are the best arguments for the prevention of war and suggests that if the Governments resolve to withhold them from a violator of a minimum code of peace few countries will assume the offensive. Japan's policy in Manchuria shows the "intelligent man" how far we are from the ideal. Lord Cecil analyses the work of the League in the field of maintaining order between bellicose nations. He points to the settlements arrived at through League intervention in disputes between minor nation-members of the League. He explains that in one of its failures, when "Great Britain sent reinforcements to, and just outside of, the International Settlement at Shangai," the League was "not used". He, however, reassures his reader that this action was not resisted by China and was confined strictly to what was necessary to protect British lives and property. The Chinese view would probably be different. Mr. Arnold-Forster figures even more prominently as Britain's apologist when he writes of the enormous sixteen-inch calibre guns allowed as "Coast Defence Guns" under the British Draft Convention. "The best way," he declares, "to get over the difficulty would, of course, be to get rid of the very big guns on the warships which the coastal defence guns are meant to reply to. But it seems that we can not hope for that yet, largely owing to Britain's insistence on the replenishment of great capital ships. Failing this, the best expedient, though manifestly unsatisfactory, would presumably be a limitation of the number of the coastal guns thus permitted and any technical measure that may be possible to render their mobility more difficult." Notwithstanding the fact that as a Briton it should be more possible for Mr. Arnold-Forster to influence his government to adopt a more reasonable outlook, he prefers, or finds it easier, to use the League to induce other nations to reduce their "coastal defence guns". This is all the more interesting in view of his earlier admonition to his reader, the "intelligent man", to give up old style notions of security whose advocates held that "my country as guardian of the peace should be free to arm according to its conception of the requirements of its own 'security'." We agree with Mr. Arnold-Forster that the worst of all disservices to disarmament would be to become defeatist at this juncture but surely his attitude here reveals that very quality.

The three chapters on Russia, Inter-continental Peace and Economic Foundations of Peace are closely connected. Mr. Roden Buxton finds European supremacy in Asia and Africa a grave menace to peace and suggests an early adoption of the League principle of Mandates by Imperialistic countries as a solution of the problem. The main advantage of such a system would lie in the opportunity afforded the League of pacifying German sentiments now smarting under the loss of her colonies. It is inconceivable that in doling out the mandates the League will ignore Germany who stands to regain her lost colonies. The open door policy prevalent in "mandated territory" will also ease the economic competition which has made the war of tariffs even more disastrous than the armaments war. Mr. Lloyd urges that the Russian Government has not only no intention of entering on war with another nation but has in the past strained every nerve to avoid conflict. A League of Nations without Russia, he maintains, would inevitably be feeble. The failure of the Soviet regime would bring not peace but chaos, wars of intervention and civil war. Mr. Lloyd is hopeful of the possibility of fitting Soviet Russia into a League of Socialist States. "In such a League," he writes, "though peace would not be automatically assured, the triple problem of security, arbitration and disarmament would at least be soluble. In the present dispensation the prospects of solving it are about as good as those of a flight to the moon." As the prospect of all the sixty odd states of the world going Socialist—unless the form is National-Socialism—is even remoter, we may take it that Mr. Lloyd has no hopes of achieving peace in the world for a long time to come. If Mr. Lloyd is pessimistic, Mr. Laski throws the intelligent man into the depths of despair by declaring that war is the inevitable result of the capitalistic system. Incidentally, Mr. Laski has an interesting sub-section on the incompatibility of democratic ideals and imperialism. "The preservation of conquests," he writes, "requires continuity of policy in foreign and imperial spheres; these cease in increasing degree to be the objects of popular control. This in turn develops an impatience with democracy in the domestic sphere." Equality is, as Mr. Laski asserts, the foundation of peace. Equality among nations is, like the Dominion Status promised to India, only a goal today. The objection which Sir Frederick White expressed on behalf of Britain, to America's granting independence to the Philippines, as recently reported in a local newspaper, shows present-day reactions to a liberal policy in a colonial affairs. The demand for independence on the part of subject nations is one but the voices of dependencies are divided. The

imperialist states have a common problem and in the twentieth century they pursue a common policy. The danger that the League of Nations will degenerate into an instrument of that policy is a real one and Professor Laski's insistence on the abandonment of imperialism is a just one.

The entire book is based on the argument that it is possible to persuade the sovereign states to surrender their absolute powers to a kind of super-state. It is not an easy task to accomplish this and to an unbiased onlooker it would seem that the League had given up the idea early in its career. Far easier would it be to get the Great Powers to pool their resources together for maintenance of peace, though the menace to smaller states would be great. This unity had almost been achieved, but Japan broke away from the League, to be followed by Germany a few months later. "The Intelligent Man's Way" was published before Germany actually walked out of the Geneva councils though the probability of the event was great even then. The two nations naturally have attracted the attention of pacifists as dissentients, and measures to secure the prodigal's return occupy the speculations of more than one writer in this book.

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But we do not know. We do not know. We are afraid that a nationalistic madness is abroad that will bring death and destruction to men and their homes. It is almost more than we can hope for that literally centuries of hatred can be turned to friendliness over night. And yet we know that is all that will give Europe peace in our time.

We find it difficult to say whether the United States should have joined the League of Nations or not. The documents supporting that organisation seem, in the light of these last few years, to have created far more problems than they will ever solve. Yet we know that all the countries of the West are bound inseparably together. Some kind of union must be effected ultimately. It may be that America, never having had to learn the long hard lessons of self-sacrifice that India, for instance, has learned most successfully, is not capable yet of being a part of a greater union. Many of our friends still believe that the United States can stand alone while much of the rest of the world goes down to physical and social defeat. However some of us cannot be that blind. We believe in a union that shall transcend national barriers. But nothing has driven us as yet to believe in a union of force, which is the basis of the present League of Nations.

So we find ourselves waiting. So long have we been doing this that we are almost in an attitude of resignation. The hangman seems to be ready to fix the noose about the neck of Europe. How to prevent the catastrophe we do not know. We are observant spectators—somewhat against our will. For we do not like to look backward. We have been heading westward since the founding of this country. There is a kind of resentment that twenty years ago our attention was wrenched eastward toward what are known colloquially as "the old countries." We are not altogether sure that we would like to stop the hangman. But we are fundamentally uncertain as to what will actually happen to us when Europe is hanged.

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Superficially, Japan is trying to complete her air defence of Tokio and the U. S. S. R. is trying to double track the last thousand miles of her Siberian Railway as it reaches out toward Vladivostok. Which will win in this outward game we do not know! Undoubtedly there are other subterranean moves being made that will appear on the pages of some history a hundred years from now. In the meantime we are waiting. And, believe me, it is no easy job. But we are trying to be intelligent observers.

We are waiting and hoping that somehow India will keep to her usual course that she has maintained for thousands of years. We know that India has not sought other people's territories, or oil fields, or coal and iron deposits. But we are rather afraid that Japan's increasing trade with India indicates something more than a genuine interest in India's welfare. But India has so many of the elements that will compose all the nations in the new world that will arise out of the old that we hope she may retain her identity. India has patience and longevity. She has deep human understanding. She has the quality of keeping still and knowing that life is capable of being observed century after century. She has the quality of forever seeking after what has thus far seemed the unattainable—yet which she knows some day will be attained. The search after Truth has always challenged not only India's great son, Gandhi, but also India's whole civilization.

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In view of the fact that some form of democratic government suited to Indian conditions will be inaugurated in the near future, some remarks on the democratic system may not be out of place.

A right understanding of how this system works is very necessary in India at present, because in accordance with this system a momentous transference of responsibility and power into India's hands will be carried through.

Will it not be right to surmise that the following thoughts are in the minds of many Indian politicians?

1st. Distrust—because it appears as if the Government had changed its liberal policy, and was yielding to the outcries of the "Die-Hards".

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To the well informed democrat the above facts indicated under numbers, 1, 2, 3, would give no rise to distrust, resentment or disappointment, because to take the three points in question one by one—

1st. Distrust, from seeming change of policy. The National Government has not changed its policy, as it could not do so. A Party comes into power on its affirmation of a certain policy on all questions with which it will have to deal. So long as it is in power it must keep to that same policy. A change of policy will not occur until the said Party goes out of power. As there are no signs of the National Government going out of Power in the near future, we may be sure of the same policy until then.

2nd Resentment with the Opposition. The Opposition is a necessary part of the Democratic system. It is the business of the Opposition to oppose. The more important the Bill to be passed through Parliament the more deep the feeling about it will be, and therefore, the more violent will be the opposition.

The immense importance of the India Bill can be gauged by the violence of the Opposition.

But we need not be disturbed by this so long as the Opposition is not strong enough to cause a vote of censure against the party in power, which would have to be followed by a General Election, and the Opposition coming into power. There are no signs so far of such an eventuality.

Consequently when Opposition springs up discrediting Government, we expect it, and look upon it as nothing but "Parliamentary Procedure."

3rd. Disappointment with the White Paper Scheme which satisfies no one. This disappointment would not have prevailed if close attention had been paid to the pronouncements of Government. Sir Samuel Hoare repeatedly warned India that no one could

imperialist states have a common problem and in the twentieth century they pursue a common policy. The danger that the League of Nations will degenerate into an instrument of that policy is a real one and Professor Laski's insistence on the abandonment of imperialism is a just one.

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To the well informed democrat the above facts indicated under numbers, 1, 2, 3, would give no rise to distrust, resentment or disappointment, because to take the three points in question one by one—

1st. Distrust, from seeming change of policy. The National Government has not changed its policy, as it could not do so. A Party comes into power on its affirmation of a certain policy on all questions with which it will have to deal. So long as it is in power it must keep to that same policy. A change of policy will not occur until the said Party goes out of power. As there are no signs of the National Government going out of Power in the near future, we may be sure of the same policy until then.

2nd Resentment with the Opposition. The Opposition is a necessary part of the Democratic system. It is the business of the Opposition to oppose. The more important the Bill to be passed through Parliament the more deep the feeling about it will be, and therefore, the more violent will be the opposition.

The immense importance of the India Bill can be gauged by the violence of the Opposition.

But we need not be disturbed by this so long as the Opposition is not strong enough to cause a vote of censure against the party in power, which would have to be followed by a General Election, and the Opposition coming into power. There are no signs so far of such an eventuality.

Consequently when Opposition springs up discrediting Government, we expect it, and look upon it as nothing but "Parliamentary Procedure."

3rd. Disappointment with the White Paper Scheme which satisfies no one. This disappointment would not have prevailed if close attention had been paid to the pronouncements of Government. Sir Samuel Hoare repeatedly warned India that no one could

possibly be fully satisfied because when many diverse claims and wishes had to be considered equally, the outcome could be nothing but a compromise.

Now a compromise means that each party must sacrifice some of their individual wishes, so that all may unite. Evidently no one can be satisfied, but patriots will be willing to sacrifice something for the sake of unity.

Compromise is an essential of Democratic Government. In other words, The rule of the Majority.

Democratic Government can only move by progressive steps. With the difficult conditions in India the White Paper proposals are found to be the only kind of scheme that will work.

Let us suppose that a new machine has to be constructed, and the order is given that it shall be perfect and symmetrical in shape above everything. This is done, and it is beautiful to look at, but when they start to work it they find it will not move. Its power to work has been sacrificed to its perfect shape.

Ugly, unshapely and unsatisfactory as the look of the New Constitution appears this Government machine is found to be the only one that will work.

And if it is worked by all with good-will, its shape can be gradually altered and improved by India's own hands until it is shaped into Full Dominion Status.

It should be realized that the British Government as a democracy is obliged to act in accordance with its democratic system.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that this coming transference of power into Indian hands will be one of the greatest events of history.

Are its deep import and immense potentialities sufficiently recognised in India?

THE HIMALAYAS.

"I am a scientist but I do not scoff at the worshipful attitude of the Indians towards the Holy Himalayas or regard it as a survival of the superstitions of more barbaric times," declared Sir Francis Young-husband, who was himself born in the Himalayan region, in a lecture at the Indian Institute at Oxford.

He said his seventy years' connection with the Himalayas only confirmed his sympathy with that attitude, which he recommended to his fellow Europeans as one worthy of adoption. The Alps had been called the playground of Europe where men went for climbing in summer and snow sports in winter, deriving plenty of healthy invigoration of the spirit from these exercises. But the Himalayas had for thousands of years been looked on by the Indians not as a playground but as a holy ground—the dwelling place of Gods, a sacred place for quiet meditation and spiritual refreshment.

When one sees high up in the heavens the snowy outline of the Himalayas, it seems incredible at first that this is part of our earth. Surely what is so high and so pure can only be heaven. The soul is lifted out of itself at the sight of these glorious mountains. No wonder they came to be regarded as sacred and the object of the deepest reverence by sages of ancient India.

When he first saw Kinchinjunga, he gave a gasp of sheer wonderment at such magnitude of glistening snow and ice, glorious, terrible and dangerous. He described the hushed forests extending to thousands of miles at the base of the mountains in which even to-day could be found saints engaged in meditation, who were veritable daysprings, spiritually radiating joy and contentment.

Happiness was the main characteristic of both human and animal life in the Himalayan forests. There was an intensity and richness of enjoyment, derivable from these mountains, which sportsmen could never find in the Alps.

BISHOP OF NATAL'S APPEAL.

An appeal for the spirit of fairplay, a more equal standard of living and increased facilities for sound education as a means of achieving co-operation between Europeans and Indians, and, thereby promoting the progress of the whole community, was made by the Bishop of Natal, Dr. Noel Fisher, in an address at a public conference on Race Relations in South Africa, held in Maritzburg, writes *Indian Opinion*.

It was sometimes assumed, said Dr. Fisher, that differences of tradition and outlook, such as were always found when race met race, were inevitably a hindrance to harmonious working. He did not believe that to be the case. It was true that when people were ignorant about each other and were afraid of the future there was the kind of atmosphere in which dissension and strife were easily born. It was not variety, but mutual ignorance and suspicion which was the real obstacle to right relations. So far from difference being a hindrance they might greatly enrich the life of a country, though only in so far as each race sought to represent its nationality at its best. European and Indian alike had much to contribute to the common good.

These were days of keen competition, and when those who competed were of different race, a fresh cause of bitterness was introduced. As it was impossible to eliminate competition, it was necessary to free it of its worst features.

"May I insist," said Dr. Fisher, "that co-operation is more fundamental than competition? When competition is fair, the result should be to raise the standard of efficiency and thus to promote progress to the benefit of the whole community. But it is essential that competition should be on fair and equal conditions. On the one hand, no one should be handicapped by artificial restrictions. But again no one should gain an unfair advantage owing to an uncivilised standard of living, enabling him to undersell his neighbours; nor by being able to pay lower wages to those whom he employs. We must press for fairplay, and for equitable conditions of employment that competition may be on a fair basis, as between the two races."

With a view to an improved standard of living and a larger measure of understanding and mutual appreciation, the benefits of sound education must be placed within the reach of all. That did not mean that all would be educated to the same level, but that each should receive the kind and degree of education which corresponds to his capacity and requirements. He believed that it was as important to educate the girls as the boys, for they were the future mothers, and on them depended the character of the homes.

If one could bring about those three things—the spirit of fairplay, a more equal standard of living and increased facilities for sound education—much would be done to provide the best conditions for that harmonious co-operation between Indians and Europeans which was in the best interests both of the individual and of the country as a whole.

There were many difficult problems, political, economic and social, which had to be solved. Europeans were demanding, as they had a right to do, the safeguarding of their Western civilisation and standards of life which they regarded as essential. Indians, on the other hand, were demanding, as they had a right to do, a recognised position in the life of the country and opportunities for progress. It was inevitable that politics should enter largely into the question and that efforts should be made from time to time to alter and adjust the laws of the land. He urged the exhibition of patience for which the East was famous and to trust the wisest leaders. Hasty and uncontrolled speech by European or Indian usually set back the hands of the clock.—*Natal Mercury*.

JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND.*

(By Joseph W. Emsley.)

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, crusader for the public good, will observe his 92nd birthday tomorrow. Not many of us hope to knock off 92 birthdays, and many of us might be a bit jittery on approaching such an age, but not Dr. Sunderland! He seems destined to live on for a good many years yet, with passion for work in hand and a certain tranquil attitude toward life mixed in such proportions that he forges right ahead serenely.

I called on him this week at his Poughkeepsie home, which is with Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bolton at 214 Union Street. He spends part of his time here, and part of it with relatives in Michigan. A minister of the former Unitarian church here for 14 years, he likes Poughkeepsie, and enjoys being with his friends here from time to time.

It was a surprise to learn that Dr. Sunderland who is the author of numerous books, including the widely discussed "India in Bondage" is still writing. He is now busy on a book to be known as "Emerson and His Friends," and another, "The Best from All Religions of the World," a spiritual anthology on religions of the world. "India in Bondage" was completed in his late 80s!

Indeed, Dr. Sunderland even now devotes six or seven hours a day to writing, and with it appears to be enjoying the best of health. He is an ardent believer in the school of philosophy which holds that work is one of the principal things that keeps you going. He is not a crank in this respect, however, and probably idles his share of hours; he likes to take automobile rides; and he likes to talk. He still preaches occasionally, and his wealth of knowledge about men and things is such that it is no great effort for him to preach.

I asked him to impart his idea of how a person should live to reach an unusually old age.

"Take care of your health," he said. "Study the laws of life and obey them. Be cheerful and hopeful. Work hard and have an interest in something and stick to it!"

He eats his three squares, sleeps eight hours a day ordinarily, and when overtired sleeps nine hours.

Dr. Sunderland gave two addresses at the World Fellowship of Religion in Chicago last summer, and about a year ago preached a sermon at the First Congregational Church here.

His attitude toward life seems to be summed up in his observation:

"I don't want to live after I cannot be of any more use to humanity."

Coming from some people, that assertion might seem to indicate an over-zealous attitude in the interests of others, but from Dr. Sunderland it was quite a natural thing to say. He wasn't gilding the lily. In fact he has a robust sense of humour and appreciates his limitations, enjoys a joke on himself and all that. It is just that he has proved himself to be useful. He has scores of friends in India who keep writing to him. They constantly ask him to write things for Indian publications.

Dr. Sunderland is seriously interested in the welfare of humanity. He has become internationally known as outstanding among Americans in the knowledge of Indian affairs. His book, "India in Bondage" has been described as one of the most scholarly and truly representative works on the Indian question, from the standpoint of the Indian people themselves. Publication of the book in India has been banned by Great Britain, and that act alone, has been taken by some leading thinkers as a reliable indication of the influence of the book.

It is said that whatever side you take on the Indian question, whether you believe that Great Britain is doing right by her subject people or not, a broad understanding of the problem cannot be had without knowledge of Dr. Sunderland's studies in the matter. A native of England himself, he loves and respects his home country, although taking issue with its policies in India.

Dr. Sunderland was born in Howarth, Yorkshire, England. He came to this country with his father, Thomas Sunderland, when he was two, the family settling in Jamestown, N. Y. in the region of the Chautauqua Lake. His father died when he was a child, and his mother was left with five children. His lot was not easy, and it was entirely through his own efforts he received an education.

The family moved to Iowa when Dr. Sunderland was a boy. He attended Burlington College institute, Burlington, Iowa, and spent two years at Colgate university. His studies were interrupted by the Civil War; he joined the boys in blue of the Seventh N. Y. Heavy Artillery, serving on the Potomac for about a year and a half. He came out of the war uninjured and resumed his studies at Chicago university.

Dr. Sunderland married Eliza Read, who was a school principal at Aurora, Ill., and at that time the only woman public school principal in the country. They had three children, two of whom are living. Mrs. Gertrude Saffort, a daughter, is the widow of the Dr. Saffort, who was a physician of Detroit, Mich; she is a former president of the largest Women's City Club in Detroit. A daughter, Florence, who died eight years ago, was a teacher at one time in the George Washington High School, New York City. Dr. Sunderland's son is a professor of law at the university of Michigan.

He received his bachelor of arts degree at Chicago in 1867, completing his training in the divinity school of the same institution in 1870. He then became pastor of the Baptist church at Milwaukee.

Most of his years of service as a minister were with the Unitarian denomination. He served first at the Unitarian parish in Northfield, Mass., and held charges in Ann Arbor, Mich., Chicago, Hartford Conn, Toronto, Canada and in London.

Dr. Sunderland spent two long winters in India, in the years 1895-96 and 1913-14, and made special studies of Indian art, literature, philosophy and religion. He has written three books about India They are: "India and World Brotherhood," "The Causes of Famine in India," and "India in Bondage." One or more of these have been published in translated form in India, France and Japan, as well as America. "India in Bondage" has been in special demand, and has been distributed in 500 libraries in the world. There are 26 copies of it in the New York City library, and 12 in the Boston library. A new and enlarged edition was printed last year in this country. It contains eight new chapters.

The author of 20 or more books, Dr. Sunderland is widely known through his "The Origin and Character of the Bible," which went into six editions, and was circulated in Russia, Bulgaria and more recently in India Among his works are a number of pamphlets in exposition of the Unitarian faith which have been in great popular demand.

In all his writing, Dr. Sunderland had been a fighter for peace. "I fought in the Civil War," he said, "but I am a pacifist to the marrow. I have travelled a good deal and wherever I went I never could see why nations should resort to the destructive and demoralizing forces of warfare to settle their differences."

Yes, there will be a simple birthday party tomorrow! Some of Dr. Sunderland's friends are planning to call on him, among them some persons from Vassar College.

*From the *Poughkeepsie Evening Star* of February 10, 1934.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The fourth biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India was held in Bombay, on Tuesday evening when the Maharani of Baroda presided.

The Mayor of Bombay, Dr. M. C. Javle, extended a cordial welcome to the delegates to the conference to Bombay and, in explaining the benefits of the primary education being given to children in the city, invited the delegates to visit some of the social welfare institutions in Bombay.

The deliberations of the Conference were inaugurated by Mrs. S. Faiz Tyabji, chairman of the reception committee, with an address in which she drew attention to three or four main heads of activity of the Council. Mrs. Tyabji first mentioned the attempts of the Council to influence legislation. She thought it time that the Council opened its eyes and expressed its strong opposition to social institutions which had for their basis the exploitation of women, Child marriages, no less than the traffic in women would be abolished if old notions were ruthlessly swept aside. While the Council had been labouring with this subject, much yet remained to be done.

In regard to education, the Council had endeavoured to take steps to promote vocational training and nursing, and intended raising its voice against the curtailments of Government expenditure on this head. Mrs. Tyabji also hoped that the Council might be able to do some useful work in raising the standard of cinema films displayed in India.

In her presidential address, the Maharani of Baroda said that the most important question before the Conference was that of woman's suffrage under the new form of Government to be introduced into India. If women in the country were all agreed as to what they wanted in the matter, they could press their claim with some force and with a reasonable chance of success. At present, the aim of women should be to secure adequate representation in proportion to their numbers, so as to make their votes felt in the many matters that affected them.

The laws of property, especially the Hindu laws of inheritance and property, the Maharani thought, was one such matter. The injustice of these laws, she stated, was quite evident. Women could not afford to be mere dependants on men in matters of property, if they desired full scope for self-expression and development of their personality. They must be afforded right to inherit, acquire and deal with property on the same basis as men. Many Hindu women, the speaker continued, were anxious to have a law of divorce passed for them, but a divorce law without proper laws of property and inheritance would be a misfortune.

Proceeding, Her Highness said "If we—I mean society as a whole—are to progress the old shackles must be shaken off. Our women are meek, submissive, ready to suffer without complaining and obey without questioning. In our homes, this is the ideal held out before our girls. I have no faith in this ideal. It is necessary that we should reform the methods of educating our girls. They should be taught self-reliance, and a healthy fighting spirit should be infused in them. However, do not think that I advocate war against men. It will do no good to our cause.

"In what I am proposing there is no peril involved to human society. If the matter were considered dispassionately there could hardly be any difference of opinion about it.

"My ideal woman would think freely for herself and yet act boldly in co-operation with men. I am a great believer in co-operation. If only men and women could co-operate on an equal footing in the business of life, the happiness of both would increase in a great measure and make human society stronger and healthier.

"Let me tell you frankly that Ranis and Maharanis and other ladies of rank and position, especially those living in purdah, have their own special disabilities and suffer from more hardships than women of the working classes. I have come to know that, as many ladies have come to me with their tales of sorrow. They require your help as much as the women of the labouring classes, and I wish you to take up their cases also."

The fourth biennial report of the Council was then read out to the meeting by Miss Leah Jhirad. The report stated that the Labour Committee had continued its work and considered some of the recommendations made by the Whitely Committee, as well as the information collected by the Committee in 1930. One of the suggestions made by the Committee was that Provincial labour conferences should be held in order to stimulate an interest in labour conferences.

The Legislation Committee had kept in touch with all bills relating to women and children introduced in the Legislative Assembly and, in several instances, pointed out defects and suggested changes in various bills to the members who introduced them. The Council had also done much useful work in connection with adult education, mothercraft, the beggar problem, hospital visiting, women's workrooms and industrial institutions, relief work, play centres, creches, child welfare and other branches of activity intimately connected with women and children.

Lady Cowasji Jehangir (Senior,) who has been actively connected with social welfare work in Bombay, welcomed the delegates to the Conference and, in doing so, drew a vivid contrast in the civic life of Bombay and welfare work to-day, as compared to that of the past decade. "Go forward slowly but steadily, undertake only those activities which you can fulfill successfully, and remember at the same time that the East cannot blindly follow the West," was her message to the delegates.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu paid a warm tribute to the pioneering spirit of the President in the field of social welfare work, and supported her plea to women for an equal partnership with men in the service of humanity.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar pointed out the pitfalls in the franchise to be bestowed to women, and appealed to them to equip themselves to play an important part in the coming constitution of the country.

Mrs. Maneklal Premchand, chairman of the Council, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

Lively discussions marked the proceedings of the fourth Biennial Conference of the National Council of Women in India, on Wednesday morning when the delegates met in the University Convocation Hall for the first session.

In the absence of H. H. The Maharani Saheb of Baroda, Mrs. Tarabai Premchand presided over the session.

The Conference passed a condolence resolution on the demise of Sir Dorabji Tata, who donated Rs. 10,000, for the Women's Council. Sympathy was expressed with the Lady Aberdeen, Chairman of the London Sub-Committee on her sad bereavement in the loss of the Marquess of Aberdeen.

Miss Leah Jhirad, Secretary in her report for the previous term, stated that the N. C. W. I. was carrying on useful service through various committees and particularly taking interest in the Labour problem. The first provincial Labour Conference organised under the auspices of the Women's Council was a success, and resulted in

increased interest in Labour questions and practical work in Labour areas.

The Legislation Committee had kept in touch with all the Bills relating to women and children and in many instances pointed out the defects and suggested changes to the members introducing those bills. One novel suggestion accepted by the Women's Council was the compilation of a Directory of women social workers of the country, who could thus be communicated to when necessary. Miss Jhirad said that the work of gathering this information was well under way. A delegate was appointed by the Government to represent the League of Nations Advisory Commission on the Welfare and Protection of Young Persons and Children at the instance of the N. C. W. I., in the person of Mrs. S. Subbaroyan.

The proceedings took a lively turn and brisk discussion followed when after the presenting of the reports of various sub-committees, Mrs. Hamid Ali opened the question of the representation of the Women's Council at International Women's Conferences held overseas.

Mrs. Hamid Ali took exception to the fact that at these conferences Indian womanhood was being represented by non-Indians who formed the majority of India's representatives. She laid the blame at the door of the London Sub-Committee which had on itself more non-nationals than Indians. She, therefore, suggested that representatives to women conferences abroad should be selected entirely by the Women's Council in India, and that the majority of them should be Indians, while she appreciated the interest displayed and help rendered by non-national ladies in land.

Mrs. Mackenzie explained that sufficient numbers of Indian women were not forthcoming who would be prepared to undertake the trouble and expense of attending these meetings, to which Mrs. Hamid Ali retorted that to her knowledge there were 400 or 500 educated and suitable ladies all over Europe who could properly represent the Indian women.

Mrs. Tarabai Premchand explained that the London Sub-Committee were not electing the representatives. However, it was not possible to send all Indian ladies as delegates. The former procedure was that ladies willing to represent Indian women at these conferences in foreign lands wrote to them expressing their desire to represent India, and if the N. C. W. I., felt that they would be ably represented by such ladies they accorded them permission to do so.

A number of ladies who had wide experience of foreign travel and thorough knowledge about the movements in other lands partook in the discussion. The feeling that Indian women ought to be represented by nationals was keenly commented upon by other ladies who had no objection to representation by women of any nationality provided they had the interests of the Indian women at heart.

Constitutional difficulties were mentioned by Mrs. Mackenzie. Mrs. Raiji suggested that the London Sub-Committee be separated and a New Council comprising the Indian women abroad be formed which could be affiliated to the N. C. W. I. Mrs. Byramji was frank in her statement that the missionary ladies going out from India were responsible for a lot of misrepresentation on the Continent and when questioned about their representative capacity declared that they represented the N. C. W. I., and these ladies though not elected in India were being co-opted in London by the Sub-Committee.

Miss Jean Begg (Bengal) saw no objection to non-Indians representing Indian women while Mrs. Zubeda Fyzee suggested that the majority of representatives at conferences overseas should be Indian women.

At this stage, Mrs. Premchand suggested that further informal discussion might be carried on at the various 'At Homes' arranged for the delegates.

New Office-Bearers elected for the ensuing term were:—Mrs. Tarabai Premchand, Chairman; Miss Leah Jhirad, Secretary; and Miss Naurange and Mrs. Raiji, Hamid Ali and Hansa Mehta, Members of the Governing Body.

ARYA GIRLS IN NAIROBI.

The *Kenya Daily Mail* Correspondent writes from Nairobi, February 21: The Girl Students of Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Baroda accompanied by their Principal and Secretary Pandit Anadpriyaji, Mr. Chaturbhai, Principal, Gurukul Songarh and Mr. Manilal, Secretary, Hindu Mission, arrived in Nairobi on the morning of 18th February, from Mombasa.

They were enthusiastically received on the Station by the officers and members of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, local Arya Samaj, the girls of the local Arya Putri Pathshala and students of Sharadhanand Brahmacharyashram and other members of the public of Nairobi. The Arya Samaj Band was in attendance and the party was taken in procession to the Arya Samaj Rest House where they are to stay in Nairobi.

On the morning of 19th instant public welcome was arranged and after Sandya, Havan and Bhajans, Mr. Sharma on behalf of the Nairobi public welcomed the guests and expressed his great satisfaction for the adventurous spirit of the Institution and wished success to the deputation.

Pandit Anand Priyaji explained the subject of the visit which he said was missionary propaganda and education for the girls. His speech was enthusiastically received by the audience. After the Bhajans the meeting terminated.

In the evening of the same day the girls of the Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Baroda, India, gave a demonstration in the compound of the Arya Kanya Pathshala of Nairobi when over five thousand Indian men, women and children were present to witness an interesting and stirring programme. In the 14 items of programme was included music, drill and physical culture feats, arrow aiming, dagger fight and spear drill, etc. All these feats impressed every one assembled unreservedly and drew praise and applause.

In a speech, in Hindi, in the middle of the programme, Miss Subhadra Kumari, Mahavidyala's medalist, impressed on the audience the present deplorable state of Hindu society in the matter of physical culture, orthodox modes of Purdah etc., and compared these with the progressive womanhood of the West where women were in the forefront in literature and science: in flying and swimming, in commerce and profession and every other field, hithertofore supposed to be a reserve for men. Explaining that the Arya Mahilavidyalaya did not teach only physical culture but all such subjects and languages as Hindi, English, Sanscrit and Gujrati, Geography, needlework, cooking, etc., which would make to-day's girls fit women to take their places in tomorrow's India, Miss Subhadra Kumari appealed to the audience to give liberal education to their daughters to ensure that India as a nation did not lag behind. She also pointed out that to-day's Indian women needed physical culture as much as men and that women had as much right to God's free gifts of pure air and light as men which purdah system denied them.

The whole programme was an eye-opener to most of those who had assembled on the occasion and will revolutionise our ideas about girls' education. Local schools, especially Arya Kanya Pathshala under the

management of Mr. Arya Muni Varma, M. A., have already been teaching music, garba dances, etc., and this visit of Baroda scholars will give them an impetus to go further in their reforms.

HARIJAN FUND.

Inviting opinion on Harijan Seva Sangh (Delhi) draft rules for the disbursement of his Harijan Purse Fund Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:

(1) About a month or two after the collections of the purse fund of each province, the existing financial relations between the Central office and the Provincial office may cease in favour of the new financial relations arising out of the new purse fund, which are described below. The fund is called the Gandhi Harijan Purse Fund.

(2) The expenses incurred after the passing of the welfare schemes should be charged to the "purse fund" that is, it will come out of the 75 per cent quota of the purse fund, or out of the 50 per cent in the case of principal cities. Grants for administrative and propaganda expenses will be continued to be paid according to the existing system, that is, one half or two-thirds, or what-ever the ratio may be, of such expenditure, out of the central fund, from which the "purse fund" will be kept separate.

(3) Except for Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi and similarly circumstanced cities, at least 75 per cent of the money collected in each town, district or province will be spent in that place, or area or the province, if the following two conditions are satisfied:

(*a*) A scheme, including all the old commitments, of welfare work for utilising the quota of the "purse fund" money is proposed, submitted and approved by the Central office.

(*b*) Whole time, honorary or part-time workers are forthcoming for working out the approved scheme or schemes and their names approved. In appointing permanent workers, care should be taken to see that they have had at least two years' continued service.

(4) The "purse fund" should be spread over a period of not less than two years, according to circumstances, at the discretion of the workers of the locality concerned, with the approval of the provincial workers.

(5) The money will be forthcoming by instalments, as may be required, on presentation of monthly bills of expenditure incurred on welfare schemes. Reasonable advances, however, will be made to keep the work going.

It is the special desire of Gandhiji that out of the purse fund not a single rupee should be spent for administration and propaganda of the provincial, district or other offices and that the purse money should be utilised for no other purpose than the execution of schemes for Harijan welfare work.

(6) The ear-marking of donations should be done at the time of the donation and not after. And in each case, when ear-marking is done, it will be accepted only if Gandhiji approves.

(7) Special cases of districts requiring extra help over 75 per cent would be considered only on the grounds of the poverty of the district, or the extraordinary scope for work in the district or the unusually large number of Harijans in the district.

(8) In regard to Taluk organisations and their finances, schemes from the Taluks which have paid money to the fund will receive due consideration in relation to such schemes. There need be no paid Secretary or Office in the Taluks.

(9) The Provincial Secretary as also the District Secretaries, should cease to be officemen, but should become necessary parts of the welfare schemes. The charges of the provincial staff needed for supervising schemes in the districts will thus be met from the 75 per cent quota and taken from the district in proportion to their budgets. Workers necessary for supervising welfare schemes may be treated as part of the constructive expenses.

All those who belong to various Harijan Sevak organisations or are otherwise interested in the cause are invited to send to the Secretary, Central Board, as early as possible their suggestions on the foregoing draft rules. The object is to incorporate in the final rules the wisdom of those who have helpful suggestions to make. Perhaps it is more difficult to spend the money wisely that it was to collect it. The chief difficulty will be to find whole time trustworthy and otherwise competent workers. In making their recommendations, therefore, local Sanghs and individuals will bear in mind the difficulty about workers. Schemes, moreover, which would admit of employing Harijans by preference must be more acceptable than those in which such special qualifications may be required as to make it impossible to employ Harijans. Suffice it to say that the aim of every scheme should be the greatest and the quickest amelioration of the educational and economic condition of Harijans with the funds available. Thus the general rules can only be indicative and elastic, so as to cover as wide a range of schemes as might be formulated by the Provincial and District Sanghs.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Conversion and Communal Representation:—The question whether a member of a Municipal Committee, Lahore, on his conversion to another religion can remain as a member will shortly be discussed by the Lahore Municipal Committee at a general meeting. The point has arisen following the conversion of a European member, Mr. W. J. Faireley, to Islam recently. At the last meeting of the Committee Pandit Sant Ram raised the objection that Mr. Faireley, who, he said, was representing the interests of the Anglo-Indian community, could not participate in the discussion, as he had changed his religion. The President pointed out that the matter could be discussed separately. Pandit Sant Ram has now given notice of a resolution, that Mr. Faireley, who was nominated by the Government to represent the interests of the European and Anglo-Indian community in the Lahore Municipal Committee could not participate in the Municipal Committee as he had changed his religion. The Pandit's objection is that Mr. Faireley had left the Christian religion and therefore, he had no right to remain in the Municipality on behalf of the European community.

The Golden Toy In London:—An attempt to portray the glamour and colour of Indian life for London theatregoers has been made at enormous cost in the London Coliseum with the production of "The Golden Toy," founded on the Old Indian play, "Vasantsena." Half the great theatre has been transformed into a replica of an Indian temple while all the mechanical resources of the Coliseum's revolving stage have been employed in representing twenty colourfull episodes of Indian bazaars, streets and temples. The dresses for the production alone cost £5,000. At one point, the stage revolves in concentric circles simultaneously, forming a veritable panorama of Indian scenery; but despite the labour and expense of the production, the play remains a queer conglomeration, for this Indian tale has been rewritten by a German and produced by another German, Ludwig Berger, to the music of S. J. Humann while the cast includes a romantic actress Miss Peggy Ashcroft, conspiring oddly with the healthy, music hall humours of such old troopers as the comedienne, Nellie Wallace, and the acrobat, Lupino Lane. The show is a masterpiece of Teutonic ingenuity and is impressive from a spectacular point of view but the playgoer is left wondering whether the atmosphere of the production is that of the East, Germany, England—or just plain London Coliseum?

Storm Troopers Kidnap A Jew:—Seven Nazi Storm Troopers have been sentenced from three to six years penal servitude on a charge of kidnapping a wealthy Jew, who was a manufacturer of Chemnitz, and attempting to extort ransom. The victim, Herr Otto Schlesinger, was held up while motoring to Chemnitz, forced at the point of the revolver to enter a Nazi car, and driven to Berlin. He was allowed to send a telegram to his wife saying that he had been summoned to Berlin on urgent business, but he astutely signed the telegram in his surname. The wife coucluded that something wrong had happened, and telephoned to all her Berlin friends who informed the police. Herr Otto Schlesinger telephoned to a friend to stand with the ransom amount of several thousand marks ontside Zoo station. The Nazis drove up with Herr Schlesinger, received an envelope, released Herr Schlesinger, and drove off immediately, pursued by a police car. They were captured after an exchange of shots with the police.—Reuter.

Disarmament:—The League of Nations are now more hopeful of the eventual success of disarmament in consequence of the indications of a changed attitude in Britain which is believed to be now favouring the idea of common action in the event of a violation of the provisions of the disarmament convention. It is also gathered that influential French opinion has undergone a considerable change as regards the question of German rearmament. A White Paper on disarmament has been issued today of which the chief feature is the letter of M. Barthou dated February 10 emphasizing the French attitude in unmistakable language and explaining the impasse into which the negotiations had drifted. It is hoped that the new French memorandum expected next week in reply to the British proposals of February 9 will show an advantage facilitating negotiations. M Barthou's letter of February 10 asserts that France is unable to accept any calculations excluding formations which are of an incontestably military character and also unable to accept an immediate reduction of armaments accompanied by immediate rearmament by the Powers bound by the military clauses of the treaties. It emphasizes the necessity of guarantees in the event of a violation of the disarmament convention, urging a rapid solution in consequence of the pace at which certain countries are rearming contrary to the provisions of the treaties.

Religion in Marriage:—Mixed marriages between Anglicans and Roman Catholics are condemned by the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, in an article in his Diocesan Gazette. Such marriages, he says, ought to be discouraged and avoided. A marriage, to be happy, ought to be built on an agreement in religious belief. He points out that one condition under which mixed marriages are permitted in the Catholic Church is that the non-Catholic party guarantees to remove the danger of perversion from the Catholic party and both promise to baptize and educate all their children in the Catholic faith. The Bishop comments that to make such promises is to renounce all share in the religious life of the children to be born. Such promises are unjust and must not be made under any circumstances by an Anglican person, come what may. The Roman Church has no power to exact such pledges as it would be equally unjust for an Anglican to require that a Roman should promise to bring up their children in the faith of the Church of England. Dealing with what he describes as maimed ceremonies for the celebration of mixed marriages in the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop writes that it will be very obvious that even for the Roman partner, the whole procedure of entering and continuing the married state is made exceedingly disagreeable but it is frankly intolerable for the Anglican.

Arbitrary Arrests Forbidden:—General Goering has forbidden arbitrary arrests by Storm Troopers and minor Nazi officials. Henceforth arrests must be ordered by the Secret Police and Provincial Governors, and must be telegraphed to Goering. Further, arrests if unconfirmed within a week will become invalid.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The late Dr. A. L. Nair:—The news of the sudden death of Dr. A. L. Nair on Monday evening plunged many households in gloom. He was 72 years of age. He was seriously ill two years ago and his constitution was not robust. Beginning life without adventitious aids he made a career for himself; and his firm became famous as the pioneer in the manufacture of medical and surgical goods in India. Behind this successful man of the world there grew up another man who overshadowed him during the last twelve or thirteen years of Dr. Nair's life. For several years Dr. Nair has been attracted by the gracious life and teachings of Bhagvan Buddha. During the latter part of his life he became more and more absorbed in the endeavour to give shape and form to the influence of the Master on his own mind and character. Compassion is the keynote of Buddhist ethics. The last decade of Dr. Nair's life was filled with activities inspired by the desire to relieve suffering. He founded the model Hospital in the name of his mother and made it a teaching institution by taking over the National Medical College. But the institution which was closest to his heart was the Ananda Vihara which he raised in close proximity to the Hospital and the College. Its opening ceremony saw Dr. Nair in his happiest mood. It was indeed a great achievement to found in the heart of Bombay the Vihara with its atmosphere of Peace and Meditation. The Vihara is the true embodiment of the spirit of Dr. Nair. The last rites were performed under the guidance of a Buddhist monk who is resident in the Vihara. The large number of men and women of all castes and creeds who assembled at the House and were present at the cemetry to do homage to their departed friend, was a testimony to the catholicity of his friendship. Death to such a soul is but the gateway to eternity.

The dewdrop slips into the shining sea.

The Gaekwar's Tribute to the Indian Press :— The Indian Press is the butt of much official and unofficial calumny nowadays. Bureaucracies have always hated the Press. Between them and the Press there is fixed a gulf as wide as that between Darkness and Light. This is aggravated by the character of the bureaucracy which governs India. We have to take this as inherent in the circumstances, and the more experienced journalists do so. Even more than to the bureaucracy, and for obvious reasons, the Indian Press is the black beast of certain (numerically considerable) Princes who dread nothing so much as letting the light of day on their affairs. The result is that the Indian journalist is perforce a practitioner of Nietzsche's famous precept, "Live dangerously." The laws are so framed that the only safeguard for a journalist is the contemptuous indifference of our rulers to the Indian Press, whether well-conducted or ill-conducted. But the Princes cannot afford to be indifferent. It is several years since a very high administrator bitterly remarked to this writer that he did not mind the criticisms of the papers written in English—he has become used to them—but the vernacular papers are read by his wife and daughters and "damn it," he said, "one does not like to be held up to ridicule and contempt in his own family." However Indian women nowadays read English newspapers as well as their male relatives. The distinction between the vernacular and English papers, therefore, no longer exists. This is the secret of the enormous increase in the power of the Press in recent years as also of the desperate efforts made to get the Legislature and the Executive to suppress free criticism. There are people who cannot speak of the Press without prefixing the word "gutter" and of journalism without the adjective "irresponsible." It is their mentality that really merits these epithets. The Maharaja Gaekwar's warm recognition of the services rendered by the Indian Press to the cause of reform, especially at this time, is highly appreciated and it may be commended to the powers that be, in Simla and New Delhi. The Maharaja's address at the Karsandas Mulji centenary meeting, is printed in this issue.

The Origin of Untouchability:—Mr. Venkatrama Sastry in his learned article on "Sanatana Dharma and Untouchability," which we print today, shows that the custom has no basis in the fundamentals of Hinduism. In fact, the Sanatana Dharma consists only of certain mental and moral states deduced from the metaphysical assumptions of Hinduism. Customs are the outcome of social necessities and these can be changed though so long as they remain unchanged they enjoy the sanction of religion as of the legislature. Hinduism can be credited with responsibility for the custom only on the principle that the sovereign commands what he permits. As for purity, cleanliness and so on, they were not important considerations with Hindu legists. "Cleanliness, is next to godliness," is obviously a precept for a society in which bathing was an act of impiety. The Indian plunges into running water whenever he gets the chance and, personally, he needs no maxim to keep himself clean. Consequently, uncleanliness by itself could not have originated a custom or sentiment so deep-rooted as untouchability. If we examine some of the circumstances in which untouchability attaches to caste Hindus themselves, we find that it is intended more as a measure of protection than of punishment. An instance within our knowledge is of interest in this connection. There is near by a colony of Mahars—who are a very clean people—who have been desirous of acquiring permanently the land on which they are permitted to make their dwellings. Some caste Hindu friends have interested themselves in getting the land for them. One of them mentioned casually that he himself would like to have a cottage on the site. The idea, it was made plain, was not acceptable to the Mahars. They do not want anyone except Mahars and they too of their own group to live in their midst.

Phillippine Independence in Sight:—A Reuter's message says that a Bill granting independence to the Phillippine Islands, without the clauses relating to military and naval bases which figured in a previous draft, has passed the Assembly. Future relations between the United States and the Islands are to be settled by negotiation in the next two years. The Bill is now before the Senate where it is assured of a safe passage. The United States, when this measure becomes law, will have put itself right with the moral order of the world; and this will go far to give her a position of leadership in the international movements of our time. A few days ago, Sir Frederick Whyte, who was for some time President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, went out of his way to tell Americans that they should not grant independence to the Philippines as the British Government would not like it. It is a most enviable quality of the English character that it believes that all the world all the time is considering what would please the British in order that it may do it. As it happens, however, the American cousins are in one of their least amiable moods towards their kindred on the other side of the Atlantic whom Senator Borah, in an impassioned diatribe evoked by a mild remark of Mr. Baldwin's, recently accused of rank ingratitude in forgetting that but for their gallant American boys the English Channel would be now a German lake! If Sir Frederick's advice had any effect on the American mind it would seem it was the very opposite of what he would have wished.

Earthquake and Non-Co-operation:—As the result of his personal inspection of the devastation caused by the earthquake in Bihar, Gandhiji at a meeting of leaders and workers held at Patna moved a resolution tendering to the Government their respectful co-operation in the prosecution of the common object, namely, relieving the unparalleled distress that has overtaken Bihar. Although he was a full-fledged non-co-operator, he said, as soon as he heard about the earthquake disaster, he thought that the situation could be successfully tackled only by co-operation between Government and the people. To an objection that such piecemeal co-operation would be misunderstood and if they have to co-operate they should boldly declare for co-operation in all matters, Malaviyaji pointed out that their "war with Government" was not for all time and did not preclude meeting on a common platform. He clinched his argument by declaring that not to co-operate on such occasions would be a sin. He added that so far as the political fight with Government was concerned he was for peace on honourable terms. There are now at least two matters in which co-operation with Government is permitted to non-co operators. They are anti-untouchability work and Bihar relief. These will no doubt gradually multiply. As a matter of fact, non-co-operation is not now a live issue.

The "Witness" Recants:—We quoted in the leading article on Christian Colleges in the last issue of the *Reformer*, the bold declaration of the *Indian Witness* that Christian Colleges do not exist for the purpose of turning any one from his ancestral faith, which is opposed to the whole spirit and teaching of Jesus. We are not surprised to see that this intrepid statement has evoked a vehement protest from a missionary correspondent but we are surprised that, instead of standing by its declaration, the *Witness* tries to wriggle out of it in a disingenuous manner. We reprint its paragraph as an excellent illustration of the way in which good men honestly trying to understand and interpret Christ, are obliged to resort to prevarication owing to the conditions in which missions have to be carried on in this country.

Foreign Doctors:—At a meeting of Bombay medical men resolutions were passed demanding legislation to control the admission of foreign doctors on the principle of reciprocity and exempting from the scope of this resolution those who came as refugees from religious or political persecution in pursuance of the immemorial Indian tradition.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MARCH 24, 1934.

KURSANDAS MULJI CENTENARY.

For some days past public meetings have been held in several places to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Kursandas Mulji, one of the pioneers of social reform. The great meeting held in Bombay on Monday was a fitting climax to the celebrations. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was to have presided over the meeting but he could not attend owing to temporary indisposition. His place was taken by Her Highness the Maharani—itself an unprecedented reform—who presided a few days ago over the Women's Conference which is the outcome of the labours of Kursandas Mulji and other leaders of the social reform movement. They instinctively realised that the first step in social reform should be the emancipation of the women of India from the deadening effect of superstitions and the enlistment of their support to the reforms needed to energise and invigorate social life. Kursandas Mulji started his career as social reformer with few advantages. But he had 'a dauntless spirit and a press.' In his weekly paper the *Satya Prakash*, or the Light of Truth, he denounced the customs which kept women ignorant, superstitious and abjectly submissive to customs of a depressing and, in some cases, of a derogatory character. He belonged to the Vallabhacharya sect of Vaishnavas. Vallabha himself was a great protestant. In contrast to the other great sects of Hinduism, which regard the world as a snare and a delusion and a hindrance to the spiritual life, Vallabha taught that a happy life in this world was not necessarily an obstacle to salvation. The Brahmanical sects naturally repudiated his doctrine but they could not deny him a place in the Hindu system because he, unlike Jains and Buddhists, accepted the authority of the Vedas, and, indeed, derived his conclusions from the same canonical scriptures as they did theirs. The Vaishyas, the commercial caste, especially in Gujarat, accepted him as their spiritual head. Vallabha was an Andhra Brahmin and so are his successors in the several foundations of his sect. Even today their successors seek their brides from their original Telugu Brahmin group and do not intermarry with the castes which constitute their following. The Nambudris of Malabar offer the nearest analogy to the Vaishnava Maharajas, as the successors of Vallabhacharya are popularly known.

This sect was, as suggested above, unpopular with the other Hindu sects and, as has happened in similar cases, was from the first the butt of their ridicule and calumny. Owing, no doubt, to isolation from the main currents of religious thought in the country, abuses, some of them of a gross character, crept into the system and these in the course of his campaign against unhealthy social customs, Kursandas vigorously attacked in his weekly paper. The consequence was that he became involved in a libel suit—the last thing any reformer courts. After a prolonged hearing a Bench of the Bombay High Court found the reformer technically guilty but also found that his allegations against the complainant, one of the heads of the sect, were substantially proved, and awarded the latter one anna as damages. Many of the leading men of the caste at whose instance and instigation, Kursandas had launched his attacks, backed out at the critical moment, owing to pressure mainly from their families. But a few stood by him and he himself never faltered. To the popular mind, Kursandas is the hero of the Maharaj Libel Case. To himself, no doubt, this was only an episode, and an undesired episode, in his life which involved him in much anxiety and expense, proved a great strain on his slender resources and none too robust constitution and cut his life short at the early age of thirty eight years. The abuses which he exposed have become things of the past and Vaishnavaism has become purified by the exposures which brought Kursandas into trouble. At the same time, it must be remembered that even before Kursandas started his campaign there was a growing feeling against them and that his writings were largely the expression of that resentment.

We do well to honour courage of conviction such as Kursandas exhibited, as others have done before and after him, in the face of bitter persecution. We should not, however, let the progress of reform depend on the appearance of heroic characters. "Make no more heroes, God, but elevate the race at once" is the fervent prayer of Robert Browning in one of his poems. Diseases of the social organism are most effectively treated by the method which psychiatrists use for the cure of mental diseases. By diving into the subconscious depths of the patient's mind they discover the particular "complex" which is at the root of his hallucination, and they convince him that but for it all is well with him. "Thou shalt know the truth and the truth will make you free," as the Maharaja Gaekwar aptly quoted in his presidential address. A great Teacher said that two thousand years ago, although a technique for it was found only within the last twenty years. The true method of social reform will be found to be to dive into the social consciousness, to bring up the "complexes" of social mentality and expose it before the tribunal of the social conscience. This is the negative side of the reformer's task. The positive side is more important. It is to place before the social imagination great and inspiring ideals of what life can and should be. "We needs must love the highest when we see it." There is something within us all which compels us to bow before whatever is good and true and beautiful. We may not all be able to adopt the ideal at sight and practise it in our lives. But it

is no small gain to have the ideal implanted in our minds. Ideals have life. They grow silently, slowly, within us waking and sleeping and gradually transform our character. If not in us, in our children or children's children they will blossom out as an impelling motive. It is not a spectacular method but it is the only method by which a people can be weaned from a unhappy part of the past without sacrificing the much larger part that is healthy and vital in it. If history teaches one lesson more than another it is that revolutionary methods create worse problems than those which they set out to solve. If proof of this is needed, we have only to look around.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND GERMANY.

Since the advent of the Hitler regine exactly a year ago, consistent propaganda has been conducted in countries in Europe and in the United States against Germany. Mock trials of the Reichstag fire incident resulting in violent condemnation of the Nazi leaders have been held almost in all countries which felt that such action would not bring down retaliation from the German Government and protests from Germany have generally been disregarded. It is natural that a prominent part in such trials is played by men who had actually suffered under the new dispensation. A reaction has, however, recently set in and people are beginning to realise that, if Germany is not to be driven to exasperation, a more charitable attitude towards her respected leaders is desirable. Recent evidence of this was available when the local League of Nations Union debated the importance to the cause of peace of the Hitler movement. The debate was generally speaking conducted with restraint yet the next day the *Times of India* which reflects British reactions in international affairs, felt called upon to utter a warning against League of Nations organisations permitting such debates, particularly at a time when every effort was being made to bring Germany back to the League in Europe. At present it is fortunate that, owing to the fact that most European nations have still to recover from the effects of the last world war, their leaders are contenting themselves with recriminations. But this state of affairs cannot be permitted to continue long and the general trend is now to understand the more lasting principles underlying the Nazi movement.

It is significant that, despite reports of disparaging speeches on India and the Indian people, responsible opinion in this country has earnestly endeavoured to see the fundamental ideals of the Hitler movement. This has been greatly assisted by the communiques issued by German officials and by the speeches of Germans in India and Germany-returned Indians. The persecution of Jews is a feature of Central European politics. The periodic outbursts directed against the Jews is significant of the fact that the minority problem has yet to be settled even though Europe has had a freer hand in doing so than India. The League has not perfected its technique of solving this problem. An effort to secure its intervention in the interests of German Jews last year failed, like the Hindu Mahasabha appeal for its assistance in India. The present anti-semitic fury is not confined to Germany alone and it is unfortunate that the Nazi activities in this direction have obscured the more important achievements of the regime. If it is agreed, and no one now denies it, that an essential to world peace is the securing of an equal status with leading European nations for Germany, the fact that Nazi leaders look down on Hindus or Jews ought not to affect the value of their work in securing such status. The argument advanced at the Union debate, that Indian leaders sympathised with the German upheaval because they depended on the "Aryan ideal" for advancing the Indian cause is, to say the least, far-fetched. India is under no delusions as to the utility of gaining help from abroad.

DOMICILED BRITISHERS.

(By Arthur Young.)

I fail to see what benefit will come to the Anglo-Indian community by this new change of name. There has already been one experiment from Eurasian to Anglo-Indian without making any difference except the sop it offered to some members overburdened with inferiority complex. It looks very much as if this new effort is another gift to the same people. The idea of being able to use the fresh label to differentiate Anglo-Indians from Indian Christians is absurd when a single family can possess one child as far as a Saxon and another as dark as an inhabitant of the Southern coast; as things are, these names can never be anything more than abstract quantities and as such they can have no real value.

A few years ago a number of letters appeared in *The Statesman* complaining against Roman Catholic Missionaries sending their educated Indian girls to Calcutta with English names and European clothes, to compete against the Anglo-Indian as office assistants and typists. The reply of one of these priests was illuminating. "If my girls apply for a post with an Indian name and in Indian clothes they are offered Rupees fifteen; if they use an English name and dress in keeping with it, many can command Rs. 100 and more. That they do the latter is only a proof of their common sense." What was wanted for these posts was not a question of race but a certain form of culture to meet a certain need. The missionary education of these girls supplied this and the rest was merely a matter of economic adoption.

As far as the "Domiciled Britisher" and European is concerned India is socially divided into two distinct camps. The club proper and the outsiders. Anyone who has travelled as I have done, cannot help noticing how fast these social divisions are becoming a matter of culture. To-day Indians in the Imperial Service are to be seen in almost every Gymkhanna.

Politically, so long as this wretched communal warefare lasts, there is only one place for both the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is with the Indian Christian community. Here we have a real link with India and considering the fact that it is to us that these people owe their separateness it is our moral, and may I add our Christian, duty to stand by them.

THE UNIFICATION OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

(By K. N. Dutt.)

I as a Christian, can dare to say that at the present time the Indian Christian community in India, of all communities, has the least amount of personality in it. And this in spite of the fact that the figure for literacy among Indians is over 20 per cent, this being excelled by the Parsis and Buddhists only; also in spite of the fact that Christian women show a figure for literacy which is far greater than that shown by the women of any major community in this country. Yet we are beginning to hear ominous whispers telling us that our future is dark. In the course of this plea I will point out the reason why our future is going to be dark, even if we go on improving our educational standards, unless we radically change our outlook. I shall give at the outset a brief account of the admirable work done by foreign Christian Missions in this country.

In the first place, the high standard of education among Indian Christians is mainly to the credit of the Missionaries. The hour that the first missionary set foot in India from that hour he thought of educating the people among whom he laboured. He and his followers were responsible for incipient infusion of Western ideas into Indian soil. The British authorities of that time did not view with any alarm this process which was started by the missionaries. Since then, and especially in recent years, numerous schools have been started by them among the village communities of India. Large numbers of the depressed classes have found a status under their patronage, and for these depressed classes, the missions are running hospitals and dispensaries. The missions are also responsible for a large share in the higher education of Indian students. For all this, and much more, the missions are responsible.

From figures and facts we conclude, then, that as far as welfare-work is concerned, the Christian community is second to none in the whole of India. Has Providence decided not to show us the fruit of such admirable piety? In education and ideas we are comparatively well advanced but when it comes to a distribution of the honours and the living of the state, we find that the other communities swamp us out, and ominous whisperings tell us that this will be more so as India becomes more politically advanced. Although we are not one of the two major communities, we come next in numbers. On the whole list our numerical position is not bad, but even so there are many communities smaller than ours which are yearly gaining material advantage over us. To say that the Government of the country shows favouritism to these is to suggest an ugly immorality which does not in reality exist. There is no such thing as favouritism in the present case. It is a phenomenon of the people's force; to go against it would be to ruin the administrative machine. It is never wrong to act as far as possible according to the united demand of a community, because it is the chief way in which the administration can be continued with the greatest amount of smoothness. There is no country in the world where continued administration by the Government is not carried on in this way. It is the only way and it should not be called favouritism, but it should be called communal concentration, in the absence of a better term. The fact that a large number of posts are going to Mohammedans in the Punjab, for example, is a phenomenon of communal concentration which is made necessary by the united voice of the Mohammedan community in the Punjab, and supported by Mohammedan opinion all over India. A recent incident, though trifling, is interesting. A hospital nurse threw down the Koran of a patient. The fact that the Government had to give an immediate explanation, cannot be called favouritism toward the Mohammedans; the Government explanation, was demanded by the united voice of the community. It was necessary for the purposes of peaceful administration.

Half a century of missionary welfare work has been unable to produce a united voice in the Christian community of India. The fault is ours, not the missionaries.

This is what I mean when I say that our community has no personality. In the future constitution of India if we would have our status stable and our means of subsistence secure, we must unite our scattered forces. At the present moment our sense of responsibility is something appalling. Even in a single city, its Christians have no tendency towards concerted action. It may be that this deficiency arises from a misconception of certain principles in the Christian Faith and from an undue sense of dignity which new converts, especially from the depressed classes, imbibe when they become Christians. As long as these misconceptions remain, no amount of educational advancement will make us into that most vital body, a body politic. It is possible for a people to go on receiving education, as Indians have done for a century and a half, but the mental spark that makes of them a political whole, comes independently of this, and is later strengthened by proper instruction. Now the most important thing is to bring about a mental change among the Christians of India so that they may realise this urgent need which is made necessary when we come to think of our gloomy prospects. That we show a twenty percent figure in literacy has very little to contribute toward this mental change. We may be sure that the uneducated Mohammedan has a far greater sense of the wholeness of his community than the educated Christian. It is because of this sense, and for no second reason that when a Koran is thrown down, the Government provides an immediate explanation.

The size of the Christian population in the separate Provinces is small, and this is particularly true of the North. Therefore unification must take place on an all-India basis. If at this stage of the country's development we lose ground, we shall not be able to retrieve our position at any time within view. Only those communities can rally which have got sufficient force within them, traditionally or otherwise, and we frankly cannot flatter ourselves in this respect. To do so would be self-deception of the most destructive nature.

There is no alternative. Unite we must. There has been a tendency of late years to merge ourselves in the major communities. There is only one word to describe this tendency, and that is recklessness. The persons who advocate this type of recklessness are living in the ideal hope that in a short time the Christians of India will be able to emerge into an Utopia by the force of their great powers. The tendency I write of is no fancy. Even the writers of the Lindsay Report have said that "the Indian Christian community, if it maintains this attitude and continues to insist on losing its own life as a political entity, is bound to find it again in ways that mean infinitely more to the upbuilding of the true life of the land." This is beautifully put but the idealism it expresses deceives our community with pleasing flattery. To merge ourselves into the major communities, which, as far as practical thinking suggests, will continue to get increasingly hostile towards our community, would be to commit ourselves to a process of self-annihilation. Are we so ashamed of ourselves as to willingly submerge our personality? I think not.

The making of our personality—our political personality—is then, the supreme need of the present. And it can only come of an organised unity on an all-India basis, as stated before. An increased effort towards greater educational facilities, or towards a concentration of educational institutions, has little to contribute towards our political personality, as has been noticed during fifty years of educational work; an increased effort towards more religious instruction—and here I am going to shock many Christians—has nothing to contribute towards this personality. It is to be noticed immediately, that the Lindsay Commission has suggested far too little with regard to this new personality. True that this question was beyond its terms of reference, but then it cannot be doubted that the Report lends too much weight to those schemes and alterations which have little to do with the coming doom of the Christian community in India. We need schemes of an entirely different kind to deal with this.

Let me now state the problem before us with all concreteness. We need to evolve a studied scheme which will produce in the next few years in the minds of the educated and uneducated Christians of this country, a sense of political solidarity. We do not ignore here, the activities of the all-India Indian Christian Conference which meets once a year. It goes in for a very weighty agenda, even politics, but as far as our problem is concerned, it might well do more. The task into which we must plunge ourselves if we wish our community to continue with dignity, is a task which is full of difficulties which we shall overcome if God wants us to flourish on the soil of our land. It is needful to enumerate some of the obstacles in our way. The major portion of India's Christian population is in the south, but in this region it mostly abides in the Indian States. For this reason a large majority of the southern Christians do not come into contact with the problems which affect British India. A second difficulty in our way is the fact that by far the greater slice of the Christian population in India is in the villages. The third, and perhaps the most serious, obstacle is the absence of an all-India organisation whose foremost aim is the political regeneration of our community. It is for lack of such an organisation that it was possible for the Sikh community to persuade large numbers of village Christians to indicate themselves in the census as Sikh for the purposes of election votes. This baneful truth has been pointed out in the Lindsay Report.

Let us grapple with our task straight away:

In framing this organisation our work will be considerably facilitated if we can find some way of utilising certain Christian institutions which already exist in India. From our point of view these institutions can be listed into three important groups namely Churches, Colleges and Schools, and the Y. M. C. A's. Of these three groups the Colleges seem to me, to be pre-eminently fitted to undertake this pioneer enterprise. The first essential will be to bring all the Christian Colleges in India under the jurisdictions of one supreme Board of Control. The implications of this are many; in the fiast place it means that the finances will be pooled, and these finances will be dealt with by the Board of Control; it means that all transfer of teachers from one college to another will also be under the Board, so also will the appointment of new teachers; in a way the Christian Colleges will be affiliated to the Board of Control very much as the present colleges are affiliated to the University, but with this difference, that the Board will have much more control over the Christian colleges than the University at present has in all college affairs; this may mean that we will out ourselves off from the University to a great extent, if not entirely, and follow our own curricula and our own methods of education; we may give our own degrees, and it will be a matter of time and the quality of instruction imparted by the Board Colleges, for various institutions to recognise our degrees.

It may be mentioned here, that the desire for amalgamation has already been shown in the union of the South India United Church with the Church in the Provinces of India, Burma and Ceylon, and Wesleyan Methodist Church. It is the call of our blood at this time, that all Christians—Protestants, Roman Catholics or Syrrians—should unite for political life.

The establishment of one Board of Control will also mean that the entire management should come into Indian hands. And especially at the present time this appears particularly desirable for several reasons. For one, American conditions will not long allow of colleges being maintained in India at American expense; and then another reason is, and perhaps the most important reason, that under the new Indian conditions, the Central Government will be diminishingly inclined to dole out grants to colleges controlled by foreign Boards.

It is not needful for me to discuss this amalgamation further because it has been treated already in the Lindsay Report on Christian Education. The Report has investigated educational readjustments but what we emphasise is that the colleges should add to their teaching activities the political regeneration of the Christian community. Let us see how they can do this. A few lines of action suggest themselves immediately: they could arrange for parties of students and teachers to go into the villages and lecture the Christian populations there about political and social matters in easy and appealing language. The most important thing for these parties to keep in mind would be the creation of a strong sense of communal responsibility. This idea will sound to many people detrimental to the true and ideal interests of India, but let it be remembered that we must take conditions as they are if we Christians want to run a winning race in competition with the other communities of India. Another activity suggests itself: The Colleges should give their Christian students definite instruction on the political problems of India as they effect our community in particular. In this way the new personality will be created among the educated classes, and no place is better suited for this process than the colleges. That is why I believe the Christian Colleges to be the best media through which our regeneration can be brought about.

A few suggestions about the activities of the Board of Control in this respect would not be out of place. In the first place, the Board would have to establish Provincial Headquarters which would be in ready contact with the Christian Colleges in the several Provinces, and would send in their reports periodically to the Central Board: the Central Board may conveniently divide itself into three departments, Educational, Political (the word has a fear attached to it) and Religious. The Lindsay Commission recognised only one motive in regard to the Christian Colleges where we endorse a three-fold idea: the Commission regarded the existence of the colleges justified only in so far as they contributed to the furtherance of the Christian Church. This policy though pious, is not practical, nay it denies our community a political entity. On that ground, alone, this idea should be dismissed as deficient. Of the

Central Departments of which I have written, attention of the reader is chiefly solicited for the political department. This department will have to convene all-India meetings, say twice a year or more; it will have to keep in touch with the Provincial headquarters which will send in details of conditions in the Provinces; besides this the Central department will maintain a political organ such as a weekly paper, and will issue pamphlets for village Christians during election time. In short this department must carry on all the business of a thorough-going political body. Language of this sort should not frighten anybody.

The things here suggested are practicable. If our resources are pooled it means increased efficiency at less cost. It means, above all, more power. It will be possible to maintain a press which will pay. The greatest difficulty about Christian Educational Finances at present, is the existence of a large number of separate colleges, all trying to run on their own. The big alteration which is needed is something which rests on well-tried principles of economics.

A very essential feature of the Board's Administration will be to appoint agents in every village who will provide records of the Christian population there. Thus it will not be possible for the Christians to be seduced away during election.

I have tried to show that the most urgent need dictated by the times in which we live is to create what I have called, a political personality, in the Christians of India. There may be a feeling that within the Christian Brotherhood, every member is equal to every other member in social status. This feeling, I believe, is at the root of the present condition of disintegration which is to be found among the Christians of every city. We refuse to recognise the important members of our brotherhood; each member is too much on his own dignity and is not willing to back the worthier ones, because they fail to see their own good in this process. For the sake of our political health, we must fight, not against anything material so much, as against a state of mind. Religious unity we may have, but political unity is entirely lacking. If we are to count for anything in the future of our land, our Political Personality must be one, and it must be brought to life. Otherwise we perish.

KARSANDAS MULJI—PIONEER AND PROPHET.*

(By H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.)

How often in history has the struggle between prophet and priest been repeated! "I was neither a priest nor a leader," said the Hebrew Amos three thousand years ago—as he called his nation from religiosity to true religion. "I hate your abominations and your temple rituals: let justice flow down in an unfailing stream;" so he announced the oracle of God to a corrupt priesthood. So Jesus cried out against iniquity and priestcraft and all hypocrisy; and just so did the brave man we are met to honour, call upon religion to cleanse itself of shameful immorality.

Karsandas dared to shed the white light of truth upon their dark deeds, and to be out-casted by his own sect and family. Happy man! "Blessed are ye, when men shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for the sake of truth." So we may apply the beatitude of Jesus to him. We all know the story of how the young crusader won a great moral victory; and we also know that like all such victories it has to be pressed home, if the old abuses are not to raise their evil heads again. Trishna is indeed hydra-headed; and we must all carry on the work of this spiritual warrior against entrenched evil, which is often the corruption of the good.

Greed, lust and selfishness are rampant in many forms, and superstition dies hard; it has scriptural authority to keep it alive. What was nobly said on symbols, men have interpreted literally—what was meant literally, they have taken as mere symbolism. And our national life has suffered, till a leading politician—himself a Brahmin—said recently that if our marriage-laws are to be reformed and our family-life made healthy, we must make war on priests and Shastras. War is sometimes useful; but peaceful reform is far better. Evolution rather than revolution is our Indian way.

Let us help priests, institutions and writings to be true to their better selves. Bad practices must be fought! but this is best done by encouraging good ones. I have found in a long life-time that reform is best carried out, if it is done by releasing the truth from its bonds, awakening the dormant spirit, finding, if we can, the true meaning behind the false letter, reading the symbol aright. The Krishna stories are picture-language for the people: we cannot replace them; but literalism make them a hindrance: it may make them an evil.

It is time we insisted that those who have the care of souls are as carefully trained as those who care for the bodies of men. Who shall teach the teachers? May-be it is again time for us laymen to assert the true human values, and to get a better theology and ethic estabished in religious centres, and in training-schools of religion. Ought not all schools to be such centres of religion? Secularism is no solution of our problems.

Is it time for a restatement of Hinduism? "Feed the thin man, not the fat bull. Wed the woman to the man who is physically and mentally suited to her. Insist that life is good not evil. Educate young people in sex-hygiene and morality. See that women and children—roots of the great tree of life—are given a better chance of mental and moral sanity. Insist that each is an end in himself or herself, not a means." All these are ideals as yet unrealised. They are indeed not yet even accepted as ideals.

In the renaissance of our country, such men as Karsandas are pioneers as well as prophets; we must have reformation as well as renaissance. Let us honour them by carrying on their work, and following their example. The battle for the widows' rights is not yet won: nor that for a saner marriage-law: nor that for the education of girls.

Another aspect of Karsandas Mulji's brief life I must mention. He showed in his *Satyaprakasha* and elsewhere the enormous power of the press for such educational work. The force of mass-suggestion, day after day, on impressionable minds, men, women and children, who read little but the daily papers—what an incalculable power it is for good or evil! If the journalist is a jackal with a nose for offal, he can poison a nation; if he is one who thinks on what is noble and lovely and of good report, he becomes indeed a messenger of Light. Such was Karsandas and such are many journalists—thank God. But their task is a hard one, and we of the public alone can make them succeed, if we seek good and avoid evil in what we read day by day. Let me speak bluntly. The "yellow" press must be boycotted. Who would put poison daily on the breakfast-table of his family? And if the great battle of truth against falsehood, of peace agai:st

* Presidential Address at the Karsandas Mulji Centenary, celebrated in Bombay on March 19, 1934.

war, of justice against injustice, of love againt lust, of sanity against madness—if this great crusade is to be won, we must have a press devoted to it. Otherwise man will destroy himself and our gains, so hardly won, will be lost. A sound press and a reformed religion—what a noble alliance might they not make in the service of humanity? As a servant of men, a prophet of pure religion, a champion of innocence, we honour Karsandas, journalist and friend of Truth. At great personal cost, he devoted his paper to noble but unpopular causes.

I have a great admiration for Karsandas as the pioneer in yet a third field. He was a fearless and consistent advocate of travel as a means of enriching our national life. Let us learn alike from East and West whatever we can. Insularity breeds weaklings. It is characteristic of this fearless man that he saw the need to break through the strange tabu against crossing "the black water." "All the earth is the Lord's," he said, "and therefore all is as sacred as our own soil." On the early travels of Indians he shed the light of truth, and proved that like so many strange inhibitions, this was of later growth. What harm these irrational tabus have done us, and how obstinate they are, largely because we have starved our women of true education! We feed them on superstition and breed ignorance. But now they are thinking for themselves, and are becoming free to be themselves, and they owe much to such pioneers as Karsandas.

He dared to think for himself on many grave questions; and when men do this and follow truth wherever it may lead them, they make history and set free new and life-giving energies. As a great thinker has said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." It is as a pioneer of freedom that Karsandas will remain in the memory and affection of India. It is clear that we have much still to do. Foreign travel is still in many quarters tabu. May I, therefore, add some practical reflections suggested by my own experience as a ruler? I have just enacted a law against caste-tyranny and Karsandas Mulji's life proves how strong that can be. In our age ex-communication is still common, and the pressure of caste is still tyrannical. Nor is the loss to our national life small in the inveterate hold of heredity. Men must do what they can do best, not simply what their fore-fathers have done. A Kshatriya is not necessarily a man of action, nor a Shudra necessarily fitted only for menial service. Let each rise to the fullest achievement of which he is by nature capable. In a word, much of our social Dharma is still far from democratic, and Karsandas was a pioneer also in this great spiritual movement for the free and unfettered growth of each individual within the society to which he belongs. The true test of a society is this: "Does it foster or thwart ability? Does it recognise or ignore the claims of personality? Does it set men and women free to achieve the best that is in them?" In helping to mould our social life on freer and more gracious patterns, Karsandas was an able and devoted apostle of freedom and truth. He is an immortal. Great men live on in the emulation which they inspire:

चलं चित्तं चलं वित्तं चले जीवितयौवने।
चलाचलमिदं सर्वं कीर्तिर्यस्य स जीवति॥

(The mind is fickle, fickle too is wealth: impermanent are life and youth, and all that moves and that is still: he lives and he alone, who wins immortal fame).

Towards Dictatorship?—Following the Irish Senate's rejection of the bill banning the wearing of blue shirts, Mr. de Valera introduced in the Dail a bill to abolish the Senate as a constituent House of the Legislature.—

SANATAN DHARMA AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

(By T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.)

The Vedic Religion is the religion of a comparatively homogeneous people and has points of contact with the religions of other well-known Aryan groups like the ancient Persians and Greeks. When the Indian polity was developed so as to include a vast indigenous population of the country within its religious and cultural fold, the Vedic religion itself underwent a change and in this changed form it has received the name of Hinduism. That is not *our* name for our religion. The word is derived from the name which the Persians gave to India as the country of the Sindhu river then known to them (H being the Persian equivalent for Sanskrit S.) The mixed religion and culture have given us some peculiarities which are no part of the Vedic Religion but which naturally sprang from the situation in which we were placed. These peculiarities were of very slow growth. They did not come in a day. For example, take the idea of touch as pollution as it prevails in South India with which we are most intimately acquainted. No Brahmin will eat the food touched by a Sudra. According to modern orthodoxy there are no Kshatriyas or Vaisyas and the problem of accepting or rejecting the food touched by a Kshatriya or Vaisya does not arise. The result therefore is that an orthodox Brahmin will not, and cannot, eat food touched by a non-Brahmin. Apastamba, the puritan, who treats himself and even Swetaketu of the Upanishad and the White Yajus as persons of a far later age than the Vedas, lays down the rule that a non-Brahmin may cook the food of a Brahmin. If the Sudra cooked under the supervision of an Arya, it may be accepted straightway. If it is cooked by a Sudra without such supervision, the Brahmin can put the rice-pot over the fire and sprinkle water over it and it immediately becomes fit food for Gods and men.

Food brought by a slave at night may be eaten but not if brought by a woman-slave. There are also regulations as to how the Sudra cook should shave and dress. He ought to shave every day or at least twice a fortnight.

We have the Mahabharata telling us that Krishna preferred to stay with Vidura rather than accept the hospitality of Duryodhana. This is far earlier than Apastamba according to tradition.

If we come to the later Smritis we find slow refinements as to which Sudras may be accepted as permissible of touch, and which not, with a division into *sat* Sudras and *asat* Sudras. Roughly these were those who were in contact with the three higher castes in every-day life and those who were not. The non-Brahmin castes whose touch did not pollute varied in different parts of the country. The potter, the shepherd and the barber may touch according to some. The barber may not according to others.

The whole of our modern stricter notions developed as we gave up beef first and flesh food next and the classes, other than the Brahmin, retained flesh; and the necessity to take in non-brahman cooks possibly ceased by a comparatively growing Brahmin population.

This was helped also by another movement that made women cooks of the household. Of old women could learn Vedas just like men; they had initiation (*upanayana*) just the same as men. The Asura, that is, Parsi women to this day retain the corresponding *Kusti* ceremony. They performed the Gayatri ceremony (the daily morning and evening prayer). Slowly all this fell into desuetude. The women took charge of the household and their cooking and the preliminary throwing of a little rice into the household hearth

became the substitute for her ancient fire worship in her own right. No longer were cooks needed; she made the kitchen clean. The ancient rule that no one should go into the kitchen and witness the uncleanness there was no longer required.

The Sutra prohibits two things much prized in these days as a symbol of purity, the cooking by women and the cooking for oneself. The Vaishnavas and the Madhwas still retain something of the first prohibition and prefer the man's (Achari's) cooking; and the Smartas who prefer the new rule still treat the woman's cooking as requiring purification at a ceremony for the ancestors on the anniversary of their deaths.

All this will make clear that the touch purity or impurity is the resultant of two forces, one the reform of food and repugnance to flesh foods and flesh eaters and the other the availability of a new set of cooks more clean and acceptable.

Apart from this evolution of the ideas of touch purity or impurity we have actual injunctions in the Avesta of the Parsis and in our own scriptures that purity comes of the idea of cleanliness. The performer of a ceremony exercises extra care in regard to cleanliness but it is still cleanliness that he is after. In the ceremonies for the gods, the cloth may be accepted straightway from the washerman's hand but the ceremony for the manes of the ancestors demand stricter cleanliness.

My friend Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Ayyar propounds the following view:

"By a system of untouchability (*achara*) starting with the members of the family and gradually extending beyond, *sanatana dharma* secures for its adherents the beneficent result of the contemplative solitude of the forest within the crowded activities of the social polity. No westerner unacquainted with the details of the social system or even the Hindu who has lived the life of *anachara* can ever appreciate the basic foundation of *sanatana dharma* on *achara* and *anushthana*. To mistake cleanliness for *achara* is to confess ignorance of Hinduism.

'*Achara* is not the product of the best washerman, not even the result of the most punctilious and careful disinfection. It is the making of a physical and mental isolation into which alone can be drawn the spiritual magnetism of the higher powers. If *achara* is once abolished the Hinduism which is essentially founded on *sanatana dharma* can only embellish the dead libraries of museums; its living results can no longer fertilise the minds of men."

In the first place the word *achara* is not *untouchability* in Sanskrit; the secondary meaning attached to it in Tamil has led to this hasty expression of view. The word *Achara* in Tamil, is really *s'uchi* in Sanskrit which means *clean*; *as'uchi* means unclean; *Asaucha* means uncleanliness. The touch of one in *asaucha* due to death or birth is unclean. According to ancient ideas *particles* go out of the unclean man's body and find lodging in the body of another who is thereby made unclean. In the Ramayana the *rishi* asks the disciple to give him the bathing cloth because the water of the *Tamasa* is clean or clear like the mind of a good man. It is the cleaning effect of the bath and its value as a preparation for holy duties that is aimed at and he therefore prefers it even to the Ganges. The connection between cleanliness and godliness and holiness is an ancient conception and feeling.

The idea is cleanliness. At any rate it origin in cleanliness cannot be denied. The development to-day of that idea has gone into unhealthy and morbid lengths. I have seen women coming from the river with a pot of clean water going back and entering the river again for a purifying bath because they had trodden on a bit of broken pot or a thread of cloth on the way. I have seen a man purchasing oil in the shop in his own vessel dipping the vessel carefully in water up to the neck because the shopkeeper touched the vessel. I give these illustrations because the ancient common sense prescribed the washing of the leg in the one case and stated it to be no pollution in the other that the vessel was touched by the shop-keeper. Still there can be no doubt if the mind, is disturbed by the idea of pollution the only means of purification is that which the mind itself requires.

The most important point however is that the *achara* (untouchability?) was intended neither to reproduce the conditions of the forest nor to produce any physical or mental isolation as a condition of drawing to oneself any magnetism.

On the other hand it seems to me that it exemplifies the extravagances and dangers of the cultivation of an exclusive sense of purity. In this as in other matters, moderation and the recognition of the value of a sense of proportion and the adoption of a middle course will be found to be valuable.

The ultimate aim is the clearness or cleanliness of the mind. The ancients recognising the difficulties of life achieved the balance of mind by not going into the kitchen and contracting a repugnance for the food prepared in the not quite clean conditions there, and by purifying the food by the faith that they had in their own power of imposing purity on the food and in the resistance of their highly disciplined constitution. That was not in all cases possible and purification was necessary but the desire for purification might easily become morbid if it saw uncleanness every where and tried to erect a wall around itself for protection against the contaminations of the outside world.

In another sphere also we see the same slowly growing exclusiveness. In Manu the most ancient Smriti under the mixed polity, the Brahmin was allowed to marry from all the four castes. In Yajnavalkya we have the repugnance to accept a wife from the Sudra class. Even in Manu's time, opinions on the mixture of classes were not uniform. Some considered acceptance of a Sudra wife was itself degrading; others considered the reproduction of himself in such wife degrading; and still others deemed his having no children except through such wife alone as irredeemably degrading. These views were based both on a theory of eugenics and on the duty of attaining immortality in the continued existence of himself in worthy descendants in the world under the Sun. Slowly with the new theory of no kshatriyas or vaisyas in this age, marriage within the caste came to be established and that strengthened the new conception of purity.

Thus progressively accumulating consequences of changes in life produced the extreme conception now claimed to be the basic truth of *Sanatana dharma*, and that in a sense which it does not bear.

I must take leave of this topic about untouchability as of the essence of Hindu Religion and note one peculiarity. Since the days of the three great *acharyas*, Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa there has been no great religious movement in the South. Whatever Sankara may have intended, his movement has fostered a certain intellectualism and attachment to strict Smriti traditional observances. It is not reformative in tendency. Its iconoclasm was in that high altitude of speculative philosophy that its influence on conduct was easily put aside by a division of truths into those that apply to the work-a-day (*vyavaharika*) world and those that did not.

Ramanuja's system had more place for emotion and his followers made attempts to uplift the lower classes in the social scale. It is difficult to say that Madhwachariar's *bhakti* school had the same urge of social uplift. Ramanuja's which had the most stress on uplifting social service by carrying the redemptive message to the depressed and the lowly, suffered by the overshadowing predominance of the Smarta School. It is ever the way in the contact of diverse Schools. The weaker in influence—not necessarily the weaker in intrinsic quality, but the weaker in the place and at the time—grows apologetic and conformist by a process of interpretation. And there is also the familiar fact that on the death of acharyas with a new message the next generation slide back and interpret away the saving truth. The result is that so far as the south is concerned it has become intellectualistic and untouched by the higher human emotion. While the north has thrown out reform movements stressing human equality and the value of social service, the south has remained self-satisfied, in love with its appraisement of its own higher purity and contemplating with satisfaction on its own uncontaminated isolation. And the west coast has carried it to the logical extreme bordering on insane obsession. Probably the longer contact with foreign religions and the greater exposure to their powerful challenge which the north has had also accounts for the greater alivenesss and reaction to the challenge to be found in the north.

The south is so self-satisfied that it has actually located the next coming *avatar* in South India and in the Southernmost part of it, farthest away from the inpure north.

Orthodoxy claims that it is not the less intent on uplifting the lower classes but it only objects to the misguided agitation for temple entry. I would ask orthodoxy to look into its own heart and consider—there is no denying the truth when we are alone in the presence of the Eternal Witness—whether it is not true that we have never lifted a little finger to purify or uplift the untouchables and we do not intend to do any work in that direction and as soon as the present danger is averted we propose to go into slumber again until the next wave of agitation should come, whenever that may be.

We can purify. We can uplift. The way was shown by Ramanuja though many even of his followers now disown his way. If we followed it, there will be no untouchable left in the land. There will be no untouchable recognisable as such. I am charging nobody with any *sin* for the present state of things. But we shall be guilty of sin if we recognised the duty of uplift and yet refused to discharge it. Those who had achieved their highest philosophy while they were still beef-eaters and evolved the modern purity out of the beef-eating and drink-sodden conditions of earlier days can purify the Harijan class equally.

Is there any *dharma* or justice or purity or good sense in treating these as untouchables while they remain Hindus and abolishing untouchability as soon as they become Christian or Muslim? You dare not do to the Christian or the Muslim what you do to the Hindu. It is a desire for self protection and a sense of helplessness that accounts for the difference of treatment. I personally feel it shameful that we should not ourselves raise them to a state of cleanliness and abolish untouchability.

Those who see nothing but a political stunt in the movement to abolish untouchability do not see truly or far. Moreover as I said on another occasion, citing from Mazzini, every political question soon becomes a social question and next a religious question.

I am not concerned with the changes of view on the part of any single individual nor with the errors or blunders of any political leader. I am aware that there is a great deal to be said against legislation as a method of introducing a change in the social outlook of people.

Nor is it my intention to commend the resuscitations of old institutions. They are gone never to return in their old forms. Newer ideas and appropriate changes are in progress. They cannot be prevented. They are going on under our eyes even in orthodox households. That the conception of untouchability is an essential part of our *Sanatana Dharma* or that it is the most valuable idea that Hinduism has evolved in the course of its variegated history is neither right nor conducive to the vital reactions of its inner life which it must establish if its influence is not to decay and die.

"GOVERNMENT BY THE MAJORITY—DEMOCRACY."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

My esteemed friend, Mrs. Pitt of Cambridge, has done well to elucidate the working of British Democracy with reference to Indian Reforms. It is sadly true as she points out, that there is 'distrust,' 'resentment' and 'disappointment' in the Indian political mind. These have their origin not in its mistaking the philosophy or process of working or the system, but in the suggestion that an outside authority such as an alien Parliament alone is the arbiter of India's destiny. The British democracy is itself now an uncertain quantity and what is really humiliating to the Indian political thinker is that he is required to take consolation in the chance that the die-hard opposition may not come into power to up-set the 'White-Paper.' What more, its authors themselves do not seem to believe in what is claimed to be best in it: for, do we not see that some of its sponsors,—when openly attacked by those of the Churchillian group that the national Government of the day is allowing India to slip out of its fingers—hastening to placate and pacify it with an aside wink of the eye that after all there is nothing to be alarmed at in the provisions of the new scheme hedged in, as they are, with all sorts of safegaurds more than drowning the poor semblance of freedom which it is made to hold out?

With Dominion Status ruled out, a discerning Indian feels it derogatory to his self-respect to reconcile himself to what is admittedly an ugly scheme or the philosophy of democracy which champions it. The average Briton conscious of having worked for the upliftment of India for a century and a half may well set this attitude of mind down to sheer ingratitude.

But he must remember that 'wanting to be free and wanting to love' are two of the most over-powering human sensations imperious in their nature, which in their on-rush clean sweep away all sentiments of gratitude lurking even in out of the way odd corners of the mind.

India wants to be free and this is perhaps the greatest achievement of the British Rule. Would its Democracy disclaim it?

Penukonda,
March 30, 1934.

Yours etc,
T. SIVASANKARAN.

THE AIM OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Last week we spoke regarding India's Christian Colleges. This is a question that is bound to become more and more difficult unless the aims and purposes of these colleges are clearly stated and understood. We tried to speak a word in support of the right of each one to give an open-minded consideration to religious teachings. We claim that right for all. If we insist that Christians must be free to study religious teachings wherever they find them, we insist equally that this right must be given to every other one whatever his faith or race may be. This is the basis of our claim to the right to present the teachings of Jesus to those who wish to know regarding them.

Referring to the aim of the Christian College we said that it is not simply to turn the people of India from their ancestral faiths. This was in reply to the statement in the *Social Reformer* (reproduced on page 9 in the same issue, March 8, 1934) which reads:—".....the primary object of these institutions (Christian Colleges) is to substitute Christianity for the ancient religious faiths of the country." And we said that even in our most positive evangelistic efforts we do not aim at turning anyone from his ancestral faith.

This statement has been interpreted by some to indicate a lack of positive aim in Christian evangelism. The following letter has been received:—

B. C. M. S. MISSION COMPOUND
MIRZAPUR.

To the Editor,

The article headed "India's Christian Colleges" in the issue of the *Indian Witness* dated March 8th 1934, contains a very bold statement concerning the aim of Christian missions which I beg to question.

I am amazed to read that "Christian missions in their most positive evangelistic efforts do not aim at turning anyone from his ancestral faith. Certainly such a programme would be opposed to the whole spirit and teaching of Jesus." (para 5) Such a statement means that many missionaries are working contrary to the teaching of the Master Who called them.

We, together with missionaries of the U. P. Punjab, and N. W. F. P., are just concluding the "Evangelistic Campaign Week," during which we have been selling Gospel portions, and witnessing to the power of Christ and His Salvation. Our main aim in this "positive evangelistic effort" has been to win men and women for Christ; and naturally expect that as they confess loyalty and allegiance to the Saviour, so they will turn from those ancestral faiths which have not satisfied them in their search for God.

If we as missionaries believe that "Neither is their salvation in any other: nor there is other Name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." (Acts 4:12), then we must, in effect, endeavour to turn men from those beliefs which do not lead to Jesus Christ. To "make disciples of all the nations" according to the Master's command is certainly not a "programme opposed to His spirit and teaching."

(Sd.) SAMUEL R. BURGOYNE.

We are happy to present this letter of Rev. S. R. Burgoyne if there is any need to call attention again to the position we hold in regard to Christian evangelism. That position is admirably expressed by Mr. Burgoyne, 'Our main aim in this 'positive evangelistic effort,' has been to win men and women for Christ." That is our aim *always*. Reference in the letter is then made to what we may "naturally expect" to follow, a confession of "loyality and allegiance to the Saviour." Well and good; but these expectations may differ very widely and why should they be confused with our central aim which is that men and women should come to a personal experience of fellowship with Jesus? Most of us expect that Christian baptism will follow a confession of allegiance to Jesus. But our Quaker brethren do not baptize. And among ourselves we differ as to what baptism represents. There are those among us who "naturally expect" a certain type of Confirmation to follow. Others do not.

What we desire is that all may come to know Jesus. We are willing to let 'our main aim' end there. We know in our own heart of hearts that all will be well with any one who gives the Holy Spirit full sway. St. Paul knew this and said "Wherefore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold they are become new."

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY AT SARNATH.

The *Maha-Bodhi* publishes a scheme for an International Buddhist University as drawn by the Dhammapala Memorial Committee, appointed last October for the purpose, as well as the recommendations of the Memorial Committee. According to the decision of the Memorial Committee the scheme, given below, will be placed in the hands of lawyers for the purpose of securing its registration. While presenting the fruit of many long deliberations to the public, the *Maha-Bodhi* seeks their co-operation in realizing the ideal of the International Buddhist University at Sarnath.

The Dhammapala Memorial Committee has decided that an International Buddhist Uuniversity at Sarnath will be the best means of realizing the object for which the Committee was appointed. For various reasons, mainly financial, such a University cannot be founded immediately. It is not also possible for the Committe to draw up a detailed scheme regarding the character and functions of that educational institution. The Committee believes that if a working constitution is framed for the purpose, it may be entrusted with taking such steps as may be deemed necessary for bringing the University into existence at an early date. The respective duties of the different parts of the constitution will have to be defined as clearly a possible, so that they can work smoothly and harmoniously towards a common goal. The Dhammapala Memorial Committee fully realizes the difficulty which such a constitution will have to confront in dealing with a full-fledged University if and when it actually comes into being, for the Committee is unable at this stage to anticipate all the varied requirements of an international educational centre and to devise a comprehensive constitution suited to it. But one thing can be done to remedy the inherent defect of a scheme which in its details is not based on facts of experience. The constitution drawn up by the Committee is intended to work provisionally for a period of five years, after which it shall have to revise the whole situation, alter or modify itself in such a manner as to prove a more efficient instrument in carrying out the functions of the University with its foundations well laid in the meanwhile. The constitution shall, of course, be

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* The *Indian Witness*.

free to take such measures within the limits of the power bestowed on it as are dictated by the exigencies of administration during this tentative period, but no wholesale change shall be allowed.

The Committee is of opinion that the proposed University should promote not only Buddhistic studies but also studies in scientific subjects which may be considered to have the greatest bearing on the positive good of humanity, instead of taking up all such subjects to which equal attention cannot be given. Whether or not other subjects besides those mentioned above should be included is a matter that is proposed to be left entirely in the hands of the Constitution.

The ultimate ideal of this University is to advance the cause of human progress and to benefit mankind through the sympathetic and broad-minded exposition of Buddhism by bringing out in particular such of its elements as are best calculated to further the attainment of this goal.

CONSTITUTION.

A. The International University is to have a President at its head and one or more Vice-Presidents to help him. The President is to preside over all meetings of the Governing Body, and, in his absence, either a Vice-President or any of the members present. The Governing Body shall be constituted as follows :—It shall have 108 Members excluding the President and the Vice-Presidents. The Governing Body which is to function immediately shall be formed by the Dhammapala Memorial Committee and is to consist as far as possible of representative Buddhists or non-Buddhists, interested in Buddhism, not only from India but also from other countries, such as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Cambodia, Tibet, Hawii and Eastern Archipelago, also Europe and America. This Governing Body shall have a General Secretary, two Secretaries and a Treasurer, at present to be appointed by the Dhammapala Memorial Committee, but in case of resignation etc. to be elected by the Governing Body.

As it will not be possible for a Body constituted on such a wide basis by Members belonging to remote countries to meet in full strength for the conduct of business, it will be necessary to form a smaller committee consisting of 25 Members who will be able to carry on the function of the Governing Body in Calcutta or Sarnath. This Committee may be called the Working Committee of the Governing Body. The office-bearers of the Governing Body are also to act in their respective capacities on this Committee.

The Governing Body shall determine the broad principles of administration regarding the International Buddhist University. At the initial stage this shall have to be done largely by means of correspondence. It expected that the Members of the Governing Body will keep themselves in touch with the intellectual, and spiritual movements in their own countries and will communicate their views to the General Secretary regarding the policy that should shape the activities of the University. For the convenience of business a *questionnaire* may be drawn up by the Working Committee and sent to the different members of the Governing Body inviting their opinions and suggestion. The results of such correspondence are in due course to be placed before the Working Committee and suitable action to be taken thereon. Details of management shall have to be settled by the Working Committee. It is to be understood however, that in this matter there must not be any deviation from the general policy and principles already accepted by the Committee in the name of the Governing Body after proper deliberations on the reports submitted by the Members of the latter Body in response to the questionnaire.

Membership of the Governing Body shall be restricted to those who are prepared to accept the fundamental creed of the University as set forth in the Memorandum, and who: besides, possess educational as well as administrative experience. Any vacancy is to be filled up by election from amongst the general constituency of the University to be described hereafter.

B. One of the main functions of the University shall be to advance the cause of Research in various spheres of Buddhist Culture. This function can be entrusted most satisfactorily to a learned body to be styled The Academy of the International Buddhist University of which it shall form an integral part. The Academy shall consist of seventy-five scholars to be chosen by the Dhammapala Memorial Committee. These scholars are to be designated as Fellows of The Academy of The International Buddhist University. In matters relating to the purely educational side of the University this Academy is to work in co-operation with the Governing Body. When the Academy and the Governing Body meet together to discuss such matters the President of the Governing Body or any of the Vice-Presidents or in their absence any member from amongst those present elected to the Chair, shall guide the deliberations on such occasion. The Academy shall otherwise be independent of the Governing Body. By educational matters referred to above are meant selection of text-books, determination of curricula, publication of lectures, etc. The Fellows may be requested to carry on researches in subjects to be selected by themselves and to deliver courses of lectures embodying the results of their investigations at least thrice a year, at present, at any educational centre (preferable at the Buddhist Viharas, Calcutta and Sarnath.) The Fellows will intimate subjects of their lectures etc., for communication to the Press. The Committee shall undertake to publish notices in the newspapers. The Fellows shall receive no remuneration for their work. In case of resignation etc., the Academy shall have the power to co-opt. The Dhammapala Momorial Committee in electing Fellows of the Academy shall consider the question of fitness for the honour as a determining factor. Persons connected with educational institutions, who have already been recipients of Research Degrees or those who have qualified themselves by their work shall alone be considered deserving of the honour. The Academy shall have a Secretary who besides carrying on the duties of a Fellow, shall perform the office-work connected with the Academy with the help of assistants, and shall also maintain the contact of the Academy with the Governing Body in matters already described.

Lectures delivered by the Fellows shall be published either as bulletins or in a Journal of the University as the cost of the University.

C. The General Constituency of the University shall consist of a body of members, who must be either graduates of recognized Universities, or Buddhist Monks or other sympathisers with the cause of Buddhism who shall be considered as being suitable to be such members by the Governing Body. Annual Fee for an ordinary member may be fixed at Rs. 10. Any member paying Rs. 100/- or upwards at the time of admission is to be treated as a life-member. Advantages : Use of the Libraries at the Buddhist Viharas (Calcutta and Sarnath). To receive the bulletins or the Journal of the University. To fill any vacancy on the Governing Body by election.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Enlightened Imperialism:—At the second quinquennial meeting of the Fascist regime, 7,000 leading Fascists thronged the opera house and thunderously cheered Mussolini who assigned expansion in Africa as a task for future generations of Italians. "There is no question of terrritorial conquest but let not the nations in possession block the spiritual and economic expansion of Fascist Italy." Signor Mussolini, while stressing the need of an outlet for Italy in Africa, also referred to the possibilitties of collaboration with Asia and pointed out that both could be reached from Italy in a few hours by sea, still fewer by air. Appealing that the significance of the aim which he was confiding te the present and future Italian generations should not be misunderstood, he emphasised again that it was not a question of territorial conquest but of natural expansion leading to collaboration between Italy and the people of Africa and Eastern nations. It was a question of action which will make available innumerable resources of the two continents especially Africa and carry them more profoundly into the cycle of world civilization.

In the Second Year:—The four-year campaign for the betterment of Germany undertaken by Herr Hitler has resulted in the reduction of Germany's unemployed by nearly one-third in the past year. The second year's offensive against unemployment was opened by the Chancellor on March 21. An allotment of 1,000 million marks to conquer unemployment was announced by Herr Hitler in a speech at a lonely spot between Munich and the Austrian Frontier to the men engaged in roadworks. The speech, which was the last of the series in commemmoration of his accession to power, was made in presence of most of the Cabinet members and broadcast throughout the nation. All the workers in the country stopped work for an hour and a half to hear Herr Hitler. All cities and villages were beflagged. Herr Hitler declared that Government intended to marry at least 3,00,000 girls this year and 150 millions marks would be appropriated to matrimonial loans. Six hundred million marks would be spent in roadmaking and 800 millions given for taxation and loan certificates. Herr Hitler in conclusion appealed to the other nations to realise the Germany desired "nothing except in freedom and peace to contribute towards creating a better world."

The Karsandas Centenary:—The speakers at the Karsandas Mulji Centenary meeting in Bombay were served with notices by the Solicitors of the Managing Committee of the Shrimad Vaishnava Parishad. They wrote:—"We have to address you on behalf of the managing Committee of the Shrimad Vaishnava Parishad. It appears from the local papers that you are one of the speakers at the Karsondas Mulji centenary celebration which is being held to-day at the Sir Cawasji Jehangir Hall. Our clients are jealous for the memory of the Shrimad Vallabhcharya and reverence his doctrines and precepts. They instruct us to state that if you have studied the life of Shrimad Vallabhcharya and his teachings, you cannot but express your admiration for them On the, other hand if you are not conversant with his life and ideals they wish us to request you to refrain from making any reference to their teacher and his doctrines in any manner calculated to throw ridicule upon him or them or to hurt the religious feelings of his followers among whom our clients say they are proud to enroll themselves."

Honour from Persia:—The Associated Press understands that a unique honour has been conferred on Mr. Mohammed Ishaque, lecturer of the Calcutta University, by the Persian Government for his services in the cause of Persian Language and Literature. It is stated that the Ministry of Education, Persia, have confirmed a resolution intending to award a 'Nishan-i-Iimi' (Medal in token of Learning), the first to be given to an Indian. Three other distinguished scholars, all Persian, have also received this medal. Prof. Ishaque was granted leave by the Calcutta University in 1931 to tour throughout Persia and he stayed there for six months visiting among other places Teheran, Ishaphan, Shiras and Resht (Capital of Gilan) and also Kirmanshaha. He has been connected with the Calcutta University for the last eight years prior to which he was a Professor of Persian in the Dacca University.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Propagation and Propaganda:—It is surprising that the *Dnyanodaya*, the organ of six Missions, should exhort its constituents to take a leaf out of the books of Stalin, Mussolini, Kemal Pasha and Hitler. We had better quote its words: "One of the lessons that Christians may learn from our present world-scene is the power of propaganda. Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, Kemal Pasha in Turkey, and Hitler in Germany, all stand for the power of ideas. By reiteration and colorful presentation, these men have led powerful nations into new paths..... Coercion there has been, but behind the coercion is the contagious enthusiasm of new programmes." Our respectful congratulations to our contemporary for wrenching itself free from the prejudice against these men as enemies of religion. Historically, however, they were not the first to discover the uses of propaganda. All the nations engaged in the War lavishly resorted to propaganda much of which is now acknowledged to have been downright lying. Christian Missionaries themselves have carried on propaganda against non-Christian religions. Propagating truth is one thing and carrying propaganda in its name, is quite another. The great world Teachers hated propaganda. Jesus invariably bade those whom he healed to tell no man. Indian religious teachers firmly held that whenever a man was ripe for their teaching he would seek them out and that only harm will ensue by their going out into the market place in search of disciples. The success of the four dictators referred to by the *Dnyanodaya* was due initially to the collapse of the systems which preceded them. It is premature to speak of their success. For our part, we think that it would have been infinitely better for the countries concerned as also for the world if these leaders, whose patriotism and integrity we never doubted, had reformed the old systems instead of overturning them. There are signs that they are beginning to realise the importance of establishing continuity with the past asthe surest means of ensuring permanence for whatever is of abiding value in their reforms.

Christian Colleges and Government:—The *Guardian* of Madras is a journal which by its straightforward and independent thinking has established for itself a place among the formative influences of Indian journalism. We are pained to see that its writings, particularly the latest (March 22), on the *Reforme's* protest against the participation of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India in an appeal for funds to reorganise Christian Colleges on the lines of the Lindsay Commission's Report, fall far short of expectations. We have made our protest. We said in our very first article that we did not expect it to have any effect. It has had none. The Archbishop of Canterbury quoted in his speech at the Mansion House meeting from a letter from the Viceroy that "the Christian Colleges of India have done most valuable work in the past in producing loyal and well trained and disciplined citizens (which, by the way, Jesus and his disciples were far from being.—*Ed.*) There is much we can write on the text furnished by the Viceroy but for the present we are content with the brief parenthesis. There are one or two points of fact on which the *Guardian* is not well-informed. The first is a historical one. The affirmation of religious neutrality in the Queen's Proclamation, which we reprinted last week, was not, as the *Guardian* thinks, made with reference to the policy of previous rulers, which, with occasional deviations, has been the traditional policy of Hindu and Muslim rulers since Asoka's time. It was made with reference to the principal immediate cause of the Indian Mutiny which was the belief among Indian soldiers that Government contemplated converting its Hindu and Muslim subjects to Christianity. The *Guardian* may consult the pages of Lord Roberts' "Forty-one years in India" dealing with the causes of the Mutiny. The evolution of policy towards Christian Missions is traced by a hand entirely favourable to them in Mr. Mayhew's book on the subject. The obligation of the Government of India to protect all religions equally is embodied in the Indian Penal Code and is not open to speculation. The official intervention of the Viceroy and Ministers of State in this matter, is more

likely to prejudice than to promote the true interests of the Christian Colleges as an integral part of Indian Education.

Public School for Parsis:—It is stated that the buildings of the Deccan College in Poona, which Government have decided to abolish as a measure of retrenchment, have been purchased by Parsis who intend to establish a Public School for their children on the English model. The English Public School is an offshoot of the English social system which almost till the War remained intact. The basic principle of the system was the division of its members into (1) the class which gave orders and (2) the class which took them. The so-called Public Schools are really private and exclusive institutions for the children of the first class. They did not aim at producing scholars but at producing officers for the Army and Navy and the Diplomatic and Civil services and administrators in the Asiatic and African dependencies of Britain. The English Public School since the war has been losing its importance owing to the rapid transformation which the English social system is undergoing. The tradition of English Public School men constituting the ruling class, temporarily broken by Disraeli, has been finally discarded. Bonar Law, Lloyd George and Ramsay Macdonald, even Asquith, were not public school men. In his "War Memories" Mr. Lloyd George says that Bonar Law and he were outsiders in the Asquith Cabinet and had, therefore, a kind of secret sympathy with each other, and that Asquith, although he began with the same disadvantages as themselves, liked to think of himself as one of the ruling class but, in fact, was at ease with neither. That was the transitional stage. The legend about the formation of 'character' as the special merit of the English Public School, is also thinning with the discovery that 'character' consists of many qualities which are not the monopoly or the predominant characteristic of English Public School men. The 'character' which is needed to control a far flung Empire is on the face of it not the 'character' which will benefit a community which is a microscopic minority in a dependent country. It is significant that the best-known English Public School man in Indian politics, is undergoing imprisonment for sedition. We believe that the Parsis have a future in this country as promising as that of any other community but the qualities of a dominant class which the English Public Schools are designed to foster, will prove to be rather a hindrance than a help in achieving that future. The immediate problem for the Parsee Community is how to avert the effect of a social complex in which "wealth accumulates and men decay."

A Novel Argument:—A "Special Correspondent" has explained at great length in the *Times of India* why British officers should continue to command in Indian regiments for many years to come. Everybody knows why. But the Special Correspondent has found a special reason. It is that "we have not got in India, as we have in England, a large supply of young men with long traditions of leadership in the army behind them." Shortly after the War an Indian officer who had been in France with his regiment of Rajputs from an Indian State, was telling us of his experiences. One of these has a bearing on the observation of the Special Correspondent. He said that he was found fault with by British officers for moving familiarly with his non-commissioned officers and men. His answer was that these men were of his own clan, some of them near relatives, and it would be preposterous for him to treat them as the British officer treats his men—it would not be tolerated. He added that the Australians who were also quartered in the same locality made fun of the British "tradition." Except the German junkers, there is no class with a "tradition" of command in modern armies outside Britain. In fact, such a thing is impossible in any national army as distinguished from a mercenary one. There is no hereditary class of officers in the French Army. There the tradition is that every private carries a Marshal's baton in his knapsack. The Soviet Army, of course, does not recognise such distinctions. In India itself, not only Rajputs but Brahmans and Banias and even women have led armies to battle. The fact is, fighting and killing one's enemies is a very primitive instinct and, as Melbourne said of the Order of the Garter, there is no damned merit about it. When a man undertakes to enlighten Indian opinion he might at least condescend to acquaint himself at least with the rudiments of Indian history. Another curious argument is that Indian troops in the War did better when led by British than by Indian officers. So far as there is truth in this statement it is entirely due to the present system which is designed to exalt the British officer above his Indian colleague in the estimation of the men. There have been also cases in which British troops were badly led by British officers.

Nemesis in History:—The Treaty signed a few days ago between Italy, Hungary and Austria by which the two former countries guarantee the independence of Austria, is the climax of a series of events which go to establish that there is Nemesis at work in history. Less than a century ago Hungary and Italy were groaning under the overlordship of Austria. The former managed to get itself recognised as an equal partner of the Austrian Empire. Attempts to have the grievances of the Italian people redressed were put down with ruthless severity. General Haynau's flogging of women in Lombardy so horrified British public opinion that when the General shortly after visited England he was thrashed by an infuriated crowd within an inch of his life. Austria was forced to withdraw from Italy in 1865, and later she accepted Italy as an Ally. Now both the German

(*Continued on page 484*)

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MARCH 31, 1934.

MARY OF NAZARETH.*

The attitude of Jesus to his mother is a source of perplexity to the Indian student of the Gospels. There are but four references to her after she gave birth to him. The first is, when missing the boy, Jesus, when he was twelve years old, on their way home from the Temple at Jerusalem, they returned to find him disputing with the Rabbis. Then Mary asked him: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us; behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." Jesus' reply is a snub. He asked: "How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" All the same, he went down with them and came to Nazareth and was subject unto his parents. But his words rankled in the mother's heart. "She kept all these sayings in her heart." The next reference to Mary is in the account of the marriage feast at Cana. Eighteen years had passed and Jesus had come to be recognised as a miracle worker. His mother was there and Jesus and his disciples had also been invited. The hosts confide to her that they have run short of wine. She communicated the information to her son. Jesus snubbed her: "Woman what have I to do with thee?" She quietly ignored the snub and told the servants of the house, "whatsoever he sayeth unto you do it." She knew that her son, though he resented her interference, would do what she wanted him to do. He converts water into wine. The third occasion is when Mary and her other sons —she had four—sought an interview with him at Capernaum which he had made his headquarters at the height of his popularity. "While he yet talked to the people, behold his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him. Then one said unto him, Behold thy mother and brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? Who are my brethren? and he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and brethren!" The crowd, no doubt, applauded this hit, but the mother's heart was wounded to the core. It was a public repudiation of his mother and brothers. The brothers after that ceased to trouble themselves about Jesus. But the mother was not to be estranged even by this public insult. She followed him to the foot of the Cross. All his disciples had deserted him, even John the beloved.

Even a torchlight and a voice,
The sudden Roman faces, violent hands,
And fear of what the Jews might do! Just that,
And it is written, "I forsook and fled."

John was ashamed and accompanied Mary to the foot of the Cross. "When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he sayeth unto his mother, "Woman, behold thy son! Then sayeth he to the disciple, Behold thy mother, And from that hour that disciple took her into his own home."

The exaltation of the Mother of Christ by the Roman Church is directly contrary to the attitude of Jesus to her as it appears from these authentic utterances. The Protestant relegation of her to a position of irrelevance to Christianity is in entire consonance with it. Neither the Catholic nor the Protestant attitude, however, brings out the real tragedy of Mary's life. This is what Mary Borden has done with brilliant effect in her "Mary of Nazareth." It is a heart-breaking book. The story of the mother torn between her loyalty to her ancestral faith in which and in whose institutions she implicitly believed, and her love—which was indeed her life—for her first-born son who was in violent antagonism to the accepted interpretation of it by the established authorities whom he defied even in small matters, is told with a simplicity and sincerity which carries conviction in every page. Mary's difficulties with her sons with whom she lived—one of them, James, was a Pharisee of the straightest type and the others were worldly men who bitterly resented the notoriety which the eccentrities, as they regarded them, of their eldest brother brought on the family, are depicted in moving detail and with poignant insight. Mary had also two daughters, both married. They do not figure much in the story except that it is made clear that they had no sympathy with the dangerous vagaries of their illustrious brother. The High Priest of the Jews of Nazareth is a fine gentleman. He is full of sympathy for Mary but public feeling is too strong against Jesus and he is forced to order the fearful rite of excommunication by blast of trumpet in every synagogue in the land. It is not Jesus alone but the whole family which comes under the ban. The attempt to stave off the calamity by bringing Jesus home if necessary by force—the family's visit to Capernaum was undertaken with that object, one of the brothers had a stout rope tied round his waist under his coat to bind Jesus if he resisted—is frustrated by the crowds which surrounded Jesus and prevented access to him. Perhaps, he knew what his mother and brothers had come for, when he refused to see them.

As a last resource, Mary goes alone to have a heart to heart talk with her son. When she after much wanderings reaches the house, he is not there, and Mary of Magdala who is in charge comes forward to greet affectionately the mother of her Master. Mary of Nazareth shrinks with horror at sight of the Magdalene and flies precipitately from her presence. Of all Jesus' doings his association with Mary of Magdala was most detestable in his mother's eyes. She could tolerate everything but that. But such is the strength of her love for him that she eventually comes to regard Mary as her sole prop in her agony of grief.

* Publisher, Heinemann; Price 7s. 6d.

The most poignant scene in the story is that on the road to Calvary. The trial had lasted far into the night and in the small hours of the morning, Mary, her sister and her husband, and Mary of Magdala with the boy, Mark, denied admission to the tribunal, had been waiting for hours to see Jesus pass to the place of execution. Mary's brother-in-law begs her to go home and have some rest—they had been out all night. But she would not leave the spot. "Go and take Mark with you and send him to tell me if you hear anything of importance, and you, my sister, go and rest. Mary of Magdala will stay with me." The author does not seem to believe in the words attributed to Jesus on the Cross. Perhaps, John was not above interpolating into the story something which reflected glory upon himself. What passed in the mind of Jesus when he saw his mother? Let the author speak:

> John, the very young disciple, had found his way to the cross and stood there with Mary, the mother of Jesus. Did he see them? Did he speak to them? They thought that he did. They said so afterwards. And perhaps it was true that Jesus, through eyes glassy with agony, saw the young boy clinging to his mother, and remembered his own boyhood when he had been so happy and so loved. Indeed in those awful moments he must have remembered everything from the beginning. All his life must have passed before him and all his childhood come back to him, and it seemed as he hung there that he was glad to know that this young boy would be son to his mother who had not believed in him yet had not failed him to the last.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS.

Under the Communal Award the Indian Christian community was allotted a certain number of seats in the legislatures. An influential section of the community, however, felt at the time that it could best contribute to the national life by abjuring special communal constituencies and meetings were held where resolutions favouring general electorates were adopted. That there is a growing feeling in that community that there has been hitherto neglect of the political life of the country is shown by Mr. K. N. Dutt's article on "The Unification of Indian Christians" in the last issue of the *Reformer*. Mr. Dutt regards the religious and educational life of Christians adequately cared for and asks his communalists to concentrate their attention on the political problem which he conceives to be the most urgent today. Mr. Dutt fails to see that the religious disunity of the Indian Christians is at the bottom of their political disunity. The various Western sects of Christianity have been introduced with embellishments into India and the fact that the alien mission boards are the controlling bodies tends to divide the converts into almost water-tight compartments. While the missionary regards the community as a religious body Mr. Dutt wants to convert it into a solid political organisation commanding on particular issues the votes of its members. He proposes therefore that an All India organisation be set up which will "carry on all the business of a thorough-going political body." Mr. Dutt remarks that this should not frighten anybody. He apparently does not realise that the suggestion that Christians should organise themselves as a political party is itself born of fear. He will, if he persists in his efforts at securing this end, meet with the opposition of the missionary who is mainly concerned with winning new adherents to his fold. Any effort at forming a political group needs for its success a homogeneous unit. The continued admission of new members on a non-political principle into such a group will work against solidarity. Mr. Dutt realises this when he insists that the one Board of Control for the community should be in Indian hands. Whether the several foreign mission boards are ready to surrender their powers and unite under one Board of Control on which their missionary members will have no seat, is extremely doubtful but it is highly probable that they will consider such unity as purchased at too high a price. Mr. Dutt's article reveals the growing communal consciousness of the Indian Christians and a tendency to regard missionary control as irksome. Those missionaries who have always felt the want of self-reliance and independence on the part of Christians as a serious obstacle to the inevitable transfer of control from alien to Indian hands, will welcome the new spirit.

(*Concluded from page 482*)

and Austrian Empires have ceased to exist and Austria has to seek the protection of Italy against Germany. The signing of the Treaty disestablishing the German Empire in the very Hall in which it was established sixty-five years ago, the overthrow of the Tsarist regime and the massacre of the Tsar and his family by the Soviet revolutionaries, and other incidents tend to the same conclusion: All oppression has implicit in it its own reprisals.

ANANDRAO L. NAIR.

My acquaintance with the late Dr. A. L. Nair began in a curious way. I had received a small book of Sanskrit verse written by a Brahmin lady of Mysore. It was written in the metre known as Sardulavikridita in Sanskrit rhetoric, meaning "gambolling of the tiger", and the theme was the life of Bhagvan Buddha. It was skilfully done but there was nothing new in the material. I put it aside after the first perusal. I had forgotten all about it until several days afterwards, going to my desk one morning, I found this book prominently on it. I was in a reflective mood. The question silently formed itself in my mind, why has this Brahmin lady selected Buddha as her theme for her Sanskrit composition? Every Brahmin, man, woman and child, in the South is a follower either of Sankara Ramanuja or Madhva—the three great philosopher saints of post-Buddhist Hindulsm. Sankara overthrew Buddhism borrowing largely from its own armoury. Ramanuja denounced Sankara as "the veiled Buddhist" and formulated his doctrine of qualified monism; Madhva, differing from both, unfurled the standard of uncompromising dualism. All three were southerners and their followers are found in greatest strength in the South. All of them were

opposed to Buddhism and, though they conceded to Buddha the status of an avatar or incarnation, they regarded him as an avatar sent down to mislead Hindus from the path of true religion, as a sort of divine agent provacateur in fact, to test the faith of the Hindu race. That a lady belonging to one of these sects, and a scholarly one, too, should have dedicated her talents to an eulogy of the Buddha, seemed to me to be a sign that the heart of Hinduism was harking back to its most illustrious son for light and solace in its modern perplexities. I met a friend, the Labour leader, Mr. Jhabvala in the train and mentioned this incident casually to him and wished that something could be done to promote the study of the teachings of the Buddha. Jhabvala at once told me that there was Dr. Nair who for years past was a devoted adherent of Buddha and that I should get into touch with him. It was thus that I met Dr. Nair. He was delighted at my suggestion and we decided on a public celebration of the triple anniversary of the birth, enlightenment and death of Lord Buddha, which according to tradition, falls on the same day, the Vaisakh purnama, the full moon in April–May. There was not much time to make arrangements. The meeting was convened at short notice at Madhav Baug. It proved an unexpected success. Friends from far and near happened to be in Bombay on the day. And they all attended. The idea of the Buddha Society was suggested at the meeting and was warmly taken up by Dr. Nair. He was elected President and remained President till his death. A group of earnest men gathered around him and the work of the Society progressed slowly but steadily. Buddhists from all lands found a welcome in Dr. Nair's hospitable home. Some of them were not quite the genuine article. But Dr. Nair asked no questions. If a man or woman sought his assistance in the name of the Bhagvan, it was given as a matter of course. Till the opening of the Ananda Vihara three years ago the fortnightly meetings of the Society were held in Dr. Nair's drawing room. Some of the addresses delivered at these gatherings were valuable contributions to the elucidation of the relation between Buddhism and post-Buddhist Hinduism which is pervaded by it.

The period following the founding of the Buddha Society was one of incessant activity to Dr. Nair. He seemed to be overwhelmed by a desire to give concrete expression to his devotion to the Bhagvan who was the incarnation of compassion for suffering humanity. The suffering which, as a medical man whose practice in his early struggling days was chiefly amongst the poorest of the poor, came most home to him, was the suffering of the sick and the maimed so many of whom go without any relief in this great city. Powell and Company had prospered and provided Dr. Nair with the wherewithal to fulfil his ambition. He built the Hospital which bears his mother's name and personally saw to it that every poor patient who sought relief got it there. He next took over the National Medical College which was on its last legs. The grand building where it is housed was built by him. His crowning act, was the building of the Vihara in the vicinity of the Hospital and the College. No one can step into it without feeling profoundly grateful to the genius of the man who, amidst the stress and noise of Bombay, raised the sanctuary which breathes the Spirit of Peace at every step. These were what Dr. Nair did. What he was, I can best illustrate by a scene which has deeply carved itself in my memory. It occurred within less than a month of his death. I with my daughter had gone to the new Chowpathi at Worli for our daily walk. We had started as usual from the south end of the walk and were nearing the north end, when I found the tall figure of Dr. Nair standing with a small crowd gathered round him. We went up to him and before I could say anything he pointed to the prostrate figure of a man who was breathing hard and unconscious. Dr. Nair's face was filled with sorrow as he told me that he found that man lying there some fifteen minutes previously without any one of the scores of people sitting on the parapet wall opposite or walking past taking the slightest notice of him. When Dr. Nair came he felt the man's pulse and found it very bad. He sent for a policeman, had a cab fetched, saw the patient comfortably placed in it to be taken to the hospital. As we were walking back he again and again recurred to the utter callousness of our people to the claims of humanity. It was a European lady, he said who had fetched the policeman at his request. The figure of Anandarao Nair, standing by the side of the prostrate figure under the dome of that evening sky and the sea softly murmuring hard by, symbols of eternity, forms a picture of which, his Master, Buddha, might Himself have been the central figure.

K. N.

THOUGHTS ON THE PARSI INTER-MARRIAGE PROBLEM.

(BY P. A. M.)

The very first thought that strikes me on this problem is that I should not be writing this article for the *Reformer*. It is very undesirable to discuss a purely local and very delicate question like this in any paper that is not exclusively read by the Parsis and it is very unfortunate that a number of non-Parsis should have rushed into the press on a matter that affected the feelings of the Parsis alone and of which they had no personal knowledge. It may be said that there is a right of free speech but then there is also a corresponding duty not to exercise the right under certain circumstances and it seems that if the bigger communities in India talked less of rights and thought more of duties, without which rights are meaningless, the communal problem would cease to be a problem. Such hostile criticism is bound to be unsympathetic and to seem irresponsible partly because the problem is not felt by such critic as it is by a Parsi whom it affects vitally and partly because his knowledge concerning such a small community is meagre and second hand. Hence the uncalled for disagreement becomes highly disagreeable and hurts the community because it superficially prescribes what the soul of the community strongly proscribes. And it hurts the more when it comes from a thoughtful and highly esteemed source. Thus when it was suggested presumably by the editor in an earlier issue of this journal that the Parsi girls were more cultured because they married outside their community one thought that even Homer sometimes nods. There are few occasions when one can differ from Mr. K. Natarajan and be right; and this is one of them. That is why on second thoughts I feel it incumbent on me to put the Parsi point of view before the readers of this journal.

The Parsis had to leave Persia because their religion happened to be in danger. And that is why though they have adopted many important ways of life from the other communities of India they have stuck to the faith of their forefathers. But not only have they kept aloof from other religions, they have also kept their religion aloof from other communities. It is the very essence of every important Zorostrian ceremony that it should not be performed in the presence of those professing other religions. The dead body of a Parsi is considered impure if the gaze of any non-Parsi falls on it after the preliminary funeral ceremony. Hence their religious sentiments will not let Parsis to

proselytize or even allow a willing convert to enter their fold. Therefore if a large number of Parsis were constantly converted by force or otherwise the community would gradually become practically extinct. So long as Parsis do not proselytize they must, if they must exist at all as a community, resist all proselytizing attempts directed against them. Now the marriage of Parsis outside their community has the same effect as conversion. An increase of such marriages means a decrease of the Parsi population and the danger of extinction is greater than in direct conversion by force or otherwise because it is less perceptible. Forcible or fraudulent conversion is immediately resisted perhaps with the moral support of other communities. But in the case of inter-marriages the community, when not blind, has to watch helplessly its slow but certain death. And it would rather die, so strong are its religious susceptibilities, than take converts into its fold. The only other sane alternative therefore is to create a strong prejudice against inter-marriages by keeping alive among its members the love for Parsi traditions and culture.

It may be argued by some persons who like to indulge in abstract humanitarianism that a communal spirit is the antiquated jargon of a day that is dead. Such persons would not only welcome such subtle ways of removing without violence the barriers that divide men from men but would also suggest other communities to adopt such a non-violent method. One does not wish to give more attention thaa they deserve to the patriots who love every country except their own or the nationalists who glory in disparaging their own commuuity. This fashionable sentiment is an unhappy reaction to the bitterness and hatred that were let loose during the last Great War. But a diseased reaction to a diseased idea is no cure, and itself deserves to be properly diagnosed and treated. It is not the love of one's community or country, but the hatred of other communities and countries that is objectionable and it is not necessary to hate other communities in order to love your own, just as it is not necessary to hate all mothers in order to be a loving son. A healthy rivalry between factions, communities or nations has kept bright the undying fire of progress. Every great nation and community aspires to enrich its individuality by constant expression of its love for its peculiar art, religion and traditions. Smaller communities like Parsis or Jews who have no separate states for themselves and who are at the mercy of the State to which they belong needs must think of cherishing the ideals of their group. The survival value of this communal patriotism is immense. The tenacity with which the Jews, scattered throughout the world, every man's hand against them, have stuck to their race and religion, is the chief cause of their existence today. One sees their sincerity and fervour in psalms like this: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea wept when we remembered Zion...For there they that carried us away captive, required of us song, they that wasted us required of us mirth. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Such words, frankly communal, the humanitarian of today may read with contempt but they have played their part in making a nation of a people without a dominion. Such a ruthless persecution as we saw recently in Germany against the Jews is not the first nor perhaps the last attack against the race, but a people that can utter such sentiments may suffer, but cannot die: Parsis too have their own sentiments that have made them feel akin and protected them against the subtle forces of extinction that hover over them like vultures. The recent increase in inter-marriages in the community is a symptom of the weakening of their hold on their peculiar culture and tradition that produced men like Dadabhoy Naoroji, Sir Pirosha Mehta and J. N. Tata. It is therefore very desirable to arouse in the Parsis an enthusiasm for their communal history and traditions that influenced them in the past. Such a communal awakening becomes dangerous only when it is nourished by distrust of and antagonism to other communities. But the Parsis have given ample proofs of their love for their adopted country and it would be a sad day for the community when Parsis forget the land that gave them a home at the time they left their native land, feeling "Here is no home, here is but a wilderness." Our love for community however does not weaken our love for our country as the growing individuality of the child does not weaken its affection for its parent. Those Don Quixotes of our days who dream of a world without nations and communities are not merely impractical but short-sighted idealists. Communities and nations make for evolution, and a world of nations need not be a warring world. A peace without anybody to struggle with is the peace of the desert. The unity that is desirable is not a barren unity without differences as in monotonous sounds but a rich union of differences that is found in great music. The main contention of this article is based on the assumption that the Parsi community is worth the trouble of preservation. A major community may say in its cynical moments, "Why should such a small community make desperate efforts to survive? The world would not be much the worse without the Parsis, if it has been able to carry on without the Greeks of yore." The unbroken record of their splendid services to India may be an effective answer to a more worthy sceptic. But such a cynical query stultifies itself, for we may well ask why any community in the world should survive at all. If it is answered that the onus of justifying its existence lies only on small communities such an answer is not prompted by cynicism, but sheer arrogance and 'majority complex.' It is almost a postulate therefore that Parsis like every other race should survive, and, because of the circumstances discussed above, the increase of intermarriages subtly spells their extinction.

It is not because intermarriages are said to lead invariably to domestic unhappiness (such a proposition is difficult to maintain), not because Parsis are higher or better as such than others which is absurd, but because intermarriages are bound to dissolve the community in the long run that the Parsis are endeavouring to mobilise all the forces to combat the evil. And the present agitation is not new *nor directed only against Parsi girls.*

The Jam-E-Jamshed, a very old Parsi newspaper has endeavoured for years together to organise public opinion against this threatened danger and its splendid services to the community in this field are amply recognised by its finding a home in almost every Parsi family—rich or poor. In or about 1919 a fashion among the young men of the community to marry European girls found its way and there was naturally great excitement and the whole community voiced its disapproval to prevent the 'epidemic' from spreading further. A monster meeting was held, where among the many resolutions condemning these marriages, was one threatening to boycott the 'culprits.' But the number of Parsi girls going out of the community since 1931 is alarmingly greater than of the boys in 1919 and every day we hear of more such cases. This has created a sort of religious panic in the community. A requisition was

made by a large number of Parsis to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet to call a meeting of the community to express its sense of the grave danger. A meeting was accordingly summoned by the Trustees, and such a meeting is found to be summoned only when there is practically unanimous opinion in its favour, where Parsi leaders holding violently hostile views on other questions met on the same platform to devise ways of meeting this insidious evil. But it is very doubtful if violent resolutions passed in meetings, attended largely by married Parsis who are themselves incapable of violating them, produce much effect on the young men and women concerned. One is reminded of resolutions by a flock of sheep condemning the carnivorous instincts of the wolf. Nor is the tendency to treat these erring young men as sinners and moral lepers desirable. The strong stand against such an attitude taken up by a section of the community, is highly commendable. Young men and women do not go in for intermarriages because of "superior culture" or out of sheer fun, but because they are subtly driven by cruel economic and other necessities. So the present tumult and the shouting should give way to a patient study of social forces that cause this havoc in the community. "It is the part of a wise man," said Spinoza, "not to bewail nor to deride but to understand." Parsis will do well to solve this problem, which they must solve or perish, in the spirit of this beautiful minded philosopher, "as though concerned with lines and planes and solids."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND SLAVERY.*

(By E. O. Sisson.)

Lincoln's attitude concerning slavery was quite clear and definite, but was complex, with the result that it was often misunderstood by both friends and opponents in his own day and is still seldom clearly understood. Yet it was really the attitude of the great mass of people in the North, and, strange as it may sound, of many if not most in the South. It was this attitude, shared by the mass of the North, which made it possible for him to be elected to the Presidency in 1860.

First, he "hated slavery;" it was utterly obnoxious to him and clashed with his dearest principles, both moral and political. He "thought it wrong;" and this when Christian churches, north as well as south, were busy proving that it was divinely ordained and plainly supported by the Bible. In his first office of any consequence, as member of the Illinois legislature at the age of 30, he recorded this view: when the legislature passed resolutions denouncing abolitionists and condoning slavery, Lincoln with one lone supporter read into the minutes a protest, joining in the condemnation of abolitionists, but declaring that "slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." In 1854, in one of his earliest speeches of significance, he speaks of the "monstrous injustice of slavery." But in all this he might almost have been quoting Jefferson or even Washington speaking a generation earlier. The land was full, north and south, of people who disliked and disapproved slavery, with a smaller number who hated it intensely.

In the second place, Lincoln's political view concerning slavery and political programme for dealing with it were clear cut and changed little, until the War changed everything. First, he was inexorably opposed to the extension of slavery; this view governed his political affiliations on all vital occasions. But he was also opposed to any aggressive interference with slavery in the states which legalized it; the constitutional provision concerning fugitive slaves which Phillips denounced as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," Lincoln regarded as a covenant with the slave-holding states which he was bound to respect. So he wrote to his friend Speed, a slaveholder, "I acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the constitution in regard to your slaves." This compelled him to oppose the Abolitionists and condemn their programme; and the Abolitionists in turn hated and denounced him.

The third point is of great importance, and not quite easy to describe; it was his utter incapacity to extend his hatred of slavery to a hating of the slave-holder, or even to denouncing him morally. It was his realistic sense of the actual institution of slavery as something historical, with a long background in the old world, and with deep economic and social roots in its strange last stand in the great American Republic. It was his persistent view that slave-holders, slaves, and opponents of slavery were all human and all caught in the mesh of events, all striving to live their lives in the midst of difficulties and perplexities and all entitled to humane and kindly consideration from their fellows in spite of differing opinions and conflicting programmes and policies.

Lincoln never fell into the prevailing Northern fallacy of throwing the whole responsibility for the institution of slavery upon the South; he saw that the guilt, if guilt there were, rested upon the Nation as a whole, North as well as South. "It is no less true for having been often said," he writes in the Second Annual Message, 'that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North: and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share in the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance."

These elements in Lincoln's attitude toward slavery were definitely fixed at the time of his first important public utterance on the subject, in his speech in answer to Douglas at Peoria in 1854. After denouncing slavery as wrong, and the Missouri Compromise as therefore also wrong, he goes on:

"Before proceeding, let me say that I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up.....When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact.....If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia.....But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible.....I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon." These are striking words, not by their violence but by their moderation. It is true they were uttered before the heat of the conflict, nearly seven years before the actual outbreak of the war; but the fact is that the fury and madness of the later period, before and during the armed conflict, never changed Lincoln's attitude. In 1858, debating with Douglas, in 1860, as candidate for the presidency, and through all his career as war ruler, he never shifted from his position: he was against slavery, would not com-

* From an article on Lincoln in *Open Court*.

pro nise with its extension, yet insisted that the slave states should solve their own domestic problem; and he demurred to all self-righteous condemnation and all spirit of revenge.

Thus on the issue of slavery and emancipation Lincoln was emphatically a moderate, and so was unsatisfactory to both extremes. The abolitionists abhorred his patience with slavery and his support of the constitutional provision for fugitive slave laws; the slave party feared and hated him for his outspoken condemnation of slavery and his unyielding stand against its extension. As a moderate, on the other hand, he was elected to the presidency and led the nation to emancipation.

To most people, north and south, emancipation was a word, and a word over which to fight. But few seem to have given attention to the question of how emancipation was to be accomplished, or what was to be done with the tremendous problems which must follow upon its heels, if accomplished. In truth nobody north or south did know what to do with slavery; it would almost seem that the more extreme abolitionists, otherwise intelligent, really supposed that abolishing slavery would somehow abolish the millions of black men, women and children who were the slaves. Lincoln, on the contrary, was deeply concerned as to the manner and method of emancipation; the problem occupied his mind greatly and appears over and over again in his public utterances. It appears in many of his state papers, letters and addresses; it is set forth in full in his second Annual Message to Congress of December 1,1862—to my mind the greatest of all his state papers. Whoever would grasp Lincoln's mind on this great problem must read and re-read this message.

Lincoln's plan is commonly known as 'compensated emancipation," but compensation is only one of the essential features of the proposal, and perhaps not the most important. Not less vital certainly is the provision for both initiative and control by the states holding the slaves, and the limitation of federal action to giving the invitation and contributing financial aid; considering the issue on which secession was most commonly justified this was politically most intelligent. Further, the actual freeing of the slaves was to be gradual, taking, if necessary, thirty-seven years, from 1863 to 1900. Nor does Lincoln forget the vast problem of the Negroes once freed; indeed it is pretty clear that it was this aspect of the situation which had for years perplexed him; he does advert to various possibilities—segregation in territory assigned for the purpose and transportation back to Africa, in particular. The main point is that his mind is grappling resolutely with the whole picture of the thing to be dealt with; this is the essence of intelligence.

In all his many utterances not a word is said even suggesting the general enfranchisement of the freed Negroes. How conservative his view was on this phase of the problem may be inferred from a letter in 1864 to the new Union Governor of Louisiana: "I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the coloured people may be let in (to the franchise) as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks.....This is only a suggestion, not for the public, but to you alone." This, too, seems far more intelligent than what was actually done, with such disastrous consequences to both races in the South.

We may well revert now to Lincoln's own words, particularly the great Second Annual Message. He introduces the subject thus:

"Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African race amongst us. Some would perpetuate slavery; some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves. .....These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow at least in several of the states.

"As to the first article, the main points are: first; the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating it—thirty-seven years; and thirdly, the compensation.

"The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery; but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement—in fact, from the necessity of any derangement .....Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever."

Next Lincoln points out the striking fact that such a plan would tend to shorten the duration of the war, perhaps even availing to lead the revolted states to make peace in order to seize the chance of compounding the loss which the ultimate freeing of the slaves would entail. He then discusses various aspects of the proposal, with relevant statistical data, and with consideration of many possible objections. He concludes with an appeal to the hearts of his audience, so unusual in a document of this nature that he apologizes for its tone:

"Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not 'Can any of us imagine better?' but 'Can we all do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question occurs, 'Can we do better?'

Lincoln was thus facing the facts with regard to the freeing of the slaves and the abolition of the institution of slavery: although desiring that all men should be free, he saw intensely the huge problem of the millions of freed slaves; although the leader of the North, he could not forget the just claims of the South. So he labours in this great message to get his Northern audience, Congress, and the people, to see the facts as he does, and he beseeches them to lay aside hatred and prejudice and act before it is too late. He rises in his peroration to what may well be considered the highest pitch of his eloquence:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is now, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.....We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means

may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

These wise and just proposals of Lincoln met at first with no little approval, and the prospect of their realization seemed bright. Lincoln's special message in March of 1862 proposing a resolution on the subject was received favourably by Congress, and the resolution passed by large majorities in both houses. Better yet, Congress in April of the same year passed an act to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and this act included at least two of Lincoln's favourite principles—compensation and colonization. Yet in the final event all came to naught: emancipation, when it came, was necessarily a mere blanket decree, without any effective recognition of the practical and concrete aspects of the situation. Hate, fear, mutual animosity, and suspicion, not only between the two combatant peoples, but in the midst of both, brought to naught the carefully nurtured plan and exposed the outcome to passion and chance.

It is true that Lincoln never completely gave up his hopes; even as late as February of 1865, he laid before his Cabinet a plan to offer the Confederate Government four hundred million dollars as purchase price for the slaves: but all except Seward were against it, and Lincoln sadly folded and laid away the draft of the proposal. Thus ended the first of Lincoln's "Lost Causes;" the black men were to be freed, but not in his "plain, peaceful, generous, just" way.

PROSTITUTION IN RUSSIA.

The social revolution has caused great changes in the relations between men and women. Prostitution has greatly decreased, says the scientific correspondent of "The Manchester Guardian," owing to the flexibility of the marriage laws, the increased economic independence of women, and because not enough private wealth is available to make the profession profitable. There are special institutes for reclaiming such prostitutes as exist, to a normal life. The institute for the training of ex-prostitutes in Moscow bases its work on the teaching of a trade to the patient. The majority of Moscow prostitutes are young peasent girls just arrived from the country. They have no trade and are not immediately able to get work. As soon as they have learnt a trade and know how to earn their living they leave prostitution almost without exception. Educated prostitutes are much more difficult to deal with.

It is stated that before the Revolution Moscow had a population of 1,800,000 and 20,000 registered prostitutes. In 1928 the population was 2,500,000 and there were 8,000 known prostitutes. The number now is 500. The decrease since 1928 is attributed to the absence of unemployment and the increase of cultural opportunities. Besides the reasons already mentioned, the existence of legal abortion, and the concentration of the people's attention on social reconstructions such as the Five-year Plan, have helped to make the Russians less sexually conscious than Western peoples. Literature and the cinema are free from the domination of sex interest.

Many of the patients come to the institute voluntarily. Others are persuaded to come by special brigades of agitators who go looking for them in the streets. A man convicted of soliciting has the fact registered on his trade union card. If convicted a second time the fact is published on the wall-newspaper of the factory in which he works. Many men prefer to go to Siberia rather than have this happen, and it is clear that the method of public exposure is a tremendous weapon against prostitution.

The systematic practice of abortion is another remarkable feature of Soviet life. In Moscow there are 60,000 births a year, and 70,000 abortions are performed in the Moscow clinics. The patient is in the institute for three or four days, and comes one day before the operation. The operation is simple and is performed in about three minutes. No anæsthetic is used. Adequate reasons for having an abortion are existing children, poor living conditions, interference with important work, the absence of the husband in the Red Army, etc. In every case the law places the interest of the child first. If it will not have a fair chance it should not be born. All children born in U. S. S. R. have a legally defined father. If a woman is uncertain who is the father of her child the Court makes up her mind for her. The defined father has then to pay an allowance for the child. Thus all children legally are allowed for, but, undoubtedly, a considerable number of men must be paying for other men's children.

The Nansen Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child, and the Factory Dispensary are examples of the best side of Soviet medical practice and the one from which the rest of Europe has something to learn. There is systematic recording of the health of the population of the district—*i.e.*, of 35,000 persons. The medical history of a man and his relatives can be found by the doctor in a few seconds, and the patient stays under the charge of the same doctor. All families are visited in their homes and all workers in their factories. The institute had some good minor innovations, such as resting-places for mothers to place their babies while in the waiting-room, and thus not have the fatigue of nursing them. They have twelve institutes of this kind in U. S. S. R. and hope to have fifty by 1985.

PROSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The "business of prostitution" has increased in many cities during the last five years, according to a study made by Bascom Johnson and Paul M. Kinsie for the American Social Hygiene Association reported in *Journal of Social Hygiene* for December, 1933. Conditions in 58 cities in 48 states were studied by expert investigators. The main reasons for this increase "in volume and flagrancy" are considered to be: "The indifference of public opinion occupied with other questions of common interest; a letdown by officials in law enforcement because of lessened personnel and budgetary reasources, inefficiency and indifference, and in some places political tie-ups with the underworld; and an increase in the activities of third party exploiters and of the prostitutes themselves....."

Public sentiment in the United States was not aroused in regard to prostitution until a few years before the World War. In the years immediately following the war "the trend of public opinion was generally towards a continuous programme of repression to reduce commercialized prostitution to a minimum, as the only practical method of control of such vice." In 1927–28 and in 1932–33 surveys were made by American Social Hygiene Association to discover "the volume of prostitution business," "flagrancy of operation," "activities of third party exploiters," "methods of operation," "attitude of the officials and the public towards law and law enforcement," and "special environmental factors encouraging or discouraging the operation of prostitution." In 1932–33 it was found that prostitution had decreased in 17 of the 58 cities studied and increased in 41. The greatest increase was found in the cities of 250,000 to 500,000 population.

Soon after the financial depression began it became evident that the suitation was changing for the worse.

The business of prostitution has been greatly aided by "the diversion of public interest from law enforcement to problems of relief." Normally, prostitution is carried on in the slums and "run-down sections" of a city. But the great need of property owners for tenants in better neighbourhoods has resulted in the entrance of prostitution into "business and residential neighbourhoods which formerly were immune."

The types of resorts found in different parts of the country reflect the attitude of the public. Where soliciting from doorways and windows is forbidden by the authorities, resorts are conducted as small hotels or rooming houses. In some Southwestern cities "undisguised brothels and cribs appear," and in some southern cities "various classes of hotels both large and small harbour occasional prostitutes." In many of the eastern cities prostitution resorts are somewhat scattered and "less flagrant in operation." Third-party exploiters are again engaged in business, acting as distributing centers for resorts who want girls or prostitutes looking for a location.

Among the new factors in the situation are the "depression girls" who became prostitutes because of "personal financial distress," and the new type of dance hall in which conditions are "demoralizing and degrading" for both patrons and hostesses. Payment for protection from the police is again a common form of graft. In some cities the graft is said to extend to the examination of prostitutes for venereal disease.

The writers find that public attention must again be focussed on the problem. If this is done it should fairly easy to suppress "the grosser, more aggressive and prominent forms of prostitution." Even if this means only that prostitution becomes "clandestine and passive," this is a gain, "because the volume and intensity of the business has been diminished and because the damage to the community welfare and health is in direct ratio to that volume and intensity."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN BRITAIN.

Mr. J. A. Spender writes in an article in *Current History*:

Nothing in recent years had been more difficult to judge rightly than the economic condition of Great Britain. Until a few months ago it was a commonly accepted belief that she was in a state of continuous decline, and she seemed herself rather to acquiesce in this judgment than to resent it. The general impression was heightened by her candid habit of broadcasting her figures of unemployment and by the frank reports in which royal commissions and expert committees exposed the skeletons in her cupboard. Nevertheless this general impression was, if not wholly wrong, at least profoundly misleading.

It is of course true that certain of Great Britain's basic industries—coal, cotton, iron and steel—depending for their prosperity upon exports, have been greatly depressed since the war, and that unemployment, being concentrated in the areas in which these industries are situated, has taken on a peculiarly painful form. But on the other side, there have been evidences in the life of the people of a diffused prosperity such as no Englishman of my age can remember in his lifetime. All through these years of depression the great mass of the working people have been drawing higher wages, have been better fed, better clothed, and able to spend more on sport and pleasure than ever before; even the unemployd have drawn allowances exceeding in many cases the wages of unskilled labour before the war.

The paradox was so glaring that it was supposed that the British people were living on their capital and therefore heading for bankruptcy. But in fact savings were on a higher level than before the war; banks were cluttered with money demanding investment; large sums were still being lent abroad. The people were carrying on their backs a debt of more than £8,000,000,000, supporting from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 unemployed, financing their expensive social services—old-age pensions, widows, pensions, sickness and accident insurance—and doing all this without any serious privation and even with a distinct rise in the standard of life for immense numbers.

I say without serious privation for the country as a whole, but qualifications must be put in for various classes. Among the workers a large family on the dole may easily be in deep poverty unless the wife has great skill in management. A few weeks ago an investigator into unemployment stirred public feeling by saying that 6,000,000 people—men, women and children—were short of food. Thirty years ago when unemployment was at the normal pre-war level (1903) Campbell-Bannerman asserted on the authority of Charles Booth that 12,000,000 were "underfed and on the verge of starvation." The figure, whatever it may be, is not a speciality of these times, but we recognize it to be deplorable.

If we turn to the well-to-do classes, the very rich who pay upward of 11 out of every 20 shillings in income tax and super-tax and a third to a half of their possessions in death duties have undoubtedly had to make large retrenchments. Great country houses have been sold and converted into hotels and schools; many big London houses, including some of the noblest of eighteenth-century mansions, have been demolished, and shops, offices and flats erected on their sites. The way of life of the rich and aristocratic has greatly changed. Instead of spending the chief part of their income on their country estates, a large number of them now live the greater part of the year in London or on the Riviera and apply the cash set free to the sports and pleasures in favour with their young people. If the big establishment is given up, enough remains, in spite of income tax and death duties to keep this class in the state of expensive activity recorded by the picture papers.

The really hard case is that of elderly professional and business people who had saved what they supposed to be sufficient to keep them in old age, and now between taxation and failing investment find themselves in straitened circumstances when it is too late to make a fresh start. This class, and with them the numerous spinsters and widows drawing small incomes from trustee investments, has been severely hit by the war-loan conversion from 5 to 3½ per cent. But even these are relatively well off compared with the rentier classes in other European countries.

The present financial situation is one which any Chancellor of the Exchequer of the pre-war period would have declared to be totally and utterly impossible, and which most European countries have found to be so. In 1909 the country was thrown into convulsions and a great constitutional crisis precipitated because of Mr. Lloyd George proposed to raise £14,000,000 in new taxes. Last year a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer gave away just that sum in a remission of the beer tax, which he treated as an inconsiderable item in a budget of £700,000,000. That taxation on this scale would bankrupt industry and starve a multitude would have been the unanimous opinion of orthodox financiers twenty years ago. That it could go hand in hand with a rising standard of life for the great majority and comparatively little discomfort for the minority they would have held to be demonstrably impossible.

What is the explanation? First, of course, a considerable part of this taxation represents not a

sacrifice but a redistribution of wealth. If Peter is robbed to pay Paul both Peter and Paul are still Englishmen, and the money remains in the country. A large part of the £300,000,000 needed for the service of the national debt goes back into the pockets from which it is taken; a large part of the money raised for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, sickness and accident insurance goes from the pockets of the richer English into the pockets of the poorer English, but represents spending power in the country. This redistribution of wealth is on the whole good. It has done something to redress the inequalities of rich and poor; it has tided the poor over a difficult period without grievous hardship. Great Britain has, in consequence, been able to avoid the distress that followed the Napoleonic wars and, so far, been saved from social strife.

The sacrifices required of the rich have on the whole been to their advantage. Apart from any question of social order, they have an enormous interest in maintaining the credit of the country, and for them as for all wealthy people in Europe since the war it has been a choice between sacrificing a considerable part of their income in taxation or seeing their capital values dissolve in a debacle of credit and currency. It may be claimed for the wealthy and well-to-do in Great Britain that they have had the good sense to choose the lesser evil without overmuch grumbling.

But when all this is taken into account, it still remains to be explained how in these supposedly depressed times the money has been earned to render possible both the largely increased expenditure by the State and the generally higher standard of life among the people. In Great Britain as in America there has undoubtedly been a large increase in the output of industry since the war. The World War was unlike all other wars in that, owing to the enormous demand for supplies and munitions during the four and a half years of the struggle, it left industry equipped with a productive capacity which it would scarcely have developed in twenty years in normal conditions. This has had the double effect of enabling Great Britain to produce new wealth with unprecedented rapidity and of creating the new kind of "technological unemployment" which has characterized all industrial countries. The unemployment has been most in the public mind and has masked the industrial activity which has enabled Great Britain to support the unemployed and in spite of falling profits and shrinking foreign trade, assured a fair measure of prosperity for the country as a whole in the years of depression, so-called.

THE CONTROL OF OPIUM.

The Assam Opium Enquiry Committee formed on March 6 last year with Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy (ex-Minister) as Chairman, to review the results of the present opium policy of the Government of Assam and to advise them as to the future policy to be adopted, have submitted their report. They visited several places of Assam and examined 134 witnesses and some 35 opium-eaters. The following are their main recommendations :—

1. In the plains and districts the present policy of 10 per cent cut in the rations of pass-holders under 50 years of age should continue, the rations of those over that age remaining unaffected.

2. With the consent of H. E. the Governor the cut should be made in the backward areas.

3. The registers should be re-opened for the registration of consumers of the age of 45 and over. No passes should be granted unless the Civil Surgeon or the Government Assistant Surgeon or in the case of tea gardens, a medical officer with European qualifications, certifies that opium is absolutely necessary for the preservation of health. The new passes should be permanent and subject to annual reduction in the case of consumers so long as they are under 50 years of age.

4. To counteract the evil of short-weight sales negotiations should be re-opened with the Government of India for the manufacture of opium in pills or tablet form. Government should take steps to ensure that the vend-fee is fixed at a rate which will allow opium lessees a reasonable margin of net profit and should consider the possibility of dispensing with prepayment of 2 months' additional vend-fees. Vendors on fixing pay may be appointed on an experimental basis in one or 2 selected areas and Government officials such as Sub-Deputy Collectors, Deputy Inspectors of Schools, non-officials of the status of Honorary Magistrates, Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Local Bodies and in some cases Mauzadars should be empowered to inspect and report on the conduct of opium shops. Lessees who are detected selling opium to non-registered consumers should be prosecuted under the Opium Act and severely punished.

5. Attention of Magistrates should be drawn to the provision of Assam Opium Amendment Act I of 1933. Government should examine the question of the applicability of Deportation Act III of 1864 to Chinese, Nepalese and Marwari smugglers.

6. With the grant of his Excellency the Governor the Assam Opium Smoking Act of 1927 should be extended to the backward areas; a section might be added to the Act making the possession of prepared opium an offence.

7. Out of the existing revenue derived from opium an increased allotment should be made for carrying out measures which would forward the present opium policy. The balance should be applied to the creation of an Opium Replacement Fund to meet the expenditure for social and sanitary purposes; and

8. Public opinion must openly declare itself against the opium habit and propaganda work among the consumers should be carried on with which Government should actively identify itself.

SANITARY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

Social and Economic News, issued by the Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel, International Missionary Council, Geneva, gives a short survey of the Sanitary Co-operative Movement in Yugoslavia which is working for the improvement of conditions of housing, domestic life and hygiene in the country. It has been suggested that co-operative societies of a similar type might render great services in colonies and mandated territories and even in highly civilised countries where the population is dispersed and not adequately provided with medical personnel.

The Movement dates back to 1921 when a young and socially minded doctor organised the first sanitary co-operative society. An enquiry made some years before had revealed a very unsatisfactory state of sanitary and housing conditions in the country. 72% of the dwellings were damp, dark or obstructed; 12% had no glass in the windows, but only paper or wooden shutters; 30% were without any artificial light; 38% contained no beds; 20% had no tables or chairs; 30% had no table service beyond half a dozen plates and two or three spoons; 8% were without any heating arrangements; 95% of the inhabitants had no supply of pure water; 69% could not read or write; 88% were without medical attention in case of illness.

The co-operative form was adopted because a movement for sanitary progress can only succeed if it is quite general, and because co-operative societies were considered to be the most effective method of reaching the population which is thereby organised into small units. Co-operative organisation was preferred to philanthropic work for the sake of its educational value and because the work undertaken can only be carried out by personal effort on the part of those concerned.

The example of the agricultural co-operatives, which have considerable material resources and prestige in the country, proved of great help in the organisation of sanitary co-operatives. Thanks to the former, the peasant had an iron plough and modern equipment for cultivation. At the same time he was sleeping on the dirty floor of his hut, preparing his food on an open fire grate, and if his child was ill he consulted a woman in the neighbourhood! In view of this contrast it was not very difficult to convince him that co-operation could still do something more for him. Sanitary co-operatives are, in fact, part of the general agricultural co-operation, of which they form an evolution and a differentiation. They are now affiliated to the Central Union of Serbian Agricultural Co-operative Societies.

On June 30th, 1932, the number of sanitary co-operatives amounted to 68 with a membership of 20,887. These figures may appear insignificant and may give a wrong idea of the importance of the movement. It must, however, be borne in mind that the movement developed in a time of unprecedented agricultural crisis and consequent impoverishment of the rural population.

In addition to medical attention, the work of the societies has consisted of the organisation of courses and lectures and the distribution of sanitary articles and medicines at prices 50% lower than those usually charged. The lectures were not confined to hygienic subjects but very often included the industrial problems of the men as well as the household questions interesting the women. During the winter months the men were also given practical instruction in the manufacture of household furniture and utensils.

It is clearly realised that education by propaganda campaigns is not sufficient to ensure progress of sanitation, and that the school must become the principal educational agency as it tends to form habits. It is, however, considered necessary to assist the school by a direct approach to the family circle and the population as a whole in order that the child may not find too great a discrepancy between what it has been taught and the habits of its environment.

A beginning has been made in attaching to the sanitary co-operatives special veterinary departments which are governed by the same working principles.

In 1930, a law on health co-operatives was enacted which assured to the movement the assistance of the government as well as a regular subvention for the strengthening of its work.

All the societies are organised into a Union which assists in their formation, supervises their working, represents their interests and also undertakes:

to supply sanitary material and articles of hygiene, and to manufacture them where possible in its own workshops and factories;

to carry out educational propaganda by means of lectures, cinema-shows, and the opening of the necessary schools and courses;

to provide medical assistance for members and cheap medicines, and to build hospitals and co-operative dispensaries etc.;

to compile literature on the subject of public health and hygiene as well as on co-operative questions.

Dr. Kojic, the founder of the Sanitary Co-operative Societies, has suggested the creation of such co-operatives in all countries, the formation of an international federation in touch with other international organisations such as the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Co-operative Alliance etc., and the joint study of problems of public health in close collaboratoin with the International Labour Office and the Health Section of the League.

BESANT MEMORIAL SCHOOL.

In order to perpetuate in a practical manner the life-long services to and deep interest in education on the part of Dr. Annie Besant, whose last wish it was that an educational institution should be established at or near Adyar for helping the youth, it is proposed to establish and conduct a school in Adyar to be known as the Besant Memorial School.

The School will be conducted on the lines laid down by Dr. Besant in her many educational writings and in her guidance of the various institutions with which she was associated. These are to be found in her pamphlet entitled "Principles of Education."

In general, the first care of the School will be to ensure healthy bodies: and games and exercises, together with careful medical supervision will be regarded as of vital importance. The second care of the School will be to guide the healthy development of the emotional nature, so that the students may grow amidst clean and uplifting impulses and feelings, thus conserving and usefully directing their growing vigour. The third care of the School will be to help the students to gain useful knowledge, and the ability to control and direct the powers of the mind.

Religious education will form an integral part of the curriculum, in the course of which the Theosophical principles of life, to be found in every great religion, will be given due prominence and the students will be helped to discover in their respective faiths both an adequate understanding of life and a happy confidence in themselves and in their future. Special stress will be laid upon the importance of mutual respect among the adherents of the various religions.

Political education will consist in training the students for good citizenship. Patriotism will be given its due place, as also the paramount importance of the international spirit as an integral part of true patriotism.

Ordered and cultured freedom will form the basis of the School activities, and self-respect and self-reliance will accordingly be encourages to the fullest possible extent. The school will be a community, representing to miniature, as far as expedient, life in the outer world; and its members will be trained to value the dignity, opportunities and responsibilities of life, so that there may be a safe transition from the stage of preparation to that of growing participation in the larger life of the world-school itself.

Aesthetic and artistic education will be given all possible prominence, for upon this aspect of education individual and national refinement very largely depend. The importance of education for leisure will be practically recognised, in which connection craftsmanship will be constantly encouraged. Similarly, it will be borne in mind that education, in the case of the few, is for that leadership of which the whole world stands in such sore need.

The School thus hopes to send into the world good citizens, religious in the noblest sense of the word, equipped to earn an honourable living, to profit from the experiences through which all must needs pass, and to be to those around them examples of right living.

The School will be co-educational and largely residential, but day-students will also be admitted. Only vegetarian food will be provided.

The curriculum will be that prescribed by the Education Department of the Government of Madras, and by the University of Madras so far as regards the higher classes.

The normal medium of instruction will be Tamil, but where possible special arrangements will be made for students whose mother-tongue is not Tamil. Special arrangements will also as far as possible be made for students who are preparing for the local examinations of foreign universities.

The general management of the School is in the hands of the Besant Educational Trust, a body registered under Act XXI of 1860, with an Executive Committee at Adyar to deal with the routine business.

The Theosophical Society has at present no official connection with or responsibility for the principles or management of the School, but the Adyar Headquarters authorities are in general sympathy with its aims and objects, and consider that it may in due time become a most useful activity in the vicinity of Adyar.

It has been decided to open the School in Classes 1 to 5, and forms 1 to 8, in June next if sufficient applications for admission are forthcoming. There will also be day classes for very little children, under the guidance of an experienced teacher. Temporary premises will be rented from the Theosophical Society on the Adyar estate until funds are available for the purchase of land and for the erection of suitable buildings. It is, of course, intended that the School shall become a fully equipped High School, and later on a College if funds permit.

INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CONTRACT LABOUR.

The International Labour Organisation has recently taken a first step towards raising the problem of "Contract Labour" to an international plane by placing the question of the recruiting of Native Labour on the agenda of its 1935 Conference.

The problem of "Contract Labour" has come increasingly to the fore since the adoption of the Forced Labour Convention in 1930 and was dealt with in a number of meetings of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour of the International Labour Office. As will be recalled, this Committee took the first steps which led to the adoption of the Forced Labour Convention in 1930. In the course of the last few years it has drawn up principles on contract labour with a large degree of unanimity on certain important points.

As regards recruiting, the Committee defined with increasing precision its opinion that the final object to be attained is the replacement of recruiting by the free offer of labour, and that measures should be taken to render gradually the recruiting of labour unnecessary. Until such time as recruiting can be dispensed with, the Committee defined certain principles on which the regulation of recruiting operations should be based.

For the engagement of workers the Committee drew up a series of recommendations concerning the journey of recruited workers to their place of work and their actual engagement. In particular, it stressed the importance of action by the administration to secure, through the presence of a representative of the competent authority, that the contract is in accordance with the law and is fully understood and freely accepted by the worker. A medical examination was held necessary to prove that the worker is fit for the work on which he is to be employed. Certain recommendations were also drawn up by the Committee with the object of making the provisions stricter in the case of recruiting in one territory for employment in the territory of another administration.

The Committee's examination of the principles which should govern recruiting is now practically completed, and in preparation of the abovementioned conference the International Labour Office will publish a report towards the end of the present year on these principles and on existing law and practice. The Committee, however, is to meet once again in May to continue the discussion of the regulation of contract labour in the stages following recruiting.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Congress and Council Entry:—The question which agitated Congressmen twelve years ago is once again to the fore. The first suggestion that the boycott of Councils was a mistake came from Mr. Satyamurti of Madras and was repeated by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta of Bombay. Several others felt in the same way but waited to see how Gandhiji would take the idea. At the Poona meeting at which the matter was brought up, individual civil disobedience was substituted for mass civil disobedience as the method appropriate to Congress workers with the proviso that preoccupation with the removal of untouchability or the promotion of Hindu Muslim unity, would be regarded as ranking equally with individually seeking imprisonment in the scale of Congress service. Several Congressmen, it was found, were preoccupied with the uplift of antyajas and Hindu Muslim unity had, of course, been the life's mission of many others. There were some who frankly said that they did not propose to seek imprisonment, again, either on grounds of health, family reasons or just because they had come to realise the utter futility of wasting some months which they could employ to better purpose. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was the only outstanding Congress leader who stuck to the old plan. The Council entry movement seemed to be standing still. Suddenly some Congress leaders who had violently attacked their colleagues who had spoken in favour of entering the Councils, themselves espoused the proposal with the result that at a meeting held in Delhi a few days ago it was decided to request Gandhiji's blessing, if he cannot give his active assent, to Congressmen standing for election to the several Legislative bodies at the next General Election. This is a polite way of intimating to Gandhiji that the members who met at Delhi have decided on seeking entry into Councils with his consent or at least connivance if they get it, or without it, if they did not. It may be recalled that a similar situation arose with the Swaraj Party twelve years ago and Gandhiji yielded rather than lose the support of such powerful men as Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. On the present occasion, it is surmised, he would declare that those who feel that they could serve the country better from within the Councils are free to do so. This would limit the circle of individual civil disobedience to those who cannot feel interest in removal of untouchability, the promotion of Hindu Muslim unity, relief operations in Bihar or seeking election to the Legislative Councils. The original Swaraj Party imposed on itself a self-denying ordinance not to take office in any circumstances. It is not stated whether the neo-swarajists intend to adopt a similar rule of conduct.

Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League:—The Muslim League met in Delhi after a period of suspended animation under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah. When he arrived in Bombay from his three years' sojourn in England, not only Muslims but many non-Muslims also welcomed his presence in the country as being likely to put much needed life in Indian politics. The speech which he made in Bombay encouraged the hope. He condemned without qualification the White Paper constitution which, he declared, would be not only no improvement on, but a distinct retrogression from, the present system. We have not been able to discern the same forthrightness in his Delhi address. The duty of a president is much like that of a judge summing up a case to a jury. He should clearly and impartially indicate what part of the evidence favours, and which militates against, the innocence of the accused, leaving the jury to decide whether he is guilty or not guilty. He should not thrust his own conclusions on the jurors. That is a view of the task of the Chairman of a Conference which commends itself to us. The other view is that the presidential address should be a trumpet call to the audience to range themselves under this flag or that. Mr. Jinnah's address to the Muslim League conformed to neither of the types. It was not without bias nor did it give a definite lead. Unity is essential, is a common place which, unless you have discovered a method of achieving it which had

not been tried before, is nothing more than a tiresome platitude. The only thing Mr. Jinnah was definite about was that he was opposed to Federation, not to the particular form of it proposed as we are, but to the principle itself. Many who held the same view have been forced by the stern logic of facts to change their mind. To put it simply, you must have the States with you or they will be driven to be against you, against their own better judgment. Mr. Jinnah will find few persons who have bestowed some thought on the question to go with him. Mr. Jinnah's opinion seems to be that the "communal award" should be accepted and that the whole country should unite in attacking Federation. The main objection of those who oppose the communal award, is that it is itself an insuperable obstacle in the way of co-operation such as Mr. Jinnah wants. The acceptance of the communal award by the Muslim League would, to these persons, be a conclusive proof that it is not prepared to co operate with them. Our view is that the communal award and Federation can not be rejected though they should be modified, the former to meet the reasonable apprehensions of the Punjab and Bengal Hindu minorities and the latter so as to preserve the unitary character of British India within the Federation.

Devastated Bihar:—The Bihar Central Relief Committee, Patna, have published a detailed account of the ravages caused by the earthquake illustrated by photographs. The Report contains the names of members of different Committees, the several agencies engaged in relief work and a very useful map of the area affected. The country has responded well to the appeal made to private charity. Nearly one crore of rupees have been subscribed to the Viceroy's and Babu Rajendra Prasad's Funds. The *Times of India* notes a falling off in further contributions and suggests that this is due to inadequate propaganda. Newspapers are naturally inclined to exaggerate the uses of propaganda but there is a limit to wholesome propaganda and when that is reached the law of diminishing return comes into play and the cost of propaganda becomes incommensurate with its result. No amount of propaganda however skilfully managed and artistically arranged can draw money from empty purses. It will be merely a shifting of the burden for the rest of India to deny themselves the necessaries of normal life in order to finance the reconstruction of the afflicted province. The main responsibility of relief and reconstruction devolves on Government as it has in other countries in similar occasions. The Government of Bihar can, of course, not be expected to shoulder the financial burden. The Central Government alone can do it and we have no hesitation in saying that having regard to the great sacrifices made by this country for Imperial purposes the British Government's complete failure to recognise any obligation on its part to come to the help of India, is rank ingratitude. However, that may be, the Government of India has not adopted the right method of meeting the Bihar emergency. Doles are out of place. The very large amount of money which will be needed to rehabilitate the devastated province can be provided only by a large enough loan. There can be no objection to raising it on the score of principle. The reconstruction of Bihar will benefit after-generations more than the present one which has lost heavily in life and property and it is right that the burden of the cost should be spread over the next two or three generations. The present time is favourable to the raising of a large loan at easy interest as the field of investment owing to the depression is extremely circumscribed. This will have to be done. The advantage of doing it immediately is that it will put heart into the stricken people, which is the first thing to do in a calamity. The Bihar Relief Committee cannot take the place of Government in the work of relief and reconstruction. It should not aspire to do it or give the impression that it does so. The responsibility of Government should not be allowed to fade into the background and private effort must be used only to supplement Government measures.

Caste and Club:—The Bombay High Court had to decide a case in which there was an appeal against a judgment of a District court upholding the action of a caste council expelling a member for conduct of which it disapproved. The lower court held that a caste council has the right of every club to expel undesirable members and decreed against the complainant. He appealed to the High Court on the ground that the caste council had not complied with its own rules in formulating the ban on him. The caste council urged in reply that apart from rules it had inherent power as the governing body of the caste to expel any of its members. The High Court did not deny that the caste had such power, but held that, when the Council had made certain rules to regulate the exercise of its power, it was bound by them and the failure to comply with its own rules in this case entitled the aggrieved member to a judgment in his favour. Caste councils usually consist of the elders who are generally averse to change and if the rules required reference to the general body of caste members, it is quite possible that their decision may be rescinded owing to the influence of younger members. Baroda has passed a law divesting caste councils of their disciplinary powers.

Bombay's Tribute to Bengal:—We called attention recently to the growing estrangement between Bengal and Bombay and the urgent need of responsible leaders coming forward to prevent it. We are glad that the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay has taken the initiative. In the course of a statement they pay handsome tribute to the services of Bengal to the national cause.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, APRIL 7, 1934.

INDIA AND PALESTINE.

The All India Muslim League at its meetings held at Delhi passed a resolution strongly supporting the proposal of an influential deputation to wait on the Viceroy to lay before him a submission as to how the Balfour Declaration has conduced to the Jews of the world buying land and settling down in Palestine, disturbing the peace of the sacred land. The Council further resolves to sympathise with the Arabs of of Palestine whole-heartedly and assures them of their heartfelt sympathies and support. The Palestine problem affects India closely and for that reason the course of British policy there is of interest to all sections of the Indian people. We recently quoted from the Memoirs of Mr. Lloyd George a passage showing how and why the Balfour Declaration came to be made. A German Jew who was Professor of Chemistry in Manchester University, at a critical period in the War invented a process which enabled Britain to manufacture ample quantities of acetone, a principal ingredient in the composition of high explosives. When Dr. Weizmann was told that the British Government would wish to recognise his valuable service by conferring on him some high honour, he declined and suggested that he would be pleased if something could be done to help the Zionist movement of which he was the leader. When Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister and the Peace Treaty was framed this was remembered and the Balfour Declaration was the result. That is how it is explained in Mr. Lloyd George's Memoirs. But doubtless there were other and deeper considerations such as the security of the Suez Canal behind this apparently casual decision. But it seems that neither the British Government nor the Zionists had any very clear idea of conditions in Palestine and of the implications of the Balfour Declaration when it was promulgated. Informed opinion in Britain did not approve of the Declaration. Mr. Asquith who visited Palestine in 1924 wrote from Jerusalem that the talk of making Palestine into a Jewish National Home seemed to him as fantastic as it always had done.

A vivid description of the conditions which the application of the Balfour Declaration has created in Palestine, is given in the form of a story in "De Vriendt Goes Home" by the German writer Arnold Zweige, an excellent English translation of which is published by Heinemann. The story has an interest of its own but here we are concerned only with its analysis of the forces at work in Palestine as a consequence of the Balfour Declaration. Almost at the outset, the author brings out the intimate bearing of the Palestine problem on Indian policy. The Chief of Police, a British officer, Irmin, who is absolutely fed up with his life in Palestine and is counting the days when his next leave falls due, devotes a spare moment to put in words to himself his estimate of the course of British policy in Palestine. "England was fighting for the possession of India, silently, without force, but with all the devices of age-long experience. The days in which an English General—at Amritsar for instance—could only disperse Hindu demonstrations by machine gun fire—such idiotic days, were, it was hoped, past. One must also give up scenting Bolsheviks and the hand of Moscow. If Mr. Ghandi and his Hindus wanted to withdraw from the British Empire, and go back to the days of the primitive spinning wheel, then a Moslem policy would have to be pursued all along the line. That was now being done, and their experts believed that they could secure the Moslems if they sacrificed the Zionists." The hero of the story, Professor De Vriendt, and a small group of orthodox Jews who came to Palestine with pious motives, are bitterly opposed to the Zionist immigrants whose objects are utterly materialistic. He and his group are anxious to come to friendly terms with the Arabs and have framed a formula for the purpose. They hate the Zionists as atheists and materialists and are hated by them in return as traitors and imbeciles. De Vriendt and his friends are planning a great gathering of Rabbis to be held in Vienna to repudiate the Zionist Agency as representative of the Jewish community.

The formula which they had drafted to be presented to the High Commissioner for his approval, offers the Arabs an alliance against the claims of the new Jewish atheists and their Agency and in support of Arab demand for guarantees for safeguarding their rights. In return, all that the orthodox Jews ask is unrestricted use of the Square and the Wailing Wall for their worshippers—the right of usage without any claim to ownership. Before approaching the High Commissioner, they approach the Arab leaders. The description of the Conference of the latter at which the matter was debated—if debate is a right name for an interchange of views mainly by a slight wave of hands or a raising of eyebrows—is described with much sympathy and insight. The elders are inclined to favour the idea of the alliance but do not wish to commit themselves prematurely. The Young Arabs at the Conference, however, would hear of no compromise. They are willing to tolerate De Vriendt and his group. But "the Government must give a binding assurance that the influence of the Zionists would be abolished, the immigration of further foreigners stopped, and the right of the Arab people to Palestine unconditionally recognised in a constitution. Away with this absurd and obsolete Balfour Declaration." Nothing came of this offer of an alliance between orthodox Jews and the Arabs. De Vriendt who had ignored warnings, in the firm belief that Zionists, with all their unorthodoxy, would not break the Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was murdered by one of

their young bloods. The impression conveyed by the book is that practically every one including British administrators recognises that the Balfour Declaration was a mistake. But the mischief has been done and the modernisation and exploitation of Palestine can no longer be stopped. Incidentally, the author mentions that in 1902 Britain had offered to make Uganda a Jewish settlement. Herzl, the then Zionist leader, was inclined to accept but the Russian Jews would hear of no place but Palestine which they believed had been established for the Jew by God Himself. Some of the Zionists themselves wish they had accepted it. As one of them says:—"That would have been a much simpler job than this confounded Palestine, with a thousand and one conflicts between Arabs, Churches, Great Powers and Religions, not to mention our own Jewish jealousies."

BELIEF AND BEHAVIOUR.

The current *Journal of Religions* published by the University of Chicago contains some of the speeches read last summer on "Modern Trends in World Religions." The editor in an introductory note sums up the resulting impression as follows: "The addresses indicated that the leaders of the great religions are approaching a consensus as to the vital issues of living in the world of today, although the transformation of the traditional heritage into effective new forms varies according to whether the fundamentals are located in the realm of belief or behaviour." Strictly speaking the belief and the behaviour which are of account, are the belief which issues in behaviour and the behaviour which issues out of belief. There are many beliefs which do not show themselves in behaviour, and much behaviour which has no basis of belief. Belief is different from knowledge which admits of proof. Behaviour in the West has steadily tended to be based on knowledge. Beliefs have come to be regarded as personal matters which it would be wrong or at least eccentric to allow to influence behaviour. In the East the reverse is still the case. Europe reveres Jesus as a Prince of Peace and continues to prepare for war. America believes in the saying about the needle and the camel and proceeds to manufacture a needle with a large enough eye to let many camels pass comfortably through it and proclaims that the rich man's entrance to heaven is not only possible but also that it is certain. In India every year, during Bakri-Id, Hindus and Muslims kill each other because the former regards as sacred the cow which the latter regards as the most acceptable sacrifice to Allah. Riots have resulted from the shooting of pigeons near a temple or even the cutting down of a peepul tree; and early this week the papers published the news of a serious outbreak at Tiruvadi in South India in which a Magistrate and a Police Officer were murdered because they interfered to prevent a man from having a hook, with a chain attached, inserted in the small of his back as an act of propitiation to his deity. The West applauds the early Christians who courted and endured the most cruel tortures as acts of faith but is horrified at the self-infliction by Hindu ascetics of tortures like hook-swinging. It cannot even credit the victim with an unselfish motive. Professor James Pratt records in his "Religious Faiths of India" that he saw a yogi hanging head downwards over a roaring fire when he visited Allahabad during the Magh Mela. A missionary friend who was with him, charitably suggested that the sadhu was doing this for the sake of notoriety. The Professor reflects that even in India there should be much less uncomfortable ways of achieving notoriety. "Crucifixion of the flesh" as an aid to the spiritual life has degenerated into a pulpit phrase in Christianity. It is literally understood in India and a religious belief in this country is still liable to explode in behaviour which shocks the modern mind inured to regard religion as an innocuous side show. The *Dnyanodaya*, as we fully expected, has made capital out of the Tiruvadi incident as showing that Christianity alone can save India. But it would also, we hope, take note of the murder reported to have taken place in Bandra on Easter day in the course of an altercation between Christian friends, because one of them declined, on the ground that he had already had enough, the invitation of another to share the liquor which he had brought to celebrate the Ascension. What India needs, in not Christianity but Education. We reprint to-day from the *Canadian Student* an article on French Primary Schools by an English woman, who as the result of her many years' experience, expresses it as her opinion that notwithstanding that the great majority of French students had never read the Bible and no clergyman is admitted to schools, the morals of the French are not inferior to those of people educated in Christian schools in other countries.

Vivekananda Mission:—Mr. J. T. Whitty, member of the Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa, who is touring the earthquake striken area, paid a surprise visit to the Vivekananda Mission relief camp with the District Magistrate and took great interest in the work of the Mission centre and inspected all the records in connection with the distribution of housing materials. Afterwards he talked at length with Babu Narendra Nath Sen, Director of the camp, on housing and medical relief. The Director explained to him that their principle was to build structures on old sites of poor men, using their own old materials as far as practicable to give immediate shelter, later on, with further help of material, labour and close inspection to improve huts into permanent ones. For this reason, at a very small cost they could build over thousand huts. This principle is being followed in cases of middle-class people, whom they are giving bunglows, 25 by 24 feet consisting of two bedrooms, one drawing room and one kitchen with a 15 inch brick built wall. Mr. Whitty saw plans of such houses under construction and approved of the mission's housing scheme.

THE UNITED STATES AND PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

Reuter's telegrams from the United States at the end of last month showed that the Philippine Independence Bill providing for the grant of independence within the next ten or twelve years, has been approved by the Congress and signed by President Roosevelt. The Bill is subject to the approval of the Philippine Legislature which must signify its acceptance of its terms by the 1st October 1934. The terms of the Bill have not been cabled to India. But a message from Washington dated March 19th mentioned that "the Bill was a revival of the Hawes-Cutting Bill with the important amendment that the United States should also relinquish its naval and military bases in the Philippine Islands." A study of the reactions to that Bill both in the U. S. A. and in the Islands, therefore, will not be without interest.

The question of Philippine Independence has been before the United States public since early in 1899 when the Senate passed a resolution declaring the intention of the United States to prepare the Philippines for Self-Government. The movement in favour of granting freedom attained national importance only in 1929. The agricultural States of America having failed in that year to secure the limitation of Philippine imports, a strenuous campaign for independence for the Islands was inaugurated as the only practical method of fighting competition, in the sugar industry as well as in dairy products. In this they won the support of those States along the Pacific coast which had been hard hit by the unrestricted immigration of Filipino labourers. The Hoover administration had declared itself clearly against this movement but the United States Congress was determined in 1982 to act on the issue. There were two measures under consideration: First, the Hare Bill in the House of Representatives and, second, the Hawes-Cutting Bill in the Senate. Both contained several provisions in common. They contemplated, for instance, restrictions on Philippine immigration to the United States and strict control of the amount of duty-free imports, and both the bills favoured the reservation of certain powers to the United States. The Hare Bill, however, provided for the grant of Independence automatically at the end of eight years and the Hawes-Cutting Bill favoured a plebiscite on the issue after fifteen years. The Hare Bill was adopted by the House of Representatives exactly two years ago. But decision on the Hawes-Cutting Bill was postponed to December 1932, when the Senate adopted it in an amended form. The provision for a plebiscite was abolished and the transition period was reduced from fifteen to twelve years. Yet it differed materially from the Hare Bill passed by the House of Representatives nine months earlier, and a compromise bill with the transition period fixed at ten years was adopted by both Houses in January 1933. It then went up to President Hoover who returned it with a veto based on three grounds: the shortness of the period for economic adjustment to independence, the responsibility without authority which would devolve on the United States during the transition period, and the incongruous status which the Philippines would have in its relations with the Far East. The veto was overruled both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and on 17th January 17th, 1933, the Hawes Cutting Bill became law and the Philippine Islands were asked to signify their acceptance of the bill within a year. American opinion was sharply divided on the issue. Apart from the men who advocated the grant of Independence for business reasons, there were two parties. One regarding the measure to be a dangerous innovation and the other demanding that the Independence granted should be less hedged in with reservations. Both disliked the Hawes-Cutting Bill, but both were in a minority.

The Philippine Legislature had already made its views known in August 1932 in a resolution declaring that the transitional period should be not more than ten years, that there should be no plebiscite at the end of that period, that during it the Islands Goverment should enjoy absolute autonomy, that in any restrictions on either trade or immigration there should be complete reprocity, that no naval or military bases should be retained by the United States after the grant of independence. When the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill was adopted by the U. S. Congress, Philippine leaders made clear their opposition to the measure on the ground that the provisions relating to trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands would seriously imperil the economic, social and political institutions of the country and that the reservations regarding the military and naval bases were inconsistent with true independence. A deputation was sent to the United States to influence the President and the Congress for modifications of the Act, which has not been entirely unsuccessful in its mission, as even the meagre cables received here reveal.

Senator Quezon, leader of the most important political party in the Philippine Islands, who also heads the deputation to the United States President and Congress, has openly declared that the present regime is more favourable to the Islands and the aspirations of his people than the transition period contemplated by the Hawes-Cutting Act would be. Objections have been urged against the rights retained by the President under the Act on the ground that the broad scope of his special powers constitute a serious whittling down of all Philippine autonomy during the ten years transitional period. But even more serious have been the objections raised against the various trade provisions of the Independence Act. The Philippine market in the United States will be seriously curtailed by the limitations on sugar, cocoanut-oil, and cordage; their exports to the United States which amount to roughly 88 per cent of the total export trade, are to be taxed in the last five years of the transition period. But imports from the United States are to be untaxed and unrestricted. The Philippine Islands has a favourable balance of trade of $ 32,000,000. With the United States, the Islands has a favourable balance of $ 64,000,000. Her trade with other countries shows a balance of $ 32,000,000 against her. Philippine leaders urge that if the Islands are to be cut off from free trade, they must have the opportunity to reconstruct their industries and develop new markets. The export tax of the last five years of the transition period will produce not only a decline in exports but even a reduction in Government revenues with all the accompanying economic troubles.

On March 2, President Roosevelt recommended the Congress to revive the Independence Bill with the advice that "it will be injustice and little short of the denial of independence itself to grant independence without sufficient time for the necessary political and economic adjustments." The Bill was revived in the House of Representatives with an amendment relinquishing the United States naval and military bases in the Islands after the declaration of independence, and it was adopted by that House on March 19. The Senate followed suit and the President's sanction was obtained a few days later. The issue now rests with the Filipinos. Of

the five objections raised against the provisions of the Hawes-Cutting Act, three have been met by the Roosevelt administration—the duration of the transition period, abolition of the plebiscite provision, and the relinquishment of the naval and military bases. On the remaining two points Reuter is silent but the tone of Mr. Roosevelt's message to the Congress seems to indicate that there also attempts have been made to meet the wishes of the Filipinos. President Roosevelt's Cuban policy of co-operating in the economic restoration of that State will itself necessitate a readjustment of Philippine economics since Cuba's main industry is also sugar and she is to be allotted a quota in the United States' imports. If Independence is to be real and not an 'injustice', the Philippines should be free to reconstruct their industrial life and develop new markets. The fact that Mr. Roosevelt recognises the responsibility of the United States for the economic welfare of Cuba goes far to prove to the Filipinos that the same consideration will be meted out to the Islands after the declaration of Independence.

CHRISTIAN MASS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA.

(By Bishop Frederick B. Fisher.)

Here is solid collateral on "Re-thinking-Missions." Dr. Pickett, in "Christian Mass Movements in India. A study with Recommendations," has given us an experimental approach to the study of India's baffling problem of peasant poverty and untouchability. The book gives abundant evidence of painstaking investigation, personal experience in the field, extensive travel, and, perhaps, unfortunately, large expenditures of money. Back of the author and his associates there must have been some Board, or Committee, or Corporation with lavish financial resources. This inevitably affects the tone of the survey and the character of the findings. It is manifestly a study with a purpose fixed in advance and leading to apologetics or argument.

However, in spite of this handicap there are passages here and there which transcend the ex-parte approach. The recommendations are statesmanlike and in line with modern thought in missionary administration. They lack prophetic imagination, being conceived in caution and expressed with timidity. Three stand out clearly

1. That denominational missionary societies co-ordinate their activities and transfer to each other certain fields and phases of work; and that overlapping and competition be eliminated, ignoring sect emphasis and co-operating in united Christian service. This supports the stand taken by the Laymen's Inquiry on "Re-thinking Missions."

2. A larger use of Indian leadership. This item needs elaboration and a wholesome change in psychological attitude. To say that there should be a larger use of Indian leadership proves, by the very wording, that the author still clings, even if unconsciously, to the idea that these missionary movements are to be directed by foreigners, assisted by an increasing body of Indians. It would be better to boldly go the whole length of the way and show that these movements will become truly dynamic only when Indians passionately press forward into complete control—using under their own initiative only such foreign assistance, in personnel or money, as their own ingenuity inspires.

3. Experimentation and further survey. Dr. Pickett has but opened up the mine. He has been courageous in prospecting and industrious in spade work. His book reveals his own sincere discovery that the problem is too complex in its relationship to Hindu society and history to be dealt with in an introductory survey conducted under missionary auspices. The next step ought to be a co-operative study under the leadership of modern Hindu idealists and patriots who have caught Mahatma Gandhi's vision of social reconstruction. Would that they might have the same generous financial backing.

The presentation of the Hindu background of history is neither scientific nor philosophic. This material might well have been eliminated if it could not have been more fully developed. It is full of half-truths which will make it impossible for the book to gain the support of enlightened Hindus. Of course, there are those who would say that such support is unnecessary. But, are we not moving rapidly into a range of religious fellowship where the demand now made for inter-Christian co-ordination will be extended to include the great non-Christian movements? Out in that realm this study, excellent as it is for missionary purposes, will prove to be inadequate and, at certain points, even irritating;—for instance in the constant use of the term *conversion*. There are sections of the book where the words convert, conversion, converted, etc., appear a dozen times on a single page. Conversion and proselytism are terms that need careful definition or they confuse the issue.

In this connection, I might point out that Dr. Pickett treats trenchantly certain differences between what he calls mass conversion and individual conversion. Specific instances are cited to prove that the outcaste masses adhere tenaciously to their new Christian profession, while in most cases the cultivated educated, high caste individual sooner or later becomes an apostate. Sad reflection! If true, it proves too much; it overshoots the mark; showing the inadequacy of the spiritual Christ to hold the enlightened individual, and on the other hand the power of a non-Christian social order to support the untutored peasant. If it is admitted, as it should be, that the animistic and primitive social restraints of the village should not be destroyed but carried over, where useful, into the enlarging Christian culture, how much more should we trust the social inheritance of the more privileged groups and individuals.

At this point our missionary method must undergo a vital change. Our task is to become sympathetically acquainted with the background of life and thought in the countries we seek to serve, and then realistically accept the facts as they are and build upon them. The demand of the missionaries in India for a vocal profession of conversion, submission to baptism, and a break with old associations—must give place to a more liberal and humble attitude.

I wish this study might lead to a co-operative social movement in India on a truly national scale, transcending not only denominational Christian lines, but even religious and race distinctions. We blame the Hindus for caste, but overlook the beam of bigotry in our own eyes. The problem of the outcastes inheres in poverty, illiteracy, superstition, unsanitation and an inherited sense of inferiority. The solution does not lie in transferring the masses from one religious organism to another. It lies in the *conversion* of his surroundings and the inner awakening of his own life. We can trust the Christian results to the future, if, without thought of organizational prestige or conquests, the Christian churches, Hindu societies, Moslem groups, government agencies, and Indian philanthropists will unselfishly merge their efforts in a national determination to correct these age-old disabilities.

Fortunately the movement has already began out in wider ranges of Indian life. Streams of social awakening are rising in every section of the land. They

can be made to flow together by men and women of goodwill.

The book now under review was prepared with two constituencies in mind. It was initiated and prepared by and for these two: (1) The supporting churches in America and Europe, and (2) The foreign missionary leaders in India. Within this scope, it is the most significant and commendable work yet attempted. These constituencies should study it widely and seriously.

The better, greater, more essential study is yet to come—a scientific, dynamic, compelling analysis of the depressed areas of Indian life by and for the awakened groups in modern India herself, without distinction of creed or race. If Waskom Pickett's book leads to that, he will have come to the kingdom for such a time as this.

THE KANGRI GURUKULA AT HARDWAR.

(By WILMOT A. PERERA.)

[The Gurukula University, Kangri, celebrated its 32nd anniversary during the Easter Holidays commencing from the 30th of March, 1934. Mr. Wilmot A. Perera wrote the above from Ceylon after paying a visit to the Gurukula University.]

Santi Niketan and the Gurukula are the two outstanding experiments of National Education in India.

The Gurukula is not known enough, since it lacks association with a world-personality as Rabindranath Tagore.

Situated at Kangri in Hardwar, at the foot of Kasia Hills with the snow-capped Himalayas rising in their majestic glory behind and close to the spot where the Ganges begins its fertilizing career, it provides an inspiring background for expressing the finest in man which can only be best developed in intimate association with mute nature.

To Swami Shraddhand, a pupil of Dayanand Sarswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, is due the conception of re-building the Aryan educational system. It was with this idea that the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was started in 1915. Seventy-six years later, a difference of opinion arose among the members of the Samaj as to whether the English or the Vedas should occupy the chief place in the school curriculum. Those who believed in the vedic ideal headed by Munshi Ram founded the Gurukula in 1902.

The Gurukula embodies in it the Aryan ideals of educating the young. When a student enters its portals between the ages of 6 and 8, he belongs to the Kula, the household of his Guru. At the Upanayam or ordination ceremony the teacher accepts the pupil as his own. Henceforward, for fourteen years he lives under the constant care of his Acharya. The chief trait of Gurukula life is the personal relation of the teacher and the taught.

Education is but the building up of character and expression of life. "Religion-ridden" India's message to humanity has always been service to one's fellow beings. It has been the dynamic of her culture from Vedic times to the present day. Any institution which has for its object the diffusion of learning in harmony with national characteristics must vigorously embrace that ideal. Service permeates every action of the Gurukula Brahmacharya.

The germ of Vedic culture, manifest in Aryan civilization, is its spiritual outlook on life. The Gurukula Scholar is presented with the interpretation of satisfying the spiritual yearning of man through a systematic study of the Vedas and Sanskrit Classics in an atmosphere surcharged with ancient traditions, modes of living and patterns of thought. But blind faith or irrational adherence to ancient usage is not fostered. Modern sciences and philosophy are taught and the students are trained to exercise their critical and analytical faculties in the pursuit of their studies. There is a chair of Comparative Religion.

Adhering to the correct concept of teaching—where originality is helped and development of thought awakened—all instruction is imparted in the vernacular. Hindi is the medium employed in teaching all subjects including physics and chemistry, higher mathematics, Western philosophy, political economy and allied sciences.

The daily routine of the institution furnishes an insight into the ideals that guide it. The rising gong is sounded at 4 a. m. for all, except for the youngest children who are given an hour's longer sleep. Half-an-hour is next devoted to dumb-bell exercise and other exercises after which a bath is taken into the crystal-clear icy water of the Ganges. Then follows the morning worship Sandhya, the mental repetition of a number of Sanskrit verses. At the conclusion of Sandhya, the occupants of each room gather around a small brazier in which are placed finely split wood. Clarified butter is poured over and ignited. The fire is maintained by continued libations and additions of fuel. At intervals, sugar, fragrant herbs and spices are thrown into the flames, while Sanskrit verses are recited by the group in unison. This is called the Agnihotra and is regarded not only as an act of worship but a sanitary measure, the fumes having distinct sanitary properties. A little light food is distributed after which two hours of study follows. At 8-45 the morning meal consisting of wheat chappaties, dal, vegetable, and curd is served in the open courtyard of the kitchen, every one being seated on the ground in Yogi fashion. Before food is taken, a Vedic Mantra is recited.

Regular participation in games is required of all the pupils. Physical instruction is a prominent feature of the Gurukula system of education. In the primary classes, a period every day is set apart for spinning on the takli. Every inmate is clad in home-spun clothes. The Indian Tri-colour at full mast and to be seen from every point of the University is the symbol that instils an urge to serve the motherland.

The education system of a country inevitably expresses the country's conception of that synthesis of which the lives of its peoples form a part. Fortunately for India, in institutions like the Gurukula, the perception is there that the mind behind the method is the fundamental with which education has to deal. It is this which has sustained the Indian genius from destruction, which has kept aglow the torch of higher learning amidst the crumbling of dynasties and the changes of society.

The ancient system of education in our own country never neglected the culture and development of the mind itself. It always stressed the responsibility of the individual to society. Therein lay our greatness in the past. It has been well stated that the "reconstitution of a nation has to begin with its ideals."

We want a new ideology in this country, especially as regards education.

Race Cult and Marriages:—The recent judgment of the Karlsruhe Court, granting divorce to a German merely because his wife is a Jewess will not be the general practice, according to the Prussian Minister of Justice, who announces that marriages of Aryans and non-Aryans will henceforth be dissolved only on the usual divorce grounds.

EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.*

In 1904, the percentage of school-going population was three in Russia, as contrasted with twenty-three in the U. S. A., nineteen in Germany and sixteen in France and England. A few free schools imparted instruction in religion and in the three R's but attendance was never compulsory. The major part of the time was devoted to the teaching of orthodox religion. Every teacher had to take charge of fifty to ninety children! The control and inspection of a suspicious bureaucracy was so thorough that it crushed out of the system everything that had the possibility of enlightening the people.

Educational change follows in the foot-steps of a political change. The United States, after their separation from England, started on a new experiment of democratic education. When the monarchy collapsed and a new form of Government was set up in Germany, the old educational system was overhauled. The recent National Socialistic regime in Germany is ushering in drastic changes in the educational programme. The same is true of Fascist Italy. In Russia, the political change of 1917 was followed by a change on all fronts, including education. In no other country has the cultural change been so thorough-going as in the Soviet Union.

The Russian leaders were faced with the task of uplifting a hundred and fifty million people, kept in illiteracy, ignorance, and proverty, for centuries. At least a century more would have been required to teach these people to read and write through the process of a normal cultural evolution. The Russians wanted an instrument that would bring about a speedy transformation in society. They took hold of education as a means of social uplift. The development of the Soviet educational machinery with all its variety and immensity, is simply unparalleled in the history of human culture. Many countries have used education as an instrument to achieve national ideals, but no one has been so logical, so definite, and so thorough in the application of this principle to a conscious social purpose.

The political change in Russia had established a new social order. To insure the life of this new society, the leaders wanted to educate the proletariat in its underlying philosophy. Keen students of the history of radical changes all over the world, the Russians wanted to avoid the errors committed by their leaders. Most of these changes have been followed by reactions, because the common people were never thoroughly initiated into the principles of the new social changes. To avoid that mistake, the Soviet leaders have been very quick in taking hold of the educational machinery and moulding it in favour of the new ideals. Education in Russia is something more than learning the three R's and the other subjects of the school curriculum.

During the Tsarist regime, the workers and farmers had little opportunity for education. When, therefore, the champions of the proletariat came into power, the gates of learning were thrown wide open to the masses of workers and peasants. The emancipation of the people from illiteracy became an important item in the programme of the new regime. On December 26, 1919, Lenin signed the decree ordering the liquidation of illiteracy in all the states of the Soviet Union. For a nation which has to liquidate the illiteracy of more than three hundred million people, the recent educational activity in Russia is worth careful perusal.

It is important to note that the movement now called "Down with Illiteracy," is carried on mostly by voluntary agencies backed up and encouraged by the State. It is the work of the party in power and its branches throughout the country. The personnel of the movement is organised on the basis of free service by the Youths and members of the party. At the head of the whole organization is the Supreme Council to plan and direct the movement. Below this are the Provincial Councils and the Regional Councils to carry on the policies and programmes laid down by the Supreme Council. To attend to the details of the movement the Supreme Council is organized into various departments:

(1) Department for organizing Schools
(2) Department of Study and Curricula
(3) Department for mass Activities
(4) Finance Department
(5) Planning Department.

All the Provincial Councils have similar departments or brigades.

The local councils start their work by finding out the extent of illiteracy in their area. Public opinion is then organized in favour of carrying on literacy activities there. Both literate and illiterate persons participate in the movement. Units or Clubs are established in factories, in workshops, on the farms, in the army, or wherever it is possible to gather a few persons anxious to learn. To start a unit, it is enough to have at least three members. There are a number of people who are half literate or who have lapsed into illiteracy. Once out of the school, they had no occasion to use their training for a number of years. These people now attend the literacy centres.

The whole movement is self supporting. All the members pay a certain amount of regular subscription. Factories and other organizations give contributions. The subscriptions and contributions of the members are sufficient to buy educational materials and to defray the small expenditure of the local establishments.

The sincerity and enthusiasm of the movement is shown by its symbolism. Buttons and insignia of various types are given to the workers of this cultural enterprise. The dynamic force of the activity is shown by the military terminology borrowed for a peaceful propaganda. The departments of the District Councils are called 'brigades' and the voluntary teachers are called the 'Cultural Army'.

I visited some of the centres where this work is carried on, and there found persons of all ages, men and women. The directing and organizing work is generally undertaken by elderly persons and the responsibility of teaching is accepted by the Kamsomols. This is an organization of the party for young people of the age of thirteen to twenty-four. These youths attend to their school or college work during the day, and devote their evening time to social work, literacy being the main item at present. While I was in Moscow last October, I visited a Secondary School by day. Curious to know what these young people did in the evening, I again visited the school at night and found the building alive with human beings. In one of the classes, I saw about fifty boys and girls, about the age of fourteen to eighteen. One of the boys was in the chair and two or three others were making some impressive arguments. The Russian language seems especially fitted for fluent speech! A teacher was sitting at the back among the boys and girls, but he did not say a word. The guide explained to me the proceedings of the meeting. The boys and girls were working to promote literacy in their district. The work was not progressing satisfactorily. So the pupils were trying to find out ways by which they

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could discharge their social responsibility more efficiently.

These are the people that are helping to liquidate the illiteracy of the backward and ignorant masses of Russia. Sometimes, these young teachers are physically so small for their work, that they have to take a chair under their feet to reach the blackboard and write letters for their grown-up pupils. It is funny, but unique for its sincerity. To conduct literacy circles, voluntary teachers ought to have necessary qualifications. They must have had at least four years of schooling to teach the first stage adult students and seven years of previous education to teach classes of second stage literacy. Teachers have to pass also through training courses that give them some elements of pedagogy and teaching methods.

The age of students learning at these centres of literacy ranges all the way from sixteen to fity. In the beginning they are very pessimistic about their ability to learn at this age. As the veil of mystery over the letters is lifted up, they grow more and more confident. No fees are charged, and even books are supplied free. Owing to the greater percentage of illiteracy among women, most of the work is done among them. When mothers cannot go out of their houses, social nurses visit them at home to give the necessary training.

Eighteen months is the minimum time required to make a person literate with nine to eleven hours of work per week. The New Russian week has only six days.

Students have to pass through two stages before getting the certificate of literacy. The first stage is reached after nine months when the adult student finishes the two years work of children. A test is given in simple reading and elementary arithmetic. The second stage comes after eighteen months when the student has finished the four years curriculum of the elementary school. He is given a second test in fluent reading, grammar, arithmetic, history and geography. But the Soviet conception of literacy does not stop with reading, writing and arithmetic. In Russia education is nothing if it is not accompanied with a social ideology. The definition of adult literacy is given by M. Kaliniki, Chairman of the Down with Illiteracy Society:

"Under the present conditions, to wipe out illiteracy does not only mean to teach people to read and write, but it is necessary to make them understand what they have read, to teach them to digest the printed matter in their heads, to make a man politically literate, to create a new man. You cannot now teach without creating new men."

The force of this statement will be realized when it is known that the text-books for adult education deal with contemporary social, political, and economic problems, and socialistic ideas. The apathy and indifferenoe of the masses towards learning is the greatest difficulty in such a movement, especially in India. Russia overcomes this obstacle by creating an environment whereby the farmers and the workers feel that some valuable experiences are awaiting them when they learn to read and write. To stimulate the desire for learning various programmes are organized in addition to the regular classes. There are excursions to local museums, moving libraries, discussions, and the famous Russian wall newspaper which is practically a feature of every organization.

One is apt to become suspicious about the success of an organization which rests mostly on voluntary efforts. The figures showing the rapid fall in the percentage of illiteracy during the last fifteen years will speak for themselves.

Year.	Percentage of literacy.
1897	28·9
1920	44·4
1926	52·8
1931	73·6

The special schools for the wiping out of illiteracy have been so popular that in ten years the number of students has more than trebled.

Year.	Number of Pupils in special schools.
1921–22	456,000
1926–27	1,554,000
1931–32	13,631,000

Even these figures seem cold testimony to the growing literacy in Russia when one sees the living evidence of an intellectual awakening among the people. Coming through Europe and walking through the streets of Moscow and Leningrad, I was struck by the number of book-shops along the streets, all crowded with young and old people. The output of literature in Russia is tremendous because the number of readers is rapidly increasing. There is no fear that these people will revert back into illiteracy. Their interest in reading is constantly kept fresh by the publication of literature on living problems affecting the farm, the factory and the army. The publication of the wall newspaper is also a great stimulus for reading any writing. I wanted to test the reality of this advertised literacy. Armed with a Russian dictionary, I walked through the streets of cities. When in difficulty, I showed the Russian printed word to question any person who came across. During my short experience, I did not meet a person who could not read. There is not the slightest doubt that literacy has rapidly spread in Russia. The Soviet leaders are confident that illiteracy will be completely wiped out of the country during the next few years. Dr. Chatsky, one of the leaders of Soviet education, said to me with the conviction of experience, "In five years our country will be one of the most educated countries."

Literacy is an instrument for building up a common ideology among people to hold them together for a common purpose. The printed word is a powerful means of communication in the twentieth century, but ninety-two per cent of India's people are still unable to make use of it for their enlightenment. The farmers and workers of Western countries are raising up their educational level. This is bound to affect the modes of material production and the standards of life. Can the illiterate farmers and workers of India stand competition with them? To make the whole Indian population literate would take more than two generations even through the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education. To accomplish the same task in a single generation, it must be organized as a mass movement. If the call comes from the right direction, the spirit of voluntary effort and youthful enthusiasm are present in India.

Fascists Bound over in Britain:—Nineteen of his followers gave Sir Oswald Mosley the Fascist salute from the dock at Old Bailey before pleading guilty to a charge of conspiring to effect public mischief, in obstructing the removal of livestock lawfully impounded in distraint for tithe at a farm in Suffolk in February. All the accused were bound over to keep the peace for two years. Two of the ring-leaders were ordered to pay the costs of prosecution. All promised to the Judge not to interfere with the course of justice again.

THE FRENCH VIEW OF RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY.

Miss Eleanor Reid, student at McGill University, writes in *Canadian Student*:—

There was one discovery which came as a distinct shock to me during my year in France. I had known many people who professed no religion and held Christianity in scorn. But all these had been given some religious training in their youth, whether Christian—Protestant or Catholic,—or Jewish. Since my Mission Band days I had been aware also that, "There are many thousands who have never heard His name," and who worship idols and are very uncivilized people. This idea had later been altered to conceive of these people as of a civilization and culture very different from ours, and hence of a quite different religious background.

But last year I found some new friends, people whom I came to admire as much as any I had ever known, among well-educated people of Western civilization and culture, like myself, who not only did not believe in Christianity, but had never, even in childhood, been instructed in any religious faith. No doubt I had known before that such existed; but I had never realized the fact with all the force with which it was revealed to me in France. What is more, it was these people, as opposed to the Christians (Roman Catholics) of the community, who held the same ideals as I in the fields of social justice and international peace and co-operation.

I spent the year in a provincial Girls' Normal School, as English Assistant, teaching girls aged 16 to 20, who were being trained to teach in the rural primary schools. My first surprise came at seeing no more than five or six girls of the sixty odd in the schools go out to Mass on Sunday morning; at learning that very few if any had ever read the Bible; and at other such instances which quickly showed me that only a very small proportion of the students had any of the background that either a Roman Catholic or a Protestant upbringing would have given them.

As time went on, and I took part in many of the activities of the school, followed the courses in Education given by the Directrice, and observed the play of group antagonisms in the town, I became increasingly aware of the situation illustrated by this fact which had come to my attention. It was well characterized by the educational system, which I was naturally in a very good position to observe.

The striking characteristic of the French education is its division into two distinct systems, designated by the terms primary and secondary. The secondary system is carried over from the traditional educational set-up, that is, probably, from the institutions of the Revolution and Napoleon I; the important thing being that it was never intended as education for the masses. The system of primary schools, on the other hand, is the outcome of the struggle on the part of the working and peasant classes,—"le peuple"—for education that should be free and compulsory for all, and, as a logical corollary, politically and religiously neutral.

This last provision took on colour from the situation especially prevalent in France, where practically all education had been carried on by the Catholic Church for centuries, except for the occasional breaks caused by the revolutions of the hundred years preceding the enactment of the present education laws. Religious neutrality had to fight a bitter battle to become law, and consequently took on more and more positive elements as its proponents added to their ammunition of logic and moral support.

The history of a word will illustrate this evolution. The system established was that of the "Ecole laique", which would be translated as the non-religious or secular school. In the course of the last half-century, this word "laique" has taken on a meaning which I find it impossible to translate by any single word in English, since it now expresses something in the nature of a new religion or system of morals which has been developed by the defendants of this feature of the new educational system. So prolonged and vigorous and bitter has been the opposition that those who uphold the system have been led further and further to realize and formulate the idealism which lies behind their efforts.

And so I saw it manifested; in the Directrice, a woman of some forty years' experience in education, a fine teacher, a person of high principles and ideals, devoted heart, soul, and reason to the cause "laique"; in my friend S———, a young teacher with all the idealism of youth, founded on a conception of life which will support that idealism at a high pitch for a long time to come; in the normal students, who in their three years under the influence of such a person as the Directrice could not fail to imbibe that pressing sense of mission which is an essential part of the "morale laique."

For that is the name of what may in a sense be called the new religion, growing out of the 19th century "reformation", in France. The principles of the "morale laique" have their prescribed place in the programme of studies to be taught in the primary schools. It was really a moving experience to listen to the Directrice, whose last teaching year it was, lecture for the last time on a subject so close to her heart as this one, on which she had expended a great part of her energy during her life as a teacher. When I expressed my interest in the subject to her later, she explained to me that she had had to be very careful in speaking of this matter to the girls, for the problem was to make sufficiently clear the teacher's high responsibility, both negative and positive, in the "enseignement laique", without hurting or arousing the antagonism of the few "croyantes" in the class.

Set forth as they were in the very rational and logical style characteristic of French teaching, I think extracts from my notes on these lectures can best explain the position taken by the 'laique."

On the religious neutrality of the schools.

I. The primary public school in France is neutral as to religious confession; this means,

1. It teaches no religion.
2. It does not have prayers repeated or catechism learned.
3. The school can have no religious emblem.
4. Entrance to the school is forbidden the clergy of any religion.
5. The teacher may not hold any religious function such as chorist, bell-ringer, or churchwarden.
6. The primary public school teaches "la morale laique."
7. The school is closed one day per week—Thursday—to enable the children to receive religious education. In boarding schools the pupils receive all facilities for fulfilling their religious duties according to the wishes of their families. Pupils who are taking their first communion have leave of absence during the week of retirement which precedes the ceremony.

II. The reasons for this school neutrality.

1. France is a country in which several religions are practised, and where a very great number of people reduce religion to a few solemn acts (baptism, first communion, marriage, funeral) and expect in the ordinary course of life to keep their independence of thought with regard to the clergy. The French mind, very rational and not very mystical, tends to make of religion a question purely personal, and will not see it put into the category of social or civic duties. This is the French sense of liberty of conscience and creed.

2. On the other hand, since the law of March 18 1882, imposes compulsory education from six to thirteen years, it follows that the public school should receive all children no matter what their religion. The children and teacher must enjoy liberty of conscience and creed, this being the basis of our constitution.

III. The "laicization" of the school is not an accidental fact in history.

Sociology teaches us that little by little in the course of the centuries all social activities have detached themselves from religion. The course of the history of France has been one of progressive secularization—of the State, of justice, of science, of civic acts, of administrative services. Our kings of France have actively fought all through the centuries to free their authority from that of the clergy. The secularization of the school is one phase of this struggle, and the last phase.

The modern State sets for itself aims that are "laiques," not mystical. It operates in another sphere than religion. In addition, the State of our day no longer believes in the necessity of religious beliefs to ensure morality. Such are the reasons for which the French State has willed the "ecole laique"

IV. The "ecole laique" teaches "la morale laique."

All education should include an ethical teaching; that is, the teaching of moral principles must be united with the formation of habits and moral sentiments.

1. Can these moral principles be found outside of religion?

The "morale laique" asserts and realizes that they can. The principles which it teaches are those which inspire all decent civilized people, whatever their country, opinions, beliefs. They are the moral principles taught by all religions and all philosophies.

These principles are the moral foundation of the consoience of humanity.

2. Have these principles a solid base outside religious beliefs?

Instead of founding morality on a miraculous revelation (of which every religion makes a monopoly for itself), the "morale laique" is founded on human experience pursued through the centuries, through struggles, difficulties and errors. For a rational mind, this origin is as respectable as that of religious revelation.....

.....The "morale laique" has an ideal: it dreams of making life better for all men; it wants to see peace reign, science progress, intelligence be cultivated; it maintains that life is good, and that by the united efforts of all men of goodwill, it could be better. The "morale laique" does not make a good man hope for any ultra-terrestrial reward; it teaches him to find a reward in the knowledge that he can do good on this earth.

There follows an analysis of the "esprit laique," as opposed to the confessionalist and the dogmatic mind. It is described as, (1) the spirit of free examination, the right to think for oneself, to examine all affirmations, all judgments, in whatever matter it may be, provided it is done with the desire of finding the truth, admitting as limits to its investigations only the limits of human intelligence; (2) the spirit of broad tolerance, or rather, of respect for the beliefs and opinions of others; and (3) love of life and faith in human reason, which does not mean unreserved admiration of reason, but means confidence in the perfectibility of man.

Such is the position of this great body of free-thinkers in france. As I came to understand it, I felt that it challenged in no small way our position as Christians, both with regard to our educational system, and, in its wider implications, the very essentials of the Christian religion.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

The Disarmament Conference is to resume its meetings in Geneva on April 10. This decision was taken by the President, the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson, M. P. in consultation with the officers of the Conference—namely, M. Politis, Vice-President, M. Benés, Rapporteur-General, the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the Disarmament Section of the Secretariat—at a meeting held in London in the middle of February.

It will be remembered that the General Commission of the Conference decided, at the end of November, to give certain great Powers an opportunity of attempting to negotiate an agreement that would prepare the way for a second reading of the text of the Convention. A previous attempt to reach such an agreement had broken down on October 14th with the withdrawal of Germany from the Conference and the League. The German Government made no accusation against the Conference or the League, but stated that its attitude was due to the unwillingness of the heavily-armed great Powers to disarm. This view was not accepted by the Powers concerned.

In the course of the negotiations, the standpoints of the French, German and Italian Governments have been embodied in memoranda. The British Government also published a memorandum which was intended as an attempt to find a measure of agreement between the views of the other Powers. The Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Eden, thereupon undertook a journey to Paris, Berlin and Rome, to explain the meaning of the British proposals and to ascertain exactly what was in the minds of the other Governments.

At a meeting in January, the president, in consultation with the officers of the Conference, invited the Governments concerned to inform him of the progress made in their negotiations by February 10th. in order to allow him to discuss the situation at a meeting of the officers of the Conference on February 13th, with a view to fixing the date for the resumption of the labours of the Conference.

In the light of the replies received from the British, French and Italian Governments, the officers of the Conference considered, at their February meeting, that the necessary measure of agreement had not been secured, but that a further effort should be made to secure a Disarmament Convention, and an opportunity should be afforded for this effort, notably for the new phase of the negotiations, including Mr. Eden's journey.

In order to allow time for this further effort and for any other steps that might arise out of it, they fixed the date for the meeting of the Bureau at April 10th, with the understanding that, if there were any considerable change in the situation or if he were so requested by one or more of the Powers concerned, the President might summon the Bureau at an earlier date.

The primary function of the Bureau is to prepare for the meeting of the General Commission and to fix the date for that meeting. All the members of the Conference are represented in the General Commission, which will have to decide on the whole future of the Conference and the cause of disarmament in the light of the results of the negotiations undertaken by the heavily-armed Powers.

New Postal Rates:—From 1st April 1934, inland postage rates on letters are one anna for weights up to half a tola, one anna and three pies for weights exceeding half tola but not exceeding two-and a-half tolas and one anna and three pies for every additional two-and-a-half tolas or fraction thereof. Postage on book pattern and sample packets is nine pies for the first five tolas or fraction thereof and six pies for every additional five tolas or fraction thereof in excess of five tolas.

BUDDHISM IN AMERICA.*

(By Rigon Shaku.)

Some thirty years ago, the first organized Buddhist missionary work in America was undertaken by the cathedral temple of the Honpa Hongwanji Buddhist Sect of Kyoto, Japan. Practically all of the Japanese colonies in America were (and are) almost solidly Buddhist and it was felt that some effort must be made to provide these emigrants and their children with proper religious instruction and ministrations. To that end several well qualified young priests were sent to the Hawaiian Islands and to California where they were most heartily welcomed by their co-religionists. Within a very short time there had sprung up temples in practically every large city on the Pacific slope of America and it was necessary to send to Japan for more priests. In America (exclusive of Canada, Mexico, and Hawaii) there are now sixty-four priests and ninety-five thousand communicants, of which number about one thousand two hundred are white Americans. There are three American priests, ten American lay preachers, and three American candidates for priestly orders.

A systematic missionary campaign is being carried out. The movement in America has been, from the very first, a movement of action. The number of adherents to Buddhism increases uninterruptedly and new centres are founded from time to time and provided with capable lecturers; with well organized and systematic instruction for children; with competent teachers of adult study groups and with books and publications sold at cost.

The young people of the *Sangha* are organized into numerous Young Men's Buddhist Associations for older boys, Buddhist Boy Scouts for younger boys; the Young Women's Buddhist Associations for older girls and the Lotus Blossom Society for younger girls. Many of the temples have Mothers' Club and free kindergartens where the babies of working women are cared for during the day. To this list of associations may also be added many athletic clubs, choral societies, student alliances and charity organizations. The result of all these activities is an ever increasing loyalty to Buddhism and an ever growing interest in its teachings.

The fact that Buddhism in America numbers in its ranks representatives of every school of thought in Buddhism renders it necessary for the established temples to be rather non-sectarian in character. While all of the temples are of the Mahayana division of the *Sangha*, still many followers of the Therevada find a very helpful fellowship therein, coupled with the assurance that acceptance of rigid dogma is required of no one. It would be difficult to find anywhere such spiritual freedom as exists in the various Buddhist Circles in America.

There are now a total of forty-eight temples in America in very nearly all of which English services are held at regular intervals. Many of these temples are magnificent structures of stone and reinforced concrete and shelter all their many activities under one roof. The larger and more prosperous temples support branch shrines and preaching stations, also Sunday school facilities for rural groups of children and for other isolated groups.

With the passing of the older generation of the Japanese the English language is coming more into general use in the temple services. Within the coming fifteen years English will be universally used in all our temples. Many of the younger Japanese have little or no knowledge of the language of their parents. Several years ago it became necessary to make the various publications of the Sangha in America all bi-lingual, for the benefit of the younger generation and for the many Americans who have adopted Buddhism. Now many of our publications are entirely in English.

The general feeling is that Buddhism has a great future in the New World. Certain it is that America is rapidly casting off her old religion and is earnestly seeking Truth. Of all the great world religions Buddhism alone has spotless garments and a clean record. It is the writer's belief that these facts when connected, will justify him in prophesying that the renaissance of Buddhism will occur in the New World.

* From *The Maha-Bodhi*. Rigon Shaku is an American Buddhist of the San Francisco Buddhist Temple.

MUSLIMS IN THE FAR EAST.

Dr. Khalied Sheldrake of London, delivered an interesting address at Lawley Hall, Mount Road, Madras on the impressions of his recent tour in Muslim countries with Mr. A. Hameed Hasan in the chair.

The lecturer observed that after leaving Madras last year, he along with his friend, Mr. Simson, visited Ceylon, Singapore, China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Malay. Wherever he went, he had a warm welcome from co-religionists and delivered lectures at important places. There were thousands of Muslims in those parts. In some places, especially in China and Japan the Muslims were not divided into sects, as were to be found in other places. Islam was no doubt spreading in those parts, but the people were backward. There were few educated men. One-eighth of the Chinese population was Muslim. At Shangai alone there existed nineteen mosques. Canton was a famous place of Muslim pilgrimage. There was a tomb there reported to be that of the maternal uncle of the Holy Prophet. This uncle of their Holy Prophet was trading with China in those ancient days and after he became a follower of Islam he carried the teachings of Islam to those parts.

To the lecturer's utter surprise, Chinese children were taught English. In fact, in most of the places in Far East, English was taught. In Japan English was a compulsory subject in schools. It was the youth of China who were carrying on Islamic propaganda in their country.

In all the places he visited, the lecturer met a number of Indian merchants. There was a great deal of solidartiy among them. The one thing that was needed in those parts for Muslims was a proper literature on Islam. It was up to Indian Muslims to devise measures for carrying on adequate missionary propaganda in the Far East. After his return to England, he intended to do what he could in the matter.

Speaking next of the general impressions of his tour, the lecturer gave a graphic account of the activities of the Japanese. The latter were intensely patriotic but were exceedingly tolerant in matters of religion. Many of the tales spread about these people were nothing but fibs of the imagination. They were essentially bent upon improving their trade. They did not want to fight with any nation. Religious buildings there were under the control of the Minister of Education. The prosperity of their trade was due chiefly to the co-operation among manufacturers. Every owner of a factory there would also work along with his employees. The cost of living was cheap, the workman was conscious of the fact that he was working for Japan's prosperity. Every care was being taken by the Government about public health. The Government were controlling the national parks wherein every kind of

pleasure that could be thought of for children was provided.

Referring to China, the lecturer said that the banditry there was due to poverty and hunger. The bandits were generally the unpaid poor soldiers of China.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

King Alfred and the Cakes:—One of the few things that "every school-boy" in England does know is the story or King Alfred and the Cakes. It told that when that King was in hiding from the Danes, he took shelter in a swineherd's hut. One day the swineherd's wife asked the unknown visitor to watch some cakes which were baking on the embers; but the King was thinking out plans for attacking the Danes and let the cakes burn, for which he was severely upbraided by the irate housewife. The *Examiner* gives the origin of the story: St. Neot was a monk of Glastonbury, who wishing for a more secluded life, retired into Cornwall to live in solitude. After the monk's death, an account of his life was written by one who knew him well, and the story of the burning of the cakes was recorded in it. The scribe used only one side of each parchment sheet for his writing, and it was this M S. book that was used on the reverse sides of the parchments for recording the life of King Alfred a little later on. Then, when copies were wanted of the life of the great King the monk given the task forgot at one point that he had to ignore a page of writing every time he turned over the parchment. Hence he copied into the life of the King the picturesque tale of the burning of the cakes.

Buddhist Relics:—It is understood that the Director General of the Archaeoogical Survey of India is negotiating with the authorities of the Mahabodhi Society for presentation to the latter body of certain Buddhist relics which the late Mr. Cousens discovered while conducting an archaeological survey in Sind. These relics consist of a very minute piece of bone and some cremated ash which Mr. Cousens found in a large *stupa* (mound) at Mirpurkhas in Sind. Mr. Cousens surmised that the original structure on the site of the *stupa* in question might have been a *dharmarojika* (monastery) and that if that assumption was correct the bone relic mentioned might have been part of the body relics of Buddha himself or one of his faithful disciples. The *stupa* as it stands, was assigned by him to 400 A. D. According to the Director-General of Archaeology if the tiny bone did not actually form part of the corporeal remains of Buddha or of one of his disciples, it must be regarded as a re ic of some other Buddhist saint. Mr. D. Walisinha, secretary, Mahabodhi Society, has replied to the Director-General stating that the Society would be only too glad to receive the relics for enshrinement in their new temple at Sarnath.

Prospects of Russo-Japanese War:—"The next war in the Far East will be in all probability between Japan and Russia. and if other nations do not interfere sooner or later Japan will have her own way and finally control the destiny of Eastern Asia", declared Mr. Felix Valyi, a well-known Hungarian orientalist in an interview with the "Bombay Chronicle." Mr. Felix Valyi is on a short visit to Bombay. After making an extensive tour of Japan and China, lasting nearly two years, he is now on his way back to Europe. He added, that Japan was armed to the teeth and had an eye on the maritime provinces of Russia. In his opinion from the military point of view Japan was strong enough to defeat any other single nation in the world. Moreover, he pointed out that in any way between Japan and Russia, the former would have the advantage fighting the war nearer to her base. Referring to the relations between Japan and Russia, Mr. Valyi observed that there was also the possibility of a war breaking out between Japan and America. In this case, he opined that it would be rather an economic war, and perhaps Japan would not be able to stand the strain of a boycot by America as 90 per cent of her silk industry was dependent for its market on America.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Tradition in Education:—Speaking at the prize distribution of one of the oldest and best conducted High Schools in Bombay, Lord Brabourne took occasion to make a passing remark about the importance of tradition. "I hope," said His Excellency, "you realise the value of traditions. It is rather the fashion in these modern times to decry them, but I feel sure that for youth at any rate they have not lost their appeal." We are not so sure of that. It is the so-called youth movements, often bossed over, it is true, by disillusioned souls past thei prime, that have declared war on tradition. In the world of historical research, on the other hand, tradition is coming to be increasingly recognised as more reliable material than written records which can be and are often forged. As regards tradition as an aid to conduct, it is a curious fact that those who decry tradition are themselves following a tradition. We are glad that Lord Brabourne emphasised the value of tradition just now as His Excellency's observation enables us to urge with some hope of success that his Government should reconsider the decision to abolish the Deccan College which has a tradition unsurpassed by any other College in the Presidency. The decision of Government, if given effect to, will extinguish the long tradition of cultured scholarship to which distinguished scholars, Indian and English, have worthily contributed. Mr. M. R. Jayakar stated some days ago that old students of the College are prepared to contribute to meet the deficit on the College for five years. This should allay the economic qualms of the Minister of Education who, in this case, has shown himself less regardful of Indian sentiment than the Ministers and Members of Government who held charge of his portfolio before him.

Indian Women and the Reforms:—"Whatever we may think of the Congress movement—of its objectives or of the expediency of its methods—we can not wonder nor wholly regret that Indian women should have made common cause with their men in a great uprising of national consciousness. The alternatives—passivity or a conflict of aims—would be a poor augury for the future co-operation of men and women in citizenship and the common affairs of life." This is taken from Miss Eleanor Rathbone's recently published book, "Child Marriage: the Indian Minotaur." Miss Rathbone goes on to hope that the qualities which were evolved by women in the Civil Disobedience movement will be carried into the constructive work of social legislation in the new Constitution. She writes: "Even those who believed in the necessity of non-co-operation in the early stages of the Indian nationalist movement have mostly come to realize how enormously the withdrawal of the more active and reforming spirits from the task of legislation and administration, has injured the working of the instalments of self-government already granted and the chance of shaping the new Constitution into forms which will really safeguard the interests of the poor and oppressed. It would be a still greater disaster if, when, the new regime begins, those women who have the qualities of leadership were to be found too much absorbed in unconstitutional or even in extra-constitutional efforts to make full use of the opportunities which it offers them to achieve their ends—assuming indeed that the opportunities offered are large enough to make usage effective." Since Miss Rathbone wrote these lines Gandhiji has formally approved of entry into the Legislatures and has revoked civil resistence for attaining swaraj. If the White Paper Constitution is improved in the essential particulars indicated by Indian political leaders, capable Indian women should be enabled to become members in the Legislative Council in adequate numbers and they will have ample scope for influencing the social life not only of British India but also of the Indian States most of which lag very much behind British India in matters relating to women. We appreciate the efforts of Miss Rathbone and other English women to get the franchise proposed for Indian women widened but they should not attempt to dictate to the latter as to the way in which they should desire extension. Women's organizations in India have stated their requirements in unequivocal terms. English

friends would best help by supporting them. We say this because there is a suggestion in this book that Indian women are not rightly advised and that English women with the help of a few Indian women who carry little weight in this country know better what is best for them.

Miss Rathbone on Child Marriages:—It will be clear from what we have said in another paragraph that we regard Miss Rathbone's book as a friendly and useful contribution to the discussion of women's franchise initiated by the White Paper. The relevancy of the prevalence of child marriages in this country to the subject is rather remote. What Miss Rathbone describes as "exposures" of the Joshi and Census Reports are mere statements of fact mixed up with much speculation by an imaginative Census Commissioner. That child marriages are common in this country, is a well-advertised fact. That they often result in grievous suffering to girl wives, is also too true. The immediate occasion for the starting of the *Reformer* 44 years ago was the agitation caused in the public mind of an exceptionally bad case of this kind. Since then Indian reformers have never ceased working for the postponement of marriages until girls are of a physically more suitable ages. There has been a steady advance in the age of marriage; and the growth of public opinion was sufficient to remove the hesitation of Government to support the Sarda Act. Miss Rathbone is scornful of the cautious attitude of Government but it is evident that she is not well acquainted with the complexities surrounding the enforcement of drastic social legislation in British India. We regard such Acts as the Sarda Act as educative and not as punitive measures; and their educative value will be greatly retarded by the infliction of too severe penalties which shock the public conscience which is gradually growing to appreciate the value of the Act. The Act operates chiefly by strengthening the hands of parents of girls who are subjected to pressure from their orthodox kinsfolk to get their daughters married off at immature ages. We have no doubt that it has prevented thousands of marriages in this way. A reform of this kind involves, besides, a considerable overhauling and readjustment of the family system. Parents who are willing to delay the marriage of their daughters are at a loss what to do with them in the interval. There are not enough schools to which they can be sent for education. In many places the problem is sought to be solved by holding girls' classes before and after the school hours in boys' schools. The pressure is so great that in several places co-education is the only way of providing girls' education. The admission of girls to boys' schools raises the further problem of finding avenues of education for the displaced boys. We assure Miss Rathbone, that Indian leaders are applying their minds to these questions and the provincial Ministers who are in charge of education, are as a rule sympathetic. The great difficulty is lack of funds. If of the 5 shillings in the pound which is Lord Rothermere's estimate of India's contribution to the average income of each inhabitant of the British Isles, Miss Rathbone can secure an abatement of even two shillings, earmarking it for girls' shools, she will contribute greatly to the speedy demise of the Indian Minotaur.

Sir Maharaj Singh:—A Reuter message announces that Sir Maharaj Singh, the Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, has asked to be relieved of his office as he wishes his sons to continue their education in India. Sir Maharaj Singh and, even more, Lady Maharaj Singh are doing valuable service, particularly in bridging the social differences between educated Indians and South Africans. The reports which have reached us from time to time have been uniformly appreciative of their untiring effort to get the better mind of South Africa to recognise Indians as equal fellow citizens. In the political sphere Sir Maharaj Singh's path has not been strewn with roses. Especially regretable was the split among Indians on the question of participating in the enquiry into the possibility of expatriating South African Indians to some country more likely to afford them opportunities of making a living, as the scheme of assisted repatriation to India had failed. Sir Maharaj Singh has visited most of the countries where Indians are likely to be received and he was not aware of any place where they can settle. He also holds it unjust to expatriate South African Indians, 80 per cent of them born in that country, for no better reason than that the Whites do not want them. Nevertheless, he advised Indians to accept the invitation to serve on the Committee in the confident conviction that the Committee would report that no suitable place to which Indians can be packed off can be found. The opposition to such participation was led by Mr. Manilal Gandhi—a chip of the old block—who feared that the Committee would somehow recommend Indian expatriation. Manilal has proved to be right, as the Committee is said to have reported that there are suitable lands available on which South African Indians can be dumped down. We are inclined to think that this is the real reason for the reported desire of Sir Maharaj Singh to be relieved of his office.

The "Dnyanodaya":—In our leading article on "Belief and Behaviour" in last week's *Reformer* we cited the *Dnyanodaya* as saying that what would save India is Christianity. Our contemporary refers to this in its current issue and observes: Our friend is in error in affirming that we say "Christianity alone can save India, this being exactly what we avoid saying. 'Christianity' has come to mean a system from which Jesus would entirely dissociate Himself." That is a courageous statement and we honour the *Dnyanodaya* for it.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, APRIL 14, 1934.

"AS YOU WERE"

On the 7th April Gandhiji handed to the Press a statement announcing that, as the result of much introspection, he had come to the conclusion that in the present circumstances only himself and no other should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil resistance, if it is to succeed as a means of achieving *purna*, that is, full swaraj. He further said that he must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil disobedience for swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. "They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my life time only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to known this science better than I do and inspires confidence." The full statement is reprinted elsewhere in this issue. Gandhiji gives as his reason for coming to this conclusion that, in the course of a conversation with the inmates of his Ashram, who had recently come out of prison, one of them, "a valued companion of long standing" was found to have been reluctant to perform his full prison task preferring his private studies to it. This was, in Gandhiji's view, undoubtedly against the rules of Satyagraha. What he regards as even worse was that the delinquent, when questioned by Gandhiji, replied that he thought that Gandhiji was aware of his weakness. Gandhiji was evidently not aware of it. He takes blame to himself for mental blindness in not having probed his companion's weakness which the latter thought Gandhiji knew and condoned. "Blindness in a leader," says Gandhiji, "is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must, for the time being, remain the sole representative of civil disobedience in action."

Except to those who regard everything coming from Gandhiji as a revelation into the merits of which it is sacrilegious to enquire, his reasoning in this statement will seem to be a painful non sequitur. The lapse of one man, even though an intimate companion, is a poor reason for advising all to give up an idea. Scores of men and women in the last as well as previous civil disobedience movement, courted imprisonment and did all their jail tasks with meticulous exactitude. It was known from the first that there were a few recalcitrants whose contumacy brought discredit on their companions and the cause. But as a class satyagraha prisoners have been noted for their exemplary conduct and their example has often exercised a wholesome influence on habitual criminals with whom they were often thrown, thanks to the official policy of not discriminating between political and other prisoners. We are not surprised at Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's feeling protest that Gandhiji's remarks are an ungracious and undeserved indictment. He was evidently not thinking of them, for he is the last man to cast a slur on others. Mrs. Naidu, however, is not right in saying that they went to jail at Gandhiji's bidding. Many of them are, we hope, far too independent to do anything at anybody's bidding and they acted on their own judgment. They know that Gandhiji is actuated by the best of motives and will not wish him to refrain from saying or doing on their account whatever seems to him right. Gandhiji, unlike other men, reasons from his emotions and not with his intellect. His conclusions are generally correct but his premises are often his own. As an independent-minded man himself, he expects every one to think and act independently. If others will not do so and cling to him with pathetic and sometimes abject submission, he is not to blame; and we rather welcome the rough shock that Gandhiji now and then administers to these burdensome devotees.

Gandhiji's conclusion is correct. Let it be frankly admitted that the Willingdon policy has succeeded in exposing the unreality of mass civil disobedience as a means to swaraj, either full or partial. When for every person who goes to jail there are at least five others ready to arrest him, to prosecute him, to sentence him, to take him to prison and keep him there, it is self-deception to speak of the country as being at the back of civil disobedience or the Congress. Lord Willingdon has succeeded in crushing the movement though at a cost which far-sighted statesmen would have shrunk from incurring. The wise man, it has been well said, would deal with his enemy as if one day he would be his friend. The Willingdon method is quite the reverse. The result is that in his haste to crush the Gandhi movement his Excellency has crushed that which the British in India can ill afford to lose, the belief of the people that, whatever the defects of the British character, cruelty and vindictiveness were not among them.

The Willingdon policy would still have failed but for the fact that the idea of civil disobedience as a means of attaining swaraj was inherently unsound and was adopted on a fanciful *a priori* view of what British rule has been to India. It has been, no doubt, foreign rule but the generalisations about foreign rule are not applicable to it without weighty qualifications. The older Congress leaders regarded it as a divine dispensation: the latter-day ones know it chiefly as a "Satanic Government." It would be absurd to think that men of the calibre and patriotism of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhale merely meant to flatter their British rulers, or that Gandhiji is inappreciative of the great emancipating influence the British Power in India has been. British rule has been, for good and evil, a permeating influence in every sphere of Indian life. That is why Gandhiji has been obliged to realise that for any and every constructive work, whether it is the removal of untouchability, the promotion of communal unity or the relief of the earthquake-stricken people of Bihar, he has, if he is to be useful, to descend from his Non-co-operation ladder. Such labours have accumulated and have to be attended to without

further delay. The ladder, therefore, has practically to be relegated to the lumber room. This in our opinion is the real reason why the unsatyagrahic conduct of a single companion of long standing has been magnified in Gandhiji's perspective into a conclusive reason for advising Congressmen to give up civil resistance. If Government want only a peaceful atmosphere and not the personal humiliation of Gandhiji, (who is really too great a world figure for that) it can with perfect confidence lay aside its repressive policy.

CAUSES OF ISLAMIC DECLINE.

It is seldom that we have from Muslim scholars such a careful and objective exposition of the causes which have contributed to the decline of Islam, as the address which the Egyptian savant, Dr. Wahby, delivered at the Muslim Students' Brotherhood. Some of these, in fact many of these, have also led to the decline of other religions. These are comprised in the single phrase "the growth of materialism" which may be described as the exaltation of the temporal life over the spiritual. Islam, according to Dr. Wahby, included the whole of man, his physical as well as spiritual activities, and differed fundamentally from Christianity with its dogma of "My Kingdom is not of this world." Because of its concern for this world as well as the next, Islam realised the Brotherhood of Man to an extent which Christianity, its great rival in this enterprise, has not done. The learned lecturer assumed that the brotherhood of man was the same as democracy. If the two are identical or even interdependent, it has to be explained how Islam with its realised brotherhood fell under autocracies which Dr. Wahby regarded as one of the main causes of the decline of Islam. The Sultan Caliphs went to the same mosques as and prayed with the poorest of their brothers in faith, but remained nonetheless autocrats pure and simple. It would seem that democracy is therefore independent of the recognition of human brotherhood. The Islamic doctrine has had the effect of deflecting the evolution of the original tribes from the territorial to the communal track. Christianity, too, till the Reformation, dreamed of a World Empire transcending race and creed. Christianity reconciled itself to the loss of this dream at the Reformation, and Islam was deprived of it by the nationalism of Kemaline Turkey. The Westerner's good opinion or bad opinion of a religion has little influence on its fortunes. The Doctor's diagnosis of the causes of the Decline of Islam, was clear but not equally so his remedy. Take Science from the West and nothing else, said the Doctor. This is not so simple as it sounds. Science without the scientific mind is as barren as scholasticism which he condemned. The East should take not only science but the scientific mind and apply it to spheres which the West has until recently regarded as lying outside the purview of both. In that way the East will benefit not only itself but also the West. The only distinction thinking men will then make is is that between Right and Wrong, not that between East and West and North and South.

PRAYER.

I believe in prayer. I believe in it not as an article of faith but as the result of experience. It is an experience which every one can acquire. All things are fit objects of prayer except such as can be had by the exercise of common prudence. If you find yourself fumbling vainly in your pocket for a match to light your cigarette with in an express train, you are more likely to get it by asking your fellow passenger than by praying to God. Personally in such a contingency I would put my cigarette back in my pocket and buy a match box at the next stop. But then I do not smoke and cannot, therefore, realise the pangs of those who do. Even in such a case, prayer will benefit but it should be to see before you leave your home next time that you have a match box in your pocket. In other words, mental states, yours or others, are more suitable subjects of prayer than material things. This does not mean that material results are not achieved by prayer but that they come, when they do, chiefly through modifications of mental states.

As to the right method of prayer, it is easily found if it is realised that prayer is the means by which we remove impediments to our being in direct contact with the mighty reservoir of help and healing which is the soul of the Universe. Great souls are constantly in contact with it. For others effort is needed. These are greatly assisted in the effort by the form of words left behind by those who in ages past made the same effort. To the Jew, the Hebrew Psalms; to the Muslim, the verses of his Koran, to the Parsi, the phrases of Zarathustra; to the Hindu the Vedic hymns are the readiest means of transporting oneself to the right frame of mind to get into direct contact with the Heart of Things. Personally, I am an eclectic. For days together I find spiritual good in the Hebrew psalms; then for several days in the Christian Gospels; then I wake one morning with a Gita verse running in my head and this period is becoming the most frequent and most fervent with the years.

It is, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I welcome this beautifully printed little book of "Universal Prayer" selected and translated from Sanskrit religious literature by Swami Yatisvarananda and published by the Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. The scholarly and thoughtful Introduction in English may be read with profit by religiously minded men and women of all creeds and sects. Swami Vivekananda's claim that Hinduism is not merely the religion of the Hindus but is World religion is fully borne out by the Prayers in this books, all breathing the spirit of universality. The book is priced Re. 1 as 4.

K. N.

Japanese Press Reporter:—According to recent travellers back from Japan the Japanese reporter beats every one else in the world in the matter of Journalistic enterprise. He boards incoming ocean boats with the port doctor, carrying a camera and a basket of carrier pigeons. The reporter photographs the prominent passengers, interviews them, types and reduces the whole to the dimensions of a postage stamp, and fastens it to one of his pigeons. The carrier pegeon flies to the newspaper office in time to have the article published and sold to passengers as they get off the boat.

ARE INTER-MARRIAGES A PROBLEM?

(By V. A.)

Discussing the subject of inter-marriages from the Parsi angle, "P. A. M." a few weeks ago (*Reformer*, March 31) urged the necessity of "creating a strong prejudice against inter-marriages by keeping alive among its members the love for Parsi traditions and culture." Right through "P. A. M.'s" article runs the fear of extinction of the Parsi community. Yet there is one surprising fact that must strike the observer who "tries to solve this problem as though concerned with lines and planes and solids." The agitation against inter-marriages rose to frenzied heights twice during this century, in 1919 and 1933 according to "P. A. M." Both the dates marked the emergence of the Parsi community out of a decade of phenomenal increase. In 1901-11 the community increased by 6·5 per cent and in 1921-31 by 7·9 per cent. At no period of its history has the Parsi community shown a decrease in numbers although in the proportion to the general population there has always been a depreciation. The total figure for Parsis is a little over one lakh, *i. e.*, ·0028 per cent of the population. Figures for inter-marriages from the community are not available but they would not appreciably affect the totals. It is perhaps feared that the community lose its identity owing to the increasing majorities of communities surrounding it. This is remote as since 1921 the Parsis have increased by 5,500 while the total population of Bombay City where they are concentrated has decreased by over 14,000. But inter-marriages would have had little to do with it.

What "P. A. M." really proposes is a Zoroastrian revival when he wants Parsi tradition and culture to be kept alive. The Markham Report reveals that the education imparted to the average Parsi boy is entirely secular. What is more striking, it shows that contemplated reforms are along secular lines. The education which attracts members of the community most is English education. Unlike the Zionists who seek to return to Palestine, the Parsi revivalist has no desire to go back to Persia. The Report of the Census of India 1931 in a small paragraph comments that "in spite of pressing invitations from Persia the Parsis have shown little inclination to accept" them. The increase in the Census enumeration in spite of a diminishing birth rate is explained by a low death rate and the influx of Iranis from Persia. The remark that the Parsis are inspired by feelings similar to those of the Hebrew Psalmist does not correctly represent the situation today. To the Zoroastrians, strange as it may seem, the "promised land" is not Persia which they left centuries ago, but India which extended hospitality to the victims of persecution. The danger of persecution in Persia is no more. On the other hand a section of Persia is anxious to win back the Parsi community. In spite of this, the influx of Iranis, according to the late Sir Jivanji Modi "recent Zoroastrian immigrants from Persia", has been large enough to present "a difficult educational problem." When "P.A.M." writes of the necessity of impressing on his community the importance of keeping alive the love for Parsi traditions and culture in connection with inter-marriages, he is only using the subject as a peg to hang his sermon on. There are several evils, more potent than inter-marriage, which have to be overcome to achieve "P. A. M.'s" ideal and he recognises this when he concludes with an admonition to his community to consider the issue dispassionately. Non-Parsees who "intervened" in the discussion supported "P. A. M.'s" views that the protest meetings led nowhere and they share his dislike for inter-marriages.

Intercommunal marriages are outside the scope of any particular community. To talk of them as exclusively affecting the Parsis and as such to be dealt with solely by them is absurd. If the bigger communities have to be reminded of their duties to minorities, the minor groups have even more to be educated in matters affecting the treatment of their non-conformist members. It happens only too often that the two parties to an inter-marriage are cut off from the benefecient influence of both communities which adds to their difficulties. The danger to the life of a community through intermarriages is more imaginary than real. The danger to the culture and traditions of a race from the same source is non-existent. This being the case the Parsi community has small cause to maintain its antagonistic attitude towards the very few individuals who marry out of the particular group they happen to born in. On the other hand a more tolerant attitude would go far to retain in the community those men and women who today are forced out of it by the agitation of communal leaders. Intermarriages are far too few to-day to constitute a problem. Those which have taken place between members of different communities have been largely because the educated of all groups and communities tend in this country to form a separate group of their own. There is probably more in common between an educated Hindu, an educated Muslim and an educated Parsi as standardised products of our universities, than there is between an educated Parsi and an uneducated one. It is possible that the spread of education may emphasise in the future communal differences but it is equally likely that education, being largely or solely secular, will work against communal barriers. If in these circumstances any community loses its identity, the causes will lie in the fact that its members did not care sufficiently for its culture and traditions to secure its preservation. No conscious effort on the part of individuals can arouse a love in a community for its culture if its members are indifferent to it. Mr. Markham passes on information which he received that illiteracy exists because Parsi parents in some areas "will not permit their children to attend primary Gujerati schools and that there do not happen to be English teaching schools in those areas." In other words the community insists on English education or no education. It is significant that no such emphasis has been placed on Zend, the language of their scriptures.

It is worth noting that Mr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for 1931, gives three causes for the falling birth-rate among the Parsis:—Their educational progress, economic status and the reduced fertility resultant from inbreeding. If the last cause has been correctly gauged inter-marriages ought to help in preserving the community. The birth-rate has steadily fallen among Parsis in recent years until in 1921, as Mr. Hutton remarks, it was lower than among the French. To counteract the reluctance of members of the community to shoulder the responsibilities of married life, it may be necessary to adopt the methods of European communities similarly circumstanced—that is subsidise marriages and penalise bachelors. So far as I am aware, however, there is neither a Mussolini nor a Hitler in the community to undertake the inauguration of mass marriages. The Parsi community in its trouble may even come to adopt early marriages as a solution of a double problem—the intercommunal marriage one which is so needlessly vexing its members, and the falling birth-rate! The real choice before the Parsis is between the preservation of an illusory racial and communal purity and the liberty of its individual members.

DEMOCRACY AND THE WHITE PAPER.

(By "Argus" of Penukonda)

I was much surprised at Mrs. I. J. Pitt's article under the above caption published in the *Indian Social Reformer* of March 17, 1934. I know Mrs. Pitt claims to be a "sympathetic" woman, sympathetic towards the aspirations of Indians. But I am afraid that the average man, bringing to bear upon her article an unbiased frame of mind, must naturally come to the conclusion that the article is conceived in a very unsympathetic spirit.

To begin with: Her assumption that Government by the majority is democracy, though true in very many cases, may well be challenged in cases where the majority is perverse as in this case. Even an ardent advocate of the present parliament of England to speak on behalf of the people or England, must in his heart of hearts feel that the present parliament – the most conservative known to history—is quite unreasonable in its attitude towards India and her legitimate aspirations, though he may not have the moral courage to express his views openly and in public. He stands only to be disillusioned who believes "that some form of democratic Government suited to Indian conditions will be inaugurated in the near future".

For generations past, England with her usual astuteness has been feeding us with the hope that her mission in this country is to regenerate an ancient people and restore them to their pristine glory. Unsophisticated men that we are, we have been pinning our faith to these declarations, especially because now and then responsible men supported them. But this could not continue for long. When the time for action came, Englishmen began to go back upon their promise in the fond hope of escaping responsibility. Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, tried to explain away the Queen's proclamation by saying that the words used therein should be construed in a narrow sense and that effect should be given to them only as far as possible. Lord Morley from his place in Parliament characterised this as misinterpretation. Lord Lytton and ex-viceroy of India acknowledged that English men have cheated the people of India. Mr. Winston Churchill denied that England ever meant to confer Dominion Status upon India—in spite of clear and unmistakeable declaration by Lord Irwin in October 1929. Instances like this which can be easily multiplied, have invested the pronouncements of British Statesmen with a high degree of unreality and suspicion.

Mrs. Pitt's claim that there will be a momentous transference of responsibility and power into India's hands may be taken *cum grano salis* in the light of our long experience in the past. I will now deal with her article in the order in which she formulates the point at issue and our differences with her.

1. Distrust because it appears as if the Government had changed its liberal policy and was yielding to the outcries of the Die-hards.

The so-called 'National Government' which is only 'national' in name, is discredited even in England. It had no policy worth mentioning. Because it changed its policy, liberals like Sir Herbert Samuel severed their connection with it and returned to the liberal camp and were hailed as "returning prodigals" by Mr. Lloyd George. There is so much schism amongst the members of the British cabinet which determines the fate of this unhappy country. But in spite of it the Government is held together with a view to solving the Indian problem "effectively" and to sealing our fate for many a long year so that a succeeding Government may not be able to give us any reforms worth having.

Speaking on a momentous occasion, Sir Samuel Hoare said that "the machinery of Government has now become so complicated that it is often difficult to get its wheels to move quick enough. So many people have to be consulted and so many interests have to be reconciled before any action is taken, that there is always the risk of action coming too late or of its being so watered down as to be ineffective."

An Indian leader of some fame once remarked, "Sir Samuel Hoare's letter to his constituents indicates the strength of the conservative opposition which will have to be bought off by further attenuation of the proposals discussed at the R. T. Conference." Mr. V. S. Sastry whose views are entitled to respect, once remarked "the overpowering strength of the party behind the Secretary of State for India can be judged by the extent of their influence on the Prime Minister who first gave him the Indian port-folio and now acquiesces in the drastic modification of his programme." Whatever difference of opinion there may be among members of Parliament in other matters so far as India is concerned they are all one in their dealings with India. This was also the policy strongly advocated by Sir John Simon himself off and on. These facts conclusively prove that in spite of apparent non-change of policy of the "National Government" in its dealings with India, it has often been changing its attitude. Considerationss of expediency and not those of justice guide the "National Government" whether there is change of policy or not. This is the firm and unalterable conviction of every self-respecting Indian who is capable of any thought. Even without going out of power the "National Government" can pursue and has been pursuing a policy chalked out for it by the 500 and odd conservative members of Parliament whose one aim is to hold India permanently in their grip and lay the English yoke more firmly than ever on this country for their own self-aggrandisement.

2. Resentment with the opposition:—In theory the statement of our esteemed friend that opposition is a necessary part of the democratic system and the more important the bill to be passed the more deep the feeling and the more violent will be the opposition is very sound. Unfortunately the National Government itself is not dealing fairly with India. Agitation in India for reforms from persons of all shades of political opinion is responsible for the attempt in England to grant what they call "Reforms". Englishmen are only willing to give as little of "Reforms" as possible and satisfy us with a mere show of them. In this predicament men like Sir Henry Page Croft and Mr. Churchill find it very easy to deflect the National Government from its views, as the National Government is not very serious about granting "Reforms". This is not Parliamentary procedure as the party in power and the opposition are to all intents and purposes one, and as the interests of all parties are absolutely identical in dealing with this unfortunate land of ours.

3. Disappointment with the White Paper Scheme which satisfies no one :—

The statement of Mrs. Pitt that disappointment would not have prevailed if close attention had been paid to the pronouncement of Government is absolutely devoid of the least foundation. We in this country have been closely following the happenings in England from stage to stage.

Whatever show of truth there might once have been in this statement of Mrs. Pitt at a time, when the people of India still hoped against hope that the White Paper Scheme might possibly be improved

to the advantage of India by suitable amendments, the White Paper Scheme now stands completely exposed by the conduct of Englishmen who are trying by all means that human ingenuity can devise to whittle down the "Reforms" and make it *Waste Paper* as Dr. De Souza, M. L. A., from his seat in the Assembly said through *lapsus linguae*. The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, India's Ambasador to several parts of the British Empire, than whom England has no better friend, was compelled to say that the White Paper is "disappointing," that it does not take this country anywhere near the *Dominion Status* which was promised to us by responsible men in power on solemn occasions, that though the Scheme does not specifically state that we cannot have *Dominion Status* yet it is a practical denial of it by reason of the great indefiniteness of time when it may be conferred. Mr. Sastry is not alone in this view. He is fortified by the opinions of every Indian leader whose opinions are worth anything.

The deep import and immense potentialities of the White Paper are sufficiently recognised in India. It is much too late for Mrs. Pitt to endeavour to induce India to accept the White Paper in the remote hope that if it is worked with goodwill the new constitution can be shaped into "*Dominion Status*."

As the great Abrahim Lincoln has said you can deceive some people for all times, all people for some time but not all people for all times.

WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE NEW CHINA*

(By Charlotte T. Niven.)

Chinese women have always played an important role in the administration of the family and its possession. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them taking a share in the reconstruction of public and economic life in modern China. At the time of the Revolution a few women came prominently into view, chief among them the wife of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, a member of the famous Soong family. She and her sisters, Mrs. Chiang Kai Shek and Mrs. H. H. Kung, undoubtedly the leading ladies of China to-day, have consistently given their influence and effort on behalf of all movements for social betterment.

The next phase of the Revolution which brought "The Party," the Kuomintang, into being, produced a women's section of the party which pledged itself to the complete emancipation of women, in the interests not only of the women themselves but of the new China. All women's organisations in China were affected by this wave of freedom, this call to serve the nation which was being born. One of the chief among them and the only considerable grouping of Christian women on a national scale is the Y. W. C. A. of China. It has always cared deeply about China, about the conditions of women and children in factory life, and more recently, about women in rural life. China is becoming industrialized too rapidly to wait for the checks and safeguards which other nations have learnt through painful experience to apply. Economic and social problems are multiplying in the process. Eighty percent of China's population is rural. The line of development taken by the millions of rural women may well decide China's future. It is such considerations as these which led the leaders of the Y. W. C. A. of China, as they met in Convention last summer in Shanghai, to decide that their best contribution to the building of the New China would lie in a policy of fundamental education which would lay emphasis on understanding social and economic trends in the present life of the country and on the responsibility of a Christian women's movement to help to build the new social order in China. The task is overwhelming, and would be crushing to women of less courage and devotion. When one realizes what a tiny handful they are, for all their 12,000 members, one is filled with admiration and respect.

Groups of industrial and rural members took part for the first time in National Convention referred to above, and had their full share in choosing the points to be emphasized in the work and study of the Associations for the next few years. Indeed a "five year plan" has been worked out for the guidance of the membership in their various clubs, committees, conferences and discussion groups. Chiefly to be emphasized are the problems of citizenship—the need to understand their government, their rights and responsibilities as citizens, national and international issues, and the resources and needs of their own communities. Problems of livelihood are also to take an important place, both in their immediate relation to the group, in its economic habits of spending and saving, and in the deeper study of questions of unemployment and increase of population.

Birth-control and eugenics are matters of profound interest to the oriental countries, bearing a more than academic reference to the future of those nations, and as a women's organization it was obvious that a vital line of study would follow questions relating to sex, marriage and the home. Here is an enormous field touching the life of millions of Chinese young people and Chinese home, caught in a period of transition from the old and known to the new and not-yet-established. Standards and sanctions carrying the authority of centuries of respectful usage have broken down before the exigencies of the most recent modern life. What is to replace them?

Another Christian group, which included several outstanding women, has taken the way of literature to make its contribution to the new China. The conviction had been growing for some years that there was a need to increase the available Christian literature on many subjects for the use of students and the intellectual class "in view of China's national crisis and the many vital problems which Chinese youth have been facing in recent years." Some fourteen persons representing various forms of Christian educational work in China met for more than three weeks last July, and after making a careful study of material prepared beforehand on the resources of the present situation in China, political, economic and religious, as well as from the point of view of literature, a comprehensive plan was outlined to cover the next few years. This group, in order to give permenance to its work, has organized itself into "The National Association for the Promotion of Christian Literature." While recognizing that "great literature is never produced according to a plan," nevertheless they feel the need of a plan in order to stimulate production. The declared purpose of this effort to create a Christian literature for China is "to guide and enrich the life of youth by breathing into it the Christian spirit and by making full use of modern knowledge, so as to fit it into the existing social environment for the creation of an ideal society."

The foregoing may seem to be too educational or too literary to have a very definite effect on the building of the new nation. There are many who prefer the way of action. A number of able women have

*The writer of this article, Miss Charlotte T. Niven, General Secretary of the World's Y. W. C. A., has returned recently from an extensive tour of the Oriental and South Pacific Countries. This tour was made together with the President, Jonkwrouw van Asch van Wijck.

taken positions in the new ministries in Nanking and are enthusiastic about the new structure that is growing up under their hands. The present writer, however, who has spent some time in China in the course of the past year, shares the conviction of the Chinese groups here described that the educational approach is the only fundamental way of attacking the overwhelming problem which China presents to-day. The method is admittedly slow but one comes to distrust in such a country as China many of the short cuts leading to special forms of government, to the building up of a great commercial structure resembling that of the western nations, or to quick and superficial schooling, to fit people for modern occupations. Whatever the method employed, however, there seems to be safety in pinning one's faith to the inherent reasonableness of the Chinese people who will in time evolve, in the words of the Y. W. C. A. report before quoted, "a just and satisfying social order." Our organization is proud to be helping to lay some of its foundation stones.

JAPANESE COLONISATION IN BRAZIL.*

(By Pastor Dr. D. Schroder, Berlin.)

The migratory movement, which has been going on between Europe and other continents for more than three centuries, has always reached large proportions when a certain pressure has been brought to bear on the old countries by economic or other crises or by big increases in population; in other words when subsistence, or the means of earning it, became too limited, and economic and cultural needs could no longer be satisfied. So emigration to North American started, and until quite recently, that country has absorbed hundreds of thousands of immigrants every year. Industry there had an almost unlimited capacity for absorption.

To-day this is no longer the case. Here too unemployment has attained unforeseen dimensions and the industries can easily meet their labour requirements in the country itself. North America, therefore, has ceased to be a country of immigration. Yet, as the pressure of population in the countries of emigration did not decrease, other regions capable of receiving a part of the excess population of the old world had to be found, and attention was turned to the vast areas of virgin forest in South America. Here there was still enough room. At the same time as this change in objective, a change in the *structure* of emigration has also occurred. Agriculture, and not industry, is now absorbing the emigrant.

This change, and the problems arising therefrom were first apparent to Japan and Poland.

Below I give a short description of the Japanese settlement founded in South America.

Even before 1914, Japanese immigration into Brazil was distinguished by the fact that right from the start, and even in its most insignificant beginnings, the Government was behind the emigration associations. In 1907, shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, the first lot of coffee plantation workers went out to Brazil on an emigrant steamer, subsidised by the Japanese Government. This immigration of workers under contract went on from 1907 to 1913. But as early as 1912 the first regular Japanese agricultural colony was founded. In the uncolonized coastal plains south of the state of Sao Paulo, some territory by Iguape, suitable for cultivating rice, was provided, and in 1913, about 6,000 Japanese immigrants sett ed there.

Japanese immigration ceased from 1914 to 1917. Then however, the lack of Italian and Portuguese labour made itself felt to such an extent in Brazil, that Japanese immigration recommenced and was noteworthy for the perfect manner in which it was organized. Encouraged by the Japanese Government, the four most important emigration associations merged in 1917 into the "Kaigai Kyokai Chuekai" (Associations for Agricultural Development Abroad) with a capital of about 10 million Yen. In 1918, 6,000 more Japs migrated to Brazil. In 1920 there were about 28,000 there, on about 20,000 hectares (approx. 50,000 acres) of land, mostly in the Iguape region. During 1920 to 1923 there was a certain decrease, and less than 1000 entered annually. This decrease did not, however, continue and a considerable increase ensued which may be illustrated by the following figures:

1924, 3,700; 1925, 4,600; 1926, 6,200; 1927, 9,200; 1928, 11,200; 1929, 17,000; 1930, 14,000; 1931, 5,200; 1932, 115,000.

The organization of this by no means insignificant emigration movement ought briefly to be mentioned.

It can be divided into the following headings: (1) Home organization: (2) General instructions to the Immigrants: (3) Colonization in Central Brazil and the Amazon Territory.

Home organization: Emigration Associations and also a Bank were established with the support of the state. The selection of emigrants is very strictly carried out. They are taught the geography of Brazil and the Portuguese language.

As regards the behaviour of the Emigrants to Brazil, a certain assimilation to the country is expected. Savings should be invested in Brazil, Brazilian nationality should be obtained and *conversion to the Catholic religion recommended.*

Colonization: Immigrants are first distributed among the coffee plantations for two or three years. These are specially selected by Consular Officials. Later they are established on their own land, so that new arrivals are always settled in colonies where there are people who have already become accustomed to the life. In addition even after his establishment, the immigrant continues to receive assistance. Doctors give advice on health; itinerant agricultural teachers prepare plans of cultivation and give advice on insect destruction as well as suitable manures. The purchase of agricultural machinery is arranged.

At present about 150,000 Japanese immigrants are divided as follows among the Brazilian States detailed below:

Amazones	132	Espirite Sante	7
Para	753	Rie de Janeira	1150
Geyaz	410	Sae Paule	106557
Matte Gross	1430	Parana	3720
Minas Gereas	2115	Rio Grande de Sol	5

It can be confidently stated that the ofllowing objects were attained;

(*a*) a noteworthy easing of the Japanese labour market, owing to the withdrawal of about 150,000 people:

(*b*) assured placement of these people as agricultural settlers, with safe prospects of independence and later comparative affluence.

* Report presented to the Permanent Conference for the Protection of Migrants, Tenth Session.

THE PRESS AND PEACE.

The results of the Conference of governmental Press bureaux and representatives of the Press, held at Madrid in November, were reported to the Council of the League of Nations by the representative of Denmark. That Conference dealt particularly with the problem of the spread of false information which might threaten to disturb the peace of the world and the good understanding between nations. It was attended by representatives of Governmental Press bureaux from thirty-three

countries, as well as by representatives of news agencies, delegates of international journalists' associations and national associations of newspaper publishers.

The Council was informed that the Madrid Conference showed progress in every respect as compared with the first Conference which was held two years ago in Copenhagen. The Copenhagen Conference had initiated an enquiry into the problem of false news, and these replies were examined at Madrid and made the basis for further suggestions. Two main ideas emerged as a result of this enquiry: first, respect for the freedom of the Press, and, second, the expediency of full authentic information to be communicated as soon as possible to the Press. In the light of these principles, two groups of resolutions were adopted by the Madrid Conference, one dealing with securing the spread of more accurate news, the other with improvements in the field of the international organisation of the Press.

The Conference recommended the constitution of a committee of experts to report on technical and financial methods of remedying the spread of false news. These experts would be asked to study particularly an interesting memorandum on this subject, submitted by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations. This committee of experts will be appointed by the Organising Committee set up at Madrid.

The Council was also informed of a resolution proposed at Madrid on the initiative of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Periodicals looking toward ways of correcting false Press reports in the international field. The Conference was of opinion that, until a comprehensive solution of this problem could be found, it might be possible to correct false Press reports through the application of bilateral and multilateral Press agreements. The Council was informed that a first step in this direction had been taken by an agreement between national associations of newspaper publishers from Switzerland, the Netherlands and Poland.

Several Press organisations represented at Madrid believed it would be desirable to deal even more broadly with the problem of false news. The Conference accordingly endorsed a proposal for a detailed historical study of the effects of Press news on national feeling during past crises, and of the influence that news would appear to have exercised on the development of such crises. The Council decided to submit this broad proposal to the Assembly for consideration before making any recommendation.

The scope of the Madrid Conference may be further noted in resolution pertaining to an international federation of associations of directors and publishers of newspapers, the proposal for an international identity card for journalists, an international court of honour for journalists, and a resolution regarding the important problem of the status of Press correspondents in countries other than their own, on which point the Madrid Conference expressed the hope "that there may be established a general code of rules of a political, legal and professional character calculated to ensure security for the work and person of Press correspondents in countries other than their own."

The Madrid Conference urged that such meetings of directors of governmental Press bureaux and representatives of the Press should become periodical, and asked that arrangements for the preparation of future sessions be left with the Information Section of the League Secretariat, after consultation with the various Press groups concerned. The Council, while fully appreciating the value of these meetings, thought it necessary to leave it to the Assembly to decide the financial and administrative limits of any assistance that may be afforded by the League Secretariat.

The representatives of Cuba and the Argentine on the Council expressed the hope that a Spanish-American Press Conference would be convened, in accordance with suggestions frequently put forward by various newspapers, adding that it would be desirable if the League would encourage the proposal for such a congress, which would be enthusiastically welcomed by all Latin-American countries.

SATYAGRAHA AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

(By Mahatma Gandhi)

This statement was drafted by me on my day of silence at Sasra, that is, Easter Monday, April 2. I passed it on to Rajendra Babu, and then it was circulated among the friends, who were present. The original draft has undergone considerable revision. It is also abridged. But in essence, it remains as it was on Monday. I regret that I have not been able to show this to all friends and colleagues with whom I would have been delighted to share it. But as I had no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of my decision and as I know that the civil resistance of some friends was imminent, I was not prepared to take the risk of delaying publication by waiting for the opinion of friends.

Every word of this statement is in answer to intense introspection, searching of the heart and waiting upon God. The decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual. It is a humble admission of my own limitations and a due sense of the tremendous responsibility that I have carried on my shoulders all these long years.

This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram, who had just come out of prison and whom at Rajendra Babu's instance, I had sent to Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing, who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of 'satyagraha.'

More than the imperfection of the friend whom I love more than ever, it brought home to me my own imperfection. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness, I was blind. Bindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must, for the time being, remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.

During the informal conference week, at Poona, in July last, I had stated that, while many individual civil resisters would be welcome, even one was sufficient to keep alive the message of Satyagraha.

Now after much searching of the heart, I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one and that myself and no other should, for the time being, bear the responsibility of civil resistance if it is to succeed as a means of achieving "purna" Swaraj.

I feel that the masses have not received the full message of 'Satyagraha' owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission.

It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the masses throughout my Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. The workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and the fervour of the vast masses

whom they had never reached.

Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used for what may appear to be mundane ends, and through men and women who do not understand its spirituality provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them directing their use. I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of this science of Satyagraha, precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him.

The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for 'Swaraj' as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence.

I give this opinion as the author and initiator of satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for 'Swaraj' under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance.

I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interest of India's fight for freedom. I am in deadly earnest about this greatest of weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is claimed for satyagraha that it is a complete substitute for violence or war.

It is designed, therefore, to reach the hearts, both of the socalled "terrorists" and the rulers who seek to root out the "terrorists" by emasculating the whole nation. But the indifferent civil resistance of many, grand as it has been in its results, has not touched the hearts either of the " terrorists " or the rulers as a class.

Unadulterated satyagraha must touch the hearts of both. To test the truth of the proposition, satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time. The trial has never been made. It must be made now. Let me caution the reader against mistaking satyagraha for mere civil resistance. It covers much more than civil resistance. It means relentless search for Truth and the power that such a search gives to the searcher. The search can only be pursued by strictly non-violent means.

What are the civil resisters thus freed to do, if they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes? They must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty.

Workers thus released by me must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of khaddar through personal hand-spinning and hand-weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every walk of life, the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person, the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and generally by cultivating personal purity.

These are services which provide maintenance of the poor man's scale. Those for whom the poor man's scale is not feasible should find a place in small unorganised industries of national importance which give a better wage.

Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary obedience to law and authority.

It is hardly necessary to say that in issuing this statement I am in no way usurping the function of the Congress. Mine is mere advice to those who look to me for guidance in matters of satyagraha.

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF ISLAM

A brilliant lecture on "The Decline of Islam—Its Causes and Remedies" was delivered by Dr. Bedjhjet Wahby, the well-known Egyptian scholar, on Sunday evening, at a large public meeting, organised under the auspices of the Bombay Muslim Students' Union, at the Anjuman-i-Islam Hall, Bombay, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, presided. At the end of the lecture Dr. Wahby answered a few questions put to him by some among the audience. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was among those present.

In introducing Dr. Wahby to the audience, Mr. S. A. Brelvi said that the lecturer was one of the most cultured men living. He had travelled extensively in Islamic countries and had come into intimate contact with well-known men in Egypt and Turkey, who had made history. He was also a deep student of Islamic history. His knowledge of men and affairs, particularly of the Near East, was such that what he did not know about them was not worth knowing.

Dr. Wahby prefaced the exposition of what he termed as a "very wide subject, impossible to be treated in full detail" namely, the subject of "the Decline of Islam—Its Causes and Cures," with the remark that the neglect of "a great religion" by the modern Islamic generation was perhaps only the symptom of the disease that began with the increasing materialistic tendencies and the emphasis so prevalent in the West and in the rest of the world.

"At a time when we are expecting more and more prosperity," the lecturer felt that Islam with its emphasis on happiness in this world, had a large part to play.

The word "religion" possessed no precise meaning. It pointed out the great duties and truths—regarding, for example, the deity, future life, prayer, and these formed the characteristics of all religions.

The characteristic of Islam was that, apart from the future life, is also emphasised and included the whole of the physical and mental activities of man on earth itself and in which character it fundamentally differed from Christianity with its dogma of "My Kingdom is not of this world." This was a vital difference in the claim of Islam for its tenet "Universal Brotherhood of Man" in this world itself. It explained the democratic character of Islam.

Islam was concerned with the primary and important question of the Creator and of the creature and the bond between the two. Islam also taught and insisted that Man had certain definite duties to perform in this world as apart from the other world. These duties were detailed and laid down by the Sheriat. Islam enjoined on Man the "duty of acquiring knowledge, unceasingly from the cradle to the very grave."

The ignorance and backwardness of Muslims in the face of this important injunction in the Sheriat was, therefore, "astounding" and was an indelible 'shame'. The great Muslim Fraternity that extended over vast areas should blot out this shame, added the lecturer.

The Christians in their long struggle with "Scholasticism" had put forth their finest efforts to liberate true Christian thought from the stranglehold of mere scholasticism and dogma. It was only after an intense struggle with "drab scholasticism" that the principle of "Christian Service" was realised to be capable of usage for betterment of Man in his social climb. The struggle with Islamic Scholasticism and the return to pristine and living faith in the great principles of Islam was, therefore, a preliminary condition to advance.

The Islamic Message of the Brotherhood of Man that spread to the uttermost confines of the earth had no parallel in history of the world observed Dr. Wahby. Such a great fraternity of people of diverse races with brotherhood and equality before God and Man betokened vital principles of life as found in Islam. This message that all of us are brothers, that all humanity forms one big fraternity is the basic factor of the Islamic religion. In fact it was the corner-stone of the whole edifice. It explained Islam's democratic equalitarian nature.

As such, the creeping in of 'narrow Nationalism' into the Islamic people was undoubtedly another cause of weakness in the Islamic Faith. The political unit in pre-Islamic world was the "tribe," knit together by "blood-bonds or kinship." The fact that hostile tribes and races were knit together into one Religious Faith of Islam showed that Islam rejected "blood-kinship" as the tie or bond for Man and society to endure. The political and Social ties that narrow Nationalisms insisted on maintaining was, therefore, alien to Islam which was a fraternity of Man in this world itself.

How narrow nationalism wrecked Islam, how dangerous it proved to Islam was demonstrated in the revolts in Turkish national history before the War and even after. "The only ties that bind me to my brothers is the Muslim tie and not the narrow sentiment of nationalism that circumscribes Man, and which I disclaim," said the lecturer.

Another weakness that Islam suffered from in its early History was the malignant influence of "autocracy" as could be judged by its effects on Islam. A good autocrat may be able to advance the interests of humanity in religion or in politics, but it was impossible to ensure equally worthy "successions." The arrival of autocracy at the head of Islam did, therefore, a great harm just before the Crusades. The atmosphere of corruption that the autocrat induced and the importation of whims as a factor into the movements of religion was a drag on the growth of Islam.

The division of Islamic countries among contending autocrats who indulged in fratricidal war in which the Religious Faith was exploited for ulterior motives, contributed to the decline of Islam before the advent of the western forces of Nationalism.

The speaker then dealt with the historical part of Islam and divided the growth and decline of Islam into two periods from the beginning to the Crusades and from the Crusades to the present day.

In examining the political fortunes of the Islamic powers, particularly Turkey and Egypt, the speaker referred to the fact that the West entertained "almost an incredible amount of prejudice against and contempt for, Turkey and the Islamic Culture" that could even be termed "almost a hereditary influence on the Western historical mind." Indeed, the East itself was looked down upon by the West. The speaker mentioned that even history had been written by the Western historians with this prejudice uneliminated. The speaker said that Turkish-Egyptian rulers were reformist in many outstanding cases, and had given other nationals full freedom and instanced the liberties bestowed on the Christian Patriarch at the conquest of Constantinople by Mohamed the Conqueror.

The speaker then traced the growth of Islamic culture under the Sultans of Turkey when scholars congregated in Constantinople.

The Crusades interfered with the growth of Islam, and later the discovery of the East Trade route and the route to America with the attending factors of the grab for gold by the Western nations, together with rise of Industrialism, and the ocean transport finally eclipsed the world of Islam. The Mongolian invasion was another serious blow to Muslim culture.

More recently, continued the speaker, the Islamic Orient was witnessing a revival. Ottoman principalities had risen after the war. Turkey was initiating an experiment in Western technique which the speaker felt was important in the aspect of Science that could usefully be imported in the East, while the other aspects of Western civilization might carefully be left severely alone. Egypt under Zaglul Pasha had improved much. Kemal Pasha himself recently was devoting his attention to religion, as could be seen from his visit to the mosque and his speech on Islam. "From all that we have taken from Europe I do not think, we have benefitted much. So a consultation as among doctors before a serious case of malady, should be held and it has become necessary. But the only important thing we have to import from the West is Science—Science with its rationalism, and its logic—Science that is the common legacy of mankind to-day," concluded the lecturer.

MARY BORDEN ON MARRIAGE.

Marriage requires a definite technique! that is more essential than any of the emotions supposed to guarantee its happiness, said Miss Mary Borden. One must know certain correct ways of handing marriage, the same as in playing the piano, printing a picture, or building a house. You cannot do any of these without using special thinking. An architect does not build a house simply by having a lovely dream, then sitting down and wishing a structure would rise out of the ground. Yet people about to be married think they will be happy, and everything perfectly lovely, simply because they wish it!

Practical experience—I have been married twenty-five years and am the mother of three grown-up children—has convinced me that a sound technique could steer most couples into happy marriage-land. For illustrative purposes let us consider the technique of marriage as a drama in five acts and an epilogue.

Act I would bring out that marriage is a social engagement—not a sex adventure. Matrimony is simply two lives side by side, a steady companionship in the arduous adventure of life and guarantee against loneliness.

It isn't half so boring as the life of those women who have a string of men friends. True, each one loves her while it lasts, but it is an endless repetition. Friendship with one man is far more interesting than friendship with those who come and go and drop out of your life altogether. The change-demanding type really have no staying powers and are shallow, unimaginative creatures.

In Act II, I would have the young couple realize that to marry for love is dangerous. Dangerous—but a risk worth taking! I am always on the side of the romantic girl who marries for love, not the cautious one after money. I believe in marrying for love, but how many know what love is? So many are often smitten by someone who has dimples or a pair of broad shoulders, trusting entirely to these notions when they are young and callow.

The danger in romance is greater than in monotony. It is no good for a woman to say: "Now that I'm married, I am safe!" You aren't! At no time can you sit back and say: "Now that I have married him I can do as I like. He's mine."

He isn't! People are still under the illusion that marriage is a stuffy, monotonous thing that will last for ever.

Act III would tell how to make it last. By making the standards of married life equal those that exist among friends, marriage should last longer. The standards among friends are much higher than those required of married people! We allow husbands

and wives to be rude to each other, and say, "It's only his wife." But we don't stand by and let a man abuse a friend.

The woman who says, "It's no use having my hair done, the man coming home to dinner is only my husband," takes the trouble to look pleasant for her friends. She considers what they like to eat and what pleases them, or else they would not remain friends. We don't tyrannize them and say, "You must eat this milk pudding because it's good for me!" and tell them which of their own companions to drop. If a girl is sharing a flat with someone whose companions she does not like, she arranges to go out when they call and so does not meet them. Instead of doing this with her husband's friends, she rows and makes scenes. Thus women presume on the men they marry and think it doesn't matter.

Act IV shows that exclusive possession is a mistake. Curb your selfish instincts and see the other person's point of view. Most of us are blind to ourselves. Therefore it is a very good exercise to do the opposite of what you want. That leads to a measure of self-restraint.

A wife's duties in the home comprise Act V. Much unrest and discontent among young married couples are due to the fact that some women cannot cook. They hate housework and don't make their husbands comfortable. The world tends to be divided between home-workers and those who live in labour-saving flats and eat in restaurants, really communal kitchens. Many women have gone so far ahead in careers that they would simply hate to go back as wives. But the come-back-to-the-kitchen spirit must win out, for without family life marriages will not survive.

If ever the time should come when the State brings up the children, the institution of marriage will lapse and men and women drift apart.

I think young married couples should learn early that occasional separation is one of the best things for them. The joys of reunion after such separations always make for happiness, and these separations have a tendency to make each long for the other. If you can perpetuate that constant longing for a mate, there is little danger of the marriage going on the rocks.—*Indian Nation.*

DAVID EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR HARIJANS.

Mr. A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary, Harijan Seva Sangh, writes :

The David Educational Scholarships were instituted by the Harijan Sewak Sangha in July 1933, for encouraging the higher education of harijans. Higher education under this scheme means collegiate and University education only, general as well as technical and professional. Last year 46 such scholarships of the average value of Rs.12/4/- were awarded. The Harijan Sewak Sangha intends to grant 66 new scholarships this year, to enable Harijans to prosecute their higher studies in any educational institution recognised or approved by the Central Board. Forty-four ordinary scholarships of the monthly value of Rs. 10/- to Rs. 20/- will be awarded according to the merit of each applicant, due consideration being paid to his circumstances. Twenty-two scholarships of the monthly value of Rs. 15/- to Rs. 25/- have been reserved for industrial and vacational courses of study. Applications for scholarships shall be made to the General Secretary, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Birla Mills, Delhi. All applications for scholarships must be recommended by the Head of the institution to which a student belongs and supported by two respectable gentlemen belonging to the locality. Applications must reach the Head Office on or before the 31st of May 1934. Failed students or those enjoying Government or other scholarships need not apply. The scholarships are not awarded to students pursuing their studies in schools. Applications on prescribed forms, obtained from this office alone will be duly considered. A copy of rules for the administration of the David Educational scholarships can be had from the Head Office, free of charge.

STIMULATING SWADESHI.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (President), Mr. M. Subbaroya Aiyar, (Treasurer). Dewan Bahadur C. V. Viswanatha Sastri, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. V. M. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M. L. C., Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, M. L. C., (Member of the Executive) and Mr. B. Shiva Rao, (Secretary,) The Buy Indian League, Madras, have issued the following statement :

"The Buy Indian League has been in existence for two years. During this period, in spite of various difficulties, lack of funds being the most pressing, it is our belief that the League has done appreciable good in stimulating the Swadeshi spirit through its many branches in the Presidency, and a number of successful exhibitions held at different centres. With the experience thus gained and the confidence that the work is on right lines and demands further development, we have decided to expand the League into a Board of Industrial and Rural Development. It need hardly be said that the Board will be absolutely non-partisan and non-political in character, and will seek the co-operation of local bodies, the Government and the public, without any distinction, whatsoever.

"We have been able to secure a large hall on the Esplanade in George Town (Opposite the High Court buildings) for a permanent Exhibition of Indian manufactures. Our chief aim will be to offer marketing facilities to the products of cottage industries in South India in particular, and to focus public attention on the problems of rural reconstruction. The success of our efforts will be the extent to which we are able to solve the problem of unemployment both amongst the working classes and the educated young men in South India. No problem the solution of which is necessary for rebuilding India's economic life will be outside the purview of the Board. In this task we shall both offer and seek the co-operation of officials and non-officials in the firm conviction that the work which we are undertaking is beyond the region of controversy.

"We shall emphasise, whenever and wherever possible, the co-operative principle. Some of our goods were on exhibition at the British Industries Fair at Birmingham this year, with results promising steady orders from abroad. The Board will endeavour to establish connections with institutions in other provinces working in similar lines in the hope that, at a not distant date there may be an All-India Board aimng at the revival of village life and rural development."

In a supplementary statement to the Press, Mr. B. Shiva Rao explains "that a number of prominent manufacturers have already taken up space in the new building. Its location on Esplanado is bound to prove attractive. We are sending a circular to all district boards and rural reconstruction centres to assist us in this work."

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

American Gift to Geneva :—The new buildings in the park of Ariana at Geneva are nearing completion. There are three blocks—the Assembly Hall, in the centre, being flanked by the Secretariat building and the building of the new Library. To make

the International Research Library possible, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Junior, gave to the League of Nations the sum of two million dollars. So much progress has been made with the building that its equipment will begin in the autumn, and the Library will be open to readers early in 1935. No pains have been spared to make the Library the last word in efficiency and simplicity. Its first floor will be devoted to books and periodicals; the second floor will consist of a series of libraries—legal, economic, financial; while the third floor will have its accommodation in small rooms for researchers and students. The League Library will take rank with the great libraries of the world, and is certain to become the greatest International research centre. Already it has a nucleus of 180,000 volumes, and the rate of increase is 2,000 a year. And, of course, it will enjoy the advantage of being supplied regularly by all the Governments with their official publications.

The Rope Trick:—That the Indian Rope Trick never has been done, never can be done and never will be done is the conclusion reached by the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle. The Committee, which consists of experts in conjuring and occult practice, has carried out investigations into one of the world's most famous legends over a period of fifteen years. Scores of witnesses, who claim to have seen the trick, have been examined but the evidence of all of them has been rejected by the Committee. Nobody could be found who could perform the trick. The Committee's conclusion will be communicated to the meeting of the Magic Circle at London on April 30 at which Lord Ampthill is to preside. Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Elliott, Chairman of the Committee, will describe the investigations which, he contends, have not produced any shred of evidence to show that the Rope Trick is not a myth. "Most of the evidence we heard was worthless. For example, one witness claimed to have seen it performed in the Madras Presidency by a troupe, which gave public exhibitions of it, but there was not a single reference to it in the contemporary press. Another witness, aged sixty, described in detail the performance of the trick which she claimed to have seen at the age of six. Yet another produced photographs, showing a boy at the top of a rope, which was found afterwards to be a bamboo. There remains the suggestion that the witnesses were hypnotised. To us, it is impossible to believe that anybody could induce hypnosis in a number of people, gathered round him and at some distance from him. Nor can normal people under the influence of ordinary suggestion believe in anything so impossible as the defiance of gravity".

Islamic Research in Bombay:—The first annual general meeting of the Islamic Research Association was held on Sunday at the house of the president, Mr. A. M. Mecklai. According to the annual report, as read by the Secretary, a series of works on Islamic subjects had been taken in hand, of which three volumes had been published and three more aremexpected to appear in the coming year. The chief aim of the Executive committee is to publish an English translation of the "Introduction" (Mukaddima), the famous work on the philosophy of history by Ibn Khaldoon, a contemporarty of Temerlane, which is prescribed in many universities in India. The president, in his address, pointed out that many even highly educated Indian Muslims have not the slightest idea of the spiritual evolution of their community. Scientific research alone could remove the misunderstandings, prejudices and misconceptions which exist not only between the Muslim and other communities, but also among the different branches of Islam itself.

Russia and the League:—The Russia will be admitted as a member of the League of Nations at the next Assembly in September is the hope in the League circles. The questisn will be discussed when M. Litvinoff arrives shortly on the resumption of the disarmament talks. The sertious obstacles, however, are: Firstly, the Soviet's preliminary stipulations to which some members find difficulty in agreeing and, secondly, Switzerland's obdurate refusal to recognise the Soviet.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

A Breach of Privilege:—The adoption by the House of Commons on Monday of a motion by Mr. Winston Churchill to refer to the Committee of Privileges his allegation of a breach of privilege by Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Derby in bringing pressure to bear upon the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to modify the draft of its evidence tendered to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, is of more than ordinary interest. Mr. Churchill pointed out that the evidence of the Chamber as it was drafted and circulated in June last year was entirely different from that eventually tendered before the Parliamentary Committee in December and he alleged that the change was brought about by Sir Samuel Hoare at a dinner given to Manchester representatives by Lord Derby. Sir Samuel Hoare contended that the change, which he admitted, was due to the representation of the Indian mill representatives whom the delegates from Manchester met in India. Mr. Hammersley, who was one of the latter, denied this and said that the original memorandum was not altered in consequence of the advice of the Delegation to India. On the contrary, the delegation advised that it was essential that safeguards should be included. The Speaker ruled that a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege had been made out. Government did not oppose and the motion was agreed to. Many people in India are under the impression that the opposition of Mr. Churchill to the White Paper is a tactical move to induce the Indian public to support it! The Anglo-Indian Press has certainly utilised it in precisely that way. It has held up Mr. Churchill as an inveterate die-hard and Sir Samuel Hoare as the champion of India doing battle to protect her interests. Indians, on the other hand, are far from being enamoured of the White Paper and they would not be plunged in inconsolable grief if Mr. Churchill and his friends succeed in shelving it. The scheme of that Paper is not designed to satisfy Indian aspirations but to prevent their being satisfied in the near future. It is a "blocking" scheme.

Log Rolling:—The supporters of the Mody-Lees Pact in this country have claimed that it was instrumental in modifying the opposition of Lancashire to the White Paper. Sir Phiroze Sethna first put forward this plea. It was since repeated in the Legislative Assembly by its Indian sponsor, Mr. H. P. Mody. But neither Sir Phiroze Sethna nor Mr. Mody admitted that they made representations to the Lancashire Delegation with a view to getting their evidence altered. This, however, is what Sir Samuel Hoare suggested. He was certain that when the Committee investigated the case they would find that the alteration in the memorandum was due to representations by the Indian Delegation. This would mean that the Indian delegation offered certain concessions in trade to Lancashire in order to induce Lancashire to mitigate its hostility to Indian Constitutional reforms as represented by the White Paper. The Indian Delegation were not authorised by any public body to undertake this task which was entirely outside their purview. If Sir Samuel Hoare is right, this, apart from the merits of the Pact, would be an instance of log-rolling. The Committee of Privileges will find information from the Indian point of view bearing upon the enquiry in the official report of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly on March 14. Mr. Ghaznavi said that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce submitteed its statement which was very annoying. "I do not know," he added, "Why the President, Lord Linlithgow, postponed their examination from month to month, because in the agenda it was found that they were to have been examined in July, and it was postponed until after the recess." The House of Commons Committee will probably find that the Secretary of State for India was not quite discreet in meeting the manufacturers at the Derby dinner but that there is no proof that he wanted them to alter their memorandum.

A Serious Allegation.—In the House of Commons on Monday Lt.-Col. R. V. K. Applin, a Conservative member, asked the Secretary of State for India for the reasons for externing Lady Nethersole from Jammu and Kashmir: also whether she might now return home. Sir

Samuel Hoare replied that the lady left Kashmir under an expulsion order issued by the Resident on the ground that she encouraged agitation against the State. Lt Col. Applin suggested that the lady was turned out because she protested against the public flogging of women which she witnessed. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that it was not in accordance with his information which showed that she was causing a great deal of trouble at a critical moment for Kashmir and it was necessary to expel her in the interests of safety. Thus far Reuter. The Indian public learns now for the first time that Lady Nethersole, evidently an Englishwoman who has made her home in Kashmir, was expelled by the order of the Resident. Col. Applin suggested that she was expelled because she protested against the public flogging of women which she witnessed. The Secretary of State, one would expect, would indignantly and categorically repudiate the suggestion as an outrage on the British name. His answer that it was not in accordance with his information, shows that he did not appreciate the seriousness of the charge. The public are left wondering what Lady Nethersole could have done to cause so much trouble as to justify the order of exclusion. Was there flogging of women in Kashmir or did the Conservative Colonel invent it?

Indians in U. S. A:—A Reuter's message of the 15th states that Dr. D. P. F. Ghadiali of Malaga, Ohio, who became a citizen of the United States in 1917, after serving in the American Army during the War, may be deported from the country on the ground that he comes under the ban against Asiatics. There seems to be some confusion in the mind of the correspondent who drafted this message. In the first place, so far as we know, there is no ban against Asiatics as much. Then Dr. Ghadiali is said to have served in the American Army before he became a citizen of the States. This on the face of it seems improbable. Then, again, he is said to have become naturalised in 1917. The American Government was reported to have cancelled the naturalisation of a few Indians shortly after the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Mr. Thin. But in the majority of cases they took no action. Recently, the Roosevelt Government has removed the restrictions on Indian students engaging in remunerative employment during their period of studies; and it was also reported that they have restored the citizenship of three or four persons who had been deprived of it. It is highly improbable that it will deport Dr. Ghadiali on the ground of his being an Asiatic. The Emigration Department makes no distinction between Parsis and other Indians. The point was made clear in a recent correspondence relating to the exact position of natives of India entering the States.

Well-Meant but Embarrassing:—We are afraid the well-intentioned action of members of the Legislative Assembly in asking Government to declare their intentions in regard to meetings of Congress organizations in view of Gandhiji's statement recommending the discontinuance of Civil Disobedience by Congressmen except himself, has been more embarrassing than helpful to Congress leaders. Goverment's position, as stated by the Home Member in reply to a question from Mr. Ranga Iyer, is that they will raise no obstacle to meetings of the All-India Gongress Committee, or, if the Congress leaders so prefer, of the Indian National Congress, *for the purpose of ratifying* the statement recently made by Gandhiji calling off civil disobedience. That is to say, every person who attends should virtually pledge himself beforehand to ratify Gandhiji's statement. There is no object in calling a meeting under such a condition. Government are taking no risks. They are not satisfied with gestures. They want undertakings which admit of no doubt and leave no room for different interpretations. Dr. Ansari's view that in making his statement Gandhiji's has been moved by magnanimity, is evidently not the Government view. In any case, they do not intend to be magnanimous.

Miss Rathbone and The Traffic in Arms:—There was some liveliness at the annual meeting of Vickers last Monday, and Sir Herbert Lawrence, the chairman, had a troublesome quarter of an hour with his shareholders, writes the *New Statesman and Nation*, of the 31st March. "Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M. P., again raised the point first brought out in the House of Commons that Vickers were advertising tanks in the German press. She produced evidence, including a letter from the advertising manager of a paper, to refute Sir John Simon's statement in Parliament that the paper in question had a large public outside Germany. It appeared, in fact, that less than 800 copies went abroad. The advertisements, said Sir Herbert Lawrence, were designed for "their old and valued clients" in South America. The effect of this confession was somewhat spoiled by another shareholder observing that, if this were the sole object of the advertisements, for the same expenditure each of the old and valued clients outside Germany could be sent two circulars in his own language instead of one advertisement in German. Of course, nobody accuses Vickers of not playing fair according to the rules of the game. But what is the game—this game of private traffic in arms? Asked point-blank by Miss Rathbone to deny that Vickers were secretly rearming Germany and Austria, Sir Herbert replied: "I cannot give an assurance in definite terms of that nature, but I can assure you that nothing is done without the complete sanction and approval of your own Government." The shareholders were thus left with the comforting knowledge that if their company were aggravating the danger on the Continent, it was with the full support of the British Cabinet." The sale of armaments by private firms to belligerent nations has been for same time a live issue at the Cisarmament Conference. Miss Rathbone's protest though ineffective is a timely one.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, APRIL 21, 1934.

THE INTERNATIONAL KALEIDOSCOPE

It is refreshing now and then to take our minds off our own problems and to let them wander a while on happenings in other lands. It is also probable that the Indian constitutional problem may be determined by a shake of the international kaleidoscope after all the time and ingenuity spent on the White Paper. It is not only useful as a mental relaxation but it also gives us the right perspective of our special difficulties, to cast a glance at the world outside. The thing that most strikes one on a superficial survey of the changes in other countries, is their enormous magnitude. Ten years ago Russia was the pariah of the Western world. Nothing was too bad to be said of Soviet manners and morals. They were untouchable, unspeakable, unnameable. Soviet Russia has lived down all this. It has been recognised by all other Governments, the last to do so being the United States of America. Russia is now being persuaded to join the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on the Council the caste panchayat of Europe. Germany ten years ago was groaning under the weight of reparations. As a Power, great or small, she had ceased to exist. She had to cringe and fawn for favours from the other Powers. Today, Germany holds the centre of the European stage. Herr Hitler is treating the Treaty of Versailles as a scrap of paper. The country is permeated by the spirit of War. Sylvia Saunders, writing in the *New Statesman and Nation*, her impressions of what she saw during a recent visit to Germany, observes: "War is no longer spoken of as a possibility. Its eventual fields of action are often discussed—the Ukraine, the Rhine, alliance with Japan, a German base in the Pacific, and so on—over beer and skittle in a matter of fact way." Three million men and boys, she says, are already in uniform marching in excellent formation, drilling and parading every Sunday and on two evenings in the week. "The poster maps hang on all notice boards in schools and universities, in clubs and libraries. There are maps of Africa....There are maps of Europe where the frontiers of Germany cover three-quarters of what is now Switzerland, all of Austria, the Italian Tyrol, bits of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, the ill-famed Corridor, Memel, Danzig, Eupen-Malmady, Schleswig and Alsace Lorraine. Death in war is the noblest death; Germany must be whole; flags half mast now, full mast then; the Day will dawn." While England, France and the United States have extended their hand of friendship to Soviet Russia, General Goering, the German Chancellor's devoted lieutenant, claims in his "Germany Reborn" that the victory of the Swastika has saved the world from Communism and that the day will come when the other countries will begin to realize this. Macaulay's estimate of the Italians to whom he compared the Bengalis in his essay on Warren Hastings, is well-known. That was a century ago. Ten years ago Mussolini was denounced as a charlatan. The European Press prophesied a speedy end of his career. Fascist Italy is to-day a Great Power. She is now an inspiration to many ardent young men in all countries including Britain. Britain itself has changed beyond recognition. Free Trade, the Gold Standard, Cabinet solidarity, for long regarded as sheet-anchors of the British State, have gone. The other day the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a surplus of £31 millions calmly announced that he has made no provision for the repayment of the War Debt amidst the cheers of a crowded Conservative House of Commons where even ten years ago the word "default" would have been received with loathing and horror. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, whose mere mention of 'repudiation' as a possibility at the Gaya Congress threw English publicists into hysterics, would have doubtless indulged in a bitter smile when he read Mr. Neville Chamberlain's statement. And Mr. De Valera also.

Most dramatic of all is the emergence of Japan into the place vacated by Soviet Russia as the greatest menace to World Peace. On Wednesday evening came the momentous announcement that Japan has proclaimed a Munro doctrine for the Far East. A statement issued by the Japanese Foreign Office in connection with the reports of proposals for joint international assistance to China, declares that Japan deems it her natural responsibility to maintain peace in the Orient. In view of the fact that the restoration of order in China depends on China herself, Japan will oppose any action by the Chinese Government which is contrary to the Peace of the Orient. Furthermore Japan will be forced to oppose any measure of other Powers likely to lead to disturbance of the peace in the Orient, like providing China with military planes, military instruction and political loans. The force of the statement lies not in the language which is extremely vague but in Japan's ability to support her own interpretation of it if the need arises by force of arms. That the declaration has not been made in a hurry and not a moment earlier than the preparedness of Japan would warrant, is clear from the patient determination with which she has advanced step by step to give effect to the suggestion first made to her nearly thirty years ago by Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States. These steps are recapitulated in one of its recent reports by the Foreign Policy Association of New York. It concludes: "The Tokyo aim of setting up a political and economic block composed of China, Japan, and Manchukuo constitutes a far-reaching bid for complete Japanese hegemony in the Far East. It proposes to squeeze European and American influence out of the Far East sufficiently to make the Japanese Monroe doctrine for Asia a reality." Whatever Japan does she does

thoroughly. She allows no sentiment to stand in the way of her policy. We published last week an account of Japanese colonisation of Brazil. The Japanese Government advises its emigrants to adapt themselves completely to Brazilian ways even to the extent of becoming Catholic Christians. A new Japanese Ambassador was sent to the United States early this year. With reference to his choice General Sadao Araki, Minister for War, said: "In appointing our Ambassador to the United States at this important time, with the 1936 crisis ahead, such considerations as dignity, past career, equity and sentiment must be discarded and a man of ability chosen in the interests of the country." America has announced that her battle fleet would be withdrawn from Pacific Water Soviet Russia will be satisfied if she gets a good price for her share of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is natural that China should protest against the assumption of Japan that she alone should help her great neighbour. But no one else at present seems to be anxious to question it. Japan has timed her announcement with consummate calculation.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

Friends ask what I think of the political situation created by Gandhiji's statement withdrawing civil disobedience. I put it in that way because the All India Committee meeting and other formalities are of no importance except to lawyers who are politicians. As Gandhiji rightly said he is the one man who knows the science of civil disobedience. In any case, no one else is likely to attempt to supersede him in this job. To my mind, the withdrawal of civil disobedience had become inevitable and even unnecessary as the movement had withdrawn itself. If Gandhiji had not formally withdrawn it, the only result would have been that Congressmen wonld have been left without anything to do while the stream of Indian politics flowed past them. Gandhiji by his intervention has enabled them to have a finger in the pie. This decision would have been more useful from their own point of view if it had been made earlier. To all appearance, the earthquake started the idea of dropping non-co-operation and Dr. Ansari's deputation followed at the psychological moment. As a student and an onlooker, I can only regard the withdrawal of civil disobedience as an acknowledgment of its failure for the purpose for which it was intended. That being so, what do I think of the decision of Congressmen, whether as Congressmen or as Swarajists, to lift the boycott of the Legislatures and to seek election at the next opportunity? Here, again, I regard their action as the result of in exorable circumstance. Many of them have completely lost their faith in jail-going as a political weapon. Several of them have told me that the reason why so many men and women broke down in health this time was that the buoyant faith which sustained them in their captivity in 1930-31 was completely absent in 1932. The substitute activities of removing untouchability, promoting communal unity and, latest of all, Bihar relief, either do not appeal to them or they are not in a position to devote their whole time to them. The most concientious of them, who are actually doing what little they can in these directions, are loth to put it forward as their contribution to the national cause in lieu of going to jail. Most of them have resumed their normal avocations. But there are others who hanker after public life and Council entry is the readiest means at hand. Will the electors send Swarajists to the Councils in as large numbers as they expect and their opponents fear? I can not say for certain. But there are some considerations which make this at least doubtful. What are they? Beginning from the south, the non-Brahmin Party is much too strongly entrenched in Tamil Nadu to encourage Congress candidates. Hindus are now divided acutely on the question of admitting untouchables into temples. Andhra is likely to favour Swarajist candidates to a larger extent but even there the non-Brahmin Ministerialists are a strong body. On the whole, the Madras Presidency is unlikely to return an overwhelming majority of Swarajists. The same considerations apply more or less to Maharashtra. The Karnatak atmosphere resembles that of Andhra. Gujarat will stand by any party which has the support of Gandhiji. The Central Provinces will follow Maharashtra except that the Hindi districts will be influenced by the preferences of Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj who will not differ light-heartedly from Gandhiji. The Punjab will prefer Hindu Sabhamen to Congressmen. Bengal will go against the Communal Award which it holds Gandhiji has foisted on it, and Congressmen who support it have few chances in the eighty constituencies remaining to them. As for the United Provinces, much will depend on whether Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is in prison or outside and whether he approves of the Swarajists are not. Taking all things together, I do not think that the assurance of the Swarajist leaders that they will be able to repeat the precedent of the original Swarajists, is likely to prove well-founded. This is my analysis of the chances of the new Swaraj Party in the next elections. Much, of course, will depend on the candidates who oppose them. The Liberals are too timid and apologetic about their policy and principles and therein lies the main strength of the Swarajists.

K. N.

All India Prisoners Aid Society:—An inaugural public meeting of the "All-India Prisoners' Aid Society" was held on Wednesday, the 11th April, at the Y. M. C. A. Hall New Delhi, Sir Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy presiding. Professor Bikat Ram Kalia, M. A., the Honorary Organising Secretary, explained the aims and objects of the Society. It was unanimously resolved to form the "All-India Prisoners' Aid Society" forthwith.

WANTED A PLANNED ECONOMY.*

(By G. D. Birla.)

The condition in other countries during the last two years has decidedly improved and if the world buys more and our export trade and internal prices improve, we may as a result of that again reach the pre-depression lebel. But is this all that we want? Certainly not.

The pre-depression level itself was not a thing with which one could rest content. No civilised nation has got such a poor standard of living as India has even during the most prosperous days. Our most urgent need, therefore, is to bring about a substantial rise in our standard of living. And here one naturally feels inclined to ask why with our vast resources including supplies of idle labour we cannot raise our standard of living to a reasonable level. The reply is simple. We cannot improve our lot until we decide to take mass action, well thought out, well planned, as part of a scheme of co-ordination launched with the necessary authority to make it a success. Governmental intervention thus becomes necessary. But Government by themselves cannot do or achieve much. The co-operation of the people is essential to the success of any such scheme. The Government being the ruling authority must take the initiative and invite the latter to join hands with them in the endeavour.

I do not charge the Government with utter inaction. During the last decade several things have undoubtedly been done by them. For instance, they have pursued the policy of protection, now vigorously, now half-heartedly, and thereby done some good to industries and to agriculture, as in the case of wheat. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been doing a lot of useful work. Fruit farming is being encouraged though on a very small scale. There is some talk of affording protection to dairy products. It is intended to launch a 'Drink More Milk' campaign—an absurd imitation of the British propaganda which overlooks the difference between the two countries, for while in England there is more milk and fewer stomachs to drink it, in India there are more stomachs and less milk to be drunk. 'Produce more milk' and not 'drink more milk' should have been the appropriate slogan for this country. The Government again is encouraging, though passively, the restriction of the jute crop though it does not tell the agriculturist what substitute crop he should grow. Similarly, the Government has helped in fixing a quota for tea exports and is even now thinking of helping the restriction of tea, jute and coal production. It does not, of course, give any thought to the question if it is not possible to usher in Recovery by a better way than destruction of crops, restriction of production and—control of births. A minimum price for sugar-cane is to be fixed. Trade pacts and fixation of zones for industries and a lot of such other things are up in the air. It is gratifying to note that the Government is getting more alive to the situation. The credit for giving a lead goes to Bengal and other provinces are now following suit. The Central Government too seems to have something in its mind and the European community too at long last has realised that something must be done to save the situation. It could not be said that the Government is not moving. It is undoubtedly moving but at a snail's pace and in spite of the assurance of the Finance Member to the contrary, without a plan. Tariffs, excise duties, fixation of zones and of minimum prices, restriction of production under rare circumstances, and Trade Pacts, all these could become part of a plan if there were one. But unless and until they form links in a chain with a purpose behind it they are not going to take us anywhere.

The Government knows the evil of drifting without a Plan. But it would not think of taking planned action. Probably this apathy on the part of the Government is due to the fact that the head of every department in the Secretariat has a five year plan of ruling and then retiring. Much the same could be said of the Burra Sahib in Clive Street, that "imperium in imperio" which none can afford to ignore in this country. The visions are thus limited to five years throughout which the one object of the man in authority in New Delhi is to maintain law and order and balance budgets and of the Clive Street Burra Saheb to retire leaving things as he found them; nothing altered, nothing disturbed. It seems to be nobody's business to visualize the problem as a whole and to plan its solution.

The result is that whatever we achieve, we achieve in a haphazard fashion and are not able to consolidate our position. We advance on certain fronts and recede on others. Take the case of the cotton industry itself. The present productive capacity of the Indian Mills is about 3,600 million yards, just equal to our present requirement of mill-made cloth—very low figure indeed for a population of 360 millions. But while on the one hand nearly 60 percent. of the mills in Bombay are closed for want of markets and thousands are thrown out of employment, on the other hand we have entered into pacts with Lancashire ann Japan to purchase from them cloth which we ourselves can produce. Under the pact with Japan, we are to sell to it cotton which under a planned system it should be possible to consume in India itself, thus making possible even a greater supply of clothing to the people. Then take the case of the Jute industry. We are supposed to have turned the corner and just now are working on a fair margin. But could it be said that the position is healthy? We are working with 15 per cent. of our looms sealed and only 4 days in a week thus curtailing production by nearly 40 per cent. Not only have thousands of workers been thrown out of employment, but their wages also have been reduced on account of curtailed production. While this is the condition of the old Mills who are producing only 60 per cent. of their total capacity, their agreement to work on a restricted scale is bringing into existence new Mills many of whom are working double shift and making good profits. The new Mills are multiplying in number. The crisis is bound to come to a head some time and if the demand from foreign countries does not expand, then the trade has to be shared between the existing Mills old and new, which may mean a curtailment of their production by 50 per cent. as against the existing 40 percent. What can be a greater waste of capital and energy than this? Why should money be blocked in an industry which is already idle to the extent of 40 per cent. of its productive capacity? Under a planned system capital would be diverted into channels where it is more urgently required and not allowed to be wasted through duplication or other causes. Taking the case of raw jute, we find that we are exporting nearly 40 lakhs bales which is manufactured in other countries and then consumed. If we work our Mills double shift we can consume all the raw jute produced in India and thus wrest the territory at present held by foreign manufacturers providing not raw but manufactured jute to those who are at present manufacturing a part of their requirements themselves. Whether it is a practical proposition has to be investigated. But it has not been done so far because there is no authorised agency

* Extract from Presidential address at the Indian Federation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Delhi Session.

to act in this behalf. Instances could be multiplied. We are producing things which we cannot sell while there is a great scarcity of things badly wanted. There are millions of unemployed wanting work and there are millions who have to go without having some of the most elementary needs of life satisfied. Can't we provide employment to those who are unemployed and thus feed the unfed, cloth the unclothed and shelter the unsheltered? We *can*, only if we have a plan and the necessary authority to execute it.

But let us clearly understand that there can be plans and plans. Plans after all can only be based on ideas. The word Planning in itself can have no attraction. It has become popular on account of its good associations, but planning can be for good as well as for ill and therefore unless we are clear about the goal and the ways of reaching it, glib talk on the subject might lead us and the country astray. If we go to our architect with vague ideas and ask him to make a plan, he can do very little for us. To obtain the necessary help we have to tell him the kind of house we want—and the cost at which we want it. The expert can then produce a sketch which could be discussed, revised and adopted. In the case of National Economic Planning too, we have to work along the same line. But I should like to say this that we do not want experts from outside to tell us what plans we should or should not have. If we in India do not know our own problem, then I maintain no one knows it.

We have to decide for instance, what sort of social conditions we would like to see established. What is the standard of living we should aim at and what should be the methods which we must employ to achieve it? Let us deal with the question of the standard of living.

The object of Economic Planning should be in a layman's language to bring about maximum prosperity with a reasonable amount of effort. But there is a limit beyond which the standard of living cannot be raised without adopting unjust means. And as being a subject nation, we realise this truth more keenly than any one else, we do not aspire to any unduly high or luxurious standard of living which can be attained only through exploitation, one form or another, of the labour of others. India is a subject nation and she has no design to subjugate others. She cannot, therefore, afford to have an unduly high standard of living. Those who think that India, without any colony to feed or slave for her, can attain the standard of western countries, are labouring under a gross illusion. We can depend only on our labour, which means that a standard of living which amounts to economic parasitism must for ever be ruled out of our thoughts. At the same time, I have not the least doubt that we can have sufficient to meet all our requirements, with ample leisure for recreation. Our primary needs are two decent square meals of sufficient nourishment, say, of well-balanced 2,000 calories per head per day, with plenty of vitamins, so far as food goes; sufficient clothing, say, about 55 yards per capita, and sufficient housing accommodation to shelter us. And all this we can have without much ado by our own exertion if national effort is directed in the right channel.

British Fascists Against White Paper:— The Fascist movement was against the White Paper policy root and branch, declared Sir Oswald Mosley speaking at Stoke-on-Trent. It was the duty of England to remain in India and govern India which owed everything to British rule.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE.

(By Miss Maya Devi, Mysore.)

Educated men and women imbued with modern thoughts and high aspirations are going forward with thoughts of social reform, but when they arrive at the point of the parties' own choice in marriage and a lovable union, they are at a deadlock. In recent years our Indian women have shown remarkable intuition in many things but are cornered in this point of seeking their own happiness. Whether franchise for women is given or not, they find it a better way to see things for themselves, to be intelligent, organisers, liberal minded, and self-reliant, in all matters of the world's life. Their minds are open now to free themselves from ancient ritual custom, which they are able to judge. Yet they cannot decide or choose and are humbly led to the altar and unequally yoked.

How bitter a thing it is, to look into happiness through others' eyes, not chosen by them, but chosen for them. Speaking of marriage arranged in in the orthodox way, are such unions congenial to the souls thus joined? It may or may not be. It is a law fulfilled and they must submit to the yoke. It is a law laid down by the ancients and it is in continuity with all its glory. Sometimes the couple are so young, the bride in most cases a wee tot and an aged bridegroom as recently denounced in Ahmedabad. This infant girl hardly realises the ceremony of marriage as a serious affair. It is a gay feast or a doll's play. She gets habituated to the customary life of a slave like drudgery, a dreary existance, with obedience, respect, reverence and awe for her partner in life.

This child-wife has her training in her mother-in-law's house—a training-ground, where she is initiated into the ways of elderly women's untiring gossip and ideas. When girls in European countries are at schools and academies, to enlighten their minds, the East rears wee tots, as step-mothers, grand-mothers and grand-aunts. As days creep on and these tots grow up, there seems to be no companionship, no conversation with the husband. No judging things together, for they merely live to fulfil a certain condition in life. It is not the ancient life. Now with its education and culture, man wants a proper companion in life. He cannot bear the monotony of the individual in his own corner without some one to brighten his tired moments. He wants to cast aside awe, reverence, shyness and strangeness in his own home. It is almost a tragedy when two people who are joined together in wedlock without love do not see the humour of the same things. Life is too short to make sacrifices for scruples. If this arrangement is to continue without any modification, how then did Sati grow instinct? The devotion and constance of Indian wives is unparalleled. Love, even though it came later, was faithful, true and virtuous. Love to our Indian mothers is a Divine Ordinance. This faithful devotion led them to sacrifice their virtuous bodies willingly as Sati. 'Sati" means truth and virtue. From time immemorial, this ancient custom of Sati was reverenced and worshipped by our society. Every girl was taught that 'Sati' was a virtue. It was an enlightened custom to mingle her ashes with her Lord's, to save her from degradation, sorrow, and dishonour, for the widow there was no other prospect in view of a life happy and sublime. She had no other refuge, the one man her protector, her tower of strength, her defender.

Marriages with caste restrictions and arrangement by blind choice should be nullified. A highly educated man from one of the best Universities of Europe and England, on arrival in India found to

his surprise that a marriage had been arranged for him by his parents. Having been for 7 years in the West, with the life, manners, ideas and customs of the West, he scoffed at such an idea and demanded that he should see his would-be-bride but the family people ridiculed and snubbed him, saying that it was not customary for such an action. It was the law fulfilled and he must succumb to it. He was confounded and the marriage took place according to traditional ideas and customs. He was discontented, worried, and sad to find the uneducated, and ignorant bride they had chosen for him.

Many complain of this woesome tragedy in their everyday life. There seems to be no harmony in such arranged marriages among their own caste and community strictly confining it to caste restriction. In Europe, Great Britain and America men and women of differant nations and sect fall in love, utterly regardless of community, sect or race. There is the great social evil called Dowry, a bargain, a stock-exchange. A bride-groom gets riches and an education abroad. He buys love from a strange girl whether educated or illiterate. Men yield to gold first, the greed for gold; you ask, you crave, you dream of the future it holds and brings you. This is the sting of Dowry. The lovely birds are the brides adorned and decked. The trap is the dowry, the net is loveless marriage and the fowler the greedy-eyed bridegroom. That covetousness, that greed for gold, is more necessary for him than the love of the brides.

This is love bought, not given, it is just a barter for gold. Dowry entraps the rich, fair bejewelled bird into a loveless marriage and the chief actor is a Ghatak. Not the man or woman who are treading on life's future. They are a Revelation to each other. They drag on to a lucky or unlucky union. Love may come in the hereafter as happy instances in some cases but not all.

People suffer from this ancient tyranny, rather than revolt against it. If a true understanding between the man and the woman, based on a moral and intellectual affinity, with community of ideals in life, exists, then it would ensure the happiness of a bright future. The only thing that can invest marriage with a meaning profound and sublime worthy of a man is inter-caste marriage. So perhaps, orthodox cults, and customs may not move smoothly along with the trend of progress in these modern days.

The present day world is hankering for such a recognised Law. Why should there be any contending factions to dispute such an ideal love. Still, we have heard lately of many communal weddings purely through choice and love. A pure love arising from the heart would entail a mixed marriage. It should be a social uplift—utterly regardless of any obstacle, age, status, creed, caste or family resolutions. Think of these ancient days in history, when men as warriors of fame, bravery and trust won their wives. It is said that King Draupada sent a proclamation far and wide, to the effect, that he who strings the bow and shoots the mark, with the arrows he shall obtain his daughter. Have you not also read of the untiring efforts of the Raja of Vijanagar to win Pretal the fair maiden of the village? He was a great Ruler and she was the daughter of a poor Sudra, a Ryot. Those were days of chivalry. The fundamental theory of a blissful marriage, is choice with love. The real affinity of the two natures, if it is going to be love abiding, in reality and truth, for without love it cannot be lasting.

Man is the best judge to choose his own wife whoever she may be. He is the maker of his own destiny. He has to use his own sense, to choose his own wife, to make his home beautiful and to be a loving companion. His future depends on his own making and not by others. He is the Master Mariner on their joint voyage over life's troubled seas. They both must know how they steer their course, over the fathomless waves, and anchor in their desired heaven. Let them show, how the humblest cottage, can become the home beautiful, where there would be love and happiness, where she would be a well trained and efficient mother to train, rear and tend her child carefully. This is the personal responsibility of each man and woman. One must realize that the present system of marriage, which is an observed law, is perfectly unendurable because in addition to the illiterate, superstition of the priest ridden caste, there is the low unintellectual and prejudicial status assigned to women Purdha. Two bogies 'Purdah and caste.' How then can a man have the consciousness to marry one whom he likes and take her whom the family will repudiate as outside the pale of their community. This is caste. Caste the great cankerworm gnawing at the roots of progress of a growing nation of men and women.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS.*

In her address to the Alwaye Union Christian College Conference, Mrs. Kalyanikutti Amma made a fighting speech which deserves the attention of our reactionary menfolk. She declared roundly that the modern women 'will reverence not a Sri Rama who so grievously wronged his devoted wife but a Ram Mohan Roy, a Lenin or a Pandit Jawaharlal.' Our religious people who will never dream of treating their wives with the chivalry of Rama will be shocked at these impious sentiments. But, we have no doubt that Mrs. Kalyanikutti Amma speaks for an ever increasing number of Indian women who are chafing at their bondage of centuries and the only way by which the men of India can avoid a disastrous sex conflict is to appreciate and encourage the growing self-respect of our women and their thirst for freedom and equality.

Mrs. Kalyanikutti Amma referred to the reaction that is coming over Europe as represented by Herr Hitler's ruthless drive against women. It will not do to brush aside this phenomenon as a mere aberration in the progress of humanity. It is better to analyse and find out the causes of the setback. We are inclined to think that this reaction is partly due to the European women's disregard of natural facts in their craze for paper equality. Real equality between man and women can be established only when both recognise the holy but burdensome task of motherhood that is laid upon women by an inscrutable providence. When this central fact is given its due importance and proper provision is made for it, it will be possible to establish genuine equality. Thus, it cannot be the right for a mother to leave her child to slave at a typewriter at an office. Education, nursing and house-keeping appear to be natural and necessary occupations allotted to woman in the economy of nature as manual and mental drudgery for man. Gifted women should have as much freedom as gifted men to follow their special vocations but in the bulk, the occupations of the sexes will have to follow the natural lines if society is to be stable. The path of wisdom seems therefore to lie in making society realise the honourable and precious work done by the women in the home and the kitchen rather than take it for granted that these are ignoble tasks compared with the professions in which men are usually engaged.

The present economic structure of society is mainly to blame for this distortion of values. If rights of property are justified at all, it is evident that women should be given a preferential share in view of her inevitable duty. If women is to-day a kitchen drudge and a domestic slave, it is chiefly because man is also the property owner.

* *Stri-Dharma.*

HINDU CULTURE.

(By W. Balendra.)

The genius of a people is reflected by its religious culture. The religion of Hinduism was fashioned out to satisfy the needs of the people of India, and the Hindu culture suited the temperament of the people admirably. This culture is more than 4000 years old. Apart from the records available in Tamil literature, archaeologists have proved that the Indus Valley civilisation unearthed 15 years ago by Sir John Marshall is essentially Hindu in culture.

Truths and half-truths have been uttered for several decades about Aryan superiority and non-Aryan inferiority. We have been told by Aryan historians that the Aryans are the only peoples who fashioned out a progressive and civilised culture, and there is no virile culture worth considering seriously in modern times amongst non-Aryan peoples. The recent activities amongst the Mongolian races and the discovery of the Indus Valley civilisation have caused these Aryan historians to pause and reorganise their teachings.

Tamil historians always claimed that India was civilised before the Aryan invasion; and Siva worship along with all civilised habits of music, literature and arts, existed in the Dravidian civilisation of South India. This claim was not accepted in the proper spirit and even Oriental scholars of the School of Manu - Williams and Hopkins—were not prepared to accept this Dravidian claim to a highly developed culture before the Aryan conquest of India. In the light of the findings at Mohenjo Daro, valid proof has been found that a civilisation existed in India before this supposed Aryan contribution to human refinement.

The Hindu culture is the sum total of the experiences of man, dating back at least 4000 years. This civilisation has no rigid dogmas. It is prepared to examine and accept anything which is rational and which ennobles man. This tolerance and its open-mindedness accounts for its permanency, and as this culture satisfied the needs of the people inhabiting India 4000 years ago, it is satisfying the needs of their descendants living today.

The Dravidian races are contributing their share to this culture. The Aryan races are exerting themselves to regenerate this culture and adapt to the twentieth century needs; for the present needs are different to those 1000 years ago. It is the Hindu culture which spread its wings all over Asia. The Dravidians had developed a philosophy, art, and literature in South India. The Aryans descended on the plains of India some 3500 years ago and contributed their Vedic culture to the already thriving Dravidian civilsation. The Aryan invasion cannot be exactly called a conquest. It was an assimilation and purification of the Dravidian culture. The Aryans accepted the Dravidian Gods and Goddesses and the Dravidians were prepared to learn at the feet of Aryan teachers. This confluence of cultures produced a symbiotic phenomenon. There was no parasitism on either side. The Upanishadic teaching was a distinct contribution to human uplift. The Bhagavad Gita satisfied the intellectual needs of the advanced classes. Even today the teachings of the Gita can stand the critical examination of sociologists, psychologists and theologists.

One of the critical periods of Hinduism was about 2500 years ago. The culture was at a low ebb due to lack of energetic personalities to set the necessary impetus to dignify human thought and action.

Superstition was mixed with reason and there was a tendency to over-estimate temple rituals and under-value right conduct. It was at this right period of intellectual ferment that the teachings of Gautama the Buddha gained ascendancy. The teachings of the Buddha were not new. The Buddha was a Hindu reformer and attempted only to purge the evils of expensive temple rituals and emphasise the value of right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindedness, and right rapture. These teachings are the via-media between extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification.

The whole gamut of Hindu thought reveals the attempt of man to civilise himself. Hindu rituals portray the march of events of man trying to understand the Unknown. The ancient Hindus feared the Deity and fashioned grotesque idols. Later they loved the Deity and created idols of more pleasing appearances. In the effort to understand rationally life and death, they conceived the idea of Siva-Natarajah, the dancer depicting the cosmic energy. The Siva-Natarajah cult is a Dravidian conception; the teaching of the Gita is an Aryan contribution and the fusion of the two schools of intellectual beliefs of life and death produced the more mentally advanced Hindu beliefs of the modern age. The knowledge evolved by observation and reasoning was codified in the Upanishads. Some observations and conclusions were puerile, whilst others satisfied the more mentally developed section of the Hindus.

Modern archaeological research is leading to the conviction that there were cultural communications between the ancient Hindus and the Mongolians across Tibet and Nepal. The Mongolians were conversant with Vedic knowledge before the time of the Buddha, and the modern Japanese race acknowledge that Hindu Sanskrit literature influenced the religion of their ancient forefathers.

The teachings of the Buddha spread to Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Java, China and Japan because the Hindu civilisors had already prepared the way beforehand with their Vedic teaching. Even today after thousands of years, the works of Hindu colonists in building stupendous monuments in honour of their culture and religion are seen in Java, and Indo-China.

At one period the teachings of the Buddha permeated the whole of India and Ceylon. The temperamental differences of the Singhalese race from the original founders of the Hindu religion made the reformed teachings of the Buddha more acceptable to them.

Behind the teaching of the Buddha, there are 1000 years of Hindu tradition. The Hindus developed their belief of life and death from the primeval man. They notice the difference in the mental calibre of man and formulated the "Varuna Ashrama Dharma;" for all man are not equal either in spiritual or physical vigour. They recognised a unity in diversity and when they codified the caste system, the Hindus did not do so with a view to disparaging man. They only attempted to fit man into social niches in proportion to their mental and physical development. Some are intellectual others are martial in temperament. A section has a genius for trade and another section is only fitted to be serfs. The Hindus realised the biological fact that all men are unequal and, therefore, in their civilisation catered to the different wants of all these sections.

The Buddha was the first reformer to question these beliefs and His teachings were readily followed by an intellectual section of the Indians. It cannot be denied that India reached her pinnacle of greatness during, and 500 years after, the time of that great teacher. The Tamils in South India and the Singhalese in Ceylon were following the precepts of that great teacher

* Reprinted from *The Hindu Organ.*

at one time, for Buddhism did not divest itself from Hindu tradition. For all great achievement in man, centuries of tradition and training are necessary. Ceylon and India are culturally one; for by tradition the peoples of these lands are Hindus. The Tamils reverted to the ancient Vedic teachings because they are temperamentally suited to acknowledge the values of temple rituals in their social customs. Mere cold reasoning did not satisfy their emotions. The Singhalese still follow the precepts of the great reformer but in their temple ceremonies, their social customs and manners a permanent imprint of Hindu culture can be traced. Man is a creature of his traditions, and it is not possible to root out the beliefs of his behaviour-patterns easily.

Culturally the Singhalese Buddhists and Tamil Hindus are one and can combine for a common cause. Racially and linguistically they may be different, but tradition and culture are as important as race and language.

The twentieth century can be compared in some ways to the period of Buddistic reformation. This century is an age of intellectual ferment. Half-truths and untruths taught by historians and propagandists are examined critically and accepted at their own values. Nineteenth century Indians and Ceylonese accepted *en masse* every article and belief which originated from Europe. The twentieth century Indians and Ceylonese pause and question seriously the why and wherefore of things. The teachings of Gandhi threaten to revivify Hindu culture. Gandhi is attempting to purge the defects of the religion as Gautama the Buddha attempted at a previous age. The teachings of the Buddha are interpreted by him as propounded by the great reformer but he is careful not to overstep his mark. Gandhi has based his life on the bedrock of Hindu tradition. Hindu culture keeps its flame active and burning by teachers of the type of the Buddha Sankara, Madhva and Gandhi.

The Singhalese and the Tamils may be different racially and linguistically but culturally thy are one.

In the cultural problems which are awaiting solution in the twentieth century, the contribution of Hindu civilisation must be considered as one of the great forces which will energise the Asiatics to action again.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN BARODA.

In 1928 the Baroda State Legislative Council appointed a select committee to revise all the Acts relating to Hindu Law. The committee after laborious work submitted its recommendations to the Legislative Council some time back. The committee adopted the decisions reached by the Legislative Council on the recommendations of the Govindbhai Committee appointed for revising the law relating to the rights of Hindu women over property. Other important recommendations related to amendments in (1) the Hindu Inheritance Act, (2) Hindu Undivided Family Act, (3) Hindu Disposition of Property Act, (4) Hindu Marriage Act and (5) the Hindu Adoption Act. These recommendations with certain alterations were recently sanctioned by his Highness the Maharaja Saheb.

The first important amendment is with regard to the rights of Dasiputras to inherit. Until now the dasiputras in the Shudra community inherited their fathers' and other relatives' property along with the legitimate sons, and became members of the joint family. In the three higher communities, the Dasiputras had a right to maintenanoe only and no right of inheritance. The law is now made uniform and Dasiputras now have only a right to maintenance in all the communities. The Dasiputras' right of inheritance and of membership of the joint family among the Shudras is taken away. (This reform makes the law uniform among all the communities.)

The second important change is about the liability of the survivors for the debts of the deceased coparcener. The law uptil now was that the survivors would not be liable for such a debt unless the undivided interest of the deceased coparcener was already charged or attached in execution of a decree during his lifetime. The law is now altered and it is laid down that even if the undivided interest of a deceased coparcener is not charged or attached during his lifetime, the other coparceners taking by survivorship will be liable for the debts to the extent of the interest which the deceased coparcener had at the time of his death.

The law uptil now did not allow a Hindu coparcener to dispose of by will his undivided share in the joint family property. This restriction is removed and coparceners have been given the right to dispose of by will their undivided share in the joint family property.

The most revolutionary change made is in the Hindu Law of Marriage. Until now the Hindu law as administered in Baroda allowed marriages between Hindus belonging to the same Varna. Intercaste marriages *i. e.* marriages between a bride belonging to a lower caste and a bridegroom belonging to a higher caste and between a bride belonging to a higher caste and a bridegroom belonging to a lower caste were held to be valid only if custom recognised such marriages as valld. In the absence of custom such marriages were held to be invalid. Parties belonging to different castes were compelled to resort to the Civil Marriage Act if they wanted to marry. This restriction of Varna is now removed so that a Hindu belonging to any caste will now be at liberty to marry a girl of any other Hindu caste without having recourse to the Civil Marriage Act. It is hoped that this change will facilitate such marriages and thereby accelerate the movement towards unity among Hindus of all communities.

The Hindu Adoption Act is also amended in conformity with the amendment made in the Hindu Marriage Act referred to in the foregoing paragraph. Uptil now the law allowed the adoption of a boy who belonged to the community to which the adoptive parents belonged. It is now laid down that if the adoptive parents belong to the same Varna, the adopted son shall also be of the same Varna; but if the adoptive parents are not of the same Varna, the son to be adopted shall be from the family of the adoptive father.

Some other minor changes have been introduced in Hindu Law but it is not necessary to refer to them at length.

Japan and British Trade:—The Association of British Chambers of Commerce, at the annual meeting, passed a resolution, regretting the breakdown of the Anglo-Japanese textile talks, adding that if early agreed measures cannot be relied upon, Government must take whatever action is open to secure stable markets for British exports faced with Japanese competitions. Mr. Bond, President of the Manchester Chamber, preferred to wash out Governmental conferences unless speedy results were likely. He declared, however, that if Japan, in currency, mercantile and labour questions, could avoid thrusting upon the world price levels, incompatible with the standards of life elsewhere, she would find in us her well-wishers, co-operators and not hostile critics. — *Reuter.*

SINO-AMERICAN POINTS OF CONTACT.*

(By Dr. Berthold Laufer.)

About a hundred and fifty years ago Americans first came in direct contact with Chinese when the American ship "Empress of China," sailing from Boston and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, cast anchor in the harbour of Canton. This occurred in the year 1784, under the reign of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who was a contemporary of George Washington. Thus Americans were late arrivals—in fact, the last of foreign peoples to enter into commercial and political relations with China. Europeans—first the Portuguese, then the Spaniards, Hollanders, British, and French—had preceded them by several centuries. It is no empty saying that from the first days of Sino-American intercourse, the two great countries have been linked by bonds of sympathy which have not existed and do not exist between China and any European power. These bonds of sympathy and friendship have been strengthened from year to year, as witnessed particularly by the ever-increasing number of Chinese students and scholars annually flocking to our universities, athirst for knowledge.

What, then, have Americans and Chinese in common? I think a goodly number of very fine traits. First, the spirit of democracy which has pervaded China for more than two thousand years, ever since the First Emperor Chin Shi smashed the old feudal system. The principle of government for the benefit of the people certainly is American, but it is equally Chinese and goes back to the fourth century B. C., when Meng-tse (Mencius), the most gifted of Confucius' disciples proclaimed the doctrine, "The people are the most important in a nation, and the sovereign is the least important of all." Second, the spirit of religious tolerance. I know of no more tolerant nation than the Chinese. Third, the lack of a caste system and lack of a hereditary nobility. China was always guided and governed by an aristocracy of intellect, not of birth; the old system of free competition by civil service examinations recruited the best talent from all ranks of society. Fourth, American and Chinese do not suffer from the obsession of that great evil, the race superiority complex; they are averse to armed force; they are friends of peace and are animated by a deep sense of justice and fair play toward all, regardless of race, colour or creed. Fifth, and this is the greatest asset that the two nations have in common, they have an unbounded, almost religously fanatic faith in the power of education and knowledge as the best guarantors of progress, as the best possible safeguards of the permanance of their social structure and institutions. With this capital of a common historical tradition and mentality—democracy, tolerance, equality, justice, and education—we are well prepared to stand the test and stress of the time.

Aside from these ideals, there are culture elements inherent in the two civilizations that establish a common basis for a harmonious social life and sympathetic fellowship among representatives of the two nations. In reflecting on cultural similarities between Americans and Chinese, it is advisable to proceed from realities and direct observations. A white man who is in a good state of health is able to live in China in a house of Chinese style with a Chinaman not only for years, but a lifetime, without suffering impairment or injury to his health. Chinese houses are very much like our own; their plan of arrangement comes very close to that of the ancient Roman house. Rooms are airy, spacious and well ventilated, and comfortably stocked with tables, chairs, armchairs, settees and sofas. There is no other nation in the world whose house furniture offers so complete and striking a coincidence with our own. In fact it is one of the amazing points of culture history that of all nations of Asia the Chinese is the only one that takes its meals seated on chairs around a table, in the same manner as we do. This custom was acquired by the Chinese only in comparatively late historical times. The ancient Chinese down to the epoch of the two Han dynasties used to squat at mealtimes on mats spread over the ground in the same way as it is still customary with the Japanese and the peoples of India. The remarkable step leading to the use of raised chairs and high tables was taken in the period between the Han and T'ang dynasties as a sequel of many foreign influences that came from Central Asia at that time, and speaks volumes in favour of Chinese adaptability and readiness to adopt foreign institutions. The Japanese with all their temperamental changeability still adhered to the old primitive custom of sitting cross-legged on the mats covering the floors of their rooms; and, while an American, for the sake of curiosity or experience may enjoy living in a Japanese home for a few days or weeks, he will never acquire the Japanese mode of sitting which is a source of physical discomfort.

The objection may be interposed that many travellers and adventurers in almost all parts of the world have conformed to the life of the natives whom they set out to explore. Such examples indeed are numerous. Any normal individual of good physique and temperate habits is able to live wherever other human beings of whatever race can exist, whether they be Eskimos, American Indians, South Sea Islanders, Pygmies or Negroes, Berbers or Beduins; but such adventures are usually transient, and the explorer will always be glad once his task is accomplished to return into the harbour of "civilization." Speaking of myself it fell to my lot to live for many months among such primitive folks as the Gilak and Ainu of Saghalin Island, the Golde and Tunguisan tribes of the Amur region sharing their huts or spending the night in the open sleeping on a bearskin, living like them on salmon and game, even amid smallpox and trachema epidemics, without any harm to my health, save a temporary discomfort from parasitic insects. I could not, however, have stood this sort of life for a number of years, and while I enjoyed studying these tribes and gathering data concerning their daily life, languages, folklore and religion, I can not say that I felt at home with them, at least not so intimately as I do feel at home with the Chinese. It was also my good fortune to spend a year and a half among the Tibetans, both the nomads and the agriculturist, just living like one of them, and while the Tibetans have my unstinted sympathy, the time I should be willing to dwell in their midst will always be one of restricted duration. The lesson to be retained, therefore, is that a robust man with a definite object in mind may live anywhere without hazard of life and welfare within a limited period, whereas no such time limit is attached for us to China. Again, it can not be doubted that many white individuals have settled women as their wives even adopting native speach, clothing and habits and thus ending their days. Examples of this kind are not typical, however, and such individuals have usually been fugitives, castaways, tramps, derelicts or sailors cast adrift.

In order to settle among the Chinese, no foreigner need feel anxiety about his health, at least no more than if he stayed at home, nor does he require the explorer's physical fibre. China beckons to the man

* From "Open Court; Monograph on China."

of culture and the more cultured he is, the more welcome and the happier he will be there, since the Chinese are highly cultured, well-bred and well-mannered people. Even most Chinese farmers and labourers are gentlemen, and from many of them many a so called gentleman in our midst could learn a useful lesson in good manners or etiquette.

One of the most remarkable inventions ever made by the Chinese is the Chopsticks, "the nimble ones," as they are called in Chinese, the invention of which goes back to the days of the Chou dynasty. Chopsticks are not only characteristically Chinese but also set the Chinese people clearly off from other nations of Asia that are still in the habit of taking feed to their mouth with their fingers, which is even done by so highly civilized people as those of India. Annamese Koreans, Japanese, and other peoples who came under the spell of Chinese civilization, adopted from the latter the use of Chopsticks. It is self-evident that these make for good table-manners, which are the first criterion of a civilized individual; and whatever opinions we may hold on the Confucian system of ethics, it is undeniable that it has at least brought about the one good effect to transform the majority of the people into a body of highly decent, respectable and well-bred men. The sanctity of the home and the purity of family life belong to the greatest achievements of Confucian social ethics. For all these reasons, official and personal intercourse of Americans with Chinese is easy and a source of pleasure. Their sense of humour, their delight in story-telling, their conversational flights and oratorical power are other qualities that will not fail to make a strong appeal and endear them to us the closer we get acquainted. At Chinese parties there is less formality than in our country.

Their eminent faculty of assimilating and absorbing foreign racial elements has struck many observers. In fact the Chinese no more than any other nation represent a pure race. The northern Chinese have a strong admixture of Tunguston, Mongol and Turkish blood; the southerners have to a great extent intermarried with the aboriginal tribes which proceeded the Chinese as owners of the country. The question of intermarriages of Chinese and whites is naturally a delicate one, and it would be futile to generalize on so vital and large a problem; but if limited personal experience and observation may count a little, I may say that many happy marriages of Europeans and Americans with Chinese women have come within my notice. There is no gulf separating the two races, and there are no obstacles of a racial or cultural character in the way of such unions. The offspring of American fathers and Chinese mothers belong to the best citizenry of China, and commanding the two languages as they do, they make the best liaison officer to maintain and strengthen the bonds between East and West. Many of these Eurasians are splendid fellows, and I have found in them the most willing and enthusiastic helpmates in scientific investigations.

As an analyst of human nature I should be the last to deny that there are psychological differences between Chinese and ourselves. These, however, do not spring from a basically divergent mentality or psyche but are merely the offset of a distinct set of traditions and education based upon the latter. As the grasp of ancient traditions upon their minds will gradually loosen and as the best in our institutions and inventions will be adopted (I advisedly shun the ambiguous and much misused word "Progress"), these small divergences will gradually disappear or be reduced to a minimum. The abandonment of feet-binding and opium-smoking may be cited as relevant instances. The student of anthropology who has learned to fathom and to understand the customs and usages of every people knows only too well that the Chinese are not different from other peoples but are just human and humane. There is the custom in China that in one or another form would not appear among other peoples or even among ourselves. The Chinese worshipped their ancesters and to a large extent still do so; they are justly proud of their ancestors and in their modesty attribute their own goodluck and success to their ancestors' virtues and beneficent influence. We with our pride in ancestors and with our passion for geneological guests, are no less ancestor worshippers; our "worship" has merely assumed a different form.

THE NEGRO IN RUSSIA.

Mr. Henry Le Moon writes in an article in the *Nation*:—

I have never felt more at home among a people than among the Russians, and I think that this is the common experience of Negroes who have visited the Soviet Union. One reason for this feeling is doubtless to be found in the ready attachment which the Russians show for the Negro. Incidentally, the Russians view the Negro as a being quite different from the white American, a view which arises inevitably out of their own experience. To them the Negroes of the American South are a national minority, comparable to the minorities of the Soviet Union. In line with this view the Russians generally expect the dark-skinned American to speak a language of African origin and to have customs distinct from those of the rest of the American people. They express surprise upon learning that the folk-songs of the race originated in the English languago. And I have the impression that many among them fed upon stories of race conflict in this country, not only fail to understand, but in some measure resent, any expression of friendship between Negroes and American whites, especially if the latter are not identified with the revolutionary movement in this country.

While all Europe, save such centres as have succumbed to the rampant notionalism of post-war period, welcome the Negro as an entertainer, a student, or a traveller, Russians see him as a fellow-worker and freely offer employment opportunities. To be sure, the Soviet Union is to-day the only country in which such opportunities are generally available to any workers; but even in the pre-depression days there were practically no openings for Negroes in the countries of Western Europe.

Unquestionably, large sections of the Negro working class in America are measurably better off in material things than the bulk of Soviet workers. They are better housed, better clothed, and better fed, and they have more of the materials for comfortable living than the Russian workers. Yet there are things for which one would willingly exchange comparative comfort. Chief among these for the Negro worker is freedom from persecution. Add to this: security of employment, equal opportunities for their children's education and for their employment upon completion of their training, recreational opportunities unaffected by race, insurance against hazards of sickness and old age, and the zest that comes of taking part in the construction of a new society purged of the bitterness of race prejudice.

Writing in the *Survey Graphic* for November, 1932, Walter Duranty expressed the opinion that "it is merely a question of time for this country [the U. S. S. R.] to see a flow of imigration, not only from the United States but from Europe, which will catch and

surpass the peak figures of foreign influx to America." Would the participation of Negroes in large numbers in such a movement change the present attitude of Russia towards this race?

There is a considerable school of Negro thought which hold that the Negro's problems are peculiar to himself and that he carries them with him wherever he may go in large numbers. The few may be accepted cordially, but not the masses. Those who take this position base their contention on the widely accepted axiom that "white folks are white folks" whether they live in Scottsboro or Moscow, whether they profess to follow the teachings of Jefferson and Wilson or those of Marx and Lenin. Pleading for a continued adherence to American principles, Kelley Miller, Dean of Howard University, in an article syndicated through the Negro press, expressed this point of view: "Ten million Negroes or Chinese in Russia," he said, "would in all probability arouse the same race antagonism we now see exhibited in Georgia. What guarantee, is there that communism would control the rancour of race in the midst of rival and competitive racial numbers?"

The number of Negroes now employed in Russia is still quite small, but efforts have been made to increase their number. There are a few skilled mechanics at work in the automobile factories of Moscow and in the tractor at Stalingrad; a teacher in the Anglo-American school in Moscow and at least three women in clerical positions in Moscow offices; a young engineer on irrigation project in central Asia. Last year a trained group of cotton experts, most of them products of Southern agricultural school, was in Russia instructing the Uzbeks of Central Asia in modern methods of cotton culture. This field of agriculture is of increased importance to the Soviet because of the second Five-Year Plan providing for greater development of the textile industry.

What Soviet Russia's answer would be I can conclude only by analogy. There are already ten million yellow and brown-skinned Orientals in the Union. As yet their presence has created no major interenal problem. Certainly there is no evidence of racial conflict or of the subjugation of one racial group by another. Indeed, the development of national cultures along proletariat lines is an established policy of the country, even the Jews, who under the Czarist regime were more mercilessly and tragically persecuted than are the Negroes of the deep South, enjoy a new freedom. They are no longer limited in their choice of vocations, forbidden access to any institutions, or denied the privilege of residence in any section of the country. It is not here contended that all traces of anti-Semitism have been eliminated; it is patent, however, that its grosser manifestations have been entirely suppressed. It is possible, even likely, that its expression in more subtle forms may linger for a generation longer. Certainly it is being aggressively fought by the Communist Party. Moreover, the Marxists would probably point out that in the Soviet Union no races are competitive or rival. All are engaged in the gigantic task of building socialism, which in itself would mean the destruction of the roots of race prejudice. Marxism maintains that these roots are essentially economic. Race prejudice cannot flourish when its roots are destroyed.

Sir Maharaj Singh:—A contradiction issued from Cape Town has settled for the moment the question regarding Sir Maharal Singh's return to India. No information of such an intention had been recived here and it very unlikely that an experienced official like Sir Maharaj Singh would communicate for publication any such intention before intimating the fact to his Government.

KINGSLEY HALL.

(By Miss Muriel Lester)

Whoever has visited England has probably been the recipient of the usual false rumour that is handed on to one person after another from generation to generation.

"Don't go to the East End! Or if you do, go by daylight. It isn't safe to go alone! Even the police go down certain streets only in couples."

Yet you will never understand the real England unless you know the people, the real people, the 90 per cent. of the population who have to work for their living, and you will never know London unless you shut your ears to these absurd injunctions and meet its people on their own ground.

They are the kindest, most courteous and generous people imaginable; it is safe for a woman to walk about in Bow at any hour of day or night. Statistically the East End is the least criminal district in London, according to the magisterial records.

Great factories and little low roofed workmen's houses fill its odd 10 square miles. At almost every other street corner stands a public house. These are not patronized as mere drinking places but because there's often nowhere else for a man to go to in the evenings, and a man must go somewhere when he is living in a one-roomed home with his wife and some six children. It's not healthy for the children who ought to be in bed and asleep if the fathers stay in these small stuffy rooms, for the long hours of a winter's evening in London.

Thirty years ago, I went to Bow and became a member of a factory girls' club, and of a women's meeting. I began to go in and out of most of the houses in the neighbourhood. I wanted to learn from the people instead of adding one more to the number of middle-class women who were trying to teach the East Ender something. To this end I took a room in the neighbourhood and welcomed there in my one-roomed home, good and bad, clean and dirty, clever and simple alike. I was eventually counted as an East Ender myself. I threw in my lot completely with my neighbours.

There were plenty of agitators and plenty of orators making embittered speeches against the tyranny of the rich and the sins of the governing class, at the street corner, open-air meetings and in the local park, but making sarcastic speeches is an easy thing, once you get the trick of it, and it was obvious that what Bow needed was a strong public spirit that would go a stage further than mere criticism and start to construct, to build, to create a new and better social system.

But where was it possible for people to get together and plan out their schemes and programmes for practical work? The public houses were working in the opposite direction, yet they were the only common meeting place for this purpose.

A group of workmen and I met together in my room every Sunday morning for some 8 weeks discussing very freely what we considered was the most urgent need of the inhabitants of Bow. We came to the conclusion that it was some kind of public centre, a big room or a small hall where anyone could come in, at any time, where all would feel utterly at home, where there would be no barriers recognized between the various classes creeds and countries of the world, where the motto should be "honour all men," where no one would be unwelcome, whatever his character, where everything should be done by voluntary service in humility and the spirit of brotherhood.

So was Kingsley Hall planned. We had no idea that our dreams and schemes were to be realized

in a few short months but so it was.

My brother Kingsley a young idealist who was a favourite whenever he came with me to Bow, died, and instead of mourning him my father decided to give his name to an ever-living memorial to his unquenchable spirit.

So the workmen found the right premises, my father bought them, the building was altered, the place was made clean, gay and bright and Kingsley Hall was opened on Thursday, 14 February 1915.

It was given to the people of the neighbourhood for their common use; they were to be responsible for keeping it clean and orderly; they ran lectures and concerts, clinics and classes, clubs and parties.

Ever since that day the place has served the public in any way that presented itself. It has always held very strongly to the idea of voluntary poverty, non-violence and prayer. It is never any use concentrating in the sorrows of one's own district or one's own country, to the exclusion of the clamant needs of other parts of the world and the people in Bow have kept up alively interest in what is going on in various parts of the world. Poor as they are and suffering from lack of nourishment as well as disease, they have always put their hands into their pockets to help all distress that they hear of.

In 1918, they started collecting money and food to send to the people of Germany, even before peace was signed. They heard from their sons and husbands in the army of occupation in Cologne at the time of the Armistice, that the people were hungry and thin, that the children used to gather round the British Tommies every evening, when their rations were distributed because they gave them a share.

Bow people, because they know what it is themselves to be hungry, have organized poster processions and living newspapers on many occasions to draw the attention of the public to the unnecessary suffering inflicted by harsh policies such as the allied blockade against Germany, the boycott of Russia, the cut in the social services, and repressive measures in India.

Regularly they make public protest against the evils of imperialism and militarism.

Several of them have served on the Local Government as Aldermen or Councillors. They have helped in the energetic administration of the Child Welfare and Matternity Act, that has done so much towards bringing down the infantile mortality rate from 153 per thousand to 63 per thousand in a period of 12 years.

Kingsley Hall is run by nine inmates who scrub the floors, cook the meals, run the clubs, teach the classes, lead the prayers, stoke the furnace, visit the neighbours, and organize the camps and conferences.

Indians in U. S. A:—Dr. Dinshah Pestanji Framji Ghadiali, of Malaga, Ohio, who in 1917 become a United States' citizen, after serving with the American army during the World War, may be deported from the country on the ground that he comes under the ban against Asiatics, states *New York Herald Tribune*. Mr. Harlax Besson District Attorney, announces that Mr. Ghadiali will be given a hearing on May 8 before Judge Jhon Boyd Avis, in Camden, New Jersey. Mr. Ghadiali, in his own defence declares that he is not subject to the ban becaus he is descended from the Parsee Zoroastrians, rulers of ancient Persia, who are classed by historians as Aryans. "The complaint" he says "seems actuated by some idea that because the respondent was born in Bombay, India, he was therefore, ineligible. On the obvious grounds that an Englishman born in Africa does not become a Negro, the respondent born in India is a free white person and racially eligible."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Bombay Strike :—The strike of mill workers which was announced to take place on Monday as a protest against a recent cut in wages began on Monday. On Friday morning when this is being written the number of strikers has swollen to 60,000. There have been some clashes with the Police who prevented processions of strikers passing before mills which were working; some of the leaders who were arrested have been released on bail. The general opinion is that the grievances of the workers are not without justification but that the strike is ill timed. However that may be, the immediate problem for Government and the public is how to end the strike as soon as possible. The Government attitude seems to be that they will let the employers and employees settle their differences, themselves merely keeping the peace. This is not the right attitude, and it cannot be maintained for long. The consequences of the strike if prolonged, even if there no breach of the peace, will be serious to the community in several ways. Further, in a conflict like this the two parties are very unequally matched in respect of resources, leadership and staying power. The worst incidence of the strike will soon be felt by women and children, and the public can not stand by while the combatants fight out the issue between them to a finish. There is another consideration. In the old days when the mills had to struggle against the excise duty which typified the then policy of Government to the industry, Government intervention would have been misunderstood and resented. The situation to-day is completely different. The Bombay mills are no longer competitors with Lancashire but allies. They have just secured a heavy protective duty on the plea that they could not continue to exist without it. Government and the public have, therefore, a perfect right to insist that the sacrifice which the consumers are called upon to make in the interests of the industry should accrue in the first instance to the workers. Otherwise, the industry will exist by exploiting both the consumers and the workers, that is, the vast majority of the population; and the question must soon arise whether in such circumstances an industry is a benefit to the country. The movement of prices is not a true test of incidence on the workers' cost of living. It is notorious that the workers are all in debt and chronically so. A fall of prices does not reduce the amount of debt. Reduction of wages drives the worker deeper into debt. We are sure that millowners are keen on ending the strike immediately. The initiative should be taken by Government by appointing a conciliation committee, the wage cut being suspended pending its report.

Extension of Service :—The Statute governing certain high appointments lays down the period for which they are tenable. Viceroys, Governors and Members of their Executive Councils hold office for five years. As these appointments are made by the Crown, the individuals holding them have an assured tenure and are expected to bring an independent judgment to bear on the problems of administration. Of late years a practice had grown up of giving extensions to holders of these offices. In the case of Members of Councils, this has led to the suspicion that extensions are securable by subservience to the head of the Government for the time being. It was announced this week that such extensions are no longer to be given. One immediate result happens to be that an Indian Member of the Bengal Executive Council who, as senior Member, would have acted for the Governor when he goes on leave shortly will not have the satisfaction of serving a term as acting Governor as his confreres in Allahabad and the Punjab. But as the principle is sound, the new rule will have general approval and it may be hoped that it will not again be changed. While the change in this case is right in principle, the appointment of the retiring Law Member of the Government of India to succeed the lately deceased Indian Member of the Executive Council of Bengal, can not be commended. Apart from the emoluments which in the new position will be about one half of what he was receiving as a member of the Government of India, a person who has held the status of member of the Government of India is not a suitable candidate for any lesser appointment. There is the same incongruity about this appointment

as there would be if Lord Willingdon when his term expires as Viceroy should accept the Governorship of Bengal, he having already held that office in Bombay and Madras. No English publicman would do it and no Indian should regard himself as being exempt from the considerations which weigh with Englishmen in such matters. The only conclusion possible is that the Bengal Government was unable to find another suitable person willing to take the office, and that Sir Brojendra Mitter has been pressed to take it notwithstanding that his doing so will be wholly unprecedented and open to criticism.

Crucifying the Flesh:— A Lahore telegram reported on Thursday that five mourners who accompanied the Mohurrum processions had been removed to hospital suffering from self-inflicted injuries with daggers in the course of beating of chests and backs as an expression of grief at the martyrdom of the heroic Hussain at the battle of Kerbala. Two of them are stated to be in a precarious condition. Many mourners were bleeding profusely. About one hundred mourners who saved their skins and salved their consciences by inflicting minor injuries on themselves were given first aid on the spot by the Punjab Boy Scouts Association. Several mourners fainted. Beating their breasts and backs with daggers and iron chains in Mohurrum celebrations is a common practice. It is intended to give concrete expression to a pious sentiment as in the case of hook-swinging among Hindus. The Madras Government has issued strict orders that hook swinging should not be allowed under any circumstances. Public opinion in South India will support Government in carrying out the order. In fact, if the unfortunate Magistrate had visited the village and spoken to the leading men a few days before the festival he would probably have persuaded them to give up the offensive part of the ritual or at least to substitute a goat for the man as is done in some places. For our part this would be a worse cruelty as the man is a consenting party whereas the goat is a helpless victim. But the law takes a different view.

Hanging:—Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramayya was asked by the Editor of *Triveni* to write an article for that journal of Indian Renaissance. The Doctor chose as the most suitable subject "Hanging." He has taken pains to show that hanging is the least painful form of putting an end to the life of a condemned murderer, less painful than electrocution and guillotining. He has described in minute detail the jail routine for carrying out a sentence of hanging. He affirms that "when you eliminate hanging you put a premium upon murder." We must differ. In unsettled societies every man killed his enemy whenever he was able to do so. The primitive State forbade private vengeance but could get its subjects to acquiesce in the prohibition only by undertaking to do the job itself. Capital punishment is thus a survival from rude time. It is an act of vengeance pure and simple. The civilised idea of punishment is that it is a means of reclaiming the offender and a deterrent to others. You can not reclaim the criminal by hanging him. As for the deterrent effect of capital punishment, violent crime was rifest when capital punishment was inflicted not only for murder but also for other crimes some of which are now regarded as trivial. The humanisation of punishment has resulted in the steady decrease in crime. The other day a man was hanged by mistake in a Punjab jail through an official order not reaching the authorities in time. Except in the few cases where the murderer is caught in the act, there is always an element of doubt and the risk of an innocent man being hanged outweighs in sensitive minds the possibility of some criminals going free. More than that it is a profound mistake to think that it is the fear of capital punishment that protects us from being murdered by our neighbours. The human mind in most communities recoils from murder as an anti-social act which, if it became common would lead to chaos.

Social Legislation in Baroda:—The Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Baroda has issued a second and revised edition of his memorandum on recent social legislation in that State. We reprinted last week the paragraphs in it which did not appear in the first edition a large part of which was also reprinted in the *Reformer* of January 6 and 13. In an editorial note in that issue we hinted that there was a feeling that the pace of social legislation in the State was a little too fast although every measure had been adopted after ample consideration and investigation. A press message states that His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has withheld his sanction to the Act prohibiting marriages between old men and young girls, a common evil prevailing in many castes in Gujerat and Kathiawar. In passing the order his Highness remarked:—"We should not overdo social legislation. Society should be strong enough to purge itself of such abuses without depending on Government to pass laws. It is the consensus of opinion that Baroda has taken a lead in matters of social legislation and has gone far ahead of the times. The time has come to call for a halt and review the working of the Acts that have come into force before launching into new channels." We think that His Highess has decided wisely. Social reform in the last resort depends not on legislation but on the quickening of the public conscience. The work of the reformer cannot be delegated to the policeman. As for the marriage of young girls with elderly men, surely when the law forbids the marriage of immature persons who can not exercise an informed judgment on a matter of such vital concern to themselves, it has done all it can and should. If two grown up persons choose to marry without regard to the disparity between their ages, it is their own affair.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, APRIL 28, 1934.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR.

Though Sir Sankaran Nair was well past three score years and ten, we were not prepared for the news of his death which took place on Wednesday. About two months ago, he had written asking for some information and we gathered that he was engaged on some literary work relating to the Indian political movement. He was physically a strong man and took particular care of his health. He had regular habits and was entirely free from the besetting sin of many Indians, that of worrying over the irrevocable past and the undescernible future. This was due to a large extent to his deeply religious temper. He was a devout Hindu. He spent two hours every morning on his yogic practices which kept him fit physically and mentally. Another great quality which he had in abundant measure was courage. He feared neither man nor beast. He took the straight course as he saw it regardless of consequences. At the Malaviya Conference held in Bombay and over which he had come all the way from Indore, where he was then engaged as political adviser, to preside, he without a moment's hesitation picked up his hat and walked out of the Hall when he found that he and Gandhiji differed on a fundamental issue. There was a time during his tenure of office as education member of the Government of India when he was not on speaking terms with any of his colleagues. This writer vividly remembers Sir Sankaran standing alone in the centre of an evening party in the Viceregal Lodge looking at the ceiling in serene composure. When he was appointed to the office, Lord Hardinge told him that he was there to press the Indian point of view as strong as possible leaving it to others to deal with other aspects of questions; and that he (Lord Hardinge) would expect him to do so. The advice was superfluous in his case but he was grateful and so long as he retained his post he never lost sight of it. When Dr. Besant was released from internment she went straight up to Simla, sending a telegram to Sir Sankaran that she was coming. A copy of the message reached Lord Chelmsford before Sir Sankaran received it. A hurried telephone message from Viceregal Lodge intimated that it would be embarrassing if Dr. Besant were to be a guest of a Member of Government so soon after her release. Sir Sankaran said that he was not accountable to anybody for what guests he received in his own home, that he had not asked Dr. Besant to be his guest but that if she came to him he could not as an old friend refuse her hospitality. In the suit brought against him by Sir Michael O'Dwyer for a statement in a book criticising Non-co-operation, he was not deterred by the fact that a large section of Indian opinion was opposed to him from sticking to his resolve to contest the claim. He was consistent in his support of social reform and held that in regard to it there was little to choose between the Brahmin and the Briton. He was a strong believer in English education for the reason that "you can not argue a man into slavery in the English language." When the Simon Commision was appointed this writer met Sir Sankaran at a garden party in Madras and asked him that he thought of the exclusion of Indians from it. He said that he did not think much of it and that everything would depend on the attitude of the Indian Members of the Government of India. He was only one in the days of the Montagu Chelmsford reforms but on most of the points on which he differed from his colleagues, his opinion carried weight with the Parliamentary Committee and the Cabinet. On his way to Delhi to preside over the Indian Committee which co-operated with the Simon Commission, he showed us his own scheme elaborated in a series of memoranda. He was very patient of suggestion and would instantly change his views if he found that he had overlooked any material point. Although in a sense the originator of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras he was utterly out of sympathy with the turn it took under Dr. T. M. Nair and Mr. Theagaraya Chetty. From almost its commencement, the *Reformer* had in him a careful reader and friend. Sir Sankaran came up to our idea of a model Indian public man more than most of others of our time. Always a lonely man, since his wife's sudden death some years ago, his solitude weighed heavily on him. Death to him was a release.

The Dnyanodaya on Missionary Duty:—The Rev. Loy L. Long of Sholapur wrote two articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* about the economic issues involved in the mill strike in his town. The *Dnyanodaya* concludes an appreciative reference to them with the following courageous declaration: "Some people may say that such articles should not be written by a missionary, just as they might think the *Dnyanodaya* ought to soft pedal on such subjects as drink, opium and prostitution. To such people our reply is: "For what do missionaries come to India if not to apply the dynamite of Jesus Christ to public evils?" We say, bravo! Some missionaries have had to leave the country for applying the dynamite of Jesus to certain ordinances which they felt were not according to the mind of their Master. We hope that such a contingency will not arise in the case of our valued friend, the English Editor of the *Dnyanodaya*. By the way, we do not like the word or the thing, dynamite. Apart from the danger of casual readers sticking at the dynamite, leaving out Jesus, the process of social and moral reform is more aptly described by an epithet of growth than one of destruction. The leaven and mustard seed, and not any high explosive, was chosen by the Master himself to typify the incoming of the Kingdom of Heaven.

THE INDIA ACADEMY OF AMERICA.

The India Academy of America has its head-quarters in the city of New York. It was founded in January, 1931, and incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. It is an institute of cultural co-operation and, in the words of Prof. John Dewey, exchange of 'spiritual influences' between the East and the West. The Academy is strictly non-political, non-sectarian and non-profit-making. It aims, on the one hand, at making India's culture, composite as it is of Hindu, Islamic, Christian and other elements, better known to the West, and, on the other, at bringing India into a closer and more effective touch with all that is of real value in the cultural life of the West.

In the matter of India's philosophy, for instance, a great benefit to India is almost certain to follow by way of reaction, if the efforts of the India Academy in the direction of having chairs of this branch of India's cultural achievement founded in some of the Amercian universities are finally successful. Some of the latest findings, theories and surmisings of the foremost men of modern science concerning the ultimate nature of things are fast approximating some of the most fundamental and universal doctrines of India's ancient philosophy. On this point, Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins of Yale University has observed:- 'It will be a surprise even to those conversant with the Hindu system to see how close is the analogy between the idealism of the Vedanta and the tendency of European opinion and to learn that India's outlook on life may in essentials be that which modern scientific thought is almost prepared to adopt."

It is also being increasingly recognized by some of the leading Occidental thinkers that the social chaos, which has resulted from the outlook on life hitherto prevailing in the West, can never be restored to an orderly condition again, without a complete change of this outlook. These thinkers are also beginning to realise that it is a proper understanding and a full acceptance of the essential philosophy of India which alone can bring about the change so urgently needed now. In reference to this essential philosophy of India Will Durant, the most widely read philosophic writer in America, has recently declared:—"This gospel of self-control and quiet thinking is just the sedative we need for our Occidental fever."

And yet, in the whole of India, there is not a University which has a professorship of India's philosophy. All the holders of the chairs of philosophy and all heads of the departments of philosophy in Indian Universities are men who are required primarily to be proficient in Occidental philosophy, which, unlike the philosophy of India, has no practical end whatsoever in view, and attracts, therefore, the fewest number of students in the West itself. But let there be a chair of India's pholosophy established at Harvard, Yale, Columbia in America and it will not be long before Oxford and Cambridge follow suit. Then only will some of the Universities in India wake up to the fact that India has a valuable philosophy which should be given the first place in this department of study, and not the philosophy of the modern West which consists mostly of uncertain speculations as admitted by its own advocates.

But perhaps the greatest benefit of all would be a better mutual understanding among the representatives of the various culture groups at home in India. At present they know so little of one another, even though living side by side for centuries. Whatever might have been the case in the days of Islamic rule over India, it cannot be said now that, considering their numbers, there are many Hindus who study Arabic and Persian at present or know much about, or appreciate fully, the extent and significance of the cultural achievements of Islam. Similarly, the number of Indian Mussulmans who know correctly or fully anything of the ancient culture of the land,—which is as much their home as of the Hindus,—can be counted almost on the tips of one's fingers, in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the Mussulmans of India are of Hindu origin and racially Hindu. In the case of the Christians, whether Indian by race, pure Europeans or of a mixed descent, if any of them knows anything of India's cultural life, whether Hindu or Islamic, he knows only a garbled version of it from the writings of missionaries or Western authors who mostly have themselves so little understanding of the matter. The result is that the various communities of India are almost absolute strangers to one another in regard to their respective cultural achievements and aspirations. What is worse is that, in consequence of this ignorance of one another, they almost despise and hate one another—certainly in private and not infrequently even in public. Now, if the various elements of India's composite culture are fully recognised in the West, it may be reasonably expected that, as a reaction to this, a larger number of people belonging to the different communities in India would study properly their mutual contributions to the general culture of the land and there would in consequence be a far better mutual understanding and much more mutual sympathy than now. Besides, representatives of the different culture groups of India, working side by side in foreign lands—as the officers, scholars, students and other members of the India Academy would be doing—would certainly develop a spirit of co-operation, and even oneness in regard to India, *vis-a-vis* the foreign countries where they may be; and this spirit would have, without question, a very salutary reaction on India.

There is another way, though a very indirect one, in which India is expected to be benefitted by the India Academy working in America. It is the aim, even the ambition, of the India Academy to be, in time, a link and an interpreter between the whole of the East, including China and Japan, and the West. But apart from this, it is both desirable and necessary, in these days of world-wide intercourse, that India should revive her ancient cultural relation with the 'Far East,' in addition to establishing new lines of cultural co-operation with the West. This can, of course, be best done by establishing direct lines of approach to these lands of the Pacific region. But the India Academy has opportunities of doing a great deal, even in this field, in America. Not only are there in America large Chinese and Japanese Colonies where one can study and know something of Chinese life, but there are, at certain educational centres on the American continent, great institutions providing excellent opportunities for Chinese studies, which Indian students can find nowhere else in the world, not excepting perhaps China itself. The India Academy expects to co-operate increasingly with these Chinese and other Far Eastern Institutions in the Universities of America as well as with the China and Japan Societies there; it will also do everything to help its students and workers to study cultural subjects pertaining to Far Eastern and Pacific countries whenever they desire to do so and thereby help in re-establishing Indian's ancient cultural relations once more with those lands on a better and wider basis. Thus India is expected to benefit greatly—indeed, as much as, if not more than, the Occident itself—by the activities of a movement like the India Academy of America, even though such activities will have to be carried on largely in the West.

And this is just the time when an organised and sustained effort, along the right lines, to make India's culture more fully recognized and appreciated by the Occident is almost certain to produce the desired result. The visits paid by such outstanding personalities as Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore have aroused in the West a great deal of cultural interest in India. This interest has become still more widespread by the extensively reported doings of Mahatma Gandhi, in the realm of the spirit even more than in the field of politics. As a result there has come about a new demand for cultural co-operation; and in response to it much good work is being done by various cultural organization, as well as by a member of individuals, working on behalf of India. But, with perhaps one exception, none of these organisations is devoted exclusively to the task of spreading information regarding the cultural and spiritual life of India.

There are also the Vedanta Societies and certain other 'religious' organizations which are doing excellent work. But, in the Occident, the word 'Religion' has a very diffierent connotation to what 'Dharma', even though translated as 'Religion', has in India. The term 'Religion', in reference specially to movements connected with India, is taken usually in the sense of a 'cult.' As a consequence, the Vedanta Societies,like other similar institutions classed as 'religions', appeal only to a particular and a rather limited group. On the other hand, the interest of the West, specially of America, in India's cultural and spiritual life is being exploited by certain self-seeking individuals, who are thereby doing a great deal of harm both to India and the West. On this point the following extract from a letter recently addressed to Sir Radhakrishnan by Mr. John B. Chevalier, Secretary to the American Asiatic Association will speak for itself: "We have suffered in the past in New York from individuals who were in no way qualified to expound the intellectuality of India and they have done much damage to the cause we have at heart."

The India Academy of America has, under these circumstances, been heartily welcomed by some of the most distinguished and leading personages of the West. The membership of the Academy includes several professors of Columbia, Yale, Harvard, Chicago and California universities, as well as prominent people in other important walks of life. As Mr. K. Natarajan, who visited America recently and came to know something of the India Academy, has, in a note published in the *Indian Social Reformer*, said:—Its membership consists largely of scholars." Mr. Natarajan has also observed that the India Academy, because of its scholarly character, is "free from mystical associations of some other Indian cultural propaganda."

GOVERNMENT BY THE MAJORITY-DEMOCRACY.

The Editor,
The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. T. Sivasankaran's comments on my notes under this caption in your issue of March 24th, 1934 are an apt and perfect illustration of that complete lack of "political sense" and confusion of thought which those who believe that understanding of the British Government is a *sine qua non* of peace in India, are fighting against as the deadliest enemy. If this were the mental attitude of the majority the outlook would indeed be black.

But that there are glimmerings of comprehension breaking through the clouds, I have reason to believe, and thank God for every ray of light.

Cambridge,
April 9, 1934.

Yours etc.,
L. J. PITT.

TRAVANCORE AND TEMPLE ENTRY.

The following is a summary of recommendations by the Travancore Temple Entry Committee appointed by the Government to enquire into and report on the question of Temple-Entry.

The Committee says: "We may now summarise the conclusions we have arrived at. This may best be done by answering the points raised by the Government in their proceedings constituting the Committee. We shall take the points in order and record our answers to them.

"Whether, in all or any of the Temples within the State the Caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, e. g., as being sole beneficiaries, owners, etc."

The right of the Savarnas to keep the Avarnas out of Savarna temples is a recognisable civil right capable of adjudication in a court of law. That right the Savarnas have only as the beneficiaries entitled to worship inside the Temples, and not as owners. Certain persons, as individuals, may be owners of certain Savarna temples, but there is no temple of which the Savarna community is, as such, the owner.

According to longstanding usage and religious authority, the Avarnas are entitled to worship at Savarna temples from the position outside the temples assigned to them by usage.

"Whether in any particular caste Hindu temple there is any local practice allowing the entry of non-caste Hindus.

"The general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficiency of religious worship or rites within the temple itself or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone."

There is a general feeling among non-caste Hindus that religious worship or rites performed within a temple will be more efficacious than such worship or rites performed outside its precincts.

"The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficiency of religious worship or rites if Temple-Entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus."

The feeling among the Savarnas is divided. The general feeling among those who favour temple-entry is that there will be no loss of efficacy in worship if Avarnas are admitted into Savarna temples. The feeling among those who are against Temple-entry is that efficacy will be lost if Avarnas are admitted into Savarna temples.

"The extent of any feeling among (1) caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing temple-entry and whether the movement for temple-entry is a separable or integral part of such a programme."

From a preponderance of oral evidence of the Savarna witnesses and the information as to the general feeling in the country, which we have been able to gather from that evidence, it is clear that there is a strong feeling among Savarnas in favour of temple-entry being allowed. At the same time, it has to be recognised that there is considerable opposition from a large body of Savarnas on the other side.

The general feeling among Avarnas is in favour of temple entry.

Though it is conceded that temple entry will not by itself produce social and religious equality, allowing temple-entry will, to that extent, remove the inequality in those respects. It is possible to work out a scheme for the social uplift of the Avarnas independently of the temple-entry movement. The Committee suggests for this purpose action on the following lines:—

(*i*) Distance pollution or "Theendal" should be moved by appropriate legislative measure subject to reservations in the matter of entry into temple and into their adjuncts like temple tanks, temple wells, Homapuras, Anakottils, etc., and subject to the following provisions: —

(*a*) Public tanks used for bathing purposes should be thrown open after separate cisterns are attached to them or portions of them are walled off, where people could wash their clothes, etc., before getting into the tanks for bath.

(*b*) Public wells should be thrown open, after they are provided with cisterns, in which water should be stored from the wells by municipal or Health Department employees and from which water should be drawn through taps.

(*c*) Government Satrams (Choultries) should be thrown open, after they are provided with separate kitchens, as in the case of such as are already open to all classes.

The Committee thinks that prompt action should be taken as regards these items.

(*ii*) Arrangements should be made for providing Bhajanamatoms, instituting religious lectures, opening schools for adult instruction and for proper housing and sanitation and the adequate supply of wells and tanks, for such Avarna communities as in the opinion of Government require such assistance. This item may be worked as to be completed in a definite period, say ten years.

(*iii*) In important centres, temples may be built and consecrated where Savarnas and Avarnas may worship together, such Savarnas retaining their rights of worship, etc., in temples where Avarnas are not now admitted.

"The probable results (*a*) temporary and (*b*) permanent, of allowing temple-entry."

The following results are likely to ensue: —

(*i*) Some breaches of the peace may occur. But it will be possible to prevent them by proper precautionary measures.

(*ii*) A large number of Savarnas will keep out of the temples and a large number of Avarnas will come in.

(*iii*) Many of the priests (Pujaris Tantris) will be unwilling to continue their services. Other persons belonging to the communities from which they are recruited may be willing to take their places. Bnt they may not in general command the same respect.

(*iv*) Some of the temple servants may discontinue their services or demand remuneration in cash instead of cooked rice allowance. The Government may fix cash remuneration and get over this difficulty.

(*v*) Of the Savarnas who first keep away, some may, in course of time, come back. The number of Avarnas going to temple for worship may also be reduced. But the total number of worshippers is not likely to be less than at present.

If any entry that is allowed is with the concurrence of a Parishat the evil results anticipated will be considerably minimised.

"The possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the orthodox Hindu community and other Hindus with regard to the question of temple-entry or any aspect of it. And if there is a possibility the best methods of effecting a compromise."

A compromise in the strict sense does not seem to be possible. But a few middle courses have been suggested of which the Committee think the following two deserve to be considered :—

(*i*) Entry being allowed to Avarnas as far as the "Balivattam" in all Savarna Temples and (*ii*) throwing open some of the existing temples in the several talukas for all Hindus, the others being reserved for exclusive worship of the Savarnas.

The Committee suggests that these two middle courses also may be referred to the Parishat.

"The bearing on the question of temple entry, of the principles, rules and practices regulating religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples."

The principles and rules regulating religious worship and caste Hindu temples are set forth in the Agamas; and the Agamas prohibit the entry of Avarnas. The practice in temples is also to the same effect.

"The extent to which Government can interfere or has interfered in private temples whether or not under Government management."

The Government have assumed the management of many Savarna temples in the exercise of the Sovereign's right of 'Melkoima.' In administering these temples, they have, by virtue of the 'Melkoima' right, the power of supervision and of assuming the management, if that step is necessary for the proper administration of these temples. In the capacity of 'Melkoima,' Government have modified a few practices in some temples. But no change in practice or usuage involving modification of important principles of the Smritis or important rules of the Agamas can be effected, except by the Sovereign on the advice of a Parishat.

"The commitments, if any, made by Government."

In the opinion of the Committee, no commitment has been made by Government which restricts their freedom of action in the matter.

On the general question of temple-entry, the Committee is of the opinion that there is such a change from the past in the circumstances of the present day, as to make it desirable that whatever steps are possible should be taken to give the Avarnas greater facilities for the purpose of worshipping at Savarna temples, but that it is necessary that the faith of the orthodox Hindus in temples and in the sanctity of the deity installed in them should not be weakened. The Committee thinks that the extent to which the present rule prohibiting the entry of Avarnas into temples may be modified should be determined by the Sovereign on the advice of a Parishat.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM?

The Hungarian scholar and Orientalist Mr. Felix Valyi delivered an interesting lecture on "Buddhism and its significance to the Western mind" on Sunday morning at the Anand Vihara, Bombay. A large gathering, including a number of ladies attended the lecture which was arranged under the auspices of the Bombay Buddha Society.

"Wherever I go, I find the misunderstanding of the Oriental mode of thought and view of Life and Religion, and a discarding of the same for materialistic forms of thought, peculiar to the Western Mind," declared the lecturer in introducing the subject of the lecture.

"The best in Oriental Religion, Art, History, and Life has not been understood properly and transmitted for modern use anywhere, and this will certainly create a tremendous mischief in future when the Western materialism is accepted without scrutiny" was Dr. Valyi's prophetic warning.

"The dominating spiritual and moral influences which pervaded the psychology of Asia were Buddhism and Islam," declared the lecturer, both of which "until to-day are living forces undergoing constant evolution." To explain the psychology of

Asia meant the explanation of the fundamental notions of Buddhism and Islam in their relation to Asiatic History. "The Human appeal of Buddhism and Islam is even now so powerful that no one single aspect of Asiatic life and mentality could be explained without a profound knowledge of both doctrines."

To understand Buddhism in its entire purity one should go to the pristine teaching of Gautama himself, explained Dr. Felix.

Buddhism is "a perfect formulation of the ideal" that Buddha postulated, which related more to the ideal of purity and perfection for transcending material desires, passions, and egoism that debase the eternally free mind, than to any other aspect of human striving.

One of the misunderstandings in the Western mind was the misconception due to the "the Nihilistic School in Buddhism—the attempt to take away the mind from real Life in the world" and which was "the real cause of the decline of Buddhism in India."

"The pessimistic interpretation of Buddhism" in the West for which Schopenhauer of Germany was largely responsible was only the interpretation of "the decadent form of Buddhism" that was a result of "the formulation of the ideals of monastic life," in later Tibetan Buddhism of the ninth century.

"Buddhism, if anything, shows how to transcend the material life by resurrection of "the noble, pure, and the moral" in the human mind, which always felt the need to rise "ethically, morally, and culturally" to the higher plane of life, added Dr. Valyi. This attempt to purify life was not to debase life but to give stronger "wholesome zest to Life."

The central motivating Power in Gautama's mind was the "spiritual transcending power to rise above the chain of material passions, desires, lust, vanity, and ignorance" that debased humanity. The great Buddhist ideal of "the freedom of the mind", which was present in every vital religion in the world—was the search for the outlet, from "the jungle of Asiatic symbolism and to recover for the mind its original purity." Buddha showed the way "to rise above the limitations,—geographical, historical, ancestral, congenital, and the traditional"—with which the human mind had been shackled by centuries of custom and thought.

"One single ideal of Buddhism was a nearer approach to profound life than the dissertations of Aristotle."

Those who assume that Buddhism was a school of inertia and pessimism, from the very beginning, forget the five centuries of Buddhism when the wonderful influence of Shakya-Muni awoke to action the sleeping forces of the Indian soul.

The inspiration which came from Gautama's teaching pervaded the Indian soul with a new ideal of morality by severe discipline of human passion and human instinct without inflicting upon it the prejudices of Brahminism and Hinduism. Buddhism was a reaction against the rigid system of Brahminism and as a democratic religion with an aristocratic ideal of Buddhahood, its failure in India was perhaps the greatest catastrophe for the Hindu people. For, in Japan Buddhism became again a doctrine of action under the influence of the "Zen" sect—namely, the stoics of Japanese Buddhism, whose "purifying influence has been recognised as one of the essential characteristics of the Japanese mind."

One and the same fundamental thought inspiring all the manifestations of early Buddhism, continued Dr. Valyi, was the ideal of Universal Love including the whole of mankind without preference of race or caste or creed.

In the sixth century B. C., scientific, mathematical formulation of Universality in Religion was not possible, as the symbolic language was the predominent method. The symbols of the "lotus flower" and of the "white rose" of Persia were examples proving the enormous significance of symbolism in art and religion. The profound significance of Oriental symbolism in history and its effects on events and thoughts, and its wide ramifications throughout the world could be traced into the historical past over wide spaces and over long periods.

Thus the Muhamadans in Spain were responsible for the fertilising stream to Christianity that became subsequently democratic. The Muhamadans in turn had been affected by the fertilising streams from Oriental religions and art. These historical links are even now of great import in History and human culture. The relation of life to art and the place of symbolism in Art, Life and Religion could also be understood, by the study of Indian art. The immense beauty—the monumental and the symbolic in Indian art—all were keys to the human mind that did not reject life but wanted to transcend life and its materialistic passions and desires.

Chinese, Japanese, Hindu and Islamic modes of life and thought showed the mark of the vivifying, spiritual, and purifying influence of the great personality of Gautama.

LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

The following appeal has been issued under the signatures of Lady Abdul Qadir, President, Rani Laksmibai Rajwade, Chairwoman, Mrs. Charulata Mukerji, Organizing Secretary and Mrs. Renuka Ray, Social Section Secretary, All-India Women's Conference:—

The iniquity of Hindu Law, so far as women's rights of inheritance and marriage are concerned, is almost without parallel today. Whenever efforts have been made to ameliorate the position of women by trying to rectify any particularly pernicious and objectionable provision of the law, the religious injunctions or the Shastras have invariably been brought forward to support the existing system in all its details. A proper study of the old Shastras will prove conclusively that when the laws were codified those Shastras and Smritis which were favourable to the rights of women were ignored—it almost seems, with a preconceived and deliberate purpose. Mohomedan law is more equitable in some respects but even here a great deal is still to be desired before the law is interpreted so as to give women equal legal rights with men.

Although we are grateful to those great men who have from time to time during the last century made efforts to improve the legal position of women, it cannot be gainsaid that, with a few exceptions only, those efforts have been and are still being largely ineffectual because they have met with opposition and been reduced to half-measures. Women are realising to-day that, if they are to take their rightful position in society and discharge their duties as responsible citizens, it is of the utmost necessity to have a wholesale revision of the legal code in matters affecting women, not only in their own interest, but in the interests of the nation as a whole. Palliatives and half-measures will no longer do. It is the considered view of the representatives of India's women, as expressed in the last Annual Session of the All-India Women's Conference at Calcutta, that a commission with a non-official majority and a strong representation of women should be appointed without delay to enquire into the present disabilities of women in regard to marriage and inheritance, and make suitable recommendations to remove the same. This is an appeal to all women interested in women's welfare, to start a nation-wide campaign to arouse public opinion and impress on

the Government of India the urgent necessity of appointing the commission. We must make it clear to the authorities that it is not a mere passing of a resolution at the Conference, but that we are earnest about it, and we shall only be satisfied when our just and reasonable demand is fulfilled. We are sure that we shall obtain the unstinted help and support of those of our men, who have helped with so much enthusiasm the cause of women's advancement so far.

CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY.

M. Alfred Loisy, one of the outstanding biblical critics of the day, has published a book in French on the development of Christianity entitled "La Naissance du Christianisme" which has been favourably reviewed in the *Hibbert Journal* by the Editor, Mr. L. P. Jacks, in an important article. We give below a few extracts from the book :

The tradition which has preserved for us the memory of the Jesus was, in its orgin, entirely other than historical: at the very first it was the tradition of a faith, and almost immediately afterwards the tradition of a cult, which grew more fervid as it developed to the deification of its object. In a word, memory was transfigured into faith and adoration. Strictly speaking the Gospels are not historical documents. They are liturgical catechisms containing the cult-legend of the Lord Jesus Christ; they announce no other content and claim no other quailty. Even the teaching attributed to Jesus has been built up to meet the needs of the Christian propaganda, for the edification of the first communities or again, and especially in the fourth Gospel, to elaborate the mystic theory of Salvation by Jesus Christ. One cannot pretend that, behind all this work of faith, the real traits of Jesus, his own doings, and the exact circumstances of his preaching and death, are to be recognised clearly cut. What the historian here comes into direct contact with is the faith of the first generations and the intensity of their devotion to Jesus the Saviour.

There is nothing to make good this inadequacy of the evangelical testimony. The Acts of the Apostles, which are supposed to record the history of the first Christian age are, rather, the continuation of the legend and, at some points, of the myth, while the general perspective of the book is as artificial in its own way, if not more so, than that of the canonic Gospels.

Christianity is not founded on a doctrine laid down in a book. It formed its own doctrine as it grew, and the books which properly belong to it are the products and witnesses of the doctrinal elaboration as it was accomplished in the course of the first hundred or hundred and fifty years of the new religion.

In a very real sense the history of primitive Christianity is a kind of pre-history which has to be reconstructed—one might almost say, guessed—from documents which reflect it. But were neither conceived nor put into shape for the purpose of narrating it.

The imminent return of the Christ had been proclaimed for a long time before recounting, in oral preaching and evangelical books, the details of what Jesus had done, said and suffered, that he might ascend into heaven in preparation for the day of God. The Gospel was the proclamation of that Day before it became the story of the Christ's teaching and of his saving death.

Of what the preaching of Jesus really was we can form only an approximate idea from the teaching which has been attributed to him. It may be said without the least paradox that the teaching he actually gave was never collected. Neither the preacher nor the most faithful of his hearers had any thought of fixing the tenor of it for transmission to posterity; the imminent prospect of the reign of God left a preoccupation of that kind out of the question. After the death of Jesus the first apostles continued to announce the near-coming event, which was now to be that of the Christ in his glory. It was only at the end of a certain time, when the groups of believers were organized into permanent brotherhoods that the need was felt for a completer instruction, in which the teaching about Jesus and the teaching of Jesus, already strangely modified and augmented, were progressively amalgamated to form the books of liturgical catechism for which the name 'Gospel' was kept. The contents of our Gospels, the Synoptics especially, are rather the elements of the primitive Christian catechesis than instruction really given by Jesus in Galilee or at Jerusalem, and it is unnecessary to prove that the mystical gnosis of the fourth Gospel was entirely foreign to him.

The origin of Jesus was of the humblest. It is improbable that the name of his father, Joseph, and that of his mother, Mary, were invented in the tradition...Doubtless he was born in some hamlet or village of the region (Capernaum) in which we first see him teaching. We may also believe that before himself embarking on the proclamation of the coming reign of God he was for some time attached to John the Baptist or at least affiliated with the sect which made use of John's name.

It was probably not without motive that the Gospels defined his teaching and that of the Baptist by the same general formula: 'Repent, for the reign of God is at hand.' But this indication, simple and yet widely comprehensive, is the most certain knowledge we have of his doctrine. We can hold it for certain because this was the fundamental element of the faith held by the first votaries of Jesus, by those who continued his work after his death in proclaiming him the Christ, and because the later work of Christian tradition, always tied to this initial datum, consisted in successive retouchings and attenuation of the same theme—the coming of the great Kingdom. We know, moreover, that in this was summed up the Jewish hope of which Jesus was regarded as destined to bring the fulfillment for those who were his.....Jesus, then, taught, if not the end of the world—for it would be difficult to say what idea he had of the universe, or even if he had one at all—at least the end of the present age, the end of Satan's reign, and of the powers set up by him, the advent of God, the reign of the just, the resurrection of the dead, and the Grand Judgment which was to exterminate all the wicked and sweep them from the face of the earth. With this judgment in prospect men must repent, must change their lives.

That Jesus baptised, as John did, is not affirmed by the Synoptics, and critics generally are disposed to say that he demanded nothing more than a change of heart. In this way they would make Jesus the teacher of what seems to them a pure religion, divested of all magic ritual. But Jesus had no intention of founding a religion and gave no thought to that matter.....

Did Jesus attribute to himself an eminent place in the coming Kingdom? Many in these late days, have believed themselves able to answer in the negative, but without pausing to consider whether

they are not investing Jesus too freely with their own mentality, or with their own religious ideal. Jesus, according to them, was a mystical philanthropist for whom the Kingdom of God was a thing essentially interior and moral, the presence of God in the soul, the revelation and intimate consciousness of the divine goodness and fatherhood, the law of love, the dignity of man. That is what the Gospel, viewed from afar off, and sifted by the experience of nineteen centuries, may seem to those who are intent on finding themselves in it. But it was not in this simplification that Jesus lived. Christianity was not born in an atmosphere so transcendant...The value of the human soul...is not defined in the Gospel independently of the individual's destiny in the coming Kingdom; the law of love is not laid down independently of the renunciation of earthly things prescribed by the imminent revelation; the uplifiting of the poor is not conceived independently of their exaltation in the eternal realm. In plain truth, neither the revelation of the good God, nor the value of the soul, nor the law of love, nor the dignity of the poor have the eminent place in the primitive Gospel which some in our days attribute to them; they are the elements of the Gospl which, more or less enlarged in our view of them, happen to be, for us, the least out of date. As the historian sees the matter, it is ever and always in the eschatalogical notion of the Reign of God that the Gospel can and must be summed up; all the rest is subordinate to that.

Jesus did not offer himself to his contemporaries as a sage or a moralist, nor as a prophet pure and simple, but as one sent from God. He claims a special and unique mission in regard to the Great Event, though perhaps not defined with precision, which in our language would be equivalent to the title of Grand Ambassador (Grand Envoye)...There could be no question of his being the Messiah there and then, since the Messiah was the prince of the Grand Reign and there could be no Messiah except in the reign of God...(He) was Messiah in expectation; Messiah presumptive.

HITLER'S FOREIGN POLICY.*

(By Mildred S. Wertheimer.)

The immediate object of National Socialist foreign policy is the attainment of equality—in armaments and status—and re-establishment of the Reich as a great power. The Nazis believe that as a consequence of the war and the Versailles Treaty, the world has reduced the Germans to the position of a second-class people, and their policy is concentrated on wiping this blot from the German scutcheon. The foreign political goal as set forth both in the National Socialist party's official programme and in Hitler's autobiography, "Mein Kampf"—which has become the bible of the Third Reich—is the union of all Germans in one great Germany. Hitler places special emphasis, moreover, on the acquisition of new territory in Europe on which Germans might settle and which would insure freedom of existence to the German people. In order to attain this end the Reich, he said, must have military allies, for "an alliance whose aim is not war is senseless." No state, however, would want to ally itself with present day Germany, which can give no military help; hence the immediate object of German foreign policy must be transformation of the nation into a strongly armed military state. "Oppressed peoples," wrote Hitler, "are never freed and unified in a common empire by means of framing protests, but through a sharp, unsheathed sword. The forging of this sword is the task of the leaders of a people's domestic policy. The consummation of this work of forging the sword and the securing of military allies is the task of the leaders of its foreign policy. Hitler envisaged Italy and Great Britain as the two future allies of the Reich. The French, he declared, will remain the "inexorable, deadly enemy of the German people." Germany must turn its eyes toward the East, for only in Russia and the Baltic can the Reich secure the new territory which will rectify "the false relation between our people and our land," and thus "free the Germans for ever from the danger of disappearing from the earth or of becoming a slave people." We National Socialists, stated Hitler, "consciously draw a line through pre-war German foreign policy. We begin anew at the place where history stopped short 600 years ago. We will end the continual migration of Germans to the south and west of Europe and turn our eyes to the land in the East. We will finally end the pre-war era and pass over to the land policy (Bodenpolitik) of the future. And when we speak of new territory in Europe today, we can only think first of all of Russia and of the Russian border states."

This Eastern policy was also stressed by Alfred Rosenberg, now head of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the National Socialist Party and cultural dictator of the Reich. Rosenberg, who was born in Astonia and educated in Tsarist Russia, strongly advocated a Nordic Europe with a German "Mitteleuropa" as the foreign political solution of the future. Russia, according to Rosenberg, must be pushed back into Asia, and then Germany will be able "to procure sufficient territory for its future 150 million inhabitants. In this great battle for existence of the future and struggle for honour, freedom and bread a creative nation such as Germany can have no consideration for impotent, worthless and presumptuous Poles, Czechs, etc. These people must be forced eastward in order to free territory for German peasants to cultivate. Only thus can there be the possibility for the German People to breathe again. Thus also will the foundation of a new cultural epoch for the white race be made possible."

These and many other statements of Nazi foreign political philosophy and aims before the party assumed power form a striking contrast to Hitler's speeches on foreign policy since he became Chancellor of the Reich—in which he has attempted to reassure the world that Nazi Germany desires only "work and peace."

The foreign policy of the Third Reich thus comprises conflicting elements. In speeches delivered since he came to power, Hitler has professed peace and abhorrence of war in direct contradiction to his earlier statements. He has also given some proof of the sincerity of his pacifist protestations by concluding a Polish-German non-aggression pact and by offering to sign similar agreement with all Germany's neighbours. The Third Reich's foreign relations, however, have been complicated and inured by efforts, directed from Berlin, to Nazify German minorities living within the borders of these neighbouring states.

The same paradox appears in the disarmament situation. While denying warlike aims, Nazi Germany is rapidly proceeding with thorough militarization of the German people. There would seem to be considerable evidence also that physical re-armament of the Reich has already far exceeded the limits laid down by the Versailles Treaty. International disarmament negotiations, meanwhile, have reached a complete deadlock.

While disarmament negotiations are deadlocked, there appears to be some basis for the French

* Foreign Policy Report.

contention that the Reich is engaged in re-armament and the militarization of German youth. This development is particularly noticeable in education. In the lower schools the teachers are told that "in every branch of learning there are four great principles which must govern all instruction, race, arms (Wehr), leadership, religion.....Regard everything in relation to these four imperatives, and you will be surprised to discover that pacifist and similar trends of thought have disappeared." In the colleges and universities the emphasis is the same. Chairs of a new science of Arms (Wehrwissenschaft) have been established in all the important universities and colleges. Furthermore numerous books dealing with the subject have been published recently. The most notorious of these is the work of Ewald Banse, professor of Wehrwissenschaft at the Brunswick Technical College. Excerpts from this volume, were published abroad and aroused considerable comment. As a result, the book was banned by the Hitler government on October 20, 1933 with an official statement declaring that Prof. Banse's ideas did not correspond to those of the German Government and should be regarded merely as his private opinion. Nevertheless, when Banse's book was first published late in 1932 the official Nazi organ reviewed it favourably. Banse, moreover, still retains his post in Brunswick, and has recently published another book, *Geographie und Wehrwille*, which reproduces all the important sections of the prohibited volume; some conception of Banse's ideas may be gathered from the following quotation from his latest work:

"German education of this kind is struggle and war.....because it gives youth conviction that..... only through war can the things most sacred to it be preserved and because youth is thus prepared always to offer its entire life, thought and work for these sacred possesssions... which are territory, people (Volkheit,) culture and security of the state."

German youth, however, is not confining itself to study of the science of war. One of the chief purposes of the official National Socialist Students' Association is the "education of the Students for military service and for co-operation with the German people as a whole by means of military and labour service and physical exercises," in all the colleges organized under control of the Storm Troops.

A further obligation for German students is the voluntary labour service which is carried out in camps organized by the Nazis as part of their drive against unemployment. It is estimated that there are some 250,000 men already enrolled in labour camps. These men work half a day and drill the other half, wear uniforms and are organized on regular military lines. They are commanded by former army officers and subjected to rigid physical hardening. Part of this process consists in so-called *Gelandespot* and *Wehrsport*, or terrain manoeuvres.

The Nazis are also using sport in general to further their ideal of a strong, military nation. They "regard sport as service to the people just as formerly military training was service to the people." Furthermore, they argue that physical training is the best means of instiling self-confidence in the people. The whole education of the nation's youth, they declares, "must be directed to inspiring the conviction that Germans are superior to all other peoples."

The world is confronted by a difficult choice. Is the Hitler government sincere? Should its pacific intentions be trusted despite existing evidence of Germany's moral, if not physical, re-armament? If these questions are to be answered in the affirmative, the heavily armed powers should take steps to reduce armaments, and rely on general international supervision to secure fulfillment of the disarmament Convention by Germany and other nations. If the peaceful aims of the Hitler Government are not to be trusted, the alternative may be a renewed arms race, ending eventually in war.

MOHARRUM.

(By Kamar Ali.)

To the beating of drums is proclaimed the advent of the solemn Moharrum celebrations. In the din and confusion caused by the superficial aspect of celebrations, one is apt to lose sight of the real significance that marks the solemnity of the occasion, and of its back-ground of tragic grandeur.

The hustle and bustle of popular activities, the glamour of magnificent Tazyas and the sanctity attached to Swarees are all the outcome of the exuberance of popular enthusiasm which marks the psychology of the mass mind, the fervour of sentiments aroused therefrom. So while one section of believers plunge themselves head-long into the welter of varied types of demonstrations, there are, others, who do a bit of thinking and throw themselves into profound contemplation.

The glorious episode of the tragedy of Karbala centres round Imam Husain, the grand-son of the illustrious Prophet Mohamed and his valiant band of seventy-six faithful followers. Even in the life-time of our Prophet the message of Islam had spread far and wide and after his death his glittering message was shining with transcendent glory. Imam Husain war the acoredited representative of Islam on earth after the death of Imam Hasan, his elder brother. The power and glory the message of Islam brought to the successors of our Prophet, naturally excited the envy of the neighbouring chief, Mavya, who was out to capture power for self-aggrandisement. He was one of the most unscrupulous intriguers of his times who soon began to hatch plots and devise ways and means to realise his ambitious designs.

Representations were made to Imam Husain and he was flooded with letters of entreaties to come to Koofa for preaching the gospel of Islam. This was evidently a trap to beguile him. Imam Husain, fully conscious of the impending danger, nobly resolved to enter the fiery ordeal after considerable inner struggle and searching of heart. The voice of conscience clearly revealed to him the duty of holding aloft the torch of Islam, even against heavy odds. Then follows the glorious spectacle of Pilgrims Progress—the Prince of the Desert passing along with his kith and kin and in the company of his faithful followers through the scorching heat of the waterless desert to a distant place and among strange and treacherous people. On reaching the fateful scene of Karbala tragedy, Imam Husain finds himself amidst his relentless foe, determined to give him a battle to seize power and glory.

Imam Husain was not perturbed in the least, though he has been made a helpless victim of colossal fraud, played upon him. He resigned himself to the Will of God and prepared to offer resistance to the enemy. Imagine Imam Husain with his handful of followers pitted against an overwhelming majority, imagine again little children and innocent women with him in his camp, and above all, imagine the water supply being strictly forbidden to them, then we will be able to catch a glimpse of his wonderful courage and fortitude and of his remarkable power of patience and perseverance. The question before him was, should he surrender meekly and yield

* *Daily News*, Nagpur

submissively before the threatening enemy and save himself and all his nearest and dearest or rather, should he hold aloft the torch of Islam, with undimmed glory, no matter even if he perished in the attempt.

The redoubtable champion of the cause of Islam, was not to be daunted. It was an extraordinary exhibition of courage, very rare indeed, in the recorded history, of mankind. He went to the extent of advising his followers to go back, leaving him alone to defend the religion of Islam against the calculated onslaughts of the designing hypocrates. But his valiant band was made of sterner stuff, there was the blood of martyrs running through the veins of everyone of his followers. They vied with each other to offer up their all in the cause which Imam Husain represented. Yazid did all he could to make them yield but it was in vain. The heart-rending and nerve-shattering scene of the last three days, that is 8th, 9th and 10th of Moharram are too terrible for word painting. Women and children with parched lips and sunken eyes crying for water! On the 10 of Muharram Imam Husain decides to give them a battle in the name of the great religion of Islam. His followers were few, but they were fired with the spirit of a Gazi. One after one fell in the great strife, each proving his own mettle. After the 76 followers earned their matryrdom came the turn of Imam Husain's kith and kin, who surprisingly offered magnificent resistance and smilingly courted death, defending the cause of Islam against impostors. It was a sight for gods to see Imam Husain all alone, in the battlefield of Karbala with his valiant followers all laid low by the icy hand of death. It was one ghastly sight of death and devastation. Will he still yield? No, and thousand times no. He would very much prefer to suffer the agonies of death for speaking truth rather than that Truth should suffer for want of its speaking. He joyfully and smilingly faced the assassin's dagger. Here is an unique instance of a battle where the victor is thrown into the limbo of oblivion and the vanquished is glorified and immortalized. Truth was pitted against falsehood. The beauty of sacrificing spirit was matched against selfishness. Truth comes out trumphant and the lesson of supreme sacrifice of Imam Hussain is engraved in the heart of every Mussalman. O Death where is thy sting?

INDIA'S CULTURAL ORIGINS.

Professor N. N. Ghose, Dean of the Faculty of Law in Dacca University, has written a book, entitled "Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (Origins)" which is very appreciatively reviewed in the current number of *India and the World*. The reviewer indicates in the following passage, the key thought of Professor Ghose's work: "In the broadest outline his theme is that Indo Aryan literature-cum-culture is, materially speaking, more non-Aryan (Vratya as the author would prefer to call it) than Aryan. Recent archaeological discoveries have perhaps made this general thesis more readily acceptable than was the case some years ago. But it is in working up the details of this thesis into coherent history that the author most directly and acutely antagonises established opinions and shakes them up to the foundations. The Puranas, the Atharva Veda, the Upanishads, he finds, are basically non-Aryan literature, though transformed, no doubt, in varying degress by the directive Aryan genius which progressively displaced their original non-Aryan (Vratya) creators, professors and ministers, so that he feels himself justified in characterising this synthetic culture and literature as, on the whole, Neo-Aryan and not neo-non-Aryan. The Sad Darsanas (which must include Buddhism as the seventh) are all according to him non-Aryan, (Vratya) by origin. His Vratya is the Eastern Vratya and not a Western wave which may be supposed to have followed on the wake of the Vedic Aryans, though he has nothing to say against his having preceded the Vedic Aryans in some remote antiquity. Caste and asrams, according to him, are both relatively indigenous Vratya contributions. But these are not just his opinions. He started like others before him with every pre-disposition to trace them all to Vedic Aryan sources. But, one after another, these ancient prejudices fell or surrendered at discretion before scientifically tested data, of proved historical value which he came across in the course of his investigations into this literature."

A BLUNDERING POLICY.

The suggestion of Sir Henry Lawrence, in an address to the Conservative India Committee, for a regrouping of Birtish Indian provinces so as to make them larger and fewer, in the interests of economy, writes the *Leader*, shows a better sense of proportion and greater regard for stubborn financial facts than the policy of creating new, small provinces fed out of all-India revenues because they cannot pay their way. This is a senseless misuse of the taxpayer's money, for not very convincing or commendable political reasons. In what way will the taxpayer of, for example, the United Provinces, benefit by the creation of Orissa or Sind as a Governor's province? If he does not thereby stand to gain in any way, why should he be compelled to pay for the satisfaction of narrow provincial or communal pride of people who cannot or will not pay their own money for that boon? Moreover, if this tendency is not checked, there will be no end to this process of disintegration. Today, it is the Muslim community which demands Sind and Baluchistan to be made independent provinces; tomorrow it may be the Sikhs of the central districts of the Punjab who will plump for separation and the day after tomorrow the Hindu Jats of west U. P. and east Punjab may ask for a separate province for themselves by the amalgamation of those areas which are their strongholds. The demand for an Andhra province is by now fairly old; while the Canarese and the Malayalees have also begun to make a similar demand.

Where will this end? Government will have to fritter away a considerable part of the resources of the country in creating subsidized provinces. That must inevitably result in the still further restriction of beneficial services for the good of the people in general. This in its turn will increase discontent, which even the favoured communities may eventually swell when their immediate objective has been achieved. Considered from this larger point of view, it is a wrong and unwise policy on which the Government have embarked.

It may not be feasible now to undo the mistakes of the past and to give practical effect to a bold suggestion like the one made by Sir Henry Lawrence. But is it equally useless to hope that the blundering policy may be stopped? According to Sir Henry Lawrence the White Paper scheme is financially insolvent; and it is politically bankrupt in the view of Indian nationalists.

Girls Abducted in Kashmir:—The Srinagar correspondent of *The Tribune* writes:—The report of the abduction of 11 Kashmiri Muslim girls in one day has caused a great sensation. It is understood that two of the abducted girls were found in a public brothel in Maisume bazar. It is remarkable to note that for some years past the Kashmir State has become a centre of "Bardafroshi" or enticing away the girls. This grievance was laid before the Glancy Commission by the public and the Commission recommended several measures to stop this nefarious trade.

A LEGISLATURE FOR KASHMIR.

The regulations for the new Legislative Assembly in Kashmir are issued. These follow closely the recommendations of the Glancy Commission, and the constitution will resemble that introduced into British India after the Morley-Minto Reforms.

The regulations give the members of the Assembly the right of free speech and of criticism of the budget and other measures, introduced by the Council.

Certain subjects are reserved and cannot be dealt with by the Assembly. These are: (*a*) matters relating to or affecting His Highness or any member of the Royal Family or the management of their household; (*b*) relations and treaties, etc., between the State and the King Emperor or the Government of India or with foreign power or any State in India; (*c*) matters concerning the Gilgit and Ladakh Frontier; (*d*) rights specifically granted to illaqadars or jagirdars by their Sanads; (*e*) the organization, discipline and control of the State Army; (*f*) the State departments now under the charge of the Minister in waiting on His Highness and specified in the schedule; (*g*) the Dharmarth Departments; (*h*) the provisions of this regulation and the rules thereunder and their repeal or modification.

The Legislature of the State will consist of the Council and the Assembly. The Council, with the Minister as President and such other Ministers as His Highness may appoint, will superintendent, direct and control the administration and the Government of the State.

The President of the Assembly will be appointed by His Highness for such term as he may fix. The Assembly will continue for 3 years from its first meeting unless dissolved or its life extended by His Highness. The Assembly will ordinarily hold two sessions annually, in October in Srinagar and in March in Jammu. His Highness has the right to certify any regulations rejected or altered by the Assembly, if considered essential for the good Government and the safety and tranquility of the State.

The first session of the Assembly will probably be held in October.

HINDI PROPAGANDA IN SOUTH INDIA.

The bi-monthly journal of Indian Renaissance, *Triveni*, observes with reference to the propaganda in favour of Hindi that is being carried on by Hindi Pracharak Sabhas in different parts of the country: "A batch of Hindi *Pracharaks* (propagandists) have left Madras on a tour to North India. The object is to bring together North and South, and enable lovers of Hindi to compare notes with a view to future work. Young men and women whose mother-tongue is Telugu, Tamil or Kannada have pledged themselves to spread a knowledge of Hindi in their home provinces, and the results of their labours have been very encouraging. Every year thousands of persons, young and old, sit for the examinations held under the auspices of the 'Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha,' and acquire a good knowledge of Hindi. But as there is no living contact with people who habitually speak Hindi, the knowledge so acquired is apt to be bookish. Needless emphasis is laid on the study of Hindi literature, and the spoken word is subordinated to the written. What must be aimed at is an adequate acquaintance with spoken idiomatic Hindi, so that men all over India may readily enter into conversation through the *lingua franca*. The study of Hindi literature as such may be left to a few who feel a special aptitude for it, or desire to translate the best in Hindi into their own language. Frankly, we do not desire that Hindi should take precedence of Tamil, Telugu, Marathi or Bengali, as the language of culture in the respective provinces. It is no comfort to exchange the domination of English for that of Hindi. Even ardent advocates of Hindi do not pretend that, as a medium of culture, Hindi is superior to the languages mentioned. Every one of them has a rich heritage in the shape of literature in a variety of forms. One year's intensive study, or six months of travelling in Hindi-speaking provinces, ought to be sufficient training for most of us. But little children of nine and ten, who have not learnt even the rudiments of their mother-tongue, are being put through the mill of Hindi examinations. In our view, all examinations are an abomination, particularly those that, in effect, impose a tongue other than the mother-tongue at a comparatively immature age. We wish to commend this aspect of the question to the consideration of Hindi propagandists in South India".

"GIRLS' PROTECTION BILL."

The text of an unofficial Bill calculated to stop the evil of "daughter selling," which has been introduced in the Assembly, is published in the Bombay Government Gazette, dated April 19.

The author of the Bill, Kunwar Raghubir Singh (Agra), says that the evil of "daughter selling" has assumed dangerous proportions in Indian society and has considerably increased the number of widows in the Hindu society. This practice is opposed to all canons of morality and the best ideas of every community. Religious organisations are all opposed to such practices.

The Bill provides for the protection of minor girls (*a*) against inequality of ages of bride and bridegroom and (*b*) against their treatment as commodities as opposed to human beings.

The following is the text of the Bill:—

Whereas the evil of "daughter selling" has assumed dangerous vogue in society; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

(1) This Act may be called the Girls Protection Act, 1934. It extends to the whole of British India.

(2) "Parent" in this Act means the father, the mother or any other guardian of the girl under whose protection she is living before her marriage. A girl shall be deemed to be a major on completing the age of 14 years.

(3) If a parent sells his or her daughter before she has attained majority, he or she shall be liable to punishment which may be an imprisonment for two months or a fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or both.

(4) It shall be within the cognizance of the police to arrest a parent if there are sufficient reasons to believe that the parent has sold the girl.

(5) All offences under the Act shall be bailable and shall not be compoundable.

(6) It shall be within the competence of the Court of Sessions or a first or second class Magistrate to try an offence under this Act.

Indian Gold Exports:—During the week ended Saturday, March 31, bar gold of the value of Rs. 92,09,864 was booked from Bombay to Europe and America. The consignment was carried by the s. s. "Mooltan," which sailed from Bombay on Saturday. It consisted of bar gold worth Rs. 86,82,766 and sovereigns to the value of Rs. 5,27,098. The bullion was booked in two consignments the larger of which Rs. 44,72,413, was destined for London, option New York, Paris, Amsterdam. The second consignment, Rs. 42,10,353, was also booked for London, optional to Amsterdam. The Sovereigns were destined for Paris *via* London, optional to New York, optional to Amsterdam. The total value of gold so far exported from Bombay since Great Britain went off the gold standard amounts to Rs. 1,75,17,93,812.

"ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY."

The Government of Bombay have invited opinions of all classes of the Hindu community on Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah's Bill regarding the abolition of 'Untouchability' among the Hindus. The Bill provides that notwithstanding anything contained in any existing enactment, regulation or order and notwithstanding any custom or usage or interpretation of law, no penalty, disadvantage or disability shall be imposed upon, or any discrimination made or recognised against, any subject of the State on the ground that such person belongs to an untouchable caste or class among Hindus, and no civil or criminal Court shall recognise any custom of untouchability or base its adjudication on such a custom.

The object of the Bill is explained by the author as follows:—

"The custom of segregation of certain Hindu classes as outcaste and untouchable and the social and other disabilities they suffer under in consequence of such custom, have been the subject matter of universal condemnation. There has been continuous agitation on the part of the leaders of these Depressed Classes as they have been commonly called, as well as on the part of reformers among the main body of Hindus to put an end to this custom of untouchability and to the disabilities arising therefrom. Recent events have brought this agitation to a head, and there is at present a great wave of feeling throughout India for the removal of the disabilities of these Depressed Classes which in the interest of humanity and general welfare advantage should be taken of by the State. It is, therefore, desirable that a general law should be passed prohibiting the recognition of any rights, or disabilties arising out of the usage regarding untouchability, either in civil or criminal Courts".

The Bill has been published in the Bombay Government Gazette of April 26 and copies, both in English and Vernacular, can be had, free of charge, from the Manager Government Central Press, Bombay, on application within two months from now.

Those who are interested in the Bill should submit their views to the Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay, before the 1 st July 1934.

PROTECTION OF ALL MINORITIES.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations has received from Count Raozynski, Permanent Delegate of Poland accredited to the League of Nations, a communication requesting under instructions from his Government, that in conformity with the rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the League of Nations a draft resolution regarding the minorities question sent by him be placed on the agenda of the next Assembly.

The draft resolution points out that the Minorities Treaties at present in force and declarations on the international protection of minoritiss made before the Council by certain States were binding upon only certain members of the League of Nations, leaving minorities of other States without any possibility of recourse to the League of Nations.

The minorities of race, language and religion; which are not covered by the existing system for the protection of minorities but which have the same moral right to the protection of the League of Nations as the protection of minorities, were to be found in almost all European and extra-European countries.

To remedy this defect, the draft resolution urges the convening of an international conference composed of all members of the League with instructions, to frame a general convention for the international protection of all minorities of race, religion and language.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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The United States and Economic Peace.

NOTES

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan on Muslim Education:- The acting Governor of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, made an admirable speech in reply to an address presented to him by the Anjuman-i-Hamayat-i-Islam of Lahore congratulating him on his appointment as acting Governor. This is not the first time that Sir Sikandar has enjoyed this honour but to the Punjabis, Muslim and Hindu, it offered a welcome opportunity of expressing their confidence in him. His Excellency comes from an ancient family with traditions, very different from the carpet-baggers of the present day, of close and friendly intimacy with the leading families of other communities. Raja Narendranath, the venerable Hindu leader, who moved a resolution of congratulation in the Punjab Legislative Council referred to the friendship between his and Sir Sikandar's families. In his reply to the address, Sir Sikandar took occasion to remark on the inadequate attention paid to women's education by the Anjuman. He said:

> You have asked for my views on education, and perhaps, you will be a little shocked at them. But when I consider carefully the history of your Anjuman, I find much therein to support the theories, which I have formed for myself. These theories, you must be careful to remember, I give you in my own name only, and not in that of my Government. My esteemed colleague, the Hon'ble Minister for Education, may hold them unorthodox and incorrect. But let me remind you that the very first programme undertaken by the Education Society, out of which your Anjuman has developed, was the establishment of a primary school for girls. There you have in one word my first point. Your forefathers and mine paid great attention to the education of girls but in the years between we have forgotten this, and labour almost exclusively for our boys. I wish to hark back to those early leaders and impress on you the necessity and importance of the extension of education among our girls. I commend to your very earnest attention the suggestion that you devote more care towords the educaton of our girls.

These wise remarks, though addressed to the Muslims, are worthy of the serious attention of all communities. The education of a boy advances his prospects in life. But that of a girl uplifts a whole family and ensures for all time that the light of education will never be allowed to go out in that family. There is one observation in Sir Sikandar's speech of which we rather disapprove. His Excellency seemed to suggest that higher education should be mainly confined to rich people's sons and the poor man's son should be content to drop off at the upper primary stage. Not communists only but individualists also, will take exception to this recommendation. The rich man's son is often apathetic to education, higher or lower. Taking a dozen of the men distinguished in the life of modern India at random, ten or even eleven of them were not born with a silver (even German silver) spoon in his mouth. As Sir Sikandar knows the Indian aristocracy was one of culture and not of property. Sir Bampfylde Fuller says in his 'Reminiscences' that a millionaire even with a European coachman would pass unnoticed in the streets of an Indian town while a fakir or a sanyasi walking along with his begging bowl, would be saluted with respect by every shopkeeper in the street. We do not agree with the cry that education is being overdone in this country. Education can not be overdone anywhere. The proposition is self-evident to any one whose ideas of the aims of education are not warped by the economic issue which has really nothing to do with it. The aim of education is not to make millionaries or even to provide its possessor with a livelihood. Its aim is to ensure that the everyday work of the world should be done intelligently and effectively and with an eye not mainly on one's own good but of the good of humanity. There is no proof that if all our colleges were closed, as Sir P. C. Ray would like them to be, there would be less unemployment in the land than there is. It is better any day to be educated and unemployed than to be uneducated and unemployed.

A Biting Retort:—Sir John Megaw is a recently retired official of the Government of India. He tried to do his bit to enlighten British opinion on Indian affairs by reading a paper before the East India Association in London on "Population and Health in India." The papers read before this body of mutual admirers are generally nowadays made up of anecdotes of unverified, sometimes unverifiable, origin, conversations with villagers carried on by officials who know no vernacular, and obiter

dicta on subjects outside the competence of retired men, the object being to furnish relaxation for the boredom of suburban life to which the erstwhile Indian Sahibs are doomed to the end of their extraordinary longevity. This Surgeon General's contribution to the humour of the evening was the story of a Mahratta State Karbhari, who requested a pre-historic predecessor of Lord Brabourne's, Sir Richard Temple, "to use his high character and transcendent ability to restrain, in some measure at all events, the inordinate aptitude of the people to increase the population." Sir Richards indignant reply was that "he would do everything in his power for the increase and nothing for the diminution of His Majesty's subjects." This story is full of improbabilities: There was no great increase of population in Sir Richard Temple's time; on the contrary the country had just emerged from a devastating famine; there was no Mahratta Karbhari at the time who was capable of conveying in the English language to the high and mighty Governor his views on the population question supposing he had any. The only element of probability is the utter absence of the sense of humour of Sir Richard Temple as an illustration of which the story was very likely concocted by a retired Anglo-Indian official who found time hanging heavily on his hands. Well, Sir John Megaw waxed eloquent on the population problem as expounded in Dr. Hutton's romantic thesis in his Census Report. "Nature now threatens," said the Surgeon General, "to take her revenge for our interference with her destructive power." There was an old gentleman in the audience who took this as a personal reflection. It was Sir Leonard Rogers. Sir Leonard's remarks are worth quoting:

> I have listened with somewhat mingled feelings to the paper of my old friend Sir John Megaw, because I cannot help wondering if, after having spent my life in finding new forms of treatment and prevention of cholera, dysentery, liver abscess, etc., I might not have been better employed in finding a lethal gas which would put the excess population out of their misery. However, as I have often felt that one of the greatest disappointment of a research worker is that when he does make discoveries they can rarely be applied in India on any large scale, because the majority of the people live in villages where they cannot obtain or afford to employ a medical man, so I now have the consolation that I have not saved as many people as I might otherwise have done. We control epidemics to a large extent, but I am not sanguine as to the control of all cholera outbreaks. We have not had very big epidemics lately owing to good monsoons; so we have been very fortunate in recent years. In the famine years 1875 and 1892 and 1900 we had big cholera epidemics, which are likely to recur under similar conditions. The greatest Viceroy I have served under, Lord Curzon, showed his wisdom in taking up the question of improving agriculture. He started the Agricultural College at Pusa to improve food supplies. That is the best way to deal with the problem, as what we want to do is to increase our food supplies for this increased population, and this is gradually being done.

Princes and the Press:—A valued friend writes, "As recently there was so much talk and writing about the steps taken by the Government to protect the Indian rulers from the criticism of "the gutter press," I wonder whether your attention has been drawn to the story called "Durbar" appearing as a serial in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Those of my friends who have read it all complain that it is just in the same vein as Miss Mayo's well-known book. I read a good part of it and felt disgusted with the manner in which Indian life has been presented in it. The story is more or less an adaptation of Rasputin.....The veil in "Durbar" is very thin and Indian readers must have attributed all that is written within to a particular state and to a particular princess therein. The pity of it all is that the well-known firm of Indian publishers advertise this "Durbar," and also another book by the same author called "The Cactus Land." In doing this—about the latter book—the announcement states, 'Mr. (Denis) Kincaid writes of these varied scenes with the same intimate knowledge of native life, the same detached impartiality which distinguished his earlier book and with a sense of character which makes a moving story as well as a brilliant picture of a little known and fascinating corner of India.'" We have read neither of these books or serials and from what our correspondent says they are not worth reading. It is evidently a catch-penny affair, like the sensational prize competitions of the "get rich quick" type by which circulation has to be maintained. The Princes Protection Bill does not really protect the princes but is a Damocles' sword hanging over the Indian section of the press.

An "Asiatic Year":—We publish elsewhere an interesting article on the "Asiatic Year" of the Student Christian Movement by Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft. The writer has some interesting remarks on the types of Christian Students in different countries based on personal experience and welcomes the opportunity afforded by sessions at different towns in Asia for contacts between Christians of all nations.

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would like to know, is what is the positive plank in the Party's programme? It would, of course, make the national demand. If it is carried, what then? If it is rejected, would the Swarajist walk out of the Assembly and proclaim another boycott? Are they prepared to accept office unlike the old Swarajists? If they are, how will they be less open to the charge of job hunting than the Liberals and Communalists? If they are not, then what is the kind of constructive activity within or without the Assembly and the Legislative Councils that they contemplate? Is there no possibility that the electors may argue that a policy of co-operation is better carried out by people who have all through been consistent co-operators than by people who have adopted it only because they have found their own policy of non-co-operation has failed—that is adopted co-operation as a matter of expediency, if indeed, not as a more effective means of non-co-operation?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MAY 5, 1934.

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

The history of the reform movement resulting from the impact of western civilisation on the Indian mind is an interesting study. The man who first caught the impulse and transmitted it to his and succeeding generations was Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He was a religious, social, and political reformer in his single person. He was a lover of freedom. He welcomed British rule as a great emancipating influence in the whole field of national life. His religious reform movement was based on the ancient Indian principle of reverence for all religions. He was instrumental in getting the practice of *sati* put down and he inaugurated the movement known specifically as Indian social reform which dealt mainly with the customs affecting marriages and women generally. He was followed by other great men who working on the lines which he laid down were able to bring about a revolution in the public mind in respect of the position of women in society. For nearly a century, reform of customs which cramped the growth of women and deprived society of their powerful aid in progressive movements, occupied and absorbed the energies of social reformers. As the result of their persistence, women today are no longer in the background. They have their provincial and All-India organisations affiliated to international organisations and a recognised place in legislative and other statutory bodies. The progress made in the advancement of women has set social reformers free to turn their attention to reforms connected with the structure of society and the relation between different castes and communities. The disappearance of the old village industries and the growth of modern industries in the country have called into existence a new problem, namely, the relation between employers and workers. So long ago as 1919, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, then General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference, in a message to that body which met that year at Amritsar, pointed out that the time had come to expand the scope of Indian social reform so as to include the subjects which in the West go by that name. Among these he mentioned the condition of workers in industries. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society and the founder of the Poona Seva Sadan, in his address to the Social Conference held in Madras a few months ago, again called attention to this question and urged prompt action in the direction suggested by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar fifteen years ago.

There is a great advantage in the relations between capital and labour, employers and employed, being discussed as a social problem rather than as either a political or purely economic one. Workers and employers are equally members of the social body and when we recognise this fact there are better chances of finding a way to agreement between them than if we persist in thinking of them as belonging to two antagonistic groups each of which is intent on exploiting the other. The capitalist and the worker belong to the same species. Nature has not endowed the one with a pair of horns nor the other with a tail to distinguish them from each other. A turn of the wheel of fortune changes the employer into an employee. "If I were not born the son of a millowner I would be a Bolshevist," remarked one of them to this writer in a moment of frank disillusionment. What makes employers and workers feel towards each other as enemies is the system which holds both in its grip. This system, which India has had forced on her from the West, is based on and has for its chief motive the profit of the persons who furnish capital and is indifferent to the interests of the worker but for whom capital can not function. This system which far-seeing men condemned at its very birth as anti-social, has since the War come to be recognised by every thinking man as a hideous failure. Sir George Schuster is no longer connected with the Government of India and there is, therefore, no impropriety in referring to what he said one evening in an informal exposition of Indian Finance to a gathering of passengers in a boat bound for Europe in the middle of last year. He plainly declared that the industrial system of which private profit was the motive power was doomed and must be replaced by something more in accord with public interests. We reprint in this issue an excerpt from an article in "Current History." The writer shows how economic nationalism, which is the system based on private profit magnified and aggravated into national dimensions, is imperilling the peace of the world. In every country in the world (except India) the capitalist system has either been abolished or brought under severe state control. Russia has sought to save herself by abolishing capitalism. Italy has sought a solution by making the employer and worker subject to State control. Germany under a different label is doing the same thing. The United States under democratic forms is following the same policy. Great Britain has swept away all her old landmarks and what were deemed hateful heresies ten years ago (including default of debt) are now her guiding principles. As Mr. J. A. Spender observed in his article in "Current History" a part of which was reproduced in the *Reformer* of March 31, she has adopted the method of bringing about a drastic redistribution of wealth by heavily taxing the rich to provide assistance for the unemployed.

India is the only country in the world, ruled by a Western country, in which the control of capital carries with it no obligations except that of paying taxes. Once the taxes are paid there are no further obligations to the community.

This is not the Indian idea. On the contrary, it is wholly opposed to the Indian conception of the duties of wealth, Indian civilization unlike the Western in this as in all other respects being one based on duties rather than on rights. The Strike of Textile Workers in Bombay City which has been in progress for nearly two weeks, offers a topical illustration. Before the Strike began Government announced that it will 'keep the ring,' as if it was a sort of boxing match got up for the amusement of the public, free of the Entertainment Tax. In four days the majority of the mills were closed and the number of workers on strike swelled to 60,300. Government promptly threw aside their proclaimed policy and arrested the leaders under a law which even the *Times of India* (the brave champion of the mill workers in the halcyon days of Lovat Fraser) had to admit applied only to civil disobedience and must disappear with it. We publish the Government Note in justification of their action and side by side with it the weighty, cautious and candid statement issued by Mr. N. M. Joshi whose knowledge of Labour conditions in Bombay is unique because it has been gained by prolonged social service among the workers. The two documents speak for themselves and the intelligent reader can judge between them. We should like to say a word, however, on the argument that the arrested men were professed communists. The mere profession of communism is not a sin, especially now that the Soviet Government is recognised by the most orthodox Anglo-Saxon Governments and is in a fair way to become their colleague in the League of Nations. If there is any evidence that these men were using or trying to use the strike to overthrow the State, it should have been published and the men prosecuted under the law. The Bombay Government have instituted a Departmental Enquiry and the workers are told that they should have awaited its report. Why not apply the same reasoning to the employers? They did not wait for any Government enquiry before they cut the wages and what is more there is no knowing that they will accept the result of the enquiry if it is not in their favour. Meanwhile they have secured a heavy protective duty on imported piecegoods. In reply to a question in the House of Commons the Under Secretary of State for India denied that the workers were being forced by Government to accept lower wages. This is technically correct but actually, the question was not off the mark. It is reported that one or two mills have evicted the workers from their residential quarters and that they have shifted to other places. They must have gone to live with their relatives in overcrowded chawls, endangering public health. The workers, it is said, are unorganised and there is no body with which negotiation can be carried on. Their very disorganisation is the strongest reason why Government should feel a special responsibility for their interests. The fact that disorganised and resourceless as they are they have come out in their thousands and have been holding on for about a fortnight, shows that the grievances which have driven them to this course are sufficiently coercive without any extraneous persuasion.

THE SWARAJ PARTY.

The Swaraj Party was formed at Patna at a meeting of Congressmen who had discarded the method of non-co-operation as unsuitable to the circumstances of the country. The Party, it is said, will be a wing of the Congress like the All-India Spinners' Association and the Harijan Seva Sangh or Sabha. We do not know about the Spinners' Association but this is the first time that we learn that the Harijan Seva Sangh is a wing of the National Congress. There is surely some mistake here. Mr. G. K. Devadhar is President of the Maharashtra branch of the Sangh and he is a prominent member of the Liberal Party. So is Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President of the United Provinces Branch of the Sangh. There are, on the other hand, members of the Congress who do not approve of Gandhiji's anti-untouchability methods. Pandit Malaviya is a conspicuous instance. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described some of these activities as fit only for old women. In fact, the Poona Pact with its communal primary electorates is a distinct violation of the Karachi Congress resolution. If this process is carried further the Congress will be all wings and no body. Dr. Ansari has been elected President of the new Party but as he can not stand for any non-Muslim community, the honour and the responsibility for leading it in the Legislative Assembly has been assigned to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who aspires to be elected by the late Mr. Patel's constituency in Gujarat now represented by Mr. Anklesaria. Dr. Ansari is quite sure that the Swaraj candidates will sweep the polls but he has not given any reasons for his belief. We pointed out in a recent issue why this confidence may prove to be misplaced. We may add that Dr. Ansari's hope extends only to the general, non-Muslim electorates to which he is debarred access. The new Party, it is said, will seek the suffrages of the electorate on three issues : rejection of the White Paper, condemnation of Government's repressive policy and the adoption of the national programme put forward by Pandit Motilal Nehru some ten years ago which most people have forgotten. Surely, the Party can frame a programme of its own with closer reference to the events which have happened since the Pandit planned his scheme and the conditions prevalent at the present day. Nobody is much enamoured of the White Paper scheme; and the policy of the Ordinances is, of course, indefensible by any Indian whatever his political creed. But these are negative objects which contain no mandate to the Party. There are many other things which may be condemned, for instance, the exchange ration. But what the electors

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THE BOMBAY TEXTILE STRIKE SITUATION.

Following the arrest of fourteen strike leaders under the Emergency Powers Act in Bombay on Monday (30th April) morning two important statements have been released to the press which we give below. The first explains the Government's point of view and the second gives the Labour attitude.

1. Bombay Government's Attitude.

The strike in the Bombay textile industry has now been in progress for a week. After watching the course of events for this period Government have thought it necessary in the interests of the public safety and peace to arrest and detain 14 prominent strike leaders and they desire that their reasons for taking this action should be understood, says a press note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay.

Government, in accordance with their general policy of allowing the utmost possible freedom to labour movements consistently with the requirements of the public safety and peace, placed no obstacles in the way of the proposed strike, and have used its opening stages to test the bona fides of the organizers and the wishes of the workers. The response on the opening day, when only four mills employing about 5,000 operatives were closed, showed that there was at the outset no general inclination on the part of the workers to support the strike.

It was not until two days later that the strike assumed large proportions and in the meanwhile processions had been active in the mill area, stones had been thrown at working mills and at the police, a number of assaults had been made on individual workers and secret intimidation was actively practised at the workers' chawls. It was at this stage that orders under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, regulating the routes of processions and the places of meetings became necessary. Inflammatory speeches continued, however, to be delivered at meetings urging the strikers to bring men out of the remaining mills, to prevent the re-opening of those already closed and to disobey the orders of the police, and these speeches had their natural consequence in acts of violence. On Friday, April 27 after such a meeting a large body of strikers made a fierce and wholly unprovoked attack with stones on the workers of the Textile Mill while they were returning from work accompanied by a few unarmed police, and a most serious riot was only stopped by a few police officers with their revolvers.

On April 28 leaflets were distributed and speeches delivered urging the strikers to concentrate on the remaining working mills in order to make the strike complete by May Day, and it was suggested that the railwaymen and tramwaymen should be persuaded to join in the demonstrations although they have no connection with any textile dispute. Similar speeches were delivered on April 29.

Having regard to the way in which such advice has been interpreted in the past, Government considered that owing to the manner in which the strike was being conducted an emergency involving grave likelihood of disorder has arisen and that it was necessary to use the powers conferred by the Bombay Special Emergency Powers Act to remove the ringleaders mainly responsible for this situation. While Government have always been reluctant to use these powers in regard to labour dispute, they indicated to the Legislative Council at the time when the Act was passed that it might be necessary to use them to deal with persons actively furthering a Communist movement for the overthrow of the existing structure of society. The persons arrested are all professed communists and have been conducting this strike not with a view to a settlement but with the apparent object of spreading and intensifying disturbed conditions.

It is clear to Government that, after the strike leaders have had a week in which the opportunities for meetings, discussion and persuasion have been little restricted, there is a large body of workers who have continued and are anxious to continue at work. The determination of the strike leaders to include these workers in the ranks of the strikers could only succeed by increasing the methods of intimidation which have already been in operation. In the opinion of Government these workers have every right to protection and the time is ripe for definitely checking the methods which have been used to induce them to leave their work.

Government desire to make it clear that no restriction has been placed on the functioning of Trade Unions and that these continue free to conduct the strike on behalf of workers who have grievances which they desire to have settled.

Government have made no reference in this note to the merits of the dispute but desire to bring it to public notice that they have already taken the action which seemed most desirable, the institution of an expert fact-finding inquiry into the effect of wage cuts and rationalisation and into conditions generally in the textile industry of the Presidency. This inquiry was begun in March and it is hoped that the results will be ready for publication about June.

2.—Mr. N. M. Joshi's Statement.

The present strike in the textile industry of Bombay is organized by the Girni Kamgar Union under the auspices of the All-India Trade Union Congress. The National Trades Union Federation and the Bombay Labour Union which is affiliated to the Federation would have co-operated with the Trade Union Congress if their co-operation had been sought on equal terms from the initial stage of the consideration of the present position of the workers in the industry and of the steps to be taken for the protection of the workers. Unfortunately, the co-operation of the Federation and the Union was not sought in the way in which it could have been given. Under these circumstances, those who belong to the Federation and the Union thought it their duty not to intervene in a dispute to which they were not a party. But now a stage is reached when silence on the ground of internal organisational differences cannot be justified, though we have no desire to intervene in the dispute unless our intervention is sought or forced upon us by further developments.

To judge whether the textile workers in Bombay have a good case or not, a reference to only a few facts will be sufficient. Since March 1933 more than forty mills have reduced wages from 7% to 25%; some others have made unspecified cuts.

In para 45 of their report the Tariff Board make a definite statement that the wage level in Ahmedabad had gone above that of Bombay after the wages in Ahmedabad were raised in 1930. After the reduction of wages that has taken place in Bombay since 1933, the Ahmedabad wage level must have gone up higher still.

Moreover, in para 89 of their report, the Tariff Board state that the proportion of cost of wages to the total cost of production in Bombay is 49·40 while in Ahmedabad it is 53·80. Nobody will suggest that the cost of living in Ahmedabad is higher than in Bombay. The Tariff Board in para 1 of the Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations state that in Bombay, although the number of working spind-

les has fallen 15%, the number of looms by 5·4% and the number of persons employed by 13·5%, the production of yarn and cloth has increased by 28·4% and 32% respectively. This is a clear indication that the efficiency of labour has considerably gone up. The Millowners may use the argument of the fall in prices and cost of living. Unfortunately the cost of living index number of the Bombay Labour Office has been admitted to be faulty. Moreover the standard of life of the textile workers is so low that the advantage, if any, of the fall in the cost of living, cannot be reasonably claimed by the workers. Furthermore the textile industry is now a sheltered industry under strong tariff protection.

Whatever may be the merits of the case on both sides, it cannot be denied that the workers have a strong case to fight—at least a case that requires careful investigation. That the textile workers are uneducated and mostly unorganised is also an admitted fact. Under these circumstances if their interests are to be protected, they must be protected by some others.

In a dispute between an individual millowner and his workers, the former is not expected to speak for and stand for the latter.

But the Millowners Association which is a body of educated and influential men, if they care for the interests of the workers, should stand for the workers against the action of its individual member in at least protecting its members against internal competition in wage-cutting. Unfortunately the Millowners' Association does not control its members in this respect. It will also be admitted that when one of the two parties to a dispute is weaker, it is the duty of Government to protect the weaker in a dispute with the stronger party. Unfortunately our Government which consists of men trained in British traditions, consider that their duty ends with the "keeping the ring clear." They forget the difference between British conditions where the two parties are more or less equal and the Indian conditions where the workers cannot be regarded to be equal. Under these circumstances if some persons, whatever may be their political opinions, intervene on the side of the workers, they cannot be blamed.

It is true that the Government of Bombay ordered an enquiry into the issues involved in this dispute in February last. But even then instead of resorting to an open inquiry under the Trade Dispute Act in which the Court conducting the enquiry has the power to order papers and records and take evidence, they ordered a departmental enquiry. The Royal Commission on Indian Labour has commented on the unwillingness of the Provincial Governments to make use of even the small powers given to them under the above mentioned Act. Moreover, it must be remembered that this inquiry was ordered after, and not before, the decision to organise a strike was taken. If it is wrong to declare a strike after the inquiry was ordered, it is equally wrong to wait for the ordering of an enquiry till a strike is decided upon. It is true that, as there are grave risks to the workers in a strike, leaders of workers should have waited for the result of the departmental inquiry and should have also pressed for the hastening of its completion. It is for this reason that the Bombay Textile Labour Union did not take part in strike. But let it be remembered that if blame is to be fairly allocated, it must not be laid on one side only.

It is said that the strike is not a voluntary and a spontaneous act of the workers and that it is created by the propaganda and even by intimidation. This is n t a fair comment. No strike or any other action on a large scale can be voluntary and spontaneous. It requires organisation and propaganda, and some degree of coercion is inherent in organisation to compel a hesitant or unwilling minority to fall in line with the majority. Where there is no organisation and when it is difficult to say on which side the majority lies, people unjustifiably presume coercion and intimidation to a degree to which it may not exist. In any case it is difficult to make a definite statement about their extent.

It must be remembered that the millowners by their own action have made a spontaneous strike impracticable. They deliberately chose the policy of resorting to varying rates of wage-cuts in one mill after another in order to prevent joint resistance to them by the workers. It cannot be denied that on several occasions of the wage cuts, spontaneous strikes did take place. But on account of the large number of workers who have been unemployed for a long time, the workers were beaten every time.

Thus the millowners themselves forced upon the workers the necessity of a bigger strike covering the whole industry. Such a strike after the workers were beaten sectionally, cannot be expected to be spontaneous. If the millowners had themselves taken concerted action simultaneously with the sanction of their Association, there are sufficient grounds for predicting that there would have been a strike in the whole industry spontaneously. To resort to a device of sectional wage-cuts in order to beat the workers and then complain that the strike is not spontaneous, is not fair.

There is a good deal of talk of the use of violence generally by means of stone-throwing. It cannot be denied that some times undisciplined workers throw stones; but it cannot be equally denied that on some occasions stone-throwing is resorted to by "agents provocateur." It is the duty of the police to prevent violence, but unfortunately respectable looking persons acting as "agents provocateurs" escape suspicion and arrest, and, where "agents provocateurs" belong to the working classes, they are mistaken for strikers.

Admitting that Government have a duty to maintain law and order, indiscriminate arrests under the Emergency Acts are not justified. Moreover, if emergency powers are to be exercised to keep law and order, a Government that recognises its responsibility to protect the weaker section of the community, must not hesitate to take special powers to enforce a reasonable wage.

It is not yet heard that the Government has such a power; nor is it heard that they are speaking it. It is the duty and the responsibility of the Government towards this city, towards the industry and towards its weaker section, namely the workers employed in the industry, to put an end to this dispute. They should expedite a thorough inquiry and pending the result of the inquiry should assume special powers to compel the millowners to restore the wage-cuts. They should also arm themselves on this occasion with power to enforce the recommendations which may be made as a result of this inquiry.

General Higgins to Retire:—General Higgins has resigned the office of the General of the Salvation Army with effect from November 10. Announcing his decision to retire from the Salvation Army, General Higgens says that, when accepting the leadership of the Salvation Army in 1929, he was unable to promise to continue after his seventieth birthday. A few months back he was urged by leaders throughout the world to extend his period of office, but he was compelled to accept the verdict of two eminent physicians that his health was likely to be adversely affected by such an extension and so he had decided to retire at the end of the present year. General Higgins' successor will be elected in London by the High Council in August.

THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION IN ASIA.*

(By Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft.)

A world-movement, worthy of that name, may not remain chained to headquarters or to one limited geographical area. It must be constantly "on trek" demonstrating its vitality in one part of the world after another and concentrating all its available forces on different continents in turn.

Since the days when John R. Mott taught Student Christian Movement leaders to think in world-terms this conviction has been particularly influential in the shaping of the policies of the World's Student Cristian Federation. Instead of following the line of least resistence and holding its meetings always in Europe and America, it has therefore often mobilised its forces for an attack on the problems of Asia. Tokyo, Peking, and Mysore (India) represent important dates in Federation history. It was therefore natural, particularly in this period of great transformations in Asia, that the Federation would make the world 'East of Suez" the centre of its activities. This was done throughout the latter part of 1933.

The centre of these activities was a meeting for students and student leaders held near Batavia. The recently formed Student Christian Movement of Java had initiated this conference in order to present itself to the Federation and the Federation to its members at the very outset of its organised life. Java has relatively few international contacts and it was thought that a concentrated dose of such contacts might help the Indonesian Christian Students to see their own task in the setting of a common world-wide mission.

Delegates came from Japan, China, the Phillippines, Straits Settlements, Siam, Burma, India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand and the Dutch East Indies. And the West was represented by various members of the Federation Executive Committee. The programme, drawn up by a representative Eastern committee, centred in the main problems of Christians in Eastern Universities, that is to say the issues of nationalism, communism and syncretism, as well as the underlying question of "the significance of Jesus-Christ" Since the discussion of these questions revealed clearly what main tendencies of thought and life confront Christian students of the East to-day it may be of interest to summarise the main conclusions arrived at.

With regard to the problem of nationalism all reports spoke the same language. The disappointment over internationalism and the desire for national consolidation along military and economic lines among Chinese students, the powerful fascist movement in Japanese universities, the more recent but very real growth of self-consciousness among the Indonesian peoples and the grim struggle for freedom in India —these are all elements of one and the same Eastern awakening which affects young intellectuals in a very special way. But Christian students may not let themselves be swept off their feet by it. In the report of the special group on this issue, Mr. Ralla Ram stated: "Our positive task of witnessing to the reality of the World Community of Christians, existing eternally in the Church, limits our loyalty to the nation." And the spirit in which Japanese and Chinese, Javanese and Dutch, Eastern and Western mixed during the conference was a strong illustration of the genuineness of this conviction. Communism is not quite as all-persuasive as nationalism. But in China, in Japan (in a secret and underground way) and more recently in the "Youth Movement" in India, Marxism in its fully materialistic and violent form has made a deep impression on large sections of the student community. In this realm the one effective answer is practical rather than ideological. It must be demonstrated that Christians are not indifferent to the suffering of the underprivileged masses. The Eastern Student Christian Movements are therefore embarking on student compaigns for rural service. These pioneer-adventures in national reconstruction are already under weigh in India and China.

The problem of the relation between Christianity and other Faiths was of course uppermost in the minds of many delegates. Can we co-operate in religious matters with adherents of other faiths? Is Gandhi right in his rejection of conversion from one religion to another? Is Christianity absolute? Such questions were discussed with great passion, especially after the powerful address of Dr. Kraemer of Java on this subject. But the outcome was by no means an acceptance of a vague syncretism. It is true that many difficulties in this thorny realm remained unsolved, but the general tenor of the discussion was one of definite willingness to accept the authority of Jesus-Christ as ultimate and all-sufficient.

With this last sentence we touch at the same time on the despest note that ran through the Conference—a note which augurs well for the future of Christianity in the East. It was one of willingness to accept the Lordship of Jesus Christ in all realms of life. T. Z. Koo of China in his very simple and direct presentation of his own pilgrimage with Jesus Christ struck that note forcefully. And it was echoed in many statements made by students during and after the Conference.

In the months following the Java meetings leaders of the Federation visited various Asiatic countries. Thus Francis Miller, the Chairman, toured Japan and China, accompanied by Jean Gastambide of the French Student Christian Movement. Instead of only addressing student audiences, they concentrated in both countries on small regional meetings with student movement leaders. It is certainly due to this policy that they have been able to help so materially in drawing up new plans for service and action along the two important lines of rural reconstruction and study of the Christian message in relation to its modern "rivals." In both countries new groups have come into being to stimulate student thought about the great themes discussed at Java. At the same time, however, they have given much attention to the needs of students in government schools who are largely untouched by Christian influences. They report unexpected and most encouraging response to Christianity among these students. If persons can be found who can present the Christian message in a simple and challenging way to these students masses, they do not doubt that a great evangelistic forward movement is possible.

Another stream of life went from Java to India. In the Quadrennial Conference of the Indian Student Christian Movement at Allahabad the influence of the Java meeting was noticeable in the programme as well as in the presence and contributions of several "Java delegates" from India itself, from Burma and from Java which had sent a special delegation to follow up the contracts recently made. The Federation as such was represented by the present writer who made a tour through Indian colleges and universities before and after the meeting.

The four to five hundred Indian Christian students gathered at Allahabad came largely from mission-

* The author of this article is General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation and has recently returned to Geneva after an extended visit to India and the Dutch East Indies.

colleges and represented therefore the somewhat "protected" rather than the "exposed" type of student.

Their main problem was to translate the Christianity which in their Christian institutions they where perhaps tempted to accept too passively into reality and into action. At the same time however, they were keenly aware of the rising tide of anti-religious sentiment among their fellow-students, who tend to turn away from the religious and traditional nationalism of a Gandhi to the anti-religious and revolutionary nati nalism of a Nehru. Here again the two emphases on the rediscovery of a personal and victorious faith and on the necessity of ministering to the needs of suffering India were central. An older member of the movement, who had seen many Indian Student meetings, called it the most evangelistic student conference in his experience. Nevertheless it was also at Allahabad that a new Student Volunteer Movement for rural service was founded.

During my journey through India I had occasion to address many student audiences and to enter into the life of the movement. I came away with the impression that in spite of the atmosphere of despondency which has come over Indian students in the last two years, the movement is very much alive and that if it can strike the right note, it has great opportunities in the field of evangelism. The breakdown of religion as well as political idealism among students has created a void which demands to be filled.

Thus the spiritual process begun at Java has already radiated in different directions. And there is good reason to hope that it will continue to do so. The Eastern movements have not yet come to know each other sufficiently well. It seems sometimes as if Shanghai is nearer to Geneva than to Calcutta, or as if Batavia is nearer to Amsterdam than to Tokyo. Through the new contacts made, however, it has become possible to get these movements, so similar in many of their problems and characteristics, to collaborate more closely. Various plans for interchange are already made. Before long India will send a student delegation to Java. China and India, as well as China and Japan, are also discussing possibilities of inter-visitation. Again a special study group on "Christianity and other Faiths," largely composed of Eastern leaders, will soon begin to function as an advisory agency to all Eastern movements which are concerned about this problem.

In closing it must, however, be said that there is no desire in Federation circles to create an Asiatic consciousness as opposed to a European or American consciousness. Our goal remains a pioneer Christian *World* Community of Christian students. For that reason contacts between East and West must be encouraged in addition to the purely Eastern plans mentioned above. Thus T. Z. Koo's visits to Europe and America, the visit of a Negro-student delegation to India and the rapprochment between Asiatic students in Europe with their European colleagues are as important as the projects born at Java. But that is another story and carries us into another year. The purpose of this article was only to describe an "Asiatic year" in Federation life.

Austria Goes Fascist:—Austria officially became a Fascist state on 1st May, the Labour Day. The Parliament ratified the new constitution and then died. A crowd of 50,000 gathered at the Hauptplatz in Linz to hear Chancellor Dollfuss explain the constitution. An official account of the new constitution of the Austrian "Guild State," given to the press by Dr. Otto Ender, Minister of the Constitution, shows that in case of failure of the proposed Federal Council to act on Government Bills, the Government is empowered to proclaim emergency martial law.

BHIKKHU DEVAMITTA DHAMMAPALA.

(Contributed.)

The first death anniversary of Sri Devamitta Dhammapala fell on the 29th of April, 1934. It was celebrated under the auspices of the Maha Bodhi Society with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. N. Mookerji as president.

It was forty-two years ago that Anagarika Thammapala paid his first visit to India. A young man of twenty-six years of age he had already distinguished himself in Ceylon by his determined efforts in the cause of Buddhism. He came of a rich Buddhist family in the Island which had produced many leaders honoured all over Ceylon.

Dhammapala left all prospects of material advancement and at an early age dedicated himself to the work of spreading Buddhism. His visit to India was a turning-point in his life. The neglected condition of the Buddhist temple at Buddha-Gaya made him organise the Maha-Bodhi Society for the purpose of recovering the Temple from the Mahant's hands. This led to a troubled, and rather tempestuous chapter in the life of the great worker. The Temple was not recovered. Long possession pitted itself against a higher right and defeated it in the law suit that followed. But the struggle which was a long-drawn-out one opened Dhammapala's eyes to new problems and, heroic fighter that he was, he prepared to face them all in a satisfactory manner.

Meanwhile he sprang into international fame by his addresses at the First Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. He travelled in Europe and everywhere his personality and persuasive eloquence evoked the highest admiration. He was a Power in Ceylon. He made enemies. He heeded nothing except the goal before him. He lost the favour of the Government and there was a time when the most severe punishment might have been summarily executed on him if only he were present in the Island. He was interned in Calcutta for about six years (1914-1920).

Work was life to Dhammapala. He edited half a dozen papers all of which he had established himself. He wrote articles, gave public lectures, and attended to a voluminous correspondence with three continents. He besides organised a number of schools and colleges in Ceylon and at least one Hospital in Colombo. He was imbued with progressive ideas and a knowledge of the sciences was regarded by him as an essential requisite for a cultured man. He encouraged industrial education and it was to his efforts that Ceylon owed the beginning of a training in this direction. He sent some youngmen to Japan for a training in industrial arts and was thus a pioneer in this field.

That a man with his ideas should provoke a large section of the public could be anticipated. He had to fight incessantly but he had the soldier's reward at the end. He won and today his name has passed into a legend and Ceylon reads into it a profound significance in the annals of her national life.

In India too his achievements were of no small account. Sarnath, the historic site where Lord Buddha opened his mouth for the first time to preach the gospel of enlightenment, lay in utter neglect. Dhammapala built here the now famous Mulagandhakuti Vihara and restored the place to some of its lost glories. At Gaya, too, he erected a Rest House for Buddhists, and Calcutta he created a centre of Buddhists of College Square in the shape of the fine Dharma Rajika Chaitya Vihara. There is also a branch of the Maha Bodhi Society in London on the Gloucester Road, Regent's Park.

A year before his death Dhammapala became a fully ordained Bhikkhu and retired from active life.

Such was, in brief, the life of the great leader whom many countries honour and revere. The story of his life will not be complete without a reference to Mrs. Mary Foster of Hawai who, in return for some spiritual help received from him, most generously seconded his efforts with her money. She is the benefactress of the Maha Bodhi Society to the extent of about eight lakhs of rupees.

Dhammapala had one great unfulfilled desire at the time of his death. He wanted to organise an International Buddhist University at Sarnath. At the memorial meeting held last year which was attended by a large body of prominent citizens the idea of organising a University was accepted. A Bulletin was issued by the Maha-Bodhi Society in which this proposal was supported by Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. C. Roy and other notable persons.

The Dhammapala Memorial Committee has prepared a scheme for the proposed University and has suggested the establishment of an Academy of Fellows for the promotion of Research in Buddhistic fields.

It is the duty of the public to co-operate with the promoters of the scheme. It will tend to a better interpretation of Indian culture and the true patriot will glorify his country by aiding in the best representation of his country's past to the world outside.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA.*

(By Raja Narendra Nath.)

The Mahasabha was established about 17 years ago. The Muslim organisation had been in existence long before. The Hindu leaders of the time thought that the separatist tendency of Muslims, initiated and inspired by their organisations must be checked. The political leaders were of opinion that the best way of evolving a nation was to begin by "uniting the Hindus more closely as parts of one organic whole, and to promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them." Under the conditions which existed then and which have existed since, no other way of evolving or building up a nation is conceivable. The institution of caste is peculiar to the Hindus and though it served a purpose in the Hindu History, there is not the least doubt that it has stood in the way of creating a feeling of religious fraternity, which the followers of other religions evince. Brotherly feeling between different communities, one of which lacks brotherly feeling amongst its own constituents, is to me inconceivable.

The teachings of Christ and the philosophy of Vedanta supply us practically with the same rules of human conduct. Territorial patriotism developed in countries in which Christianity spread. But nowhere did Christianity come across the conditions which caste system creates in India. The idea of religious brotherhood is due to Islam. It originated with its great founder, and was immensely strengthened by the turn which Islamic history took. Christian countries were unable to resist the impulse. At the time of the ascendancy of Islam even Christian nations imbibed the ideas, which formed the groundwork of Islamic civilisation I find little difference between Crusade and Jehad or between Christendom which at one time was a word to conjure with, and Islamic brotherhood or 'Akhos Islami' or between Papacy and Khilafat both being theocracies. A question which deserves very serious consideration at the hands of our political leaders who hastily condemn the activities of the Mahasabha and of its enthusiastic workers, is whether in matters sociological we can skip over a stage. In the domain of physical science students need not be taught to believe in all the theories which have been exploded since they were discovered. In Astronomy, for instance, the younger generations need not be taught the system of Ptolemy, before being taught the system of Copernicus. The system of Ptolemy has now only a historical interest for us. But the case is quite different in matters sociological in which the mind has to be trained, and emotions to be moulded and shaped with due regard to the surroundings. It seems to me that to ignore the laws of growth by natural selection and evolution is to create the greatest confusion and chaos in society.

I explain more fully, what I mean. We need a Hindu organisation, for organisations facilitate concerted action. Organisations need not be belligerent. Action need not always be militant. Even peaceful action better succeeds in achieving its end, if it is backed up by an organisation. Surely no one will condemn an organisation simply because it is apt to become belligerent. The idea of "nation" at present is inchoate. A few nationalists at the top cannot make nationalism a living force in the masses. My fear as to the sort of society which would be evolved, if the laws of progressive evolution by Natural Selection is ignored, is best illustrated by an example. I relate to you an incident which came to my notice sometime ago. A Relief Fund was started in the Punjab some years ago. As often happens, several associations took up the work of collection, Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam Sabha and Hindu Sabha. There were some gentlemen who waived off the demand of each association on the excuse, that they would rather pay their subscription to the other association, but ended by paying to none. I apprehend that the young men of the future will resist the claims of caste organisations, for conduct requiring self-sacrifice on their part, on the ground that the institution was dying out, and nothing should be done to strengthen it or to prolong its life. The Hindu organisations will be met by the excuse that they are communal and that the cause of the country was dearer than that of a community whilst the nation will be put off by excuse that a nation was only in course of formation. The young men of the future, I fear, would concentrate their energies only on promoting self-interest or at the best on self-regarding virtues. I am fully aware that in India at present enormous sacrifices have been made by large numbers in the cause of the country. But all this has been done under an impulse created by a few noble souls. What is wanted is, to create a noble impulse in the mind of each individual citizen, an impulse which guides him to noble actions, apart from any guidance derived from external sources. The creation of that noble impulse must be preceded by the disappearance of separative forces (religion being only one of them) which cover a wide range. All this takes time and has to be done by stages. But what we need is that the goal towards which we move and the ideal which we keep before us, should be one consistent with, and conducive to, progress, one which takes us gradually towards a larger and larger altruistic circle, a circle with a larger and larger orbit. It is, however, a pity that Mahasabha does not get sufficient support at the hands of those who call themselves Nationalists, when the Sabha demands that in matters with which religion has no connection, difference of religion should not be allowed to operate as a separative force.

* Extract from Presidential Address at the Punjab, Sind and Frontier Hindu Conference, Peshawar.

The Mahasabha is not a religious body. It may help religious and social reforms, but religious and social reform is not its first and avowed object. It wants to foster the idea of Hindu brotherhood amongst the Hindus as a whole, whether they are strict conservatives (Sanatanists), or men of advanced views, progressive liberals, or radicals. You may have to wait for a century or more before the endogamous character of caste is broken. The whole community may be divided into the groups, "changers" and "No Chadgers" and these groups may last for generations. In the meantime the Hindus cannot be left without guidance and without a rudder. They cannot be allowed to be split up over differences about retaining or abandoning the endogamous character of caste.

Some of our critics maintain that economic interests will in future be the only uniting force in human society. The ideal commends itself to some amongst the rising generation as it is believed that it will be possible thereby to over-ride other barriers, which the society has framed. I should like to examine the proposition a little more closely. Is it possible that economic interests would be a stronger bond of union than all others which may exist? Is no other platform of union needed? Whether such a union replacing all other links of union would be desirable? Amongst the links of union, other than economic, I may mention the following:—

(*i*) Local contiguity:

(*ii*) Common language:

(*iii*) Common social institutions including what are termed personal laws; laws relating to marriage and succession to property and if these are intertwined with religion as they are in India, then common religion:

(*iv*) Common race.

I deliberately omit to mention culture for the term is vague and undefinable. Assuming that it conveys some meaning, I hold that a progressive society should not be conservative about its culture.

I have put religion almost at the end. I am supposed to argue with an adversary who assigns no importance to matters spiritual and who takes into consideration only matters of every day concern which cover our material interests. I do not see how it is possible to ignore the bond of union which all the factors enumerated above create. I may have common economic interests with a man in Timbuctoo. Is it expected of me that I should think less of the man living next door to me, who speaks the same language, observes the same social rules (I am taking the term in a wider sense) as I do, but whose economic interests are not the same as mine and more of the man who lives far from me, speaks a different laguage, observes a different set of rules, simply because his economic interests are the same as mine? Were such a change to take place, humanity would be degraded rather than elevated. Every citizen of the future will be a wretch concentrated all in self, whose affections and tender emotions stimu ated by his economic interests will overcome the emotions on which other stimuli may work.

Economic interests mean nothing more than the immediate and palpable self-interest of individual citizens composing a State. Those who look upon economic interest as a healthy uniting link worth fighting for cannot with any show of consistency condemn pursuit after the "loaves and fishes of office" as an unworthy object. For under the present conditions in India, specially in the Punjab and your province, there are few other avenues of livelihood open to respectable Indians. When offices are bestowed on the basis of caste and creed conflict between castes and creeds is due to diverse economic interests.

But there is nothing in the aims and objects of the Mahasabha which imposes an impediment on the score of difference in religion on the combination of different classes and communities, if their economic interest are common. Such combinations are by no means uncommon even now. Popular opinion on excise duty against sugar and matches has shown no communal bias in the Punjab. On the contrary, the Mahasabha has always been opposed, as I will show later, to a policy of discrimination on the grounds of religion for the acquisition of civic rights. It has always advocated that difference of religion should not be allowed to come to the fore and a constitution which allows and encourages discrimination in civic rights on the basis of religion must be condemned. In the Ajmer session under the presidency of Bhai Parmanandji the Mahasabha passed a resolution that unity is not to be purchased by surrender to communalism. All that the Mahasabha wants, is that, if in countries in which territorial patriotism is well developed, Lord Reading's resignation of the membership of a German Association, when Germans launched on a policy of persecuting the Jews was commendable, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was justified in drawing the attention of the Members of the House of Lords to atrocities committed on Assyrian Christians by Iraqis, Hindu political leaders in Poona, Bombay, or Allahabad, should not be ashamed of attending to the grievances of Hindus in Peshawar, or even to those of Afghanistan and Kashmir. The Mahasabha tries to create public opinion which would make such apathy and indifference impossible.

There are critics who spurn all religions and say that religion has been responsible for all the mischief that has disgraced the history of mankind. I am unable in this short address to attack their position. The subject needs a separate discourse. Suffice it to say that there is a psychological basis of religion. As long as human nature is what it is, it cannot spurn religion. There is difference between forms of religion and the spirit of it. Temperaments have not ceased to exist, who attach more importance to forms than to spirit.

The political creed of the Mahasabha is misunderstood and misintepreted. The Mahasabha is as keen on the attainment of Swaraj as any other body, but it postulates that inter-communal relations should be so framed as to lead to Nationalism. For this, it is necessary to base the constitution on the following propositions:—

1. All minorities should be treated on a uniform principle with a view to the eventual merger of minorities in majorities;

2. The constitution should provide that a communal or a caste label gives no claim to the acquisition of any civic right and creates no preferential ground for the acquisition of any such right.

In my address at the Multan Conference I explained at length that Hindus were not a majority community in every province. The Mahasabha at its session of 1926 passed a resolution the 3rd clause of which is given below. It is identical in terms with similar clauses occurring in the constitution of other countries.

"That in any future scheme of provincial autonomy or responsible Self-Government an express clause be inserted declaring it illegal for any Provincial Government to discriminate by caste or creed in respect of acquisition of civic rights or recruitment to posts in public services."

PARSI INTERMARRIAGES.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It is not necessary to reply to "V. A's" remarks on "Are Intermarriages a Problem ?" in your issue of the 14th April because any intelligent reader of your journal can form his own opinion about its self-discrepancies and dogmatic assertions. But as "V. A." professes to be a purely rational critic it is best to disillusion him. "V. A." writes "Both the dates (1919 and 1933) marked the emergence of the Parsi community out of a decade of phenomenal increase." "The birth rate has steadily fallen among Parsis in recent years until in 1921, as Mr. Hutton remarks, it was lower than among the French." "The increase, in the census enumeration in spite of diminishing birth rate is explained by a low death rate and the influx of Iranis from Persia. The influx of Iranis according to the late Sir Jivanji Modi recent Zorostrian immigrants from Persia, has been large enough to present a difficult educational problem."

The indiscriminate quotations from census and other reports do not at all support "V. A's" contention that the fear of extinction due to frequent intermarriages among Parsis is "illusory." "The agitation against intermarriages that rose to frenzied heights twice, during this century" may have been greatly responsible for the phenomenal increase in the Parsi population. If the community had shut its eyes to these intermarriages the census reports might have told a different tale. There is not the slightest attempt on "V. A's" part to prove that the danger to the life of this community through intermarriages "is more imaginary than real."

2. "Figures for intermarriages are not available. Intermarriages are far too few today to constitute a problem."

If "V. A." is a Parsi he is likely to know that since 1931 the number of intermarriages among Parsi girls is greater than even before. If the community tolerates these intermarriages the presumption is that they will tend to increase. And if they increase the danger of extinction would correspondingly increase. It is significant that "V. A." has not adduced a single argument to disprove this contention.

3. As for "V. A's" plea for a more tolerant treatment by the community of those members who desert it by marrying outside the community, the matter is not so simple as it seems to "V. A." If "V. A." cares to read my article again he will find that it contains, by way of caution, a plea for finding out ways of preventing the evil other than mere persecution of the erring individuals. But one should have liked "V. A." to make clear what he means by "more tolerance." Intolerance by itself is not wrong. Society has to be intolerant to those of its non-comprising members who injure it. It is not only the right but the duty of every society to curb "the liberty of its individual members" under certain circumstances. "V. A's" demand for liberty reminds me of the motorist who wanted to drive on the wrong side of the road in the name of liberty. The real question is as to the degree and extent of such intolerance or limitation of liberty. The agitation against the defiant members of the Parsi community has a great deterrent effect and the temper of the community is not out of proportion to the magnitude of the danger. There are conflicting parties in the community who are able by their mutual antagonism to maintain the requisite balance of temper.

4. One of the ways of preventing intermarriages was to bring up the Parsi children with a sane but increasing attachment to their peculiar traditions and culture. "V. A." seems to dislike the suggestion but his own conclusion appears in the end to support it when he says: "If in these circumstances any community loses its identity the causes will lie in the fact that its members did not care sufficiently for its culture and traditions to secure its preservation." But "V. A." adds: "No conscious effort on the part of individual can arouse a love in community for its culture if its members are indifferent to it." As usual "V. A." offers no proof of this astounding assertion. In India itself our indifference to our art and culture had been very great. But the "conscious efforts" of men like Tagore and Gandhi and other nation-builders are bringing about a new renaissance. The *Reformer* itself is an example of what can be achieved in social reform by conscious efforts of determined individuals.

5. As for "V. A's" use of the Census Commissioner's remarks on the causes for the falling birth rate among Parsis, readers of the *Reformer* know full well how much importance is to be attached to the obiter dicta of a Census Commissioner or to "statements of fact mixed up with much speculation by an imaginative Census Commissioner" as the Editor very well puts it elsewhere. However the question of falling birth rate is outside the scope of the subject and so "V. A's" ironical or absurd suggestion about its prevention has to be left severely alone. For all these reasons "V. A's" question "Are Intermarriages a problem ?" is very much like a deaf man asking "Is there a noise problem ?"

Pombay,
May 1, 1934.

Yours etc.,
P. A. M.

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS.

The inaugural meeting of the World Fellowship of Faiths was held at the Blavasky Lodge Hall, French Bridge, on Sunday evening, with Sir Govindrao Pradhan in the chair.

Addressing the meeting, Raja J. P. Bahadur Singh said that the object of the meeting was to inaugurate in Bombay an Indian National Committee of the World Fellowship of Faiths, a movement intended to realize world peace and unity through faiths in Fellowship.

It was during the lecture tour in Europe which he undertook in the year 1929, that the speaker came in contact with the Threefold Movement and it was then conceived that the World Fellowship of Faiths should be held at a Second Parliament of Religions at Chicago's Second World Fair in 1933.

The two great factors that were to distinguish the World Fellowship of Faiths from the first Parliament of Religions that was held in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1893, were; First, in place of a competitive parade of rival religions, all faiths were to be challenged to focus their best inspiration on man's present problems. Second, not only all religions were to be invited to participate, but all faiths, with the understanding that "faiths" include all types of spiritual consciousness and conviction which are determining the actual lives of significant groups of people.

During the sessions it was decided, said Bahadur Singh, to make the World Fellowship of Faiths a permanent organization, and accordingly an International Committee was formed with the Maharajah of Baroda as its president. The work of the International Member consists in assembling a national committee in his respective country with representative members of every faith in the country, and with as many provincial city centres as possible. "I have

been appointed International member to organize the national Committee in India and to be its Chairman. To-day's inaugural meeting is the result of my labour in fulfilment of the duty assigned to me. When the national Committee is well established attempts will be made to form provincial or city centres in other parts of the country."

"Fellowship of Faiths" means "friendship between faiths." "Faiths" has been defined by Bishop McConnel, the American National Chairman, "to include all types of spiritual consciousness or conviction, determining the actual lives of significant groups of people." This does not mean that we shall leave out individual faiths, for they shall also come under the term "faiths." The object of the World Fellowship of Faiths, is to bring all faiths, both of the groups and of the individual, to a common fellowship by making them realize the underlying oneness of purpose—namely alleviation of human suffering.

We find that by applying the principles of the world Fellowship of Faiths to the problems we are facing in India to-day, we may be able to arrive at the best of all possible solutions. The method of the Fellowship being peaceful propaganda and cultivation of the mind of the masses to achieve their end in a spirit of conciliation and goodwill, it is sure to satisfy the aspiration of every party or class or creed. The political aspiration of India may also be better satisfied by bringing about the required change of mentality amongst the rulers and the ruled so that they may not regard each other as foreign and opposed to each other. Propaganda amongst the parties themselves against their own evils will being about the needed change much sooner than by one party condemning the evils of another.

Enforcement of reform by legislature has been observed to prove a failure in such instances, as prohibition in America and restriction of child-marriage in India. The World Fellowship of Faiths, therefore, insists on bringing about the reform from within the mind of the people, thereby effecting the necessary reform without offending any one's convictions. There will, then, be no offense against the orthodox, nor need the reformers lag behind. Cultivation of the ideal of Fellowship is the only method by which disparities in social opportunities may be smoothly adjusted. The acceptance of the principle of Fellowship would, necessarily, mean the denial of untouchability. There is no political, economic, social or religious problem that cannot be solved by the method of Fellowship in the best possible manner. If you, sympathisers, to whom this appeal is made wish to help this mission of bring peace to the distracted and troubled world, all that you are requested to do is to accept the ideal of peace and unity as the guiding principle in your own life and to lead one other, every week, into the acceptance of these ideals. He or she, in turn, should undertake to do likewise, so that in time, every one in the land may be comprised in the all-embracing bond of Fellowship.

The World Fellowship of Faiths is planning to hold its next world Conference in India in 1936.

Dr. Felix Valyi, speaking next, emphasized the fact that the whole value of the history of mankind lay not in conquest, but, in the willingness of man to stretch out his hands to all races and fellow-beings, with whom he happened to come in touch, in the course of his daily life irrespective of creed or caste. Buddhism was the only religion that had attempted to do this in the past on a world-wide scale, and it was when Buddhism was expunged from India, that the downfall of India actually commenced and gathered momentum day by day.

About a dozen other speakers addressed the meeting on the various religion and faiths that were being followed all over the globe, and each tried to set forth in detail the best trends of his or her religion.

Exponents of Hinduism pointed out that Hinduism was the seniormost religion of mankind and the best adapted to be a universal religion when some of its "indignities," pre-eminently the caste system and untouchability are expunged from it. Hinduism was a living force, an inspiration, revealed to all by the three-fold paths sung in the "Song Celestial," (1) the path of duty or selfless service of mankina; (2) the path of 'bhakti' or selfless devotion to God and (3) the path of self-control or the conquest of one's own passions. The purity of heart and the purity of action were thus maintained by the individual thereby promoting the universal brotherhood of man.

Speaking of Judaism, Miss Reuben said that the essence of Jewish scriptures were non-agressiveness or tolerance as well as the service of mankind. When you are scorning your neighbour, it should be remembered that you are scorning the God in man. Miss Reuben, moreover, held that it was not the diversity of faiths that was mainly responsible for the evils of the world, but something else; and it was the duty of the Committee of Fellowship of Faiths to find it out.

Mr. B. T. Anklesiaria then spoke on Zoroastrianism. He pointed out that his religion was based on the great immutable laws of the world, the law that moves the waters, the law that governs life, in short, the laws of Nature. There was no sectarianism in those laws, and as such there was no other religion better adapted to promote peace and good-will in the world.

Expounding the principles of Buddhism, Prof. N. K. Bhagat remarked that the life and teachings of Buddha were founded on tolerance, self-control and love. The history of Buddhism showed that it had at one time in the past nearly became a universal religion, and the speaker hoped that history would repeat itself.

Dr. Clifford Manshardt, speaking on Christianity remarked that religion was "a common quest for good life" and Christianity amply fulfiled it,

"The essence of Islam," said Maulana Mahamadally, "is the complete surrender of self and implicit resignation of will for the sake of peace and goodwill for mankind."

Mr. Jamiat Singh, explaining the principles of Sikh religion, said that it was futile to speak of religion and the Fellowship of Faiths in India. India was the land of slaves, and slaves had no religion of their own. Unless slavery was abolished in India there could be no mutual good-will and peace in the land. The Sikhs were wedded to service of mankind and their religion bade them fight and die if need be, for the sake of righteousness.

The Chairman in his concluding speech remarked that every speaker tried to show the best in his or her religion. But the tenets of all faiths were only taught rather than practised. The idea of universal brotherhood of man was a Utopia which could hardly be realised. The present times boded ill to peace, the prospect of the feeling of fellowship and goodwill was dark and dismal. Materialism was running rampant in the world, the chairman added, and it was only when the wolf and the tiger in man was killed that universal brotherhood of man could be possible on earth.

With a vote of thanks the meeting terminated.

THE UNITED STATES AND ECONOMIC PEACE.

Mr. Gardner Harding writes in *Current History*:—

In five countries outside the United States the will to gain markets is at present most fully armed and most swiftly proceeding. These, in the general order of their disregard for economic peace and their will and capacity to exploit the present disorder for their own purposes, are Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany and the Soviet Union.

The first requirement of economic peace today is that the United States and Great Britain come to an understanding. First there is the breach over the stabilization of exchange. The two governments at present each have a stablization fund of about the same amount, with offensive and defensive powers hardly differing in essence from the purpose of their respective navies. The action of the British in July, 1933, in suddenly converting £133,400,000 in gold dollar bonds into sterling at a discount of 100 points, or a dollar in the pound, coincided with the halt in the rising prices which had steadily continued in the United States since March. The Stock Exchange had its fourth busiest day on record, a day of panic. The pound dropped from £4·85 to £4·58 within two days. Wheat and cotton prices fell from 10 to 20 per cent before the end of the month. The vigorous revival of prices, of carloadings, of general production in the United States, was definitely suspended and changed again to a decline, not to be reversed until late in the Fall.

Though many other factors coincided in this event, hundreds of thousands of Americans realized that our policy was at odds with the British. The confirmation of that view by the failure of the London conference, before which at that very time Secretary Hull was fighting his courageous battle for a world limitation of trade barriers, was accordingly less of a surprise. But other deeper issues have come between the two nations. The long-delayed programme of imperial preference has at last, after a generation of liberalism in Great Britain, been put into effect, and with it a fully implemented domestic tariff system sharply separating British trade policy from the rest of the world. The result has not been so much actual damage to American trade as the withdrawal of support by the British for trade recovery measures save as they are narrowly limited for their own benefit. Under the Ottawa agreements Canada must import, for example, oranges from South Africa instead of from California and Florida, and give an increasingly substantial preference to manufactured goods from British factories 3,000 miles away instead of from across our so-called "undefended" frontier. The same preferences applied throughout the British Empire strike the United States first and foremost and it is estimated that our loss of trade, through the present operation of these agreements alone, amounts to £50,000,000 a year.

It is reasonable and logical that ultimately the American and British currencies must hold a common level. Nine at least of the world's fifteen primary commodities particularly cotton, wheat, tin, wool, jute, and to a large extent rubber, have their world prices set on the London market in any case. But prices are made by trade and not by money, and our disparate trade policy must yield to conciliation before we meet on the currency level. Yet in Argentina and Brazil, the prime markets of our competition, Great Britain demands a favoured policy from the first nation as its largest customer and an equal standing with the second where our purchases create most of the exchange. This is due not so much to the British people themselves as to the triumph of the present nationalistic coalition Government.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Another Bengal Outrage:—After an interval of some months, political assassination gave proof of its existence this week by a daring attempt on the life of the Governor of Bengal at the race course near Darjeeling. Two Bengali boys fired at the Governor but fortunately the shots fell wide of the mark and His Excellency, who had his daughter with him, sat through the whole of the day's programme. The armed guards who were in attendance, fired at the assailants. One of them is reported to be in a precarious condition. This attempt is noteworthy as an attempt on the head of the province and more so as made in the summer headquarters of the Bengal Government, a Hill station in which suspicious characters are easily tracked down. The futility of political assassination as a means of achieving anything good, has been demonstrated here and elsewhere again and again. But it seems to be lost on those who instigate such attempts as those in Bengal. They are utterly indifferent also to the cruel hardships to which the innocent people are exposed by their insensate methods. If the movement spreads beyond the two districts affected hitherto, the measures taken to repress it there will no doubt be extended to other places; and one shudders to think of the misery and humiliation that it will bring in its train. Unhappy Bengal! Once the leader of religious and social reform to all India, she is now the victim of ideas which are opposed radically to the trend of her past history and tradition. The Government measures so far adopted have not improved matters. They seem on the contrary to have made them worse. No one would advocate condonation of murder or attempts at murder but no attempt has so far been made to get at the causes which have made and keep the soil of parts of Bengal favourable to such noxious growth. The investigation is well worth making either by Government Commission or by a responsible non-official agency such as the Universities.

The Redemption of Hinduism:—We publish in this issue the beautiful address on his Master, Swami Narayan Gurudeo, which Swami Dharma Theertham delivered at a meeting of South Kanara followers of the Swami in Bombay last Sunday. Swami Narayan was born in 1856 and belonged to one of the antyaja castes of Travancore. He was endowed from birth with spiritual qualities of a very high order. He had, besides, great gifts of leadership, a magnetic personality. Working quietly he was able in about forty years to raise the educational, moral and material condition of his people to the level of the most advanced communities. Not only that but also to permeate the atmosphere of the places in which he lived and laboured with his own spirit embodied in his maxim, "One caste, one religion, one God." The most remarkable feature of the Swami's work was that it did not antagonise the high caste Hindus, several of whom, including Swami Dharma Theertham himself, became his disciples. Swami Dharma Theertham, indeed, holds that his Master's mission was to apply the philosophy of Shankara who was also a native of Malaber to social life. That philosophy does not stop short at exhorting men to love their neighbours. It teaches that there is a solidarity between all men—we are all members of one another, said St. Paul—which makes their intetests identical and that therefore injury done to another is injury done to oneself. The future religious reformer of India will arise from among the antyajas. That they have plenty of spiritual material in them is attested by the numerous saints of low caste origin revered by all Hindus. The unification of Hindu society must be effected by a Teacher sprung from the lowest class. Swami Narayan Guru was handicapped by circumstances from becoming an All India Teacher. He was fifty years before his time. But his work will endure and inspire increasing numbers of Hindus to press steadfastly to the goal of "One caste, one religion, one God."

Vilifying India:—The wrangles on the White Paper between British political fractions do not concern us. Sure enough they will both make up their quarrels and we should not be surprised if one of its stronger opponents comes out as Lord Willingdon's successor to carry out the White

Paper scheme. The type of British statesman who took politics seriously, Peel, Gladstone, Asquith, is nearly extinct. Mr. Baldwin is, perhaps, the last of the Romans. The rest are nearly all opportunists and it is not safe for India to build upon their foundations. We are, therefore, unconcerned about what happens to the White Paper. There is no question of accepting or rejecting it. If it cannot be cured it will have to be endured. But we must resent the use of arguments for or against the White Paper which are flagrantly untrue and which amount to a perversion of her history and tradition. Sir Henry Page Croft's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury asserting that Christianity and Christians would be in danger if Indians are placed on power, is a monstrous libel. We are glad that two of our Christian contemporaries, one Catholic and the other Protestant, have come forward to rebut Sir Henry's calumny. We reprint their articles in this issue. The principle of respect of all religions, implicit in the philosophy of India, has been an organic feature of Indian polity from time immemorial and Sir Henry Page Croft had no right to pervert history for paltry political ends.

Lord Lothian on Christian Colleges:—Either Lord Lothian has not read the Lindsay Commission Report or he is deliberately closing his eyes to the plain objective of those who wrote it. We are unwilling to believe that he is deliberately deceiving himself. It is quite true, as he is reported to have remarked in his address at Manchester, that few people in India regard the Colleges as propagators of an alien religion but this, as the Commission points out, is deeply regretted by the teachers and managers of many of these institutions. The Commission's recommendations are directed to make them more efficient as propagandists of the Christian faith camouflaged as Christian character. If character is to be deduced from behaviour—and there is no other way of deducing it—we really can not say how Christian character differs from non-Christian. Lord Lothian talked of the important part which the Indian Christian Colleges must play in future in the work of training Indian leaders. It is more likely that the future Indian leaders would be trained in technological institutions, in military and naval academies and in science colleges where they may learn to do things which is understood and appreciated by the West. The East says to the West today,

> Good my brother, do not as some ungracious pastors do,
> Point to me the steep and thorny road to Heaven.
> While thyself the primrose path of dalliance treads.

The path of the West is not exactly a primrose path at present. But so it seems not only to the youth of Asia but also to many of its elders and, it may be, that once started on the road the East may go farther than the West in Materialism because of its greater capacity for concentration.

Materialism and Religions:—We published last week an article by Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft on the Student Christian Movement's Asiatic year. A warning note is struck in the concluding paragraph against organising Asiatic Christian nationals in opposition to Europe and America. That danger is to-day a remote one, largely on account of the European and American personnel of the controlling bodies. Few will agree with Dr. Hooft—he rather exaggerates the influence of Marx in India—that non-Christian students are turning away from their traditional faiths to a materialistic view of life and that therein lies a unique opportunity for the Christian evangel. Miss Kate Richards O'Hare, on the other hand, remarks in an article entitled "Wanted: A Religion of Courage" in *The World Tomorrow*: "Since 1917 we have all pretty much scraped the bottom of Hell, and felt ourselves helpless to help ourselves. Bewildered, disillusioned, cursed by want in the midst of plenty, we have turned to cults strange and fantastic.....But to whatever strange cults man has turned, they are definitely away from organized and conventional Christianity. Bewildered youth, without chart or compass, without faith in God or respect for man—at least for the so-called leaders of men—without spiritual anchorage, because it has grown up since the World War swept the old verities into the vortex of ruin and disorder, has frankly embraced a paganism of its own making." And it is a strange coincidence that Mr. J. V. Nash in a recent article in the *Open Court* remarked that "the growing penetration of Hindu philosophy into Occidental thought and literature...has been much hastened by the advent of the new physics, following the discovery of atomic structure and the consequent downfall of the old materialistic conception of the universe."

Are there no Swadeshi Engineers?—As the result of Mr. C. F. Andrews' speeches and lectures in Europe, a Swiss engineer who it seems is also a leader of the Pacifist movement, has come out to inspect devastated Bihar and we are told that there are several others willing to come over to help in reconstructing that province. What is wanted in Bihar is money not men. There are large numbers of Indian engineers with expert knowledge of the country who would be glad to give their services either free or at a small remuneration to help Bihar to resume normal conditions. We are utterly unable to understand what purpose is served by importing a number of foreign engineer who have yet to learn the A B C of Indian conditions. If Government had called in half a dozen foreign engineers, our nationalist newspapers would have made a tremendous uproar but we have not seen a single word of protest raised against this preposterous proposal. It is indeed very difficult to understand some of our nationalist leaders.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MAY 12, 1934.

A WAY TO SOCIAL PEACE.*

Mr. Wickham Steed is one of the eminent publicists not only of Great Britain but of the world. His experience of European politics and social and economic conditions before and after the War, is unique. After acting as its correspondent in important European capitals he became Foreign Editor of the *Times* (London), and on retiring from that position he took over the conduct of the *Review of Reviews* which acquired a high status as an international journal under his editorship. Mr. Steed is a thinker and a man of ideas. Journalism to him was a means to other ends besides providing a personal career. Another great British journalist has observed that journalism has few attractions from the point of view of material success; its fascination for men who have some great cause at heart is due to its offering them, as no other profession does, opportunities of striking a blow for it. In his "A Way to Social Peace," Mr. Steed has used his vast and varied knowledge of present economic conditions in the West to indicate the direction which offers, to his mind, the best prospect of a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Capital and Labour. His solution in a single sentence is, 'Limit the power of wealth.' Monarchy in Britain has been preserved and has come to be cherished as a national institution by the constitutional limitations which, originally imposed on it, have been willingly accepted by the Crown. The limitation of the power of Capital will, Mr. Steed suggests in his Halley Stewart Lectures, (1933), have the same effect. Mr. Steed does not elaborate his suggestion. He does not explain how this is to be done. The monarchy is a hereditary institution capable of creating and conserving tradition. Capital by its very nature is incapable of being fixed to any institution or even country. Limitations on the power of Capital can be enforced only by the State and this is what is being done in nearly all countries of the world.

The chief interest of these lectures lies in the lucid exposition of the issues involved by a publicist of wide experience and mature judgment who looks at the problem from a detached point of view and with a single eye to economic peace and international goodwill which is associated with it. Mr. Steed is not one of those to whom 'communism' and 'communists' are as red rags. He freely acknowledges that there are essential truths in Communism which can not be coerced out of existence by the use of force. He thinks that there are other truths which Marxists ignore, and that Communism, therefore, is not the true way cut of the economic tangle. But the opponents of Communism do the same thing and it is the business of statesmen and social reformers to find a solution which will give adequate weight to all the truths involved in both sides of the struggle. One of the axioms of Communism is that the bulk of the surplus value accruing to raw material from the application of labour, belongs to Labour. Mr. Steed does not agree to this proposition. "Yet," he writes, "it is undeniable that modern conditions of industrial production do raise, with increasing urgency, the question of the proper relationship between the human workers in a community and the ownership and control of its machines." Communists think that the question can not be solved except by a revolution. On the other hand, an increasing number of capitalists realise the need for closer co-operation between Labour and Capital and are trying in various ways to ensure it.

The industrial problem has implications, and grave ones too, affecting national and international wellbeing. The first is the danger, foreseen by Hyndman, of its economic slaves becoming the masters of a free community. "In our industrial and political life," writes Mr. Steed, "two tendencies have run side by side for the past century at least. The first has been the tendency towards the substitution of power-driven machinery for human labour, and the other, the tendency to extend the parliamentary franchise, irrespective of party allegiance, to all classes of adult citizens; that is to say, to bestow full political citizenship upon them." Mr. Steed holds it to be unquestionable that human labour is being enslaved by machinery in a sense that could hardly have been imagined when power-driven machine industry began. He mentions two cases which, though superficially contradictory, really support his view of the effect of machine industry on the personality of workers. In one case, a man who was earning 16 dollars a day in Mr. Henry Ford's factories accepted a job on 6 dollars a day in another concern because, he said, he feared that "placing screw number 13" which he had been doing at Detroit for years, if continued much longer, would drive him mad. The other was that of a woman employed in a large gramophone factory who was offered work more varied than the semi-automatic movement of the arm and hand to which she was accustomed. She refused saying, "No, I do this work almost unconsciously and it leaves me free to think about other things." In both cases the work by which the workers earned their living was totally alien to their mental life. That is the essence of slavery. Mr. Steed observes that the British working classes, who used to be dominated by religious ideas like the Indian masses, are becoming rapidly "continentalized." How will they use the franchise which they now have in full measure? The international bearing of the Industrial Problem is even more serious. Karl Marx held that international hostility will not cease until the class conflict

* Messrs. George Allen and Unwin; price four shillings and six pence.

ceased within nations. Mr. Steed's comment on this is worthy of note. "Had I not lived among peoples and moved in the society of statesmen and others who frankly thought of war as the best way out of social and economic difficulties," he observes, "I might have hesitated to take this Marxist doctrine as seriously as I have come to take it."

Mr. Steed gives several instances of capitalists and employers who in their individual capacities have realised the present anomalies and have attempted to remove them in their own spheres. One such may be commended to our mill-owners at the present time. During the coal strike of 1926 the proprietor of one of the mines "not a hundred miles from London" found that the strike funds for the maintenance of the miners' wives and children were running low and would be exhausted in less than a month. He discovered also that the cost of feeding the women and children was about £ 100 a week. So he offered to give £ 100 a week to the women and children as long as the strike lasted. The further story of this mine is interesting. The owner, even after stringent economies, could not work the mine without loss. As the sole alternative to closing it down he offered to let the workers themselves manage it. "The effects," writes Mr. Steed, "were marvellous. In a short time the losses dropped from £ 1,000 to £ 200 a week. The men admitted that hundred of tons of coal had been unnecessarily burned in the boiler house, and that, below ground, all kinds of deliberate waste had gone on unbeknown to the management or to the owners." These things were swiftly put right. Unfortunately the proprietor died. Owing to heavy death duties and depression in the coal trade, it looked as if the mine could not be carried on. "It was then," continues Mr. Steed, "that the associate system proved its value, for the men, seeing that their own wages were the biggest item in costs, proposed that wages be cut by as much as 20 per cent in the highest grades, and proportionately less in the lower grades." The magic of property, in the old economic phrase, turns sand into gold.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Mr. Horace G. Alexander who is wellknown in India, has contributed an article to the *New Statesman and Nation* of April 14th on the Indian political situation. Mr. Alexander pays qualified tribute to Lord Sankey and Sir Samuel Hoare for their defence of the White Paper. He is rather hard on the Indian delegates to the Conferences in London when he calls them "amenable Indians" and "all kinds of people who are eager to keep on good terms with us." Mr. Philip Cox has written a protest to that journal and he inquires why Mr. Alexander fails to be as charitable at least to the Indian delegates as he is to members of the British Government who have worked for the White Paper scheme. He also objects to Mr Alexander's assumption that Gandhiji is the "one man who can deliver the goods." There is much in Mr Cox's objections. Whatever the goods might be which an Indian leader is expected to deliver there is small reason to think that Gandhiji will be able to do so better than some of the men who represented India at the London discussions. Mr. Cox seems to be under the impression that the White Paper embodies the proposals of the British Indian delegation. If this were the case there would have been no occasion for the publication of a separate memorandum.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Cox accepts the proposal put forward in Mr. Alexander's article for a constituent assembly to be held in India to discuss the new constitution. This is quite a different thing to leaving the burden of political decisions to Gandhiji. Very few in India today would consent to abide by a constitution arrived at through discussions between Gandhiji and British politicians. Gandhiji himself will probably hesitate before accepting that heavy responsibility. But a discussion in India, we have always urged, is inevitable before launching on a new reform scheme and that must be with as representative a body of Indians as possible. The objection to the London conferences was not so much on grounds of personnel as for reasons of venue. It would not have been easy, for one thing, to have continued sitting in India when the jails held record numbers of political prisoners. Moreover the London discussions were for the most part conducted in an atmosphere of unreality and, so far as Indians were concerned, might as well have not been held at all.

The Textile Strike:—The strike in the Bombay textile mills has been in existence for nearly three weeks. It is surprising that nothing has been done yet to provide relief for the starting women and children of the strikers. The Mayor of Bombay was requisitioned several days ago but nothing further has been heard of the matter. Meanwhile a small committee has been formed of individuals interested in the plight of the strikers apart from the merits of the strike and appeals for funds have been issued under their names. The response has been small and the relief committee's work has been hampered by its "unofficial" character. A resolution requesting Government to set up a conciliation committee was adopted by the Corporation in spite of a protest from Mr. H. P. Mody who speaking for the millowners objected to an attempt at conciliation until the report on the wage-cuts was completed by the Labour Office. Mr. Mody remarked that if he found any Trade Union leaders who could deliver the goods he would discuss with them. Does Mr. Mody mean that the strike should go on indefinitely till he finds a suitable Trades Union to negotiate with? The strike is no longer an issue between the millowners and the strikers.

NOTES BY THE WAYFARER.

Addressing a gathering of orthodox Hindus at Deogarh in Bihar, Gandhiji said that he would not be a party to the Temple-Entry Bill being passed by a non-Hindu majority in the Indian Legislature. If a clear Hindu majority was against the Bill, he would certainly be no party to its passage. This was evidently in answer to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's opinion that a Legislature composed of many religionists was not competent to legislate on a question of religious practice like entry into Hindu temples. Gandhiji's remarks require further elucidation. The first point is, whether the member who introduced the Bill and his supporters accept this condition. The second is, how can non-Hindu members be prevented from speaking and voting on the temple-entry Bills? If they agree voluntarily to abstain from doing either, they will naturally expect that in matters which affect their religious practices, a similar convention should be observed by others. Where the matter is clearly one affecting religion like the admission of untouchables to Hindu temples, there can be no difficulty in observing such a convention. But most of the questions that are likely to form subjects of legislation, are likely to be in the marginal region between social and religious customs. The Sarda Act is a good example. Gandhiji's idea, if given effect to, will practically make social legislation except on communal lines impossible. This is a result which one who is opposed to the communal principle in electorates can not contemplate with satisfaction. Then, again, what is to be the role of official members in such matters? Moreover, every Hindu member of the Legislature is not a temple goer. Same are frankly atheists, others hardly ever visit temples.

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Is not too much being made of the orthodox Hindu demonstrations against Gandhiji in one or two places in Bihar? It seems that the object of the protestants was not to harm Gandhiji but to invite injury on themselves in the spirit of Satyagraha: Mr. C. Rajagopala Charya lifts his hands in horror and declares that the incidents at Buxar and Jahdi must make Sanatanists throughout India hang down their heads in shame. I am not a Sanatanist, and would not be accepted as one by Sanatanists. But who first introduced the practice of waving black flags in the country? A glass pane in the car which carried Gandhiji was broken either by a stone or a lathi. Gandhiji seems to have thought that his volunteers might have been the aggressors. It was reported that he said he would make enquiries and would do penance if it was found that they were the offenders. Nothing has been heard since of the result of the enquiry. At Guruvayur two orthodox Hindus were beaten to unconsciousness by the crowd which gathered to welcome Gandhiji. So that violence did not start at Bihar and with the Sanatanists. Mr. Rajagopala Charya neither then or afterwards said anything about the violence of his friends against the orthodox. Gandhiji himself has been intemperate in his language. One remark of his about temples to which he wants antyajas to be admitted, rankles in the mind even of many pious Hindus. Stones and lathis are forgotten but wounds inflicted by words do not heal easily. The earlier reformers had to bear much worse insults and sufferings but they took it all as in the day's work. As in the case of the political movement, in the case of social reform, it will be ultimately realised that the old methods are the best.

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Mr. Rajagopala Charya's shrill didacticism has found another vent in his observations about whether non-Congressmen should or should not be admitted to the new Swaraj party. Although he says he himself is not yet a full member of the party which is yet forming, he has taken it upon himself to declare that they should come as suppliants only. Why should they? The Congress leaders now acknowledge that their method was wrong and that the constitutional method which they had abandoned and denounced as mendicancy, is the only alternative. The abandonment of civil disobedience and the adoption of council entry, can mean nothing else. It is they and not those whose policy and methods have at least been consistent, that have need to adopt a chastened tone. The hard fact can not be concealed by bluff and bluster. Who wants to join the Swaraj Party on Mr. Rajagopala's terms or any other? The Congress has been ruined by the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movement. Any shred of prestige which still attaches to it is due to the personality of Gandhiji and the chief element in his personality which holds the mass mind is not the political but the ascetic. Asceticism is a sure magnet everywhere in India—as witness the hook swingers near Tiruvadi in the South and the Mohurrum flagellants in Lahore in the North. If Gandhiji resumed his Kathiawar dress tomorrow, he will have far fewer men and women waiting to have his darshan. When Oliver Cromwell returned to London after his victories at Dunbar and Worcester some one called his attention to the huge crowds that turned out in the streets to greet him. "More people would come to see me hanged," was his grim rejoinder. Those who live by the sword will perish by the sword. Those who are raised by the crowd will some day be pushed off by it from their pedestal. There is a little poem of Browning called "The Patriot." One day he walks on rose-strewn streets and amidst applauding crowds. The same day next year he is stoned by the populace in the self-same town.

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Dr. Paranjpye has given a spirited reply to Mr. Rajagopala Charya. "It may be," he says, "that Liberalism, as we represent it, is fated to disappear from Indian politics, but I would rather see it disappear in untarnished honour than die an ignoble death after surrendering its soul." Dr. Paranjpye, I thought, did not believe in a soul. Why should a man who does not believe he has a soul of his own, regret to see the soul, which can have only a metaphorical existence, of a political party surrendered? But no one is so irrational as the professing Rationalist.

Colonisation Inquiry Committee:—The report of the Committee it was said would soon be out. It appears they considered 13 countries including Tanganyika and eventually have brought the number down to three, Writes Bhuss Masoor in India Opinion. They are Borneo, New Guinea and British Guiana and the last named has lukewarm support. This leaves us with the first two named. Borneo has areas of about 31,106 square miles with a population of 257,804 persons of whom 533 are Europeans. The chief products are timber, sago, rice, cocoanuts, gums, coffee, fruits, nutmegs, cinnamon, pepper, gambier, gutta-percha, rubber, camphor, rattans, tapioca sweet potatoes and tobacco. Borneo is a Britsh protectorate under the jurisdiction of the British Forte Bornes Co., and administered by a governor (appointed with the approval of the Secretary of State) and a Court of Directors in London appointed under a Royal Charter of 1881. It is rather premature for anyone to say more of Borneo until the report is made known. I wonder why a country next door to us, Tanganyika was passed over; in any case it would be better to wait and see. I give the about facts because they are of interest just now.

THE PROPHET OF MALABAR.

(By Swami Dharma Theerthan.)

In the eternal march of ages, there appear on the stage of the world certain great personalities who tower very high above the ordinary mortals, whose life and teachings give a new impetus to the cultural evolution of large masses of people, who by precept and example set the ideal of greatness and virtue and demonstrate the eternal verities of the divine life for future generations. Such supermen are sooner or later acclaimed as world-teachers whose messages have a universal value and vital significance to people all over the globe. They come not to any particular place or time or for the good of any particular people, but to fulfil some mighty purpose in the scheme of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe. They are rarely understood in their own day. Their work goes on fulfilling the plan through many years and then only the realisation dawns on a wondering people that one so great lived among them. Such are the avatara purushas and the founders of the great religions and about another such who was with us until a few years ago, I shall speak here.

We judge men by their present achievements in the form of useful institutions or by their practical success in improving the conditions of their fellow beings. Secondly, we can judge them by the grandeur of their teachings, by the greatness of their ideas and ideals, or in other words, not by what they have done, but by what they are capable of doing for future generations. Thirdly, we can also understand them by their own personal lives, their nobility, purity, spiritual greatness. It is almost impossible to find great persons who possessed unsurpassed eminence in all these respects at once. There are instances of those who have risen from absolute poverty to be millionaires and princes and who were able to build up large organizations for the good of their less fortunate brethren, leaving behind monumental works of industry, intelligence and love of mankind. But such men have not been spiritual giants or originators of great cultural movements. Others there are who revolutionised the outlook on life of large masses of people by their teachings and marvellous appeal to the heart of humanity, but among them there were very few who could combine successful and constructive organizing activities with their idealism. To be an ascetic, a man of great spiritual powers, exercising superhuman influence over those who came into contact with him, a model of simplicity, purity and renunciation, and at the same time to be the leader of extensive activities and the creator of varied institutions, and also the originator of a great cultural movement of universal significance and value, is a combination of greatness more divine than human, and in this respect we have hardly another instance in history to compare with the wonderful life of Sree Narayana Gurudev. In him we have one who was born poor and continued to be poor all his life time and who had no worldly accomplishment of any sort, becoming the creator of a net-work of large institutions, religious, social, educational, industrial and cultural, and the master of properties worth many lakhs of rupees. This huge achievement is a marvel in itself. Many laks of people have been benefitted by one poor man's efforts. Secondly Gurudev preached a new philosophy of life which has already shaken to the foundations the old ideas of society and religion and which is steadily becoming a revolutionary force heralding a new cultural renaissance. When we come to the aspect of personal greatness words fail to describe how immensely above all human standards he reigned like a god among men, respected and loved and worshipped as no other human being was. His profound wisdom, the inspiring simplicity and purity of his life, the marvellous powers he wielded over men and nature, are the inscrutable mystery. The new philosophy, or if you like, the modern fulfilment of the ancient philosophy as represented in the practical teachings of Sree Narayana Gurudev, aims at unifying not only Hindu religious thought but also the religious thoughts of all the nations of the world on the basis of the fundamental unity of the laws of life and truth. Sree Narayana has given to the world the common background of all religions as Sankara gave the common background of the different schools of Hindu religion. Secondly, Sree Narayana has started the actual re-organization of Hindu society on the principle of Universal brotherhood, the spiritual laws underlying which Sree Sankara could only enunciate but could not apply to the social conditions of his days. Sree Narayana's religion is so simple, and so devoid of all sophistry, his philosophy was so practical, his influence was so powerful in purifying the lives of his followers, and his own life was so pure, simple and full of the milk of divine kindness for the poor and the helpless, that many of his followers hailed him as a second Buddha. He was such a picture of dedication and self-sacrifice that some compared him to Christ. For years he lived among Mohommedans and his teachings of equality and brotherhood so much resembled those of the Prophet of Islam, that he was revered as a great teacher by Muslim devotees. As if to co-operate in this work of fusion of religions, we find in Malabar mysterious forces bringing together the great religions of the world into intimate association in the lives of the people there more than in any other place. One of the first twelve disciples of Christ came to Malabar and we find there the oldest and the most numerous Christian community in India. Malabar which had relations with Islam through the Arab traders long before the Moghals came to India, has today a very large Mohammedan population living side by side with the Hindus and the Christians. There also we find an important colony of the Jews. The existence of a large population of Hindus who are outside the fold of the privileged castes, has facilitated the fusion of Hindu, Christian and Mohammedan blood and culture to a greater degree than elsewhere. The intermingling of the Eastern and the Western races also is taking place on a larger scale than elsewhere. Among the followers of Sree Narayana we find not only Hindus, but Buddhists, Brahmins, Arya Samajists, Rationalists and others who in spite of differences of faith and opinions stand united round the name of their common sun. There is going on in Malabar a significant movement for the establishment of peace and unity among the castes and races and creeds of the world and Sree Narayana Gurudev is the prophet of the new era that is dawning there.

Gurudev's philosophy is contained in the motto, "One Race, one Religion, one God," which means the fundamental unity of blood of the human species, the identity of the basic truths of all religions, and the common goal of all mankind.

Having asserted the truth of "One life" Gurudev next established the oneness of the Law (or Religion) which governs that life. Speaking about the practicability of establishing religious unity Gurudev once said "There are admittedly conflicting creeds in India such as Vedic Religion, Minamsa Religion, Dvaita Religion, Advaita Religion and so forth. Hinduism is the common name for all these. If such divergent creeds can be brought under one religion where is the unreasonableness in bringing under one religion

all the so-called different religions which Teacher after Teacher has given to the world with slight variations to suit different times and circumstances, but with the one common aim of the liberation of all Mankind. It is astonishing that those who preach of the unity of their own religion in the midst of the bewildering multiplicity of churches and denominations and who glorify the variety in the unity, are not able to take all mankind and find the unity amidst the diversities of creed and the beautiful variety in the unity."

I shall not be surprised if you think that this is all nice philosophy but of very little practical value. We have become so much accustomed to believe in the inevitability and even inalterability of castes, races and creeds, that talks of universal brotherhood and religious fraternity seem to you but a cry in the wilderness. The life and work of Sree Narayana Gurudev gives us a practical illustration of the way in which the highest ideals could be effectively used to reconstruct society. Malabar is the land of castes and social iniquities of the worst type. About 80 years ago when Gurudev was born the condition of the masses was little better than social serfdom. Many lakhs of people lived in utter poverty, disease and ignorance, without any of the rights of free men, of any of the amenities of civilized life, like dumb driven cattle, born to work and suffer for the upper classees and even bought and sold like the chattels of their masters. As a result of Gurudev's work nearly twenty lakhs of these people have been emancipated, and raised to the position of one of the most progressive and promising communities in all India. They form the only Non-Brahmin community who can be said to be socially and religiously self-sufficient and independent, with their own temples, their own priests, their own Mutts and Sanyasis, their own spiritual teacher and their own philosophy of life. Gurudev has shown to us in a practical manner through his numerous temples, schools, Mutts and other institutions, the possibility of realising the ideal of "One Race, one Religion, one God." He has given to the world a new interpretation of life and pointed the way to a world reconstruction for universal peace and brotherhood. As a Hindu social and religious reformer he has accomplished a revolution in the three great institutions of the Hindus, the caste representing the social system, the temple representing the religious system and the Mutt of Sanyasis representing the philosophical system. He has shown how and in what manner these three have to be reformed and brought into harmony with the changing conditions and ideals of our life. These three, the Caste, the Temple and the Mutt, are the three re-actionary forces which are strangling Hindu religion and society. They retard all progress and prevent all change. They keep us helots to rotten institutions which have outgrown their use and become an insult to the intelligence of the whole community. Bring them into line with the progressive needs of our day and we shall have accomplished the salvation of Hindu religion and society. And this is what we claim Gurudev has done in the sphere of Hindu social reform.

Born in a small village among people under the worst social conditions, without money, or any sort of modern education, by dint of his own efforts, his devotion, his great japas, renunciation and life of love and sacrifice, he was able to raise himself to the high eminence of a worshipped being, and what is more delivered many lakhs of his followers from hopeless degredation. Unsupported by any organization or propaganda or advertisement, he was able to establish more than fifty temples all of which are growing centres of education, economic regeneration and all-round activity of people. The order of Sanyasin Missionaries he founded has now under it 13 Mutts, 12 Prayer Halls, 10 Temples, 1 English School, 4 Sanskrit Schools, 1 Weaving School, 4 Medical Dispensaries, 1 Gurukulam, and 4 Harijan Hostels and other minor institutions. Very soon he came to be known as a miracle worker who could cure diseases, cast out evil spirits, call forth rain and do other wonderful things. For a period of not less than forty years he was almost every day using his miraculous spiritual powers for the material and moral uplift of the people. He grew beyond all description in the love and reverence of the masses. Many towns and people kept his pictures and offered prayers and flowers to them every day. Many thousands of hearts looked up to him as their saviour in all troubles. No other person we know of was worshipped so much in his lifetime, as Gurudev. He was man but not human. He was not God and yet was divine. The humble village lad rose to be the divinity of many a temple in which he is worshipped to-day. Compared with the divine personalities of the world, and in all respects, judged by any standard, he is second to none. Is it in the humility of his origin and the wonderful glory of the setting, is it in the simplicity and purity of his life, is it in the depth of his learning as the wisdom of his teachings, is it in the miraculous powers he wielded over men and nature, is it in the greatness of his practical achievements for the good of the world or the magnitude of the concrete work he has done; is it in the wonderful love and esteem of his own generation; is it in the unparalelled service and sacrifice of his life, is it in the grandeur and universal value of his message? In all these respects, viewed from any standpoint, he is more divine than many of those figures who rule the hearts and beliefs of people all over the world.

"THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR."

Mr. Boyan Choukanoff, a Bulgarian, now studying in America, in the "Current History" gives an account of the "Bulgarian Labour Battalion" which he considers to be an attempt to give effect to the ideas of William James in his famous essay "the Moral Equivalent of War."

Bulgaria for more than thirteen years has made it obligatory for its able bodied citizens to pay a tax on labour to the State. Every man and woman, upon coming of age, is liable to this "tax," which is fixed at eight months for man and four months for women, although the service may be spread over longer periods. The Obligatory Labour Service Law was enacted in 1920 through the influence of Alexander Stambulisky, Premier of Bulgaria and a man of rare courage, energy and determination. For years he had advocated the ideas embodied in the law, but opportunity for the adoption of so daring and revolutionary a measure did not arise until after the World War.

Briefly the labour service was to be utilized to quote from the law itself "in all branches of economic activity and public welfare work; the construction of roads, rail-roads, canals, water-works, dams and embankments; the erection of buildings, the laying out of villages and towns; the strengthening of the banks of water courses; the straightening of rivers; the draining of marshes; the laying of telegraph and telephone cables; the preparation of various materials for building; afforestation and the care and management of forests; the cultivation of land belonging to the State, a district, a commune or any other public body; fruit and vegetable growing; the raising of silkworms, bees and cattle; fishing; work in mines and factories; the preserving of foodstuffs; the manufacture of cloth, linen and clothing in hospitals, &c."

Besides the regular service of eight and four months the law provides for temporary labour service of twenty-one days each year, when men and women, between the ages of 20 and 40 and 16 and 30 respectively, are called to work for their own community. All school children and university students are likewise expected to give a week of service in the Spring and another in the Fall to their school or city.

Youngmen and women may obtain temporary exemption if they have dependents, attend institutions of higher learning or are in bad health. But no Bulgarian citizen can change his nationality before his labour duty has been discharged ; no one can leave the country even for study abroad until this labour obligation has been satisfied or postponed, or a bond deposited as a guarantee. Mohmmedan women are exempt from the law on both religious and social grounds. And so are all foreign citizens residing in the country.

About 45,000 young men in Bulgaria reach their majority every year and automatically become liable for their regular labour service. But the State cannot profitably employ more than 20,000. Moreover, each year about 750,000 adults are eligible for the temporary service, in addition to a similar number of school children.

As a result of this service many towns and villages have been surveyed; streets have been widened, paved and straightened; miles of local roads have been constructed, bridges built, schools and libraries erected; water has been pumped to many villages, electric light plants opened; dikes have been made along low-banked rivers; good soil has been reclaimed by shortening the courses of winding rivers; hundreds of acres of trees have been planted and public health fostered. Moreover, a five-year plan of thoroughgoing community improvements on a nation-wide scale, worked out by a number of leading engineers, architects, physicians, professors, agricultural and other experts, has been inaugurated.

It is however the work of the regular labour boys (the troudovaks) that has definitely established the labour service as a permanent Bulgarian institution. "Work for Bulgaria," is inscribed on their hats, and although treated like soldiers—wearing khaki uniforms and taking on entering the service an oath of loyalty to king and country that they will conscientiously discharge their duties—they are governed by a civilian administration and their labour units aim to be both schools and workshops.

A bird's eye view of Bulgaria would bring out in relief the brilliant achievements of the labour battalions. Two harbours have been built on the Black sea, bringing into touch with the rest of the country an isolated corner that during Winter months had been almost completely cut off. The capricious and furious Ogosto River has been brought under control at a point where it was eating away the land and endangering the homesteads of the local villagers. In a remarkably short time a large swamp lying between the parallel rivers Isker and Veet at the place where they empty into the Danube was drained, an achievement that reclaimed 40,000 acres of exceedingly rich land.

Much has been done by the Troudovaks toward improving the railroads. When Bulgaria won her independence fifty-five years ago, she had practically no railways, and during the following forty years only 1,200 miles were constructed, an excellent beginning yet much of the country remained unserved. The building of new lines across the country, through the Rhodopes, and to many outlying points has been and is one of the major activities of the Troudovaks.

The highways that stand as the greatest achievement of the labour corps have been woven back and forth across the Balkan Mountains. For more than a generation Bulgaria confined road building to the great lines of traffic in the lowlands. Highways were more needed and were easier to build there; they served larger and fast-growing cities. But this policy left hundreds of towns that lie scattered throughout the entire Balkan range isolated and neglected. The lack of communication inevitably hastened their decline. This was all the more deplorable because it was these mountain towns that had nurtured the Bulgarian national awakening. Now the Troudovaks are bringing them a belated reward. Through the Balkan Mountains from the western end of the range to the eastern on the Black Sea, at irregular intervals as passes permit and traffic requires, the boys are cutting cross-roads thereby bringing the region into more direct contact with the rest of the country. Something similar is going on in the Rhodopes, the southern mountain range of Bulgaria, where, likewise, this army of labour recruits, operating along a farflung front, is using its powder and dynamite to bring about prosperity and enlightenment to a long-neglected no-man's land.

In 1925 this led to intervention by the League of Nations. After a study of the problems involved, the League commission concluded that only permanent settlement of the refugees could transform them from an element of constant danger to one of usefulness and peace. For this purpose the League authorized a loan for refugee settlement and the Bulgarian Government provided land "that is or may be made suitable for agricultural settlement."

Much of this land had never been planted to crops before. Forests had to be cut down and the land cleared; a railway line and roads had to be constructed, and malaria had to be wiped out. Although the refugees themselves did much of the work, whatever skilled labour was required was supplied by the Troudovaks. The latter likewise carried on the fight against malaria, begun by the Health Section of the League and local authorities and later assisted by the Rockfeller Foundation.

When a series of earthquakes in 1928 destroyed many towns and villages in the South, a detachment of several thousand labour boys was immediately dispatched to the afflicted area. They built tens of thousands of huts for the homeless, cleared away the ruins, repaired the water systems and assisted in establishing a field hospital. When the danger of more earthquakes had passed they helped in the rebuilding of homes.

Finally, the Troudovaks, in State factories and workshops make shoes and clothes for themselves, for the police force and other State emptoyees. This activity has enabled Bulgaria to effect appreciable economies, for the Troudovaks had shown that they can make shoes and clothes as good as those of any private manufacturer—and more cheaply. They also tend large fruit and vegetable gardens and conserve the produce for use during the winter.

The Obligatory Labour Service is under a Labour Administrator who heads the Central Labour Bureau with headquarters at the Ministry of Public Works in Sofia, and who is entitled to the advice and co-operation of the General Secretary of each Ministry. The Central Labour Bureau is represented in each of the fourteen districts of the country by a district superintendent with whom every municipal Government is expected to co-operate. Whenever a community needs Troudovaks to build a dike or a road, it applies to the district superintendent, making clear the desirability of the project and undertaking to provide the boys with food and lodging.

At first Labour Service did not pay for itself because of the great sums needed for tools, transport, expert supervision, clothes and quarters. But experience and improved organization have changed all that; to-day the Troudovaks not only save millions for the State but are, in fact, a source of constantly growing revenue.

CONVERSIONS AND RECONVERSIONS TO HINDUISM DURING MUSLIM RULE.*

By Sri Ram Sarma, M.A., F. R. Hist. S. (*London.*)

The author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* writing in the reign of Shah Jahan mentions several interesting instances of the conversion of Muslims to Hinduism and their acceptance in their adopted faith. He was known to the Seikh Guan Hargobind and was on terms of intimacy with several Hindu saints. The cases that he records seem to be based either on his own information or on reliable authorities usually accruing in the reign of Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan.

Gosain Chatrapab who was a Nagar Brahman from Gujarat and died in 1637 A. D. taught the author of *Dabistan* the Hymn of the Sun and asked one of his disciples, Ganesh, to teach him the elements of Hindu religion. The author of the *Dabistan* was not born Hindu and naturally what Gosain Chatrapab did was equivalent to conversion. This Gosain seems to have been one of the foremost Hindu saints of his times. Jahangir and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan were among those who respected him.

The author of the *Dabistan* met another Hindu saint, Kaliyan Bharti, in 1643 at the town of Kiratpur in the present district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. He was a *Sanyasi*, yet he had travelled in and off Persia, lived among Muslims, returned to India and was still respected as a great Hindu saint. There is reason to believe that when he lived in Persia he had become a Muslim. It was only the licentious life of Shah Abbas Sofwi the Great (1583 to 1628 A. D.) that made him give up the religion which permitted such misdeeds. His return and consequent acceptance among the Hindus is therefore significant.

But probably the greatest of Muslim converts to Hinduism is Kabir. Born of Muslim parents or adopted by them, this Muslim weaver lived to found a Hindu sect. The faithful have tried to make him a miracle child born of a widow daughter of a Brahman of Benares whom Swami Ramanand blessed with a son not knowing that she was a widow. When her father remonstrated, we are told, Ramanand refused to modify his blessing. In due course the miracle child was born. But the Brahman was not sure he would be able to persuade the sceptics and the scoffers that the birth of a child to a widow was the result of a miracle rather than an offshoot of sin. He tried to drown the boy who however was discovered by a Muslim weaver and his wife who took him home and brought him up as a son of their own. The faithful and the less believing are all, however, agreed that Kabir was brought up as a Muslim. His Muslim contemporaries claimed him as one of themselves and were prepared to fight the Hindus on this issue. But he was accepted as his disciple by Ramanand, the great Hindu saint of Benares, whose greatest disciple he lived to be. It was however not Ramanand alone who claimed him as a Hindu. The contemporary Hindus knew him as their leader and a member of their faith. The story of the quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims for performing his death rites according to their religious faith as recorded by Abul Fazal in the *Ain-i-Akbari* proves that Kabir was known to be a Hindu to his contemporaries. Of course one can understand the Muslims trying to bury one born into their faith, but the Hindus could not have claimed to cremate him had they not accepted his conversion to Hinduism. Tradition further records his persecution as a Hindu saint at the hands of Sikandar Lodhi, king of Delhi. Further a large number of his Hindu followers are found even to-day in different parts of India, particularly the United Provinces and the Punjab. In the latter province the Kabir Panthis, as his followers are called, have been admitted by the Punjab government as caste Hindus.

Thus here is an example of the Hindus converting a Muslim and raising him to the rank of their religious leader. He is reckoned among the great Hindu devotees by Nabbaji, the author of the famous *Bhakt Mal*, the book of Hindu saints written in the seventeenth century and commented upon the Priya Dass soon after. No greater proof is needed of the catholicity of a religion that could raise a Muslim convert to such a high position. All honour to Swami Ramanand who admitted this Muslim to the Hindu's faith. And equally liberal were the contemporary Hindus who raised him to such a high status.

The *Dabistan's* list however does not end here. We are told that a large number of Muslims were converted to Hinduism and admitted as *Vairagis*. The author speaks as if he knew of these cases himself. Two names are mentioned as that of Muslim nobles who were admitted as *Vairagis*—Mirza Salih and Mirza Haidar.

Another case that smells of the conversion of a non-Hindu to Hinduism is that of Keran who became a *Va ragi*.

The enslavement and conversion of a large number of Medaris and Jalalis is mentioned by the *Dabistan* this time through the efforts of the *Sanyasis*. Jalalis were the disciples of Sayid Jalal, a Muslim saint buried at Uch in Sind. They were Shiahs. The Medaris are Sunnis. Once it so happened that these Muslims tried to sacrifice a cow at a place of Hindu pilgrimage where *Sanyasis* were assembled in large numbers. The *Sanyasis* rescued two cows by paying exorbitant prices for them, but the Muslims brought a third and sacrificed it. A battle followed. The *Sanyasis* killed seven hundred of these Muslims and defeated them. Their children were enslaved but were apparently brought up in the Hindu faith.

The *Sanyasis* were not the only Hindu sectarians who admitted the Muslim into the Hindu faith. The Vaishnavas also admitted Muslims to the Hindu's faith and converted many of them.

When Guru Hargobind returned to Kiratpur he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims in the neighbourhood of his place of residence so that not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontier of Tibet and Khotan. This happened before the conquest of Kiratpnr by the Mughals in 1645.

When we come to Hindu authorities we are surprised to find them describing the re-conversion of countless Hindu converts to Islam. Let us start with rather a conservative authority, the *Bhavishya Purana*.

In the concluding verses of the *Bhavishya Purana*, Volume II, Book III, Part III, Chapter III, *f.* 36 *b*, we are told of Raja Ganga Singh. The first three verses of Chapter IV make him the tenth sovereign after Bhoj and place his accession 500 years after his death. We are then told that he was a contemporary of Raja Jai Chand of Qanoj and Anang Pall of Delhi. Under him Mlechhas began to perform

* *Calcutta Review.*

all the duties of the Aryas (verse 10), so much so that Kali was at last frightened and went to Krishna in order to remonstrate with him for this sorry state of things, the prevalence of so much religion in an age which he had been assured would be particularly dominated by absence of religion. Again in his lament we come across a very significant phrase. His sons, the Mlechhas, have adopted the Aryan religion (verse 15. f. 87*a*).

A little later on we find the *Bhavishya* recording traditions of the re-conversion of Hindu converts to Islam *en masse*. Chapter IV of Part IV of the third book in the second volume (f. 122 *b*, Part II, Volume II), describes first the conversion of a large number of people in different cities of Dudia to Islam. This we are then told, evoked a reaction (Verses 52 and 58) The Aryans felt depressed. But they soon found out a remedy. The disciples of Krishna Chaitanya took upon their shoulders the hazardous task of reconverting their lost brethren. Then follows a string of names of the preachers with the locality of their ministry. Disciples of Ramanand went to Ajodhya and converted the Mlechhas to Hinduism. Sanyogis were also admitted to Ramanand's creed. Nimbaditya with his disciples went to Kanchipur. Vishnu Swami went to Haridwar. To Muttra proceeded Madhavacharya. Ordered by Kamanuja, Sankracharya of Saiva persuasion went to Benares. Ramanuja went to Kanoj. Dhanvantri chose Allahabad as his centre of activities. Bhatoji, Jai Dev, Kabir, and Sadhana helped in this good work. The efforts of the Muslims were thus undone. Large numbers of adherents were secured by Vaishnavas, Saivas and Saktas.

A very interesting part of this description in the *Bhavishya* is the different types of *Mantras* these teachers gave their followers, the varying shape of the mark on the forehead (*tilaka*) that they employed, the necklace that they asked their disciples to wear. All the outward emblems of Hinduism have been exhausted in order to prove that the Mlechhas (Muslim) or Hindu converts to Islam were thus regularly and formally admitted into the Hindu fold A rather intriguing word in this description is *Mlechha Yantra* which my friend, Pandit Raja Ram Sastri, would translate as the Muslim call to prayers, but which may probably be better rendered as mosques. We are told these *Mlechhas Yantras* were destroyed in the course of these attempts.

What exactly is the value of these facts recorded by the writer of this part of the *Bhavishya?* We would at once concede that all the facts mentioned here need not be historically true. We admit that the preachers lumped together here were not all contemporaries. We further recognize that several of them were not disciples of Chaitanya. What, one may very well ask, is then left. The answer is simple. When all allowances have been made we are left to face the fact that the writer of the *Bhavishya* knew of an old tradition when several Hindu preachers in different localities counteracted the growing power of Islam by reconverting Hindu converts to Islam back to the Hindu fold as also by admitting the Muslims to the Hindu fold. He may have confused the tradition, played havoc with its chronology and transplanted preachers and places. What is still more important this time his sympathies are with the reformers.

Unlike the first extract cited, he does not look upon the admissions of Muslims to the Hindu fold as something strange and lamentable. This is important when we remember the fact that the age of this part of the *Bhavishya* is uncertain. It may indeed be modern. But all this does not destroy the fact that the writer knew of earlier traditions of conversions and was content to record them.

CHRISTIANS AND PUBLIC LIFE.

(THE GUARDIAN.)

Sir Herry Page-Croft is reported to have written a lengthy letter to the Archbishop of Centerbury, presumably on the subject of Indian constitutional reforms. Reuter quotes this observation from the letter:—"Many Christians, who have given their whole lives for missionary work in India have expressed the view that the agelong Hindu-Moslem hostility can only be bridged by the example and precepts of Christianity." If the statement implies that the observance of a Christian way of life would banish communal rivalry, it is a platitude that has no significance true though it may be. Neither Hinduism nor Islam enjoins precepts for mutul destruction, and they can profer similar claims. To justify the statement attributed to Christian workers who have spent a life time in India, Christian practice should show that it has risen above the level of conflicts of all types, national, communal, social, economic and so forth. If convincing examples can be held up before others, then the secret of the power behind them will carry its own moral. But it is too sadly true, that whatever else Christianity may have done for the West, it has not taught men there to live in peace. There can therefore be no talk of the example of Christianity to set before the Hindu-Muslim communalists.

The miserable divisions in India provided one of the greatest opportunities Christianity has ever had of inculcating its message of goodwill, peace and forgiving spirit. Precisely here has been one of its most tragic failures. If the followers of different religions failed to overcome their differences, Christianity not merely because it was a third party, but because of its particular gifts should have restored to the warring bigots, the pristine quality of their faiths and placed them on the path of peace. That communal warfare rages with this peacemaker as a helpless distant spectator is the stark truth, which heightens the irony of the statement which Sir H. Page-Croft, advisers made to him. If centuries of Christianity in India and several generations of Christian workers have failed to produce the change, what grounds can there be for the hope that Hindu-Muslim rivalry will be settled by Christian example and precepts in the future?

This is not to say that the Christian religion has no service to perform in this difficult field. It is rather a challenge to accept the call of the situation in the real spirit. It is one thing to be aware of the sublimities of one's religion and be deluded by it into a spirit of complacent inaction that all will be well if that religion became universal. It is quite another to be inspired by that religion to step into a critical breach and use all one's might to heal it. Neither a pious wish that Hindus and Muslims were Christians, nor a distant solicitude can effect a change of heart, We have yet to know that Christian agencies or the Christian Church have ever envisaged this task.

The sentiments expressed by Sir H. Page-Croft on this problem arise out of the habitual eagerness of a man with a message to announce a cure and not work out the implications of his faith in the circumstances in which he is placed. It leads further to the denial of merits in others around him. Undoubtedly the Christian truths that have been preached in India and that much of them as have been lived have inspired many movements and created many models that have been adopted by non-Christians. There has been unstinted recognition of this. That cannot obscure the fact that there has been inertness in many directions bearing vital issues. On many questions

involving great principles, there has been the silence of death. Strangely enough it is on these same issues, that Christianity is offered as a patent remedy whether there is any intention on the part of its sponsors to help in solutions or not. Social inequality, communal conflicts, capacity for self-government, economic ills, Indo-British relationships, and many others may be mentioned regarding which we have heard that Christian principles alone can provide an equitable settlement. But what evidence is there that attempts have been made to apply those principles?

Christian endeavour hitherto has mainly centred round the legitimate idea that there must first of all be a new kind of person as the unit of society if there is to be a new social order. If this alone be the idea it stops short of the endeavour that is called for to bring the new order itself. When confronted with national tasks, it would be idle to make claims that have yet shown no signs of fulfilment. Seen in concrete terms, we have the warning of *Rethinking Missions:*

"It is a tempting fallacy to argue directly from the troubles of the world to the opportunity of missions. We should be remiss in our duty if we failed to emphasise the intervening consideration—the capacity and fitness of missions." Later on the Report proceeds to state, "It must essentially be a co-operative effort in which the spirit of the mission, the inherent vigour of these ancient cultures the specialized knowledge of experts and the resources of government are brought into effective working union." (p.74). The principle of co-operation enunciated for village work, they would apply to all general programmes and the necessary practical steps to remedy the defect are outlined in the Report.

Circumstances have driven foreign missionaries and Indian Christians largely from fields where any semblance of controversies may be anticipatad. It has become a settled habit. Whether it is a justifiable and wise policy or not, it has deprived them of the right to say what would be the ultimate solution of the grave troubles which others are bravely facing and cannot help doing so. We cannot talk of the healing virtues of Christianity, when there is reluctance to go within reach of the troubled areas. Either Christians, be they missionaries or Indians, are able to face these irksqme duties or not. But until it can be indisputably shown that there is the capacity and the willingness to enter unreservedly into the situation, the Christian contribution must be considered totally absent and of no account. Pious hopes and wishes uttered under these circumstances, that they have the solution of all national ills, will only make Christianity a laughing stock of the country.

The New Christianity:—Germans were told to set Hitler above God by Dr. Krause, the extreme Nazi "Christian," at a meeting of the National German Church movement at Berlin. Giving as the motto for a Nordic spiritual training the sentence "I can if I will," Dr. Krause condemned the absolute and "supranational" claims of Christianity. "Christianity is always international in its conscience, he complained. "But a man's own nation comes first; this is valid for all matters of national life, even for religious claims. It is an impossible idea that one can acknowledge the Third Reich and yet obey God more than man. We must return to a native scheme of values, retaining as much of Christianity as will stand this new test." Dr. Krause was suspended from all his offices in the Evangelical Church and formally disowned by Reich Bishop Muller last autumn following a storm of indignation aroused in orthodox Church quarters by a speech in which he advocated the abolition of the Crucifix. Nevertheless, he was elected last Friday to the Synod Council.

CHRISTIANITY UNDER SWARAJ.

(THE CATHOLIC LEADER.)

The possible effect of coming constitutional changes on the position of Christians in India and on the work of the Missions has been time and again discussed in the columns of the *Catholic Leader*. There are some who anticipate antagonism to mission work or at least interference with it as a result of the introduction of self-government. On the other hand, there are many more who see no cause for such gloomy forebodings either in the past history of India or in the events of the last twelve years or so after the Reforms were inaugurated. We share the latter view. We are definitely of opinion that Christianity will not be penalised and that those who profess the Christian Faith will not be subjected to disabilities. The Indian Christians, though few in number, have well established their position in Indian society. Their Christian character, their educational attainments and their loyalty to the country are unquestioned. Further, thanks to the indefatigable endeavours of our missioners, Christianity is not an exotic plant but has taken deep roots in the soil and possesses the strength and vigour of natural growth.

We have been led to make these observations by the alarm expressed by Sir Henry Page-Croft (Conservative M. P.) in the course of a long letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. A brief summary of that letter has been cabled to India and published in Monday's daily papers. "The position of the Christians in India," says Sir Henry Page-Croft, "with law and order divorced from British control and with an administration from which British servants are eliminated is viewed with the gravest possible concern." It is not stated by whom this apprehension is expressed. *Reuter* is vague on this important point. The Indian Christians, both Catholics and Protestants, have with one mind and heart welcomed the impending constitutional changes. It is true they have asked for adequate guarantees for safeguarding their religious liberties, but that can by no means be interpreted as lack of confidence in the future political leaders of their country. The Christians have always been quite willing to fully co-operate with the members of other communities for the advancement of their country. They do not share the views of Sir Henry Page-Croft that the transfer of law and order to Ministers responsible to the electorate would adversely affect their religious rights.

We do not deny that there is an undercurrent of suspicion and prejudice against Christianity and Christians among large sections of our countrymen. They are decidedly opposed to conversion work and look upon the proselytising activities of missioners as a disturbing element in the country. They erroneously identify Christianity with foreign domination. But much of this prejudice is bound to disappear with a better knowledge of the aims and objects of the missions and better understanding of the supra-national character of Christianity. By upholding Christian principles in the administration of the country and by demonstrating that Christianity represents a religious spirit and that it does not make of the Indian a separate body as far as political interests are concerned, the Missions may dispel the mistaken impression that Christianity is a foreign and denationalising faith and that it is in any way associated with foreign rule. "It will be easier for missions," says Mr. Arthur Mayhew, late Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, "under a more Indian form of Government, to disentangle themselves from the official and political world. They will better be able to assert the essential difference between the spheres and methods

of Government and those of the Christian Churches. The churches are concerned with spiritual values and their influence on the nature of man. No political change that leaves that nature as it is will seriously concern them."

India is a land of many faiths, both indigenous and foreign. For centuries religions widely differing from each other have prospered and flourished before the advent of the British into the country. Even Christianity was established long before the conquest of India by the British and enjoyed to a large extent the protection of Hindu Rajahs as well as Muslim rulers. Hinduism is essentially a religion of toleration with no official creed and no fixed standard of conduct barring a few social usages and observances based on caste. Its adherents may not be enamoured of Christianity but they recognise it to be a source of moral strength and spiritual regeneration. Whatever non-Christians may think of its doctrines, its worship and practices, they know at least that it stirs men and women to unselfish service and that missionary institutions, educational and charitable, are a priceless asset to the country. It is not likely therefore that Christians will be denied political equality with their fellow-countrymen or that their religion will be proscribed by the future rulers of the land.

We have no reason to view with grave concern the gradual withdrawal of the British from the administration of the country, as a consequence of coming constitutional changes. The question of the extension of self-government is a question of expediency not of religion. There may be difference of opinion as to whether drastic changes in the administrative machinery will be of unquestionable advantage to the country; but there is no need for us to oppose the impending reforms on grounds of religion. It is particulrly inexpedient that in the India of the future, Christianity should be associated with political controversy or that it should rely on the goodwill and assistance of any European Government. Its future lies on its own truth and excellence and on the service it renders to the country. We think it, therefore, absolutely unnecessary for politicians to raise the bogey of religion in danger as an argument against constitutional reforms.

BRITISH JUSTICE IN BRITAIN AND INDIA.

Reference to the working out of traditions of British justice in India was made by the Chief Justice Sir Shadilal in reply to tributes paid by the Bench and Bar of the Lahore High Court on the occasion of his retirement and handing over charge to his successor.

The essence of political liberty as recognised by British courts, observed Sir Shadilal, was that justice should be administered with complete impartiality and those who were innocent should receive and enjoy freedom.

Sir Shadilal mentioned a recent case in which a communist who had been convicted of a breach of the law claimed damages against the head of the London police on the ground that a bundle of papers which the police had lawfully seized had been detained longer than was justified. The case was tried before the High Court and the complaint was awarded for this ordinary mistake thirty sterling damages. Sir Shadilal continued:

"Here was a man who had been sentenced and who was opposed to the whole system of the Government of his country, but who none the less had a perfect right to resort to ordinary courts of the land against the High Official, whose subordinate had made what in my view was only a mistake without malicious intent, and yet without question the law of England, which is administered impartially for every body, awards him compensation in exactly the same way as though he was a favoured member of the society.

"Would it be improper to ask what would be the thought of a Judge in India who, imbued with the traditions of British justice, acted in a similar manner? Would he not thereby subject himself to disfavour and even resentment which would be manifested in no uncertain manner? These and other disadvantages have sometimes to be borne 'sub silentio' by a person who is true to the oath which he solemnly takes on accepting the office of His Majesty's Judge."

Sir Shadilal quoted from the memorandum prepared about two years ago by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Judicature in England in which it was pointed out that for two centuries it had been considered essential that the judges' security and independence should be mintained inviolate. It was long ago said that there can be no true liberty in a country where the judges were not entirely independent to Government and the soundness of the remark had never been questioned. Continuing Sir Shadilal observed that no reasonable person could take exception to this authoritative pronouncement. It was however, said, added Sir Shadilal, "that these doctrines of the English constitution cannot find full scope in this country where peculiar circumstances existed to impair the independence of the judiciary. On principle I am unable to see any valid ground for making such a distinction and I trust that no judge of this court will ever depart to the slightest degree from the solemn promise which he makes before entering upon the execution of the duties of his office even if he was subjected to personal disadvantages."

Sir Shadilal concluded by saying that the confidence of Indians of all schools of thought in the even-handed justice as administered by the High Courts was the greatest bulwark of British rule in this country and that any person who did any act tending to shake that confidence caused the greatest possible harm to that rule.

DUTIES OF THE PROSECUTION.

Delivering judgment in an apeal in the Allahabad High Court against conviction on a murder charge Mr. Justice Thom sitting with Mr. Justice Klsch set aside five death sentences and one transportation sentence and acquited the six appellants. Mr. Justice Thom made the following general observations in his judgment:

We are well aware that it may be said, and sometimes is said, that the court ought to shut its eyes to such irregularities on the part of the prosecuting authorities. After all, it is argued, if there is little doubt that accused challaned by police are guilty, the prosecuting authorities are entitled to do their best to obtain a conviction. We unhesitatingly reject any such suggestion; 'that the end justifies the means' is a doubtful proposition to any sphere. Emphatically it can find no countenance in a court of justice. As a result of centuries of experience a code of principles has been evolved which British courts observe in the investigating of criminal charges, in deciding civil disputes and generally in the dispensing of justice. By rigid and punctilious observance of those principles the administration of British justice has gained reputation for purity and fairness unsurpassed in any part of the world. It is the right of every man, be he guilty or innocent, to insist that he be tried according to those principles. Those principles are for the protection of the accused, not only against arbitrariness on the part of the court itself but against the activities of a possibly unscrupulous prosecuting authority. His

Majesty's judges under the constitution of India are charged with the duty of administering the law according to the principles of British justice and not according to any rules or methods which may be adopted by the prosecuting authorities, which it is sometimes sought to justify by reference to the conditions which may exist in this country or in a particular district. No such argument can justify the slightest departure from principles which under the constitution as by law established, the courts are bound to apply. In the absence of legislative sanction this court will refuse to countenance suggestions of deviations therefrom which come from those who are unacquainted with the principles of jurisprudence and who are neither learned in the law nor experienced in its practice."

JAPAN'S TRADE AND WORLD PEACE.

Mr. Gardner Harding writes in "Current History":—

Japan is to most business men the greatest danger in the present situation. In the middle of 1933 the report that Japan had increased exports by 50 per cent when other nations were still counting diminishing returns, even in comparison with 1932, sent a thrill of apprehension throughout the world. Essentially, Japan's concentration on exports is somewhat like that in the United States in 1915 when it was said that 75 per cent of our export trade, except in raw commodities, was in the hands of from twelve to fifteen large firms. Eight family companies led by the big three, Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo, are said to command more than 52 per cent of Japan's financial capital. Manufacturing, shipping, banking and government aid are more nearly an integrated whole than in any other country. When in 1933 Japan challenged Great Britain's position in textiles and engaged in a trade war with India, the most dramatic commercial conflict of the year, the step was taken in the full conviction that Japan was ready for and could hold this substantial trade conquest in the same sense that Japanese armies could hold Manchuria. Steadily, she is making inroads in Latin America and, indeed, is threatening one field after another of our own home market with cheap manufactured goods.

But Japan, unlike Great Britain, must buy enormously from foreigners for her basic needs. Forty per cent of her imports come from and 40 per cent of her sales abroad are to the United States. Our cotton, iron and steel, oil, wheat and lumber are her necessities. Currency depreciation has produced a comparative boom in Japan's exports. While other nations between 1929 and 1933 were suffering trade losses that reduced their exports to 40 per cent of their former value, Japan's trade, in yen, remained within 86 per cent of its former peak in 1929. But the figures in gold tell a different story. They cancel the entire increase in trade between 1932 and 1933 and show, in spite of the fears Japan has been causing, that her real loss in export trade calculated on a gold basis has been fully as great as the average for the rest of world, or about 63 per cent. In other words Japan cannot afford to be out of line with the rest of the world in the depreciation of her currency. The statistics for 1933 showed that the flood of cheap products to the United States amounted to over £100,000,000, less than the products she had imported from the United States. The aggressive trade policy of Japan is, therefore, much less one of the world's present dangers than that of Great Britain. It is Japan's international policy of adventure and mastery, her vast ambitions in Asia, that make her relatively unaccountable on the side of economic peace or war. In trade she will advance steadily, but under great handicaps.

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"*I will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Moral Gain but Material Loss :—Interviewed regarding the decision of Mahatma Gandhi to complete most of his All-India Harijan tour on foot Mahatma Hansraj, President of the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Punjab, said: "Mahatma Gandhi's resolve to travel on foot is, as far as his own personality is concerned, a mark of high and pure life. It shows how self-reliant he is and how he can suffer for the cause which he has at heart. Possibly the reason of this step is that one who works among the poor should live like a poor man and avoid any display of temporal power which may in the opinion of the masses separate him from them. While appreciating the high motives leading to this resolve, I feel that collections that are being made for effective work among the Harijans will suffer and if the Harijan work gains morally it will to some extent suffer materially. As far as the Punjab is concerned I would request Mahatmaji not to insist on travelling on foot as the climate of the Punjab is very taxing in the month of July when he is expected here." Mahatma Hansraj, it appears, attaches more importance to the material loss than to the moral gain of Gandhiji's proposal to walk instead of rush about in motor cars during the rest of his present tour. The object of the tour, Gandhiji has more than once said, is to convert caste Hindus to the Harijan cause, particularly Temple Entry. Collection of funds is or should be a subsidiary consideration. To a man who honestly believes that a temple will be polluted by the admission of untouchables it will not matter in the least whether Gandhiji collects two thousand rupees or two crores by forced marches on foot or whirlwind journeys on motorcars. For ourselves, we think that the collection of a large fund is neither essential nor even beneficial to a movement of social reform. It is, of course, different with modern politics, and that is why it is so peculiarly liable to corruption.

Inner Story of the Peace Conference :—Mr. William Harbutt Dawson's "Germany under the Treaty," throws lurid light on the inner working of the Peace Conference at Versailles. It records many incidents which show that corruption and intrigue are carried to greater lengths in the most civilized countries of the West than in the East which is represented as their native home. Here are two about the French press. Mr. Dawson quotes from "The Peace in the Making" by Mr. Wilson Harris as follows :—"A plenipotentiary of one not inconsiderable Power was declared at a crisis in the Conference to have taxed M. Clemenceau privately with his personal opposition to the expressed will of France on the issue of the moment. 'What do you mean by the expressed will of France ?' asked the President of the Conference (Clemenceau himself.) 'Look at your Press,' answered his critic. 'Every paper, except the *Debats* and *L'Humanite*, is supporting our claims.' Clemenceau looked straight at his interlocutor and then down at the bureau at which he was sitting. 'Do you want me to open that drawer,' he said, 'and show you the list of the sums you have been paying to the Paris papers ?' His visitor decided on reflection that he did not." But the story does not end here. Mr. Dawson says that Clemenceau's own journal was systematically bribed with Russian money in order to secure French support of the Russian claim to establish itself in Constantinople. Large sums, he says, were paid to various newspapers in Paris for this purpose, no less a man than M. Poincare acting as intermediary in this unsavoury business. In support of this statement, Mr. Dawson quotes from a despatch of the Russian Ambassador in Paris, Isvolsky, to a Russian Privy Councillor. The British Government had assented to the Russian demand for Constantinople in 1915. Notwithstanding that fact, the two Entente powers tried to secure Turkey's neutrality in the war by a promise to respect and defend the integrity of its territory both in Europe and Asia ! The French Foreign Minister assured the Russian Ambassador that this would not come in the way of their giving effect to the Tsar's desire.

In Defence of Default :—Speaking at Manchester last week Sir John Simon justified the omission to provide for the payment of the American Debt in the British surplus budget. He main-

tained that an argument based on a budget surplus was entirely fallacious for two reasons, as far as the American debt was concerned. Firstly, because that which lay at the very back of the difficulty was the injury done to world trade and world recovery as a whole if they contemplated transfer of enormous quantities which they received in goods but which they were asked to pay back in money. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that in relation to the national wealth, British taxation was at least twice as heavy as corresponding taxation in the United States. If and so far as these are valid reasons, there is no reason why they should be limited to the British debt to the United States. We can think of at least one case in which they would be far more appropriate. It may be that British taxation proportionately to the national wealth is higher than that of the States, but there are countries in which it is higher, even than the British, bearing in mind the fact that incidence of taxation to income becomes progressively heavier as the income becomes lower. Then, again, Mr. J. A. Spender pointed out in a recent article in *Current History* that the standard of life in Britain has not declined—he said that some people got in doles more than they had earned as wages—because the money raised from the rich went to the help of the poor in Britain itself and was not sent out of the country. This part of his article was reproduced in the *Reformer*.

Sir John Anderson:—The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, writing in stern condemnation of the Darjeeling outrage, pays a fervent tribute to Sir John Anderson's work for Bengal. It says: "If there is any Governor who in recent times has with single-minded devotion, try to bring about the economic regeneration of the province placed under his charge, it is Sir John Anderson. Sir John Anderson has been in our midst for barely two years, but even during this short period he has initiated measures which go far towards the solution of the vital economic problems of Bengal. As instances, we may mention the establishment of the land mortgage banks to tackle the problem of rural indebtedness, the initiation of measures to find employment of the workless *bhadralok* youths of Bengal, the attempt to revive the industries of the province through the State Aid to Industries Act and the scheme of a comprehensive economic survey to be accompanied by intensive efforts to promote the rural development of the province for which we find ample promise in the appointment of the Rural Development Commissioner. These are achievements of which any man can be proud." Coming from a journal of the standing and prestige of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, this is a most remarkable testimony to the popularity of Sir John Anderson in his province.

Temperance and the White Paper:—Mr. J. F. Edwards, editor of the *Dnyanodaya*, published in a recent issue of that journal extracts from a letter sent by him to the Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association in London, protesting against the limitations placed by the White Paper Constitution on the programme of Temperance workers in India. Mr. Edwards rightly urges that the assurance that there will be no dimunition of the "powers at present enjoyed" given by the Under Secretary is more a cause for apprehension on the part of the reformers than a concession in their favour. Mr. Edwards has spared no pains in trying to convince British politicians of India's constitutionally expressed desire for Prohibition. Others have shown that the picketing of liquor shops was an even greater demonstration of the strength of that demand. If after ably conducted propaganda the Government feel that the needs of Indian Temperance can be met by an assurance that they would keep matters as they are today under the new constitution, it can only mean that the British leaders have not considerd the issue a vital one. The reason for this is probably that Mr. Grubb, the Secretary in London, has not been exactly decided on whether the White Paper Scheme is good enough or not for the cause of Indian temperance.

For the Youth of Asia:—The New History Society, 132 East 65th Street, New York, will officially announce next July the offer of three prizes of the value of dollars three hundred, two hundred, and one hundred respectively to the youth of Asia, male and female, under thirty years of age, for the three best essays of not more than 2000 words on the subject: "How can Youth Contribute to the Realisation of Universal Religion." This will be the fourth competition organized by the New History Society. Among those who are acting on the Award Committee are such distinguished names as Dr. John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Viscount Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray, M. Salvador de Madariga, Spanish Ambassador to France and Professor W. E. Rappard of Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales of Paris.

The Bombay Mill Strike:—The Strike of textile workers in Bombay continues. The Municipal Corporation passed a resolution, asking Government to appoint a conciliation Committee, against the opposition of the Chairman of the Millowners' Association. Government have done nothing so far. The low standard of living and the much-abused caste and joint family systems, are enabling the workers to hold out against being starved into submission. They aver that they would rather die than submit. But it is not such a simple matter. A stage will be reached when the pressure of wife and children will oblige the men to pocket their pride and go to work on the terms of employers. But this will hardly improve either the efficiency or the stability of the industry which will continue to be on the verge of dislocation.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MAY 19, 1934.

REACTION AMONG THE PARSIS.

For some time past leading members of the Parsi community have shown signs of nervousness about its present condition and future prospects. They brought out a British expert to find out what ailed the community. Quite recently they seem to have been alarmed by the occurrence of some marriages between girls of the community with men of other communities. Evidence of this alarm was furnished by an article which we published in the *Reformer* of March 31, from a thoughtful Parsi contributor. Sir Shapurji Billimoria states in a letter to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat (*Times of India*, May 12) that the establishment of a women's college will discourage "the present craze for civil marriages, which in a great measure, if not entirely, is due to co-education in cosmopolitan or inter-communal institutions." The eminent Accountant goes on to say that he understood that some Nuns from Europe were prepared to come out to India solely with the object of undertaking the proper education of girls of all nationalities, if they were provided with the bare necessities of life. He suggests that wealthy Parsi women should start a fund to import these Nuns and put them in charge of the education of Parsi girls. Sir Shapurji does not seem to know that the very same complaint of educated Indian Christian girls marrying outside the community has been made in Upper India where there is no co-education. One of the leaders of that community some years ago suggested that women's schools and colleges should be fenced with barbed wire to prevent heathen young men associating with the daughters of true believers. We do not know if this suggestion has been carried out in any school but intermarriages between Christians and non-Christians would seem to be on the increase from the fact that another Indian Christian leader has thought it necessary quite recently to throw doubt, on the flimsiest grounds, on the validity of intermarriages under the Christian Marriage Act. Parsis are proud of their wealth and progress and are shocked that any girl of their community should care to marry a man of any other community which they regard as being inferior in civilisation to theirs. But comfort is not civilisation. Educated women require more than comfort. They soon tire of being stood all the time on a pedestal. Without vision and without ideals they spiritually starve. Men do not suffer to the same extent and in the same way. All communities are more or less victims of this soul starvation at present; but a small community, in large part confined to one city, which, moreover, does not proselytize, feels its effects most visibly. A very sympathetic foreign observer who admired the Parsis, wrote: "After watching the professional beggars and self-tormentors of Benares, one comes upon the eminently sane Parsee with a sense of relief. But the endless repetition of this perfect sanity which one finds in the Parsee community, with so little to break the spiritual commonplace, becomes itself at last rather monotonous; and one longs for a ragged sannyasi again, who has dared to turn his back upon bread and butter and, going out under the stars with staff and bowl, to risk his all in the great adventure of life." Sir Shapurji Billimoria has not taken into account the possibility that Christian Nuns from Europe who are prepared to educate the daughters of other communities if they are provided with the bare necessities of life, may unconsciously influence their pupils in directions which may create more serious problems. A dear old Parsi friend used to say that Parsis would return to the purdah system which, he held, they should not have given up. This was not beyond the bounds of possibility thirty years ago but today when women's claim to share equally with men the rights and obligations of life, is everywhere acknowledged, there is not the least chance of Parsi or any other women betaking themselves to the sheltered life of a purdahnashni.

Parsi leaders should rely more on themselves and less on foreign experts and nuns to solve their social problems. The European expert may tell us how best to build ships or forge armaments. But no one with even a casual knowledge of the state of post-war society in Europe, will seek light from that quarter in planning for sane and stable social conditions. Thoughtful men in the West are anxious to know if India can offer solutions to some of their problems. We understand and can sympathise with the passionate desire of the Parsi community to exist as a distinct community. It is with this object that the ancient Parsis sought asylum in India. The centuries that have passed since then would be blotted out if they are now absorbed by any of the communities amidst which they live. But in order to survive as a distinct entity it must do one of two things, preferably both, as Indian Christians do. Parsis should have a greatly increased birthrate and they should make proselytes. It was reported in the papers the other day that a Parsi young man became a Christian in order to marry a Bengali Christian girl. If the Parsis admitted converts, the bride would probably have embraced the faith of her husband. Increase of the birth rate means, of course, increase of marriages, and wealthy Parsis can help to increase marriages by removing some of the economic obstacles which now restrict them, as Mussolini and Hitler are doing for their population. A comparison between the Parsis of Bombay and Parsis who live in the districts and the States, shows that the latter largely retain the pioneer qualities of their ancestors, of which the Bombay Parsi betrays only fleeting traces. Obviously, encouraging members of the community to make their homes in the districts, will

prove to be greatly helpful in restoring the original vigour of this ancient stock. Building numerous houses for poor Parsis in various parts of Bombay city, attracts people from the districts into the hothouse atmosphere of this overcrowded city. A large scheme of colonisation, preferably in the Deccan uplands, will be far more beneficial than a public school in Poona or blocks of tenements in this island. Sir Shapurjee is opposed to the stopping of the doles which are paid out of the numerous charitable funds to poor members of the community. Such a step suddenly taken will, of course, cause considerably hardship. On the other hand, there is much force in the protest of the late Lady Tata that "these foolish and ridiculous Parsee charities" have introduced in the community the same unfortunate results as the doles in Britain. There is a movement to co-ordinate Parsi charities. The desirability of discouraging the exodus of Parsis from rural to urban areas is well worth attention by its promoters. In the country, the enterprise of the Parsi will be valuable not only to himself but also to the rest of the population. That will prevent isolation which in the case of small and middle-class largely community spells inevitable death.

POLITICS IN PATNA.

The All India Congress Committee is holding its session at Patna. The one question about which all sections of the Congress are unanimous is the abandonment or indefinite suspension of Civil Disobedience. There is sharp difference of opinion on the question whether the neo-Swarajists should function as a wing of the Congress or as an altogether independent body. The Swarajists or most of them want to be recognised as a party within the Congress while Congressmen who are not Swarajists are predominantly in favour of leaving the Swarajists to fend for themselves. There is a third section which is determined on having Congress converted to the doctrine of a socialist State and setting about forthwith to work to that end within and without the Legislatures. Dr. Ansari, whose nephew is the Delhi leader of their group which has its principal centre in Bombay, has declared that he has considerable sympathy with its object but that the present time is inopportune as the great majority of the present voters will be estranged by the mention of socialism as an electoral issue. He advises his socialist friends to wait till the franchise is extended (presumably under the White Paper Scheme) when he thinks they will have better chances of success! This temporising on a vital issue by the leader of the Swaraj Party is hardly a sign of strength. The electorate will interpret it as a surrender to the socialists. The Indian Government is a socialist State already. Land is nationalised, railways have been and are being nationalised, telegraph and telephone are government controlled. Even Indian social life is to a considerable extent socialistic. Further advance in the same direction can only lead to Communism. Not that we are afraid of it. We suppose why the party does not frankly call itself communist instead of socialist, is that the former is likely to frighten people more than socialism, which may mean everything or nothing.

JAPAN THROUGH A BISHOP'S EYES.

The assertion that Japan had awakened to her creative potentialities and for the first time the powers of the West could not call a halt, has been made by the Bishop of Kyushu (the Rt. Rev. Arthur Lea).

Speaking at the 135th anniversary meeting of the Church Missionary Society at Central Hall, Westminister, he said:

"We are accustomed to think of Japan in connection with mass production. But that refers not only to industrial matters. In education, in the creation of public opinion, in the strengthening of loyalty and patriotism, it is all mass production.

"Sixty years ago when the nations of the West compelled Japan to open up her doors, Japan was passive. During the last 50 years Japan has been assimilating. She had taken over all the theoretical and applied knowledge of the world.

"When Japan was passive people of the West were saying what a quaint people how gentle, how interesting they are. During the period of assimilation it was 'What a wonderful people. How great they are as imitators; how clever.'

"And now we have the third period of Japanese development—Japan creative—and that is the cause of all trouble. Japan has awakened to her creative potentialities and for the first time in the history of Japan the powers of the West are unable to call a halt.

"The polite exchanges of the past few days have been very successful in saving the faces of all concerned. But Japan is to-day dominant in the Far East as the United States is in the Americas and England from Gibraltar to Hong Kong. Japan maintains that creative powers mean expansion. It is either expansion and the realisation of her creative energies or chaos and ruin for Japan.

"At the beginning of the League of Nations, Japan made a reasonable and Christian request for racial equality and for the negation of racial discrimination. The great Powers, including England, while agreeing in principle insisted that it was impracticable. We teach that in our religion, but as for politics, well that's another matter!". said the Bishop. Japan withdrew the proposals gracefully and with that withdrawal her faith in the Christian idealism of Western Nations died.

"Sweeping condemnations of Japan might be unjust," concluded the Bishop. "Every charge made against Japan could be made just as effectively against all the nations of Europe."

Bali Opposes Missionaries:—The attempts on the part of the Christian missionaries to introduce the Gospel in Bali, have, in recent years, created a good deal of stir in the Netherlands as well as in the Dutch East Indies. It should be noted here that under the provisions of the East Indian Government Act Article 177, 1922, no Christian minister, priest or missionary may engage in work in any part of the East Indies without the special permission of the Governor-General. Amry Vandenbosch gives a graphic account of the main currents of controversy in the columns of the *International Review of Missions*.

THE LATE Mr. M. A. CANDETH.

(By Mrs. I. J. Pitt.)

Quite recently writing congratulations to Prof M. A. Candeth on his appointment to a high educational post, I am most grievously shocked to see the news of his death, scarcely in the prime of life after a short illness. Since he left Cambridge in pre-War days, I had only seen him twice. But my memory of those days when he was an undergraduate at "King's" is rendered so vivid by reason of his remarkable youthful personality, that I feel I must record something of them. Candeth was a boy of 16 when he entered the University, and was introduced to us as knowing a lot about theosophical, mystical and such matters, and could talk well. I will never forget the time when we invited a small gathering of friends to meet him. He looked to us more than his age, then 17, I think, with his beautiful childlike face and large sparkling eyes, and then he began to talk: I can only liken his conversation to the unbroken limpid melodious flowing of water in a brook. The English was perfect and of the best literary style denoting erudition and culture of a high order. I noted our friends' faces of utter astonishment and, so lost in amazement and fascination were we, that we hardly took in all that he was saying, at that time. We were to find that there was scarcely an intellectual subject upon which he could not discourse in the same way. The secret was that he read enormously and had an almost miraculous memory and the intuition to select the best from all he assimilated, and give it out so it was far from being a more repetition of passages he had read. And he possessed that rare gift of real wit, as instanced in his likening of the English climate to persons "trying to live beyond their means." A member of the University told us that Candeth was one of the most brilliant "men" "up" that year. Brilliant was just the world for him. Among others whose notice he attracted was especially Oscar Browning—the celebrity of the Cambridge world of those days—and in "O. B's" house at Bexhill Candeth spent many vacations. Although he never tired of describing the beauties of his Malabar home, (in no way overdrawn as I saw for myself in a subsequent visit there) he loved Cambridge, which he called his second home, and not only for the unique comliness of the "Backs," but also for just those things that appeal to those for whom England is Home, the ancient beautiful structures, each with its separate history reaching far back into the past, and almost each one founded by a King or one of Royal birth. The peerless beauty of the Chapel of his College were themes he would discant upon with an appreciation very rare in one of another race.

In "K. P" and Benett Street even now I can picture him hurrying along with his almost inseparable companions, B. K. Wagle, D. M. Bose, and the present Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, tattered gowns flying and battered "mortarboards" as was the fashion for undergraduates of those days. Essentially the scholar as Candeth was, he was nevertheless the merriest soul imaginable, and kept the tall old house where his rooms were, alive. Here he was watched over by a devoted landlady who in his frequent attacks of illness, with her usual hard day's work before her, would often, as I have seen her, sit up by his bedside all night. He used to call her his other mother. But when well, no more social tea-parties and gatherings could be found in term-time than in his rooms, and the three companions were up to pranks too. Did not they come round quite late one night to our house and when I opened the door of the room into which they had been ushered I found two of them with solemn faces who told me in low voice that poor Candeth was ill again and they did not know what to do with him. At first, speechless with distress, no sooner did I jump up saying "I will come at once and see him," when suddenly from behind the long window curtains springs out the laughing Candeth himself.

Tears fill our eyes as we think of those days, and of how many connected with them have passed "over" and of all that has intervened since, and now he has gone with, what one cannot help feeling, the future that was his due still before him. But God knows best, and there are no "might have beens" with him.

HINDU FUNERAL REFORM.

(By C. Tejpal.)

That if there were no Untouchability there would have been no question of segregation in the Hindu fold, and that if there are no untouchables in the Hindu fold there would be no untouchability, is rather doubtful. However one may sympathise with the so-called untouchables, and not sympathise with untouchability, Hindus in general cannot honestly abolish untouchability since it has its stand on the conduct of Hindu funerals.

The Ashavalayan Grahiya Sutra, a book on Hindu Shariats, lays down that a dead body can be carried on the hearse drawn by bullocks. This is the most reverential and sanitary method for the conduct of funerals. But since the time Hindus have been carrying their dead on their shoulders the artificial differences of castes have emerged accompanied by many other social evils together with untouchability with all its paraphernalia. Consequently, it is all waste of national energy in idle talk and beating about the bush to find the cause or root of untouchability from Shastras or Pandits.

An American Padré was much struck with the employment of human labour in India where animal labour or machanic power would be employed in other countries. He saw that the loads that can be carried on a vehicle, were carried on men's shoulders and in Bombay and Madras he saw the coolies working as draught animals. The reason of this may have appeared to him to be comparative cheapness of human labour; but for a different reason a student of Indian sociology may find a characteristic difference between European funerals and similar processions of other communities.

The main object of the above reason is not to be easily understood by non-Hindus, but the character of Hindu life and death can be gathered from the fact that a Hindu alive is not so much polluted by the touch of others as a dead one is. Consequently a dead brahmin requires to be taken to the cemetery only by the brahmins and so on for all other castes and sub-castes of Hindus including the depressed classes. This character is the cause of untouchability and segregation in Hindu folds. Of course there may be exceptions, but taking the time-honoured and common practice of the masses, the root of the evil may well be gathered from the conduct of Hindu funerals. There is a difference of technique between Hindu and Moslem funerals. The construction of the Moslem bier and its covering being on a more sanitary principle than that of the Hindus, Moslems join their funerals freely and in full dress, keeping their social solidarity. But the bier and conduct of Hindu funerals are not only crude and vulgar but devoid of social and religious spirit. And the method objectionable from the sanitary point of view based on the pernicious doctrine of untouchability, is in itself sufficient to segregate

Hindus. Moreover, Hindus carry their bier in cold nights and mornings, in sun or rain, with very little dress to protect them and theirs from the weather.

Hindus know that the hearse is the most convenient and proper vehicle and its use would enhance the honour due to the dead. They know that to use it is no sin nor crime. But the inherent character of the corpse-bearer standing in the individual form of the Hindu, will not accept the innovation all at once and in good grace, till it is a popular vehicle for the conduct of Hindu funerals.

A Hindu having no facility of modern crematoria given him by Municipal bodies, no true Sanatanist can ever have faith in the honesty of purpose of abolishing untouchability, and this particular drawback on the part of Municipal bodies is causing much annoyance and vexation.

It is obvious enough that Hindus who indirectly but heavily have to pay in the form of sumptuous funeral feasts for the uphill task of their funeral services, to be exacted from their castes, would not grudge the comparatively small bill of the civil undertaker and people would, surely and more willingly than now, attend funerals to pay their last tribute of respect to their deceased friends or relatives.

Lord Buddha, the Great Indian Reformer, lived and died a pious man, and his teachings of brotherhood and Ahimsa prevailed for a period in India, but Buddhism was finally defeated and driven out of Indian life by the conduct of Hindu funerals. Had Buddha as the great man of his time given as much attention as Lord Zoroaster did (see Zend Vendidad) towards the dead body and its bearers or, like King James I of England, advocated the humanitarian method of the conduct of funerals enjoined by Hindu Shariat in the Grahya Sutra, Hinduism would not have been what it is today, but India a solid and healthy nation.

The caste system and untouchability are relatives to each other but alien to Christianity. Yet some of the Indian Christians in South have caste because of their method of funeral conduct, which is the same as that of Hindus. When one of the disciples of Lord Jesus had asked him that, "Lord, suffer me to go and bury my father," Jesus had said unto him "let the dead bury their dead and follow me;" and the disciple had followed him. The Christian governments, at least in this the only example, have been literally following the advice of Jesus Christ to his follower, of letting the dead in India bury their dead. But whether "their dead" would prefer to ride on wheels in an age of science, so that the "dead" may be raised to the level of humanity is a question, perhaps for the anthropological society of India to discuss, but not for Indians or the government who feel restrained to interfere with such imaginary religious methods where there is no religion whatsoever but the duty of civil life.

It is said that every man in England is a king of his castle, but in India every Hindu is a slave of his caste, *vis* a corpse bearer, and as he has no advantage of the service of the civil undertakers, the Sadhu-Maharaj wish to serve him in the next world only. The King or Raja-Maharaj as a rule does not and cannot carry a bier and if he does, he is no more a King but a Cooly. A Cooly is a denomination earned by Indians in South Africa as a suffix, over and above the segregation laws. But it must be out of sheer politeness that Indians are not dubbed as a nation of corpse-bearers by the self-governing dominions!

Philippine Independence Bill:—The Philippine Legislature voted the acceptance of the Independence Bill passed by the United States Congress on March 24. The Bill grants independence to the Philippines within ten to twelve years.

INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.*

(By Rev. J. F. Edwards.)

Mr. Fredrick Grubb, the able and alert General Secretary of the Anglo Indian Temperance Association in London, and other influential friends thought it advisable, as Mr. Grubb writes in a recent letter to me, to obtain from the India Office a more definite assurance that under the new Constitution the Central Government would not have the power to interfere with the discretion of the Provincial Governments in regard to the regulation or prohibition of liquor—even indirectly as a matter of finance. It was pointed out that this is a question of great importance, especially in places like Bangalore and Poona where there are Cantonments, or in cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, where there is a substantial European population. Further enquiry was therefore addressed by Mr. Grubb to the Under Secretary of State (Reforms Department), India Office, asking:

Whether, under the White Paper proposals, the Provincial Governments would have power to prohibit or restrict the sale of imported liquors within their areas, irrespective of any action taken by the Federal Government in regard to the importation thereof and despite the fact that such prohibitory or restrictive legislation in the provinces might adversely affect the Central Revenues. The Under Secretary of State replied that under the proposals in their present form the Provincial Governments would have the powers indicated in the question, subject however to the over-riding authority of the Federal Government as laid down in paragraph 125 of the White Paper (page 71). 'This paragraph provides,' says Mr Grubb, 'for effect being given within a province to every act of the Federal legislature applicable to that province, and it establishes the authority of the Federal Government in giving directions to a Provincial Government for that purpose. We read that 'the authority of the Federal Government will also extend to the giving of directions to a Provincial Government as to the manner in which the latter's executive power and authority shall be exercised in relation to any matter which affects the administration of Federal subjects." It may be difficult, adds Mr Grubb, 'for the ordinary reader to understand all the implications of these provisions, but they undoubtedly mean that in the last resort the Central Government would have power to prevent or suspend the enactment of prohibition if the exercise of this veto should be deemed necessary in the interests of India as a whole—although probably the intervention of the Federal Government in such a manner would only happen in exceptional circumstances.'

As this whole question is one of such wide and public interest, affecting so vitally the future of India, I share with my readers the relevant portions of a communication I have sent to London on this subject as follows;—

I have noted that the Madras *Guardian* contains some portions of what you wrote to me, though in your communication to me you develop several other points of interest. I note that among these are some items which show that interpretations have been put on my Memorandum of last June to the Joint Parliamentary Committee which I never intended and which I cannot but think have been read *into* it. And though some of these are very important and touch the heart of the subject, yet I am not so anxious about my Memorandum being misunderstood as I am that the essentials of this burning problem shall be properly appreciated. I will therefore not let myself be

*From *Dnyanodaya*.

sidetracked into attempts at defending my point of view but will try and concentrate very briefly on essentials.

You ask do I not consider that the White Paper proposals (despite imperfections) go a long way towards giving the people of India 'effective control' so that 'they will soon make an end of the drink traffic.' I myself should have thought so, *but* 'the interpretation officially given to the provisions of the White Paper in this connection' by the Under Secretary of State for India Reforms Department on October 30, 1933, and his further reply a few weeks ago now reported, have greatly disturbed me. How grave the danger to India's freedom to carry out her wish regarding the extinction of the liquor traffic is all too clear from your lucid summary 'that in the last resort the Central Government would have the power to prevent or suspend the enactment of prohibition if the exercise of this veto should be deemed necessary.' Having watched the official methods on this subject for a quarter of a century at close range, I am quite unable to share your generous optimism that 'the exercise of this veto' will 'only happen in exceptional circumstances' and my reason will appear below. Your *present* conclusion, to which you feel you can preface the word 'undoubtedly,' regarding 'the exercise of this veto,' was quite clear to us here from the Under Secretary's reply of October 30 last year when he stated in that reply to you: 'The proposals in the White Paper in no way reduce the powers at present enjoyed by the Provincial Legislature.' Will you please remember that the present dismal situation of the drink traffic in India, carried on in open defiance of the wishes of the people *constitutionally* expressed on September 2, 1925, is a situation that has grown up under 'the powers at present enjoyed?' When you remember this, you will be as amazed as I am that this is the 'official' best that can be said for the constructive Temperance Reform aspect of the White Paper.

Let me recapitulate a few essentials:—

(1) Though it is a lie of uninformed critics to say that Britain introduced liquor into India, yet many of us Englishmen and Scotsmen in India feel we must cover our faces in shame at the measure of our responsibility in recent decades for deepening India's dependence on liquor revenue, continued in most recent years in teeth of the *constitutionally* expressed desire of India to the contrary: the sad facts are given in my two Memoranda of November 1928 and June 1933. The one sure way of bringing forth fruit worthy of our repentance just now when we are handing India over to the largest practicable scheme of self-government is for the Constitution makers in the Joint Parliamentary Committee and in Parliament to beat out *such* a Constitution as shall break the evil continuity of India's administrative dependence on liquor revenue *whatever the cost either to Britain* or India.

(2) The Constitution makers who are now hard at work should breathe into the new Constitution a wholly new attitude regarding the drink and excise problem. In order to be concrete, by a new attitude I mean such an attitude as shall mean a distinct break with the attitude that could (*a*) lead India's Central Government so to interpret the 1919 Act as to make *foreign* liquor administration and revenue the preserve of the Central Government; (*b*) lead that same Central Government to ignore the *constitutional* resolution of the popular legislature, the Legislative Assembly, on September 2, 1925, asking for local option and the gradual extinction of the liquor traffic; (*c*) lead the Central Government's Finance Member (Sir Basil Blackett) to discourage and threaten the Bombay Government in its praiseworthy attempts at drastic Temperance Reform; and (*d*) leave even the Governor General himself incompetent to allow a Prohibition Bill last summer because of Section 67 (2) of the Government of India Act; for as the Madras *Guardian* said, 'Whatever the merits or defects of a Prohibition policy might be, it is clear that the Government of India Act does not allow room for the national Legislature to express its views on the matter.'

(3) In light of the foregoing considerations it is quite impossible to say, as your article in *The Hindu* said a few months ago, that everything will depend upon the sort of people who are returned to the Councils and that 'the people of India alone will be to blame' if their wishes are not achieved regarding drink reform. What *will* happen if 'the powers at present enjoyed' are not immensely increased, is that popularly elected excise ministers will realize that they can not possibly administer their departments without the liquor revenue which India has pronounced as 'tainted,' and rather than starve the nation they will administer the 'tainted' revenue, thus widening the abyss between Government and people, and endangering the new Constitution from its very inception.

(4) What is needed therefore is that the people shall know, by virtue of the kind of Constitution to be installed, that they have real freedom to express their disapproval of drinkshops in their midst, knowing that if these are closed and the drink revenue lost, a method has been provided by the Constitution now being forged whereby a way *will* be found of ridding the Indian administration of dependence on liquor finance. I still believe that the twenty years' period indicated in my Memorandum of last June is adequate even for so momentous a task, unless indeed our British statesmanship is to be regarded as bankrupt which I refuse to believe. This is not the first stupendous moral problem wrapped up with finance that the British Government has had to solve in India. It will resound for ever to the credit of Britain's relation to India that an arrangement has been made possible, at very heavy financial sacrifice, whereby after December 31st next year (1935) no opium exports will leave India save for scientific and medicinal purposes. That achievement was made possible within the short period of one decade by reason of a most complete change of front on the part of the Indian Government between 1924 and 1926 on the opium question. If the Government of India, instructed by the new Constitution now on the Parliamentary anvil, will show a similarly open mind on this other vital moral issue of the drink question and a similar willingness to yield to a popular demand based on reason and humanity, I believe the time-limit of *two* decades will be sufficient to work out the far reaching financial implications without disturbing the delicate financial equilibrium of India.

Home For Women Students:—The Home for Women Students recognised by the University of Bombay will reopen from 1st June 1934 at Laxmi Niwas, Alexandra Road, New Gamdevi, under the supervision of a Committee, some prominent members of which are Mrs. Sonabai Jayakar, President, Mrs. Sunderabai Sirur, Mrs. Shantabai Patkar, Mrs. Tarabai Manekchand, Mrs. Jayashri Raiji, Dr. Kashibai Nowrange, and Prof. Sulabha Panandikar (last two Secretaries). The three storied building now occupied is airy, spacious and situated in a respectable locality with accommodation for *forty* students. Diet strictly vegatarian. Intending applicants will please communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Home for Women Students, Laxmi Nivas, Alexandra Road, New Gamdevi, Bombay.

POPULAR SYNTHESIS IN RELIGION.*

(By George W. Briggs)

In the religious life of medieval India we find an interesting popular synthesis of Islamic and Hindu elements. This is especially noteworthy in the attitude of the ordinary man of both faiths toward saints of either Muslim or of Hindu origin.

Khwaja Khizr (M), for example, a saint of Islam, is worshipped by Hindus who use, in addition to his primary name, both Raja Kidar (H) and Pir Bhadr (H). He is a water godling, patron saint of boatmen and protector of travellers. His emblem is the fish, which is a sort of totem of the Shiah Muslims and was the crest of the late royal family of Oudh. In some places fertility rites are associated with him in certain festivals. He is worshiped in connection with the digging of wells. Strangely, many cycles of legends involving Alexander, Elisha, Noah, Tammuz, Adonis and Moses have gathered around Khwaja Khizr. Crooke says: "His cult is in the main an attempt by means of magic to pass away the sins or evils which menace his worshipers. This is effected by launching in a river little boats, each provided with a light and offerings."

Another example of this kind is that of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan (M), whose tomb is at Nigaha in the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Panjab. His shrine is the resort of the afflicted and of barren women of both faiths.

Then there is the saint Ghazi Miyan (M) (Sayyid Salar Masa'ud), of Bahraich in the United Provinces, for whom an annual fair is held which is attended by multitudes of Hindus and Muslims.

Perhaps the most famous saint of the lower classes in northern India is Guga (H): now a snake godling, known as Guga Pir or Zahra Pir (M). Although origially Hindu, he became a Musalman in order that he might enter the bowels of the earth to reach the ruler of the serpent world. He is intimately associated with the famous Yogi Gorskhnath. The annual festival which is held for him during the rainy season is known as the *Chhariya Mela*. This fair is named after the *Chhari*, or flagstaff, which is carried in his name. Among the things necessary for this worship is the "flag" which consists of a bamboo twenty or thirty feet in length, surmounted by a circle of peacock feathers and decorated with fans and flags and cocoanuts done up in cloth. Men, called Zahra Pir's "horses," carry the flags. Sometimes these "horses" are Yogis, often Musalman Yogis.

There is an interesting group of five saints, the Panch or Pach Pir, which is worshiped in northern India almost as a unit. While the five who make up the group vary with locality, the company is always a mixed one, partly of Hindu, partly of Muslim, saints.

The shrines of these saints are visited indiscriminately by multitudes of both faiths, seeking for blessings of many kinds.

Baba Farid-ud-Din Shakarganj (M), possessor of the magic and, renowned for his great powers, was associated with ascetics of the Hindu community, particularly with the Yogis.

This relationship introduces us to another phase of the popular synthesis, that in which Yogis widely known bear both Hindu and Muslim names. For example, Gopi Chand (H), the famous prince of eastern Bengal, who became a Yogi of renown and who is celebrated in legends from Bengal through the Panjab to Sind, lived much in the north and west of India. In Sind he is known as Datar Jamil Shah (M).

On the other hand, Muslims under the influence of great ascetics entered the ranks of the Yogis, and continued to be both Hindu ascetics and Musalmans. The Jafir Pirs are counted as a division of the Kanphata Yogis as are others known as Pir Jogis. Hindu Yogis do not eat with these ascetics.

A note of rivalry may be found in the zeal with which both Hindus and Muslims have insisted upon possessing the bodies of the same dead saints for disposal by burial or cremation. The Daryapanth is a division of the Kanphata Yogis with many members in Sind and with establishments at Makhad, Kohat and Quetta, beyond the Indus. Their sacred seat is at Uderolal in Sind, at the tomb of an infant who transformed himself into an armed bowman and emerged from the Indus to rebuke the Muslim Md. Yusuf of Tatta. He is known as Uderolal (H), Dulanlal (H), Amarlal (H), Zinda Pir (M) and Darya Shah (M). At his shrine in Uderolal a lamp is kept burning perpetually and at the new moon he is worshiped at the river, or near water, with rice, sugar-candy, spices, fruit and lighted lamps. About 50,000 attend the annual religious feast at this place. He left the world by disappearing into the ground. There was a dispute between Hindus and Muslims as to the disposal of his body by cremation or burial. He reappeared and commanded them to use both methods. Consequently, there are both a tomb and a temple at the place.

A well-known disciple of Bhartrhari was Ratannath of Peshawar. This yogi belongs to a group who do not wear the usual insignia of their sect. He is held in high esteem by Musalmans. Ratannath is famous for having created a boy out of dirt from off his body. This boy was afterwards known as Kayanath (H) and as Qaimtud Din (M). When Kayanath died, both Musalmans and Hindus claimed his body; but it disappeared, only the clothes remaining. Hindus built a *samadh* for him and Muslims a tomb.

These reports remind one of the legend describing the dispute over the body of Kabir.

The most notable all the aspects of this popular synthesis is to be found in the careers of Kabir and Nanak. The latter was greatly indebted to the former. In the main Nanak's religious convictions were the same as those of Kabir. His views may be briefly summarized after the account of Doctor Farquhar. Nanak had associated with numerous teachers both Hindus and Muslim, was acquainted with Persian, Hindi and Panjabi and was familiar with the writing of the Sufis. He wandered all over north India proclaiming his doctrines. For him Islam and Hinduism were two paths, there being but one God. The influence of Islam may be seen in this belief in one eternal, spiritual God to be worshiped from the heart and not with images; in his position that men of all castes and races could know and love God; in that the life of the householder rather than that of the ascetic is praised; and in the great emphasis laid upon the moral side of religion. On the other hand, elements of mysticism appear; the doctrines of *karma* and *samsara* and the conception of *maya* are held; the *guru* remains important; and it is insisted that release brings union with God, or rather absorption, in which individuality is lost. Nanak retained the whole Hindu pantheon.

Although Nanak founded the religion of the Sikhs, a movement persecuted by Aurangzeb and later absorbed into Hinduism, still his predecessor, Kabir, is the better representative of the popular synthesis of the two religious. His influence is more widely

*From *The Crozer Quarter*. The writer indicates names of Hindu origin by (H) and those of Muslim origin by (M).

diffused and more potent. "His best utterances are probably the loftiest work in the Hindi language; and hundreds of his couplets have laid hold of the common heart of Hindustan." He is the widest known and the most influential of all the medieval saints of the north, and his sententious religious and devotional verses are still the common property of all the villages of northern India.

Kabir became both a Bhakta through Ramananda and a Pir through a Sufi; and, although he was severe on both in his utterances and was much persecuted, he was claimed by both communities.

Farquhar's words may be transcribed: In the life of Kabir the two religions mingled. The strongest elements of each laid hold of him and formed his thought, the Sufi conviction that all ordinary religions are but forms dictating his general attitude to the two faiths..The groundwork of his system of beliefs is Hindu; for he accepts transmigration and Karma, and thus stands within the circle of Indian rather than Islamic thought. A further catalogue of Hindu ideas might be compiled—Brahman, maya, lila, release, detachment, cessation from works, "He is I." —but most of these coincide or almost coincide with Sufi conceptions; so that a number of them may be regarded as common ground. On the other hand, he denounces idolatry as foolish, false and wrong, declares divine incarnation impossible and laughs at the forms of asceticism as silly practices. Here Islam rules. Kabir belonged to two religious communities, and so it came about when he died at Magha that his body was claimed by both Muslims and Hindus. According to the *Bhakta Mala*, religionists of both groups desired to dispose of the body according to their own distinctive rites. At the end of a dispute over the body, when they lifted the cloth which covered it, they found only a heap of fragrant flowers, *khushbudar phul*. These were divided between the two parties. Musalmans buried theirs at Maghar; the Hindus took their portion to Benares, where they burned them. Hence we have a tomb of Kabir at Maghar and a shrine at Kabir Chaura, in Benares.

The popular synthesis in religion in Northern India has been illustrated by the worship of saints of diverse religious origin by the masses of both communities; by the application of names characteristic of two faiths to the same saint regardless of his origin; by wandering ascetics taking on names identified with both cultures; by Muslims in Hindu ascetic orders; and by men teaching a composite faith emphasizing the cardinal points in the two religions from which it is derived, men claimed by both communities even unto death and burial.

Justice:—The *Sanjibani* informs us, writes the *Indian Messenger*, that there is a small village in Vikrampur known as Malogaon. The inhabitants of this village are all Mahommadans with five or six Hindu families in their midst. On the night of 13th April a few Mussalman ruffians entered the house of a Hindu and forcibly carried away a girl of fourteen. Her cries brought some Mussalman neighbours to her rescue. The wicked men let her alone and fled away. Next morning a village Panchayet composed of Mussalman leaders and Hindus was held. The Hindus left the whole question to the Mussalman leaders who decided that the culprits should be punished with a fine of Rs. 10/- each, should be beaten with shoes fifty times and should call the oppressed girl their mother by touching her feet. All these punishments were carried out to the letter then and there.

INDIAN EMIGRATION TO MALAYA.

The decision of the Government of India after consultation with the Government of Madras and the Standing Emigration Committee of the two houses of the Indian legislature and with their consent to reopen the non-recruited assisted emigration to Malaya is contained in a communique issued by the Government of India in the Education, Health and Lands Departments. The communique states :—

As to the result of depression in rubber industry the emigration of unskilled labourers from South India to Malaya was stopped in August 1930. The stoppage of emigration and the measure taken to repatriate those labourers who could not find work on suitable terms had the effect of preventing unemployment and steadying wages. In December 1932 the Malayan Government represented to the Government of India that not only had a practical equilibrium been reached between the supply and demand for labour in Malaya but that an acute shortage was likely to occur if there were sharp rise in price of rubber and the consequent revival of the industry.

In November 1933 the Malayan Government sent to India a deputation consisting of the controller of labour in Malaya, chairman of the planter association and the emigration commissioner for Malaya in Madras. This deputation interviewed the Standing Emigration Committee of the two houses of the Indian legislature and explained that owing to the very large repatriation that had taken place since 1930 it was apprehended that the existing supply of labour in Malaya may be unequal to the demand owing to a revival in rubber industry which was expected as the result of improving prices and that an urgent decision on the request of Malayan Government for a renewal of emigration was called for.

Inquiries as to the need for fresh emigration to Malaya in order to supplement the supply of labour have been initiated on the receipt of the request of the Malayan Government for a renewal of the immigration into Malaya and inquiries were also made from the Government of Madras as to whether there was any desire amongst the people of the presidency to emigrate to that country. These inquiries revealed both the existence of the demand for labour in Malaya and the desire for emigration from Madras presidency to those territories. After consultation with the Government of Madras and the Standing Emigration Committee of the two houses of Indian legislature and with their consent the Government of India have accordingly decided that non-recruited assisted emigration to Malay should be re-opened.

In order, however, to ensure that this does not lead to an over-supply of labour with a consequent depressing effect upon the level of wages in Malaya and possible unemployment they have also decided that emigration shall be subject to the following:—(1) Fresh emigration shall be restricted to 20,000 in first year, (2) emigran shall be repatriated free any time within two years of his arrival in Malaya on reasonable grounds, for example ill-health, unsuitability of work, treatment and inability to find work at the standard rates of wages. Even after the expiration of two years repatriation would be allowed if conditions justify this.

It has also been arranged that the emigration commissioner for Malaya in Madras shall supply the local Government monthly reports about the conditions of employment and that the statements of information supplied to intending emigrants be corrected as frequently as circumstances may require. By this means it is hoped that only those persons will emigrate who consider the conditions of employment in Malaya to be adequate.

THE BOMBAY VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION.

The Committee of the Bombay Vigilance Association remark in their eleventh annual report of the Association for the year 1933 :—

"This year has been a comparatively quiet one in the sense that there were no disturbances in the City like those last year and the Association was able to steadily continue its activities. The difficulties such as insufficient Police force, congestion in the Courts, delay in disposing of the cases instituted under the Amended Prostitution Act, mentioned in our previous reports, were unfortunately not removed during the year under report. If these difficulties had been obviated, the Amended Prostitution Act would have been worked more effectively.

There were other difficulties also. Some of the provisions of the Act, especially those concerning the landlords, have become ineffective as it is found difficult to prove to the satisfaction of the Courts that the landlords or their agents knowingly let out the premises for the purposes of conducting brothels.

The importance of the Act, however, cannot be minimised. In spite of all these difficulties much useful work was done by the Association and the improvement recorded in the previous year was continued during the year under review. Our worker paid special attention to the traffickers and procurers who have been doing this business for years under some pretence in the localities outside the brothel area and some of them were brought to book.

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into traffic in women and children in the East appointed by the Council of the League of Nations was published during the year. In regard to India the Commission says, "As far as the information gathered by the Commission goes, British India is not a country from which women and children are taken abroad for immoral purposes nor do women go from this country abroad on their own initiative for such purposes. There seems to be a movement of traffic into British India from Iraq, Persia, China, Japan and Europe, although not to a very great extent from any of these countries. From the Portugese possessions in India—chiefly from Goa—a number of prostitutes were said to come to the Bombay Presidency." The Commission has found that regulation of brothels increases and facilitates prostitution. They further say, "The most effective remedy against the evil, therefore, in the Commission's opinion, is the abolition of licensed or recognised brothels."

This is a view which our Association has all along emphasised and we trust that those who are still doubtful of our policy will be convinced from the findings of the Commission that the line of work adopted by this Association is the correct one.

Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole has introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council a Bill to prevent the dedication of women to service in temples. We are in complete sympathy with the principle of the Bill and if it is passed into an Act, it will effectively stop one of the sources of recruitment of prostitutes. These women are found in large numbers, not only in Bombay City, but in district towns and in a number of villages in the Presidency.

During the year under review the Municipal Corporation asked its Medical Relief and Public Health Committee to report on the question whether Government should be moved to take necessary measures for the removal of prostitutes from Foras Road, Sukhlaji Street and the area round about. On the request from this Committee to send its views on the matter, the Association wrote to them as follows :—

"That our Association would certainly be very glad to see this area cleared of the houses of ill fame which are a standing menace to the health and morality of the people and constitute a blot on the civic life of the people. It is not, however, clear whether the object of the proposal pending before the Committee is merely to clear the area of the nuisance or whether it is intended that the women concerned should be moved from this area to another locality or localities considered suitable for the purpose. If, as it appears to our Council, the intention is to move these women or suffer them to move to less objectionable areas, our Council would point out that the Bombay Prostitution Act, as amended, gives the authorities power to take measures for the abolition of brothels. The Corporation have expressed themselves in favour of this policy and if they now entertain a proposal which, if accepted, would lead to the transfer of the existing plague spot from one centre to another, it would be a departure from the accepted policy of abolition and would strengthen the hands of those who advocate a policy of segregation and regulation without fully realising the implications and disadvantages of such a policy. It might also indirectly commit the Corporation to such a policy.

"The Bombay Vigilance Association stands for the suppression of traffic in women and girls by which third parties make profit. It has, therefore, consistently advocated the abolition of all brothels although having regard to the practical difficulties in the way of closing down all such houses of ill-fame, it has acquiesced in their closing down by stages. The demand is practically made that instead of closing down the houses in the tolerated areas and turning the inmates adrift all over the City, Government should aim at segregation and regulation. Sometimes segregation is advocated merely with a view to avoiding the nuisance in any particular locality.

"The Association is positively against the maintenance of a tolerated vice area within or outside the limits of the City, as it considers that a tolerated vice area is :—

(*a*) a flaunting advertisement of vice;

(*b*) a constant menace to the morality of young persons;

(*c*) a danger alike to foreigners and residents in the City;

(*d*) A festering sore of venereal disease ; and

(*e*) A regular market where women and girls are bought and sold and subjected to vile and cruel treatment.

"Recent investigations made in several countries in Europe have shown that countries which were once regulationists have recently introduced legislation to abolish the system, not only because it has to be condemned on grounds of public order but also because it neither regulates vice nor lowers the incidence of venereal disease. To suggest that a particular vice area in Bombay should be cleared of brothels and the evil transferred to or allowed to be tranferred to another locality appears to the Council of the Association to be an absolutely retrograde step and altogether repugnant to the policy now pursued by the other countries of the world.

"One of the strongest objections to the existence of a tolerated vice area is that it gives a semblance of approval by the State and the public to the perpetuation of the slave market in the cities and of the traffic in women and girls. It is inconceivable that the moral conscience of a civilised community can ever possibly look unconcerned on a regular, brutal and brutalising traffic in thousands of unfortunate women.

"The Prevention of Prostitution Act, as amended,

declares brothel-keeping to be illegal. It follows, therefore, that it would be a breach of the provisions of this Act, nay, a virtual abrogation of that Act, if the civic authorities and Government participate in a movement to move prostitutes and transfer a certain number of brothels from one locality to another. The Council of the Association is confident that the Municipal Corporation of Bombay will never agree to any such proposal."

A deputation consisting of Mr. R. P. Masani, Mr. A. J. Gibbs and Mr. P. J. Shroff was also sent to discuss the matter further with the Committee. We are glad that the Medical Relief and Public Health Committee accepted the views of the Association.

The Shelter has been in existence since 1926 and forms an integral part of the work done by the Association. In this, women found in trouble, victimized, helpless, stranded or suffering from V.D., are housed, cared for and assisted to rehabilitate themselves in the community after they are cured.

The number of girls in the Shelter on 31st January 1933, as mentioned in the last year's Report, was 12 girls and one child. During the year 46 girls and one child were admitted into the Shelter and 51 girls and two children left it, leaving 7 girls at the end of the year.

Of the girls who were in the Shelter during the year under review 28 were born at places outside the Bombay Presidency, 27 were born in the Bombay Presidency and 3 in Bombay City. Of these, 26 girls were unmarried, 23 married and 9 widows. They were admitted into the Shelter for various reasons and the majority of them were found in such dangerous circumstances that, but for the timely help given by the Association, their life would have been ruined.

The majority of the girls admitted into the Shelter were suffering from V. D. Girls suffering from this disease were also sent to us by other Rescue Homes which have no arrangement for their treatment. Two such cases, one from the Hindu Women's Rescue Home and the other from the St. Catherine's Rescue Home, were sent to our Shelter for treatment. One of them was cured of V. D. after receiving treatment for five months and was sent back. The other is still under treatment. There were many other girls who were suffering from either physical or mental diseases. There is hardly a girl admitted into the Shelter who is healthy and without any disease. The first thing done, therefore, when a girl is admitted to the Shelter is to get her medically examined. If she is found suffering from any disease, continuous medical treatment is given to her till she is declared to be completely cured. These cases, whether suffering from V. D. or other disease, were generally sent to the J. J. Hospital. Serious cases were kept in the Hospital for indoor treatment and others were regularly sent there for outdoor treatment. Though care is always taken to send the girls to Hospital as soon as we find that they are not well, in some cases, owing to sudden illness, it becomes impossible to send or remove them to Hospital. In such rare but very urgent cases we require the help and advice of some medical man.

Marriages of four inmates were arranged during the year and inquiry at the end of the year showed that they were happy. All the four were rescue cases.

Girls were sent to work after careful inquiry of the family as it is found by experience that some places are not safe for such girls, some do not pay the salary regularly and some ill-treat them. More than half the number of girls sent to their relatives were sent out of Bombay. Many of the old inmates who stay in Bombay pay visits to the Shelter occasionally and report their condition.

The girls stay in the Shelter for a short time. It is not possible, therefore, to give them satisfactory training in any handicraft, some of them are continually ill, many of them suffering from contageous diseases which prevent us from giving them much work. The rest are given cooking and house work. Some of the illiterate girls, however, were taught to read and write and instruction in sewing and embroidery work was also given to some.

DEDICATION OF WOMEN TO IDOLS OR TEMPLES.

The Bombay Council Select Committee on the bill to prevent the dedication of women to service in Hindu temples in the Presidency have issued their report which is signed by Messrs. R. D. Bell, G. Davis, P. G. Solanki, R. M. Maxwell, S. K. Bole, R. V. Vandrekar, B. S. Kamat, R. R. Kale (subject to a minute of dissent) and P. R. Chikodi. The signature of Mr. V. N. Jog will be notified when received. The report states :—

"We, the members of the Select Committee appointed to consider the bill to prevent the dedication of women in service in Hindu temples in the Bombay Presidency, report as follows :—

"We have carefully considered the provisions of the Bill and have made certain changes as explained in the following paragraphs :—

"We understand that the ceremony by which a woman is dedicated to a life of prostitution sometimes takes the form of dedication to a deity, idol, or object of worship, as well as to a temple or other religious institution. Therefore to carry out the purpose of the Bill, which is to prevent the dedication of young women to a life of prostitution in the ostensible service of religion, we have altered the definition of the word "*devadasi*" to include unmarried women dedicated to Hindu deities, idols, objects of worship, temples or other religious institutions. We also understand that women so dedicated are not necessarily Hindus and that they are not invariably required to perform services. We have, therefore, considered it desirable to omit from the definition of the word "*devadasi*" the word "Hindu," which qualified the words "unmarried woman," and the words "to service." Similar changes have been made in the preamble of the Bill.

"The definition of the word "temple" as included in the original Bill was sufficiently wide to include places of worship other than those of the Hindus. We have redrafted the definition so as to restrict it to places of religious worship dedicated to or used by the Hindu community. We have also added a definition of the word "woman."

"In Clause 3 of the Bill, we have omitted the words "within the precincts of a temple or outside" as being unnecessary, and have added the words "any custom or rule of Hindu Law notwithstanding." We have substituted the word "unlawful" for the word "illegal," as the provision in Clause 5 makes the dedication of *devadasis* punishable as an offence.

"In Clause 5 of the Bill, we have provided that the woman to be dedicated should not be punishable under this clause as the Bill is directed against these who commit an offence against the woman.

"We have omitted Clause 6 of the original Bill as it is unnecessary by reason of the provisions of Section 27 of the Bombay General Clauses Act, 1904.

"We have entirely redrafted Clause 7 of the original Bill which was copied from the Madras Act V of 1929 and which is not particularly appropriate to conditions in the Bombay Presidency and we have numbered the redrafted clause as Clause 6.

"We have made it clear in this clause that notwithstanding the provisions of Act XI of 1852, Bombay Acts 11 and VII of 1863 and the rules made thereunder or the terms of any grant made or sanad issued by Government, the Collector shall release any land assigned as emoluments for the purpose of any service by a *devadasi* as such from liability to the performance of such service; but as the purpose of the Bill is to prevent the dedication of women as *devadasis* and not to punish those women already dedicated, we have provided that if a women who is a *devadasi* at the time when this Act comes into force, wishes to continue to hold land as a *devadasi* the order releasing the land from service and directing rent in lieu thereof to be paid shall be postponed during her lifetime. As the enquiry held by the Collector under the provisions of this clause will be a simple enquiry, we think it sufficient to provide that details of procedure should be prescribed by rules.

"We have, where the drafting is defective, made the necessary alterations."

Minute of dissent by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale:—

"As observed by me in my speech on the first reading of the Bill, Clause 7 of the original Bill was copied from the Madras Act V of 1929. I agree that it is not appropriate to conditions in the Bombay Presidency and therefore it should be replaced by another provision as redrafted and numbered as Claues 6. But since the release of land, involving alteration of rights and obligations, is to be governed by rules to be made hereafter, I think it fair that the Rules to be framed should be subject to the condition of previous publication and laying before the Legislative Councils. A clause to the effect is necessary to be added to Clause 7 of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee."

THE AMENDED BILL.

The Bill as amended reads:—

A Bill to protect devadasis and to prevent the dedication of women to Hindu deities, idols, objects of worship, temples and religious institutions in the Bombay Presidency.

Whereas the practice of dedicating women as devadasis to Hindu deities, idols, objects of worship, temples or other religious institutions exists in the Bombay Presidency;

And whereas such practice, however ancient and pure its origin, now leads such women to a life of prostitution;

And whereas it is now desirable and expedient to end such practice, wherever it exists in the Bombay Presidency;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor-General required by Section 80 A (3) and of the Governor required by Section 80 C of the Government of India Act have been obtained for the passing of this Act; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bombay Devadasis Protection Act, 1934. (2) It extends to the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

2. In this Act, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context:—(*a*) "devadasi" means any unmarried woman who is dedicated to any Hindu deity, idol, object of worship, temple or other religious institution; (*b*) "temple" means a place by whatever designation known, dedicated to, or used by, the Hindu community, or any section thereof, as a place of religious worship; and (*c*) "woman" means a female human being of any age.

3. The performance of any ceremony intended to dedicate or having the effect of dedicating a woman as a devadasi, whether such woman has or has not consented to the performance of such ceremony, is hereby declared unlawful and to be of no effect, any custom or rule of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. No marriage contracted by a woman shall be invalid and no issue of such marriage shall be illegitimate by reason of such woman being a devadasi, any custom or rule of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

5. Whoever, other than the women to be dedicated, performs, permits, takes part in or abets the performance of any ceremony referred to in Section 3, shall, on conviction, be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine or with both.

6. (1) Notwithstanding any adjudication or settlement made under the Bombay Rent-free Estates Act, 1852 (No. 1) Act, 1868, Land-revenue (No. 1) Act, 1863, and the Exemptions from Land-revenue (No. 2) Act, 1863, or rules made thereunder, or the terms of any grant made or sanad issued by Government, when lands are assigned as emoluments for the performance by a devadasi of any services as such, the Collector shall, after holding such inquiry as may be prescribed, by order in writing, direct that the land shall be released from liability for performance of such services and that there shall be paid by the holder of such land in lieu of such services such rent as the Collector shall determine in the prescribed manner:—

Provided that if a woman who is a devadasi at the time when this Act comes into force, is the holder of such land or performs services as a devadasi for which such land is assigned and appears at such inquiry or gives notice in the prescribed manner and objects to the lease of the land and the payment of rent under the provisions of this section the Collector shall pass orders directing that the land shall not be released and rent shall not be payable under this section during the lifetime of such devadasi.

(2) Rent directed to be paid under sub-section (1) shall, when the performance of such services is for the benefit of a Hindu deity, idol, object of worship, temple or other religious institution, be payable by the holder to or on account of such deity, idol, object of worship, temple or other religious institution and in other cases to Government.

Explanation.—Land shall have the same meaning as defined in the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879.

7. Government may make rules generally for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act and in particular for the manner in which the Collector shall hold an inquiry and determine the rent under Section 6 and the manner in which notice of objection shall be given under the said section.

Nair Marriage Dissolved:—The District Munsif of Palghat, Mr. T. M. Nedungadi pronounced orders dissolving the marriage of Mr. A. Vasu Nair, musician of Pudupiyaram village in Palghat with Sri. Nanikutti Amma, his wife. Petitioner was married to the respondent some eight years ago and when Act 22 of 38—the Madras Marumakkathayam Law—came into force in August last petitioner took advantage of Clause 7 of the Act and prayed for a dissolution of the marriage, giving 6 months' notice as required by law, on the ground of incompatibility of temperament. This is the first case instituted in these parts under the new Marumakkathayam Law.

THE PSALM OF THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION.

The following is the English translation of the proposed address to Mahatma Gandhi by the Calcutta Corporation in connexion with his forthcoming visit to the city :

"Noble Sir,

You have set foot again in this our land of Bengal, crowned with the glory of your fame that has spread to the uttermost limits of the horizon. Oh, Wanderer without fetters ! On this holy day will the citizens of the mighty city of Calcutta have the good fortune of securing initiation into the *Mantra* that surely removes all bonds. Therefore, has this assembly of citizens come together to lay their homage at your altar.

The ideal of self-sacrifice, without any precedent that you have set us in this world, as the leader of India's fight for freedom, will live for ever in the heart of the people of Bengal.

You have brought back from self-forgetfulness, this fair land of India, and made her realise now, that the only true conquest is the conquest of the spirit, that self-restraint is the foundation of self-development, and that realisation is to be attained only through self-abnegation. This message of victory will remain engraved in the hearts of Indians for ever, like inscriptions on imperishable stone.

You have trampled under your feet all meanness, and the hatred and narrowness begotten of communal feelings. Oh, Preacher of Equality, upholder of truth, you have poured a fresh stream of vitality into the evanescent flow of Indian life, by uniting in a common bond, the divided Hindus and Musalmans, through the call for unity on your *Sankha* that speaks of peace and goodwill.

You love the poor like your children; therefore, to know poverty, you have made yourself a beggar and a wanderer. You are the friend of those who are oppressed by society. You are determined to raise them up, even though you are weary with fatigue, persecution and agony of the soul.

Oh Saint, who has renounced all things ! Oh, Beggar with only a loin cloth ! Oh, Friend of the World ! Oh, Great One ! The prayer of our heart is, may the path of your progress to the realisation of that almost impossible goal, for reaching which you have retired into yourself after utter renunciation, be rid of all uncertainty and impediments.

Oh, seeker after immortal life through death, Oh, Seer, who has set out on a difficult quest, bless us, by accepting our tribute of devotion. *Bande Mataram.*"

Temple Entry Bill :—The General Secretary of the Social Service League, Bombay, has addressed a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department, on the subject of the Hindu Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Bill. The League fully sympathises with the object of the bill and says a measure of this kind was necessary in view of the great change that has taken place recently in the attitude of the Hindu community towards the section consisting of the so-called 'Untouchables' castes. The law has recognized certain Hindu customs and practices and the notions underlying those customs and practices. These mostly belong to a bygone age and many of them are being constantly challenged on the grounds of justice and equity. It is held by the enlightened section of the Hindu community, the latter proceeds, that the part of the Hindu religion which has little to do with the eternal verities, and especially with the principles of ethics generally acceptable to all religions, is not an essential part of Hinduism and thus is subject to change from time to time in accordance with the progress of thought and the change of circumstances.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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News of the Week.

NOTES

Stones and Glass Houses:—In his annual address to the Millowners' Association of Bombay, the Chairman, Mr. H. P. Mody bitterly complained of the vilification to which he has been subjected owing to his connection, in his official capacity, with the so-called Mody-Lees Pact which has been endorsed by Government and embodied in a statute. He will have the sympathy of every fair-minded person. The outburst against him frequently transgressed the limits of good taste and bordered on vulgar vituperation. The Pact is open to criticism both on the ground of constitutional propriety and economic policy. The faction-fight among British politicians has thrown some light on the origin and purpose of the Lancashire delegation. The unprecedented onslaught on Mr. Mody was obviously inspired by rival interests. To some extent it was due to his own method of controversy. Even in the present address, he gave proof of the advocate's tendency to attack and discredit his opponent rather than to plead his cause on its merits. The mill workers who have gone on strike, have done so, according to him, not because they have grievances but because they are set up by men who want to destroy property and disturb the public peace. We have had occasion to meet some of these men recently and they did not seem to be more intent on these objects than Mr. Mody himself. Their views about "Capitalism," may not be the same as Mr. Mody's, but that is their own affair. Then, again, he referred to some Society or Association "which concerns itself with the regeneration of Hindu Widows" and which passed a resolution condemning the Mody-Lees Pact. We had not come across this piece of news but, doubtless, Mr. Mody's information is right. But the Association for the regeneration of Hindu Widows may retort that an Association for the Regeneration of Cotton Manufacturers had no business to negotiate for support (as they claim to have done) for the White Paper which has few supporters in this country. The old saying about glass houses, is a very useful one to remember.

The Congress Caucus:—While it is possible to appreciate the loyalty to the Congress which has led the leaders of the short-lived Swaraj party to acquiesce in the decision of the All India Congress Committee at Patna, to set up a Committee of its own to deal with electioneering questions, it is difficult to understand the loud satisfaction professed by them at the sentence of extinction, which it really is, on their Party. When it was formed at Delhi a few weeks ago, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. B. C. Roy went to Patna to obtain the "blessings" of Gandhiji for their enterprise. They accepted what they got as "blessings" and were to all appearance prepared to get along with their plans without further parley. The All India Congress Committee, however, has upset their apple-cart. It decided that the Swaraj Party as an independent Party should not exist or exist in a state of suspended animation, that the Congress ban on Council entry should be lifted, and that a Committee of the Congress should be entrusted not only with the electioneering work but with power of control of the members elected in the Legislatures to the extent of recalling them whenever it liked. This is what a caucus usually does and the dangers of caucus-ridden politics are wellknown. The door is thus bolted against non-Congressmen who had thoughts of seeking election as Swarajists. This is not a bad thing but this was not precisely what the Swaraj Party started to do. There may be more behind these proceedings than the public has been permitted to know and it may be that it is really the end which the Swarajist leaders hoped to gain by starting as a separate party in Delhi.

The Communal Award:—The so-called Communal Award has become the Asses' Bridge of Indian Politics. The Award was made by the Prime Minister at the invitation of the Indian Delegates to the Second Round Table Conference, including Gandhiji, who were unable to come to an agreement among themselves. Gandhiji says that he made his acceptance of it conditional on all communities accepting it. Gandhiji by his Fast got the Prime Minister to

modify the Award on the lines of the Poona Pact drawn up by himself so far as the provisions relating to the representation of the depressed classes was concerned. However that may be, the Award has met with opposition from Hindus and Sikhs while Muslims accept it under a show of protest, and the Depressed Classes and the Harijan Seva Sangh people are committed to its acceptance as, if the Award goes, the Poona Pact goes with it. Owing to this irreconcilable difference, some gentlemen who, on Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's invitation, met to consider the possibility of convening an All Parties Conference to formulate criticisms of the White Paper proposals, decided to leave out the Communal Award from its scope. For this they were severely criticised. At Patna, however, the same thing was done. The newly appointed Congress Parliamentary Board is faced at the outset with the difficult problem of reconciling diametrically opposite views held by its leading members.

Government Ban on Congress:—What will the Government do? They have now all that they wanted. Civil Disobedience has been called off. Its reservation as a theoretically sound weapon should not concern Government. Nor should Gandhiji's personal exemption from the suspension of Civil Disobedience be made a reason for continuing the ban on Congress activities. In fact, unless the ban is raised and Congress free to function, the verdict of the country not on the Government's policy but as to what the country's policy should be in future, can not be clearly obtained. This is a greater disadvantage to Government than to the Congress. So long as the Party which has been officially acknowledged as the principal political organization in the country, is forcibly prevented from moving hand or foot in any direction, it is idle to pretend that the results of the next election would reflect the country's feeling.

The New Madras Governor:—Lord Erskine has been appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Sir George Stanley who is now acting as Governor-General when his term expires some months hence. The Governor designate is of the same age as Lord Brabourne and the late Lord Curzon when he was appointed to the Viceroyalty. Some newspaper correspondents, for want of anything better to say, have commented rather deprecatingly on the youth of Lord Erskine. Lord Curzon was a youth in the same sense but he was, perhaps, the ablest of the men who held the position of Governor-General since the Mutiny. Bombay is not finding Lord Brabourne's youth a serious handicap. There is no reason why Lord Erskine should prove inadequate for Madras on account of his youth. After all, at 39 men are not suckling infants. If the newly appointed Governors do not let themselves be intimidated by the elderly gentlemen of the Indian Civil Service who are their legally constituted custodians, they may prove as good Governors as any of their elderly predecessors. There is an incident reported of Lord Curzon which, whether true or not, is appropriate in this connection. At an important Educational Conference at which Lord Curzon presided, a veteran somewhat pompously referred to his experience as being opposed to some suggestion of his Excellency's. "Mr. So and So," interrupted the Viceroy, "I am here to correct your experience and not to conform to it."

Marriage and Conversion:—The want of a simple Civil Marriage law in this country is reducing religious profession to a ridiculous farce. The story comes from Calcutta of a Persian who became a convert to Christianity in order to marry an Anglo-Indian woman. After the birth of a child, he went to Teheran from where he wrote to her that he had married a girl of his own nationality and that, therefore, she need not join him in Persia as she was about to do. The poor woman committed suicide. Such an occurrence might have taken place even if the parties had been civilly married. But there would have been no need for a change of faith, and religion would have had no part in this squalid affair. At Nathiagalli on the North Western Frontier the young son of a Danish Medical Missionary aged 6, and a Danish nurse, were brutally murdered by a convert because, it was said, he would not allow the man for good reasons no doubt, to marry a Christian girl. The motive of conversion in this as in the Calcutta case was marriage not religion. A Civil Marriage Act would protect religion from such gross abuse.

Lord Willingdon's Holiday:—A friend calls our attention to the provision in the warrant of appointment of the acting Viceroy that Sir George Stanley is to hold the office till Lord Willingdon returns or until his successor is appointed. Probably it is a formality. We do not know if such a provision existed in previous warrants of a similar character. In view, however, of the rumoured differences between Lord Willingdon and the British Cabinet, our friend is disposed to attach some significance to this clause. It must be a very serious difference which can oblige his lordship to relinquish his high office before his time. As likely as not, Lord Willingdon may return with an extension in his pocket.

Another Bloodless Revolution:—The Balkans are advancing. In the beginning of this century a gang of army conspirators hunted the King and Queen of Servia round the rooms of their palace, shot them down like dogs and threw the dead bodies out of the window. This time they have done better. They took possession of the King of Bulgaria, ordered the Police to dismiss the Ministers and appoint others, and took control of the administration without firing a single shot or stabbing a single woman. This is one of the two non-violent revolutions of our time, the other being the Siamese revolution staged two years ago.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, MAY 26, 1934.

INDIAN SOCIALISM.

While much attention has been paid in the Press to the discussions and decision of the All India Congress Committee meeting at Patna about the Swaraj Party and council entry, the proceedings of the Conference of Socialists which was held there at about the same time have passed almost unnoticed. This is unfortunate because the Socialists represent an idea whereas the Swarajists stand only for a tactic. Not only that, but the Socialists are many of them young men full of enthusiasm for their cause. The Swarajists have no faith in entering Councils. The Swarajist leader, Dr. Ansari, has expressed sympathy with the Socialists' cause but has not supported it as the present constituencies are likely to look askance at their programme. It is clear that the Socialists are the coming party in the Congress and it is, therefore, necessary to examine their demands carefully. At the Conference held at Patna a resolution was adopted embodying their demands. We follow the report in the *Indian Nation* of Patna which has been revived after a period of suspension. The Socialists desire, first, the transfer of all power to the producing masses. They desire, secondly, the development of the economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the State. Their third demand is, socialization of the key and principal industries, for example, steel, cotton, jute, railways shipping, mines, banks and public utilities, with a view to progressive socialisation of all instruments of production, distribution and exchange. State monopoly of foreign trade stand fourth on the Indian Socialist programme. The fifth item, organisation of co-operatives for production, distribution and credit in the unsocialized section of economic life, is not so clearly defined as the preceding items. Elimination of Princes, landlords and all other classes of exploiters, ranks sixth on the list. Seventh in order is redistribution of land to the peasants. The eighth demand is that the State should encourage and promote co-operation and collective farming with a view to ultimate collectivism of all agriculture in the country. Liquidation of debts owing by peasants and workers, stands ninth on the list. The tenth declares "to every one according to his needs with the basis ultimately of distribution and economic good." The eleventh and last lays down that there shall be adult franchise which shall be on a functional basis. The *Sun* (Bombay) gave a list which contained gradual equalisation of all incomes, as one of the demands. This is not found in the *Nation's* fuller report. Then, again, there is no mention of the abolition of private property.

That the Socialists do not expect all their points to be realised at once, is evident from the frequent and recurring use of such words as 'progressive' and 'ultimate' with reference to their attainment. They evidently accept the Fabian maxim of gradualism. Their demand for 'liquidation' of the debts of peasants and workers, and the provision for a section of economic life remaining unsocialised, show that Indian socialists are not prepared to go the whole distance with the only existing Socialist State which is obviously the model on which they have planned a good part of their edifice. This is what we should have expected from the independent and intelligent leaders of the Party. Where they have gone rather astray, is that they have not related to Indian conditions the plan which they wish to introduce for the benefit of the Indian people. For instance, they speak of the redistribution of land to peasants. This is very much like carrying coals to Newcastle. India is a land of peasants and redistribution of land among them has no meaning unless it is intended to take the lands of peasants in one area and distribute it to peasants in another area, in exchange for their own. Some such custom prevailed in the ancient village communities of India and other countries, and was known as "shifting severalties." As collective farming is the ultimate end, it is not clear what is intended to be the role of the peasants who are to be freed from their debts, would be the largest land-owning class in the country and to whose hands political power is to be transferred. As to the last, our socialist friends have assumed without adequate warrant that the peasants and workers are anxious and competent to exercise political power in any real sense. If they are not, why impose on them a burden which can only prove an aggravation of their already too heavy burdens? Would it not be wiser to revert in some form suitable to modern conditions to the national Indian system in which, in the words of Karl Marx, "the structure of the economic elements of the society remains unaffected by the storms in the political weather?" (*Capital*, p. 379 English Translation, Allen and Union). While on this point we may ask, what is meant by adult suffrage on a functional basis? There are two items whose bearing on each other has evidently escaped the scrutiny of the Socialist leaders. Elimination of Princes, landlords and all other classes of exploiters; and liquidation of debts owing by peasants (largely to these very people). How are they to be eliminated, from whom is the money to pay workers' debts, which has been estimated for the peasants alone to run up to 900 crores, to be obtained? The Patna Conference resolution is perfunctory and evidently needs careful revision. It entirely omits to refer to the far-reaching consequences which its drastic proposals are bound to have on social and family life. There is an even more important omission. It completely ignores the patent fact that Indian

society is to a large extent socialist already. Property rights of the largest section of the population are severely restricted by the duty of maintaining its own poor, infirm and destitute, which devolves in Western countries on the State. The State which is the depository of all authority in the Socialist scheme, has a very minor place in the Indian system. This system has, of course, broken down but in devising measures for the future, we should rather turn for guidance to the steady flame of our own ancient lights than to the will o' the wisps which appear and disappear in distant countries. Karl Marx himself has described the Indian village system with sympathetic understanding and if he were planning for India he would certainly have counselled building on the old foundations.

NOTES BY THE WAYFARER.

The Editor has shown me Dr. Paranjpye's letter. I did not mean my remark about the use of the word 'soul' by a Rationalist (with a capital) to be taken so seriously as he has taken it. Nevertheless, I may point out that while the other words which he mentions have ceased completely to have any trace of their original meaning, the word 'soul' is still chiefly used to mean the human soul as distinguished from the human body. Dr. Paranjpye might have conveyed his meaning equally well by using any of the terms he now uses by way of explanation. That he unconsciously preferred the word 'soul' is, to my mind, proof that such a thing, whether it actually exists or not, is a psychological necessity even to Rationalists. Man can not do without a soul in speech—a good reason why he has or should have one in fact.

Leaving metaphysics aside, has the Indian Liberal party really anything corresponding to a soul? The British Liberal party from which the Indian party borrowed its name and derived much of its inspiration, has all but ceased to exist. Mr. Lloyd George, the only survivor of the Old Guard, has a few faithful followers. Two of them are his son and daughter who, it was recently reported, were likely to join the Labour Party. In the Continent of Europe, Liberalism is a by-word for incompetence, inefficiency and even corruption. After the adoption of Non-co-operation as its distinctive method by the Gandhian Congress, the Liberals found "Co-operation" to be handy as their watchword. But they did not stick to it. When the Simon Commission was appointed, they too became Non-co-operators. That was the crucial test and they emerged out of it as a party without a fixed principle. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, the Liberal leader most known outside India, has thought it well to say at this juncture that he is not wedded to the Liberal Party. Mr. Chintamani is one of the few Liberals who has not been a Government official at one time or another. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao is another. The public have come to think of the Liberals as a party of placemen, a party which has no purpose of its own or policy or programme but that of holding office. This is not quite fair to the party but it is the fact.

Another great drawback of Indian Liberals is that they lack completely the support of women, nowadays so important to a political movement. The great Liberal orator, and one of the founders of the Liberal Party, Surendranath Banerjee, was in fact strongly opposed to the enfranchisement of women, as, in his opinion, they were all 'extremists'—a comprehensive term used at the time to denote the followers of Tilak and Lajpat Rai as well as the physical force revolutionaries. The disastrous effect of the mistake of leaving women out of calculation is noticeable in the secret sympathy—sometimes open too—of the women of Liberal leaders' own families with non-Liberals. Quite recently Liberal Leaders seem to have realised their error. Their Conferences nowadays have a feminine element in the persons of a few utterly bored ladies who have been persuaded to attend from a sense of duty to their fathers and husbands and fathers-in-law. School girls often wearing conspicuous Khaddar also sing "Bande Mataram" at the beginning and end of a session. Lack of enthusiasm is the most noticeable feature of Liberal gatherings next to the paucity of attendance which in itself is no great disadvantage if there is enthusiasm to make up for it. The Liberal Party as such, has no future in India any more than in England.

Is there no point of view other than the Congress one, which needs emphasis in Indian politics? Most certainly there is. The Congress is visibly disintegrating, and the Patna decision to run a parliamentary programme side by side with a non-parliamentary one, is the most striking proof of it. If two must ride a horse one must sit behind. Will the no-changers or the Council-wallahs be that one? The Socialists are biding their time and it will not surprise any one who keeps an observant eye on current events if at the October Congress, should one be held, another Committee to carry on a Socialist propaganda is adopted. Gandhiji quite plainly said that he is allowing the Council entry as otherwise the services of the Swaraj leaders would be lost to the Congress. The same argument will apply to Socialists. The great days of the Congress are gone. From being a unifying force it has become a centre of discord. Not only Mussalmans, but non-Brahmins in Madras and Maharashtra and the depressed classes have become estranged from it. The alienation of the depressed classes was due to Gandhiji's inexplicable intransigence at the second Round Table Conference. His herculean endeavours to retrieve this mistake have estranged caste Hindus without appreciably diminishing the antagonism of the depressed classes. The feeling between the two groups was never so unpromising as it is now.

There is need, and an urgent one, for a new political outlook which will heal differences, allay apprehensions and work steadily for union. Union should be the keyword of the new Party, union within and without. The goal of the Congress is Independence. The goal of Liberals is Dominion Status. Independence is a fine word but it often means the substitution of one kind of dependence for another. It is not so much that Japan or another foreign nation will step into the place of Britain if India becomes independent. But worse than that would be Independence like that of Egypt, Iraq or Manchuko. Further, the idea of working out the salvation both of India and Britain from within, is a greater one than that of Independence. This may seem grotesque both to Indians and Englishmen. But the stone which the builders had set at nought has many a time become head of the corner. Dominion Status as applied to a country and a people who by race, religion and language are widely divided from the "Mother Country," is an etymological absurdity and a political impossibility. South Africa is finding it out though there is the tie of religion and also that of White racialdom between the Dutch and the British. Ireland is revolting against it as opposed to her national integrity. The population of India is more

than eight times that of Britain. In Indian history the British connection is an episode, perhaps an interlude. The present relation between Britain and India is humiliating to India and degrading to Britain. They must be totally changed. The new relation can not be Dominion Status. It should be either independence or a more organic union. It should be a greatly developed version of the relation between Hungary and Austria in the late Dual monarchy. This may seem hardly propitious at the present time when the Austro-Hungarian Empire to all appearance has crumbled to the dust. But the reasons for the collapse of that Empire did not arise out of any inherent defect in its conception which elicited the high praise of the historians Lord Acton.

BULGARIA'S REVOLUTION.

Mr. Louis Adamic concluded an article in the May issue of *Current History* with the following paragraph :-"Since the great powers were palpably deserting the Balkan rulers, it was urgent for them to get together, for they know that if one is overthrown or assassinated, the others will go, too. Hence the hastily concluded treaties of friendship among the various Balkan States.....The Balkans and Eastern Europe will bear watching, for though they are still kept tightly under the lid by the present dictators, an accumulated pressure may eventually blow the lid high into the air." About a month ago news was received of an unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Roumanian royal family by an organisation composed mainly of army officers. This was followed by a revolution in Bulgaria reported last week-end by Reuter. The Bulgarian revolution has many singular features to distinguish it from other revolutions, whether in the Balkan States or elsewhere. In the first place it was directed not against the King who still reigns over the country, but against the Bulgarian Cabinet. The Bulgarian Nationalists apparently had tired of the party factions in the country and with the support of the military they sprung a surprise revolution on King Boris and his ministers who were dismissed by telephone. Still more surprising was the mode of appointing new ministers. They were awakened, says Reuter, by police officers who, without saying why, led them to the police station. Some believed they were under arrest but on arriving at the police station "they were informed by the Chief of Police that they were to be ministers in the King's new Government." From the after-effects of the revolution it apparently seems to have caused even less excitement in Bulgaria than a general election and certainly it has worked more speedily. In the event of dissatisfaction against the new Government, it will be difficult for the next batch of revolutionists to decide whom to remove. It cannot be King Boris who is to be only a figurehead in the new State ; it cannot be the ministers who have been caught unawares and pushed into power ; it would be probably the Chief of Police who appointed them.

The Bulgarian revolution should have farreaching results. It is dangerous, however, to prophesy where the Balkans are concerned. Mr. Benes, the wellknown Czecho-Slovakian leader, remarked when Hitler first came into power that the days of the domination of the Great Powers in Eastern European affairs were over and that Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism could be ruled out of practical politics. Both statements have now been disproved. A year of Hitler's regime shows that Pan-Germanism is a living issue. The struggle between France and Italy for supremacy in the Balkans has proved that some of the Great Powers still seek to control European politics. And the Bulgarian revolution, in putting in office men who aim at an agreement wirh Yugo-Slavia, is indicative of the strength of the Pan-Slav ideal. Bulgaria was supposed to be an irreconcilable enemy of Yugo-Slavia on the Macedonian issue. The Italian proposal for treaty revision contained, among other advantages to Bulgaria, a provision for transferring Macedonia to Bulgarian control. That Bulgaria, should now seek a closer alliance with Yugo-Slavia means that she is content to regard Macedonian as Yugo-slavian territory. She has given proof of good faith by launching a repressive policy against the leaders of Macedonian revolts against Yugo-Slavia who have in the past persisted in troubling the Government of that country from the mountains on the frontier. An alliance with Bulgaria is very advantageous to Yugo-Slavia as it raises her influence to predominance in Eastern Europe where Roumania has hitherto been supreme.

Bulgaria is a mainly agricultural country. In 1920 the Agrarian Party headed by Stambuliski come into power and a virtual dictatorship was established in which the left-wing parties were in control. The government was overthrown in 1923 and the Agrarian Party never recovered from the blow. The conservative elements in the State secured control and rigorously suppressed the Communists and Socialists. In the years 1926-27 democratic government with proportional representation was established and this led to a multiplication of parties. Communism was revived in a Workers' Party. The country, however, was governed by coalitions. As in most Balkan States the struggle lay really between the Communists and Fascists and the revolution that has succeeded today is Fascist in sympathy. The national organisation has followed up its advent to power with a ruthless persecution of communist and socialist leaders. Parliament has been dissolved. Bulgaria is the last of the States which opposed the Allies in the Great War, to resort to a military oligarchy.

Mr. Adamic in his article has described the rule of terrorism prevalent in the Balkan States. A small minority, he declares, who are dependent on the influence of Government officials and stand to gain by the continuance of Western European influence, favour the present state of things. The majority look forward to any revolution which will bring the political and economic centres within these States. Mr. Adamic describes the Governments of Eastern Europe as despotisms drawing their strength from the military. It is not unlikely that King Boris himself prefers the present government to the party system that existed before it. Whether he does so or not, it cannot be doubted that it is more in keeping with the governmental systems of the countries surrounding Bulgaria.

MARY OF NAZARETH.

Mrs. Mary Borden, her attention having been drawn to the review of her book, "Mary of Nazareth," in a recent issue of the *Reformer*, writes :—

"I have been in India and I think I know a little of what people in the East feel about the reverence due to parents. I am sure that the Jews at the time of Christ had the same feeling, indeed their literature is full of it. This fact made Jesus' attitude towards his Mother and the attitude of his family toward him all the more extraordinary.

"But my understanding of the family drama is somewhat different from yours, It was inevitable that his family should have disapproved of him, for he was a revolutionary thinker and teacher and they were devout, orthodox Jews. Since they did not sympathize with him or believe in his mission, it was also inevitable, if he was to continue

his work, that he should cut loose from them. His words about his family seemed to me to indicate he was very much wounded by their lack of understanding, but I personally feel that he had something so tremendous to do that he had to free himself from all family ties to accomplish it. It is impossible to criticise the conduct of a great leader or teacher as one would criticize it were he an ordinary private individual. His private life had to suffer. One can almost say that he had none from the moment he began to preach.

"All this by way of explanation, but perhaps the simplest explanation of all is that this story is the story of almost any Mother whose son is persecuted by his world."

ITALY AND INDIA.

Prof. Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar and Dr. Tarak Nath Das delivered in the first week of April, lectures at the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, founded in Rome by the will of Mussolini, with the aim to promote the ideal approach between Europe and Asia.

Dr. Tarak Nath Das developed a very attractive subject: "The Pacific Problem Seen by Eastern Eyes." Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar, who is the Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta Presidency College, delivered an address on "Indian culture and philosophy."

Both the Indian lecturers were highly appreciated. The other lecturers were: Prof. de Filippi on the Italian travellers and explorers in the East, Senator Maioni on Japan; Prof. Vacca on China; Accademico Peetazzoni on Japanese religions and their reflections in civil and political life; M. Oswald Siren, one of the most accredited students of Chinese art and the Director of Stockholm Museum on China's artistic ideal.

His Exellency G. Tucci, member of the Royal Italian Academy, wrote a highly appreciative article in "Il Messagaro" of the 7th April on Dr. Sircar's lectures, of which the following are a few translated excerpts:

"The Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, founded in Rome by the will of Mussolini with the aim to promote the ideal approach between Europe and Asia which the present times point out as an absolute necessity of our future, has developed during these first months of life, an activity which answers to the immediate aims for which it has been created.

"This activity has manifested itself above all, but not exclusively, in the cultural field, as one would have anticipated, because it is necessary first to promote amongst us a better and deep knowledge of the Oriental thought and of its concrete manifestations in the artistic, literary and speculative field. Otherwise, it will never be possible to reach the intimate understanding which alone can prepare the way to the so much wanted and yet not so easily reached collaboration.

"On account of this the Institute has issued with the generous collaboration of various Institutions, a certain number of scholarships to Oriental students. These scholarships in future shall have to, not only increase, but establish themselves on grounds of reciprocity so that also the young Italians who devote to the East the best years of their life and their enthusiasm, might come in immediate contact with the people whose culture or artistic, literary, political and economical manifestations they study, and draw from a direct experience, that knowledge which no theoretical teaching will ever be able to give them.

"Following this initial programme, the Institute has also invited some personalities of Asia and Europe to give lectures and lessons on the subject which they most cultivate and to enlighten under different points of view the numerous aspects of the Eastern civilization. It is a work of approach, of understanding and of real and direct culture: because, contrary to what happens in other countries, one cannot say that amongst us a sure, precise and clear knowledge of the essential problems of the Eastern world and of the aspects of its life in this crucial moment of history, when Asia and Europe come all of a sudden on the same trajectory, has yet been acquired.

"Prof. Mahendra Nath Sircar, author of many valuable books on Indian philosophy, invited by the Institute for the Middle and Far East, has come from Calcutta to develop in five lectures a most interesting subject: "The mystic and speculative development of India through some fundamental stages." He has followed a different method from the one universally accepted. He did not start from the old to arrive to the modern time but, studying some of the most representative figures of contemporary India, as Ramkrishna, Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh, and illustrating the fundamental attitude of their spirit and their mystic visions or their speculative constructions, has shown how the old Indian soul lives in them once more unexhausted and full of vigour: that Indian soul which already establishes in the sublime philosophy of the Upanishad, and triumphs with all the violence of its mystic impetuosity in the insuperable pages of the Bhagaved Gita and spreads itself in the Tantra.

"A whole spiritual and deep current which has never denied itself and lives, often unconscious and unknown, even in India of the 20th century, even in the distress of its political passion and in the confusion that the contact with Europe has generated and spread in her. It is a fundamental and essential tendency which accompanies India in the millenary development of its history and represents the intimate and fundamental structure; that tendency for which the world of nature is not studied, classified and reduced to laws in order to have the control and the management of it—this is the Western way—but it is considered as a passing and vanishing emanation of a deeper truth in whose definite possession the Indian wants to forget the anguish of his life and of his suffering.

"Not science then, but mysticism, and not even abstract philosophy, because India has never parted knowledge from life, and in the glorious vision of the Tantra has rather pointed the way to transform a logical fact into direct and lived experience.

"The lessons of Sircar have had a remarkable merit, that leaving aside any doctrinal classification and any heavy systematical structure, have brought one directly to the essential forms of the Indian thought, to those fundamental institutions, without which not only one could not think of the religion of India or of her mysticism, but not even of her historical life. And this is especially useful to-day: an organic synthesis of the oriental thought and of its tendencies which inspire and delineate the most different systems and pervade all the doctrinal constructions, giving us of a sudden, in a complete way, the exact vision of the psyche of a race and make our relationships, clear and easier."

During his stay in Rome, Dr. Sircar had a very busy time. He was entertained by men of light and lead and had to attend a number of dinners and parties and give talks.

From Rome, Dr. Sircar went to Geneva, reaching there on the 11th April last. He was to go to England *via* Paris. He will also visit Oxford. From there he will proceed to Germany. He has received invitations to deliver lectures at four universities in Germany.

From Germany he will come back to Rome and start for home by the middle of June.

HINDUISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

(By Chirendra Nath Roy.)

Very few people of India are aware of the significant fact that Hinduism has a great history in the Philippines. Indian anthropologists and antiquarians have rarely, if ever, considered this rising archipelago in their study of what is known as Farther India. Even the researches of the Greater India Society have thrown little light upon the history of Indo-Filipino relationships. Unfortunately, it has not been an easy task for those in the Philippines who are doing researches on this line. This is especially because the Spaniards who ruled over the people for more than three hundred years, sought to wipe out all vestiges of native culture so that the people would not think of their history beyond the beginning of Spanish sovereignty. Another important difficulty is that those who are doing researches here on Indo-Filipino relationships can hardly be regarded as possessed of a satisfactory knowledge of the principal Indian languages which are supposed to be abundantly mixed up with the various Philippine dialects.

Professor H. Otley Beyer, an American in the University of the Philippines, has made and is still making a collection of the ancient relics of the Hindu civilization in the Philippines. There are some other private individuals who have also their own collections. But the full meaning of them, I presume, is yet to be deciphered by some who are sufficiently versed in the Indian languages. If some South-Indian university,--Madras or Mysore—could engage a scholar with the necessary qualifications to study in co-operation with some local anthropologists the data that are and that may be available, it may bring to light more interesting and important facts on India's relation with the ancient Philippines.

Professor Dixon, the distinguished anthropologist of the Harvard University, spoke, in an address before the students of the University of the Philippines, about the ancient civilization of the Filipinos. He referred to the various striking evidences which Professor Beyer has been able to gather after years of careful and systematic investigation into the possible sources of the land,—ethnological and traditional. It will be quite an interesting and valuable study when Professor Beyrr's three modest volumes, now in preparation, will be out to show the racial and cultural backgrounds of the ancient Philippines. This insular region, although cut off by the vast expanse of water and remote from all the possibilities which brought the ancient East and West into close contact, was able to attain a high state of social evolution at a time when the continent of Europe excepting Greece and Rome was not far advanced from jungle life.

To many parts of the civilized world this may be a real surprise inasmuch as the Filipinoes as a people were hardly known until recently when their struggle for political independence has served to attract the attention of outsiders. It has been said that the Philippines was discovered by Captain Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. Such discovery means, of course, that the country came to be first known to the West at that time. There is no truth, however, in calling it a discovery when the land has established intimate relationship with different parts of Asia nearly as long ago as, if not earlier than, the supposed birth of Christ. Indeed, the Philippines formed an integral part of Farther India in times long gone by. In the Philippines it was about the middle of the fifteenth century when Islam appeared in the south and was driving northward,—an event which was "forestalled by the coming of militant missionary Spain." When in the sixteenth century Spain got her foothold fairly secure in the islands she was able to perfect what Islam initiated,—complete isolation of the Islands from the culture influence of India.

It is indeed an interesting study how the civilization of India came to the Philippines while there was no military conquest, no method of compulsion by the stronger power over the weaker. In ancient times there was in South India a powerful ruling dynasty called the Pallavas. They were in the zenith of their power from the middle of the sixth century to about 740 A.D. Their kingdom extended over a great part of the Deccan. But the Chalukyas and later the Cholas inflicted a heavy defeat upon them and caused the gradual disappearance of their power as a sovereign people. These Pallavas were expert seamen and merchants carrying on an extensive trade with Malay Islands and Indo-China. Professor Beyer seems to be quite certain that the Pallavas founded colonies as early as the first century B. C. in Indo-China and Malaysia, or in other words, Cambodia, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. Professor Dixon of the Harvard University said, however, that the Hindu settlements in this part of the Orient might have been been at a much earlier date. The Hindu population in these colonies was greatly increased when sometime in the fifth century the Pallavas in South India were hard pressed by the coming of a large number of northern people. When Buddhism began to spread far and wide at the instance of the great Indian Emperor Asoka, it invaded the Hindu colonies and by the seventh century "Hindu Malaysia became Buddhist." The advent of Buddhism into the colonies meant some initial resistance from the faithful Hindus. In Indo-China the Kingdom of Champa was founded by Kaundinya who "came from the Pallava capital of Kanchi" in South India. In the twelfth century King Jayavarman VIII founded an empire in Indo-China by uniting together the different Kingdoms of Kambodj, Kambapura and Vyadhapura. This empire served as a centre of further extension of Hindu civilization towards the neighbouring islands through trade and other peaceful intercourse. There was, however no motive of political domination, no land hunger. In Sumatra the Buddhists built a permanent city as their capital with many other cities around it. Thus here again was formed another Buddhist state called the Empire of Sri-Vishaya, the emperor himself claiming descent from the Sri-Vishaya (or Sri-Vijaya) royal house. The capital of Sri-Vishaya was made another centre of Hindu influence which was spreading rapidly over the surrounding island regions of Malaysia. It was about the eighth century that from Gujrat in India there began a great influx of caste-Hindus in East Java where they founded a Hindu state in rivalry with the Buddhist state in Sumatra. These two rival states "made their influence felt througout the island of Borneo and covered at least the greater part of the southern Philippines, and at times their influence was extended as far north as the island of Formosa."

Thus we find that Indo-China, Sumatra and East Java formed the three centres of Hindu influence over the neighbouring islands before the time of the Mohammedan invasion. Hinduism came to the southern Philippines from Indo-China long before Sumatran Buddhism had gained access there. This Hindu influence reached also the northwest coast of Borneo. The city of Bruni on the coast "was the most important centre in northern Malaysia for the extension of Brahmin influence in other islands and regions."

Soon after the twelfth century several high officials, or datos, as they were called at the court of Bruni,

* From *Prabuddha Bharata*.

somehow incurred the displeasure of the Raja of Borneo and left the island with their families and servants. They sailed along the coast of Palawan and finally reached the island of Panay. They were called the Visayans because they came from the land of Sri-Vishaya. They encountered little difficulties in settling along with the native people. Some of the datos sailed further north until they arrived near Batangas where they finally settled. The descendants of these datos migrated in different directions, one group settling around Laguna de Bay and another in the Bicol Peninsula. On the other hand, the Visayans in Panay were growing again rapidly in population and thus spread over the whole island. The Visayans at present include all those people in the southern Philippines whose dialects bear close resemblance to that of the Panayans. There are also some people in Borneo numbering about three hundred thousand who are still known as Visayans. They still hold to their faith and maintain a tradition closely related to Hinduism. Professor Beyer says, "It seems quite evident from a study of various facts that the Visayans in Borneo and those in the Philippines are not only of common origin but are also closely allied to the peoples of South Sumatra. This term is almost certainly a direct survival of the spread of colonies from the pre-Buddhist Sri-Vishaya state into Western Borneo and from there into the central Philippines and probably also into Southern Formosa." It should be borne in mind that Sri-Vishaya was a royal house to which the different royal families in Indo-China, Sumatra and Borneo traced their descent. Their states were, therefore, associated with the name of Sri-Vishaya and the people were called the Sri-Vishayans. The people of the Philippines are at present divided into three groups which are represented by the three stars in their national flag. One of these three groups is constituted by the Visayans, the other two by the Tagalogs and the Ilocanos. At any rate, it is now evident that Hindu blood came from southern India through a long course to these islands and became mixed with the blood of the native people.

This close ethnic relation of the Filipino with the people of southern India is further adduced by the archæological study of the lands. The original script of the people has been traced to the South Indian character. The various forms of writing, such as Tagalog, Ilocano, Vishayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, etc., show their distinct relation with such forms of South Indian scripts as Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kanarese. In northern Philippines these scripts ceased to be in use after the coming of the Spaniards. In the south, Islam introduced by Makdum or Sharif Awliya of Arabia prevented their further use and the Arabic alphabet came in vogue. But some pagan mountain people, as they are called now, are said to retain still their old scripts. It should be remembered that the Sanskrit language being primarily the language of the Indo-Aryans is entirely different from the languages of Southern India used by the Dravidian people. That both the Sanskrit and Dravidian elements are found in the different dialects of the Filipinos, goes to show that the influence of the Hindus of the Aryan type who had founded an empire in east Java and that of the Hindus of the Dravidian type who also had their empires in Indo-China and Sumatra, had been present in the Islands. It is, therefore, admitted that the ancient culture of the Filipino people originated in India. Dr. Saleeby who has made a very scientific study of the various dialects of the southern Philippines and seem to know something of the Sanskrit language, goes further and points out "that Sanskrit terms were used by Malayans in general and by Filipinos in particular long before the invasion of Java and Sumatra by the Hindus of the third or fourth century A.D." Indeed Dr. Saleeby is inclined to hold a different theory from that of other students of Indo-Filipino relationships. He is convinced that the Filipinos were originally immigrants from India.

Besides these facts of language relationships there have been many other facts lately unearthed. It has been found that in the island of Masbate the ancient quicklime method of the Hindus was used by the gold miners to excavate the rock. The relics found in the island of Mindoro seem to prove that it "seems to have been the very centre of Hindu civilizing influences." Mr. Russell says that "every settled town had a temple and most temples had collections of books." They were written in the native characters on palm leaves and bamboo and stored with the native priests. But unfortunately the Spanish people destroyed that precious heritage of the people. It has been said that "one Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character."

About the interesting folklore Professor Kroeber thinks that they are "quite demonstrably of Hindu origin and all are cast in Hindu mould. Inasmuch as many of our own fables are also known to be of Indian origin or patterned on Hindu examples, it is not surprising that these tales from the Philippines have a strangely familiar ring in our ears. It is no wonder, since both we and the Filipinos have derived them from the same source" (*Peoples of the Philippines*, P. 197). Images of bronze, copper and even of gold representing the god Shiva, one of the Hindu Trinity, have been discovered by archæological exploration. There is one statue, supposed to be some Hindu god, which has been preserved at the Ateneo de Manila, a very ancient Catholic college. One Dutch archæologist thinks that it is the statue of Ganesha. In Chao Ju-Kua's description it is found that "in the thick woods of Ma-yi, the ancient name for the island of Mindoro, are scattered copper statues of Buddha, but no one can tell the origin of these statues." The Islands received an abundant supply of brass, bronze, copper, tin armour and various types of weapons from India. "The characteristic sarong, turban, bronze bells and armlets and a variety of smaller ornaments appear to be Indian. The skin-tight trousers of the Sulu Moros are suggestive of Indian quttees" (Beyer, *The Philippines before Magellan*, Asia, Nov., 1921). The old names of coins used in the Islands are of Indian origin. Indeed, the Indian influence is most obvious "in all the most highly developed ancient handicrafts in the Philippines." From the evidences so far collected Professor Beyer sums up his conclusion thus: "The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social and religious life of the populations among which it spread. Its material influence was relatively less important except perhaps in metal-working, and in the art of war, though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery not only were the more civilized Filipinos using the Indian syllabaries for writing, but their native mythology, folklore and written literature all had a distinct Indian cast. The same was true of their codes of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedures. The more cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design. A strong Brahmanistic religious element was also certainly introduced, although it seems to have affected chiefly a limited class, as the mass of the people still clung to their

more ancient pagan worship. With the exception of recent European culture the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilization."

WHY BALI OBJECTS TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Dr. Amry Vandenbosch writes in the columns of *The International Review of Missions:*

The controversy has stirred Indonesians as well as the Dutch, and has led to two unusual incidents. The first of these was the act of the Balinese chiefs in sending a memorial to the Governor-General, urging the exclusion of Christian missionary activity from their island. The second was the passage by the Volksraad (the East Indian central legislative body) of a resolution likewise petitioning the Governor-General not to admit Christian missionaries to Bali.

Little is known of the early history of Bali Probably Hindu colonies from Java settled on the island, and with the aid of military support from home made themselves masters of its inhabitants. The now Hinduized Balinese remained for a long time subject to the powerful Hindu empire of Madjapahit, whose seat was in central Java. When in the fifteenth century Java became Islamicized a large number of Javanese, unwilling to accept the new religion, fled to Bali. This had several consequences: it strengthened the Hindu influence in Bali, as it left Bali an isolated Hindu commnuity, for the other islands of the Malay archipelago either remained animist or became Moslem; and it made Bali politically independent of Java.

Although the Dutch first came into contact with Bali as early as 1597, they did not attempt an occupation until two centuries and a half later. Throughout this long period they did, however, maintain loose political relations with the Balinese chiefs.

Missionaries and missionary leaders have long viewed Bali as a strategic field for work. In 1829 the English missionary-sinologue, Dr. Medhurst, visited the island, and in his report recommended that missionary work be begun on Bali. Dr. W. R. Baron van Hoevell in 1846 issued a brochure in which he ardently pleaded for the establishment of mission posts on Bali. Dr. van Hoevell was convinced that unless Christianity were speedily brought to the Balinese they would become Moslems. Missionary work was begun several times but discontinued after a shorter or longer period. An English missionary, Ennis by name, established himself on Bali in 1838, but apparently remained only a short time. From 1864 to 1881, the Utrecht Missionary Union, in co-operation with the Netherlands Bible Society, carried on work in Bali. The undertaking ended tragically; the missionary, J. de Vroom, was murdered by the sole Christian convert. In 1891 Roman Catholic authorities obtained permission to begin work in Bali but no use was ever made of the permission. Over three decades later, they sought to begin missionary work in Bali by the opening of a Dutch-Indonesian school. Bitter opposition immediately developed against this plan. Mr. Tjakorda Gede Soekawati, the Balinese representative in the Volksraad, introduced a resolution requesting the Government 'to refrain from giving either direct or indirect support to propaganda of a religious nature.'.....Recent events in Bali have given the question an entirely new turn. Christianity has found its way into Bali even though the missionaries have been kept out. In North Bali Christian influence proceeds from a number of Amboinese families who have come there to live. Christianity has found its way also into South Bali.

As a result of these events a reaction began to set in, which became intensified when it become known that Dutch missionary societies were considering the advisability of opening work in Bali.

Naturally not all of those who desire the exclusion of missions from Bali base their opposition on the same grounds. Some merely take what may be called an opportunist point of view. Bali, according to this view, cannot now stand the strain of adjusting itself to an additional stream of influence.

A second group oppose the admission of Christian missions to Bali on the ground that missions would injure Balinese society, cause unrest, weaken the effectiveness of Dutch administration and cause a great deal of political disaffection on the part of the Balinese upper castes.

There is lastly a group which is opposed to all Christian missionary activity. Among superficial tourists, this takes the form of an amusing simplicity. They find the dances fascinating and the cremations of unusual interest. 'Would it not be a pity if anything of this charming civilization were destroyed by Puritanic busy-bodies? After all, one religion is as good as another—each people has developed the religion that best suits its needs.'

Others, with a deep feeling of sympathy for Balinese life and culture and with more than a smattering of knowledge of anthropology, ethnology, would like to see Bali preserved as an anthropological museum.

A small group, however, views missions as distinctly a destructive force, among oriental peoples. They contend that missions can only rob an intelligent, civilized and deeply religious people, such as the Balinese of their most treasured possessions: their religion and culture.

There is little in this attack on Christian missions that is new. The attempt is here again made of linking missions with imperialism and of identifying the work of missions with the transmission of Western civilization. The civilizations of backward peoples are over-idealized.

The basic difficulty is, of course, that these critics hold a relativist view of religion and dismiss all other views as absurd. They consider all religion a purely human culture-product: 'man is constantly creating God after his own image.'

Friends of the missionary movement were not slow in pointing out that Bali had been laid open to nearly every other alien influence—What good reason can there be for singling out Christian missions for exclusion? The answer of *Soekawati* (the Balinese representative in the Volkstaad) and others is that whereas the other influences attack the Balinese Hindu culture only incidentally and indirectly, missions would attack the cultural bases directly.

Assyrians for Brazil —At the end of March, the Committee of League of Nations Council, appointed for the purpose of making arrangement for the settlement of the Assyrains who wished to leave Iraq, met to study an interim report from the Commission it had sent to Brazil to study the possibilities of settlement in that country. This Commission investigated the land of the Parana Plantations Company near Londrina in the State of Parana. The Committee will inform the Council of the League at its May meeting of the results of this investigation and the views of the Brazilian Government.

Tennyson in Chicago:—Lionel Hallam Tennyson, Baron Tennyson, 44, grandson of Poet Alfred Tennyson; and Mrs. Joseph William Donner, daughter of Howard Elting, one time Chicago builder and paint-maker; in Santa Barbara, Mrs. Donner's late husband was the brother of Elizabeth Donner Roosevelt, first wife of the President's son Elliott.

A RATIONALIST'S REPLY.

The Editor,

The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I see that in your issue of May 12, "Wayfarer" has a cheap gibe about my talking of the "Soul" of the Liberal Party when as a rationalist I do not believe in a soul. My meaning is, of course, clear. I do not want the Liberal Party to give up those fundamental principles for which it has so long stood; and the soul is simply a short term to express these principles as opposed to temporary expediencies which have tempted some Liberals to advocate a coalition with, or rather a submergence in, the proposed Swaraj Party. Of course, I do not believe in a human soul as divorced from the body, a soul for the benefit of which sacrifices are performed or prayers offered, a soul for instance which Yama extracted from the body of Satyavan and was carrying away in a little net, followed by Savitri. I can assure "Wayfarer" that I am not a purist in the use of language and am quite ready to use any word which expresses my meaning even though it may have been derived from foreign sources or is etymologically connected with mythology, astrology, or exploded ideas in science. I have admiration for Shivaji's "martial" deeds, am "jovial" in good company, can talk of the "disastrous" earthquake and regard "venereal" diseases as a major "curse" of modern times. I am even writing this letter on a "Wednesday," and hope to see it published on some "Saturday" in the month of "May" in a journal published in the town of "Bombay" though I do not acknowledge the influence of Mars, Jove, stars or Venus, do not believe in "curses," and do not Worship Wodin, Saturn, Maia or Mumbadevi. I have a high admiration for my friend the Editor of this journal, and though I am far from believing him to be the king of actors I shall still continue to call him "Natarajan." If I happen to meet "Wayfarer" personally and bid him "adieu" or "goodbye" I shall be sorry if this is taken to mean literally that I wish him to go to God immediately or want God to be with him as I do not desire him to receive the dressing-down he is sure to get at such an interview on account of his silly gibe.

Lucknow,
May 16, 1934.

Yours etc.,
R. P. PARANJPYE.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE CHURCHES.

It becomes more and more evident that a prime factor in recovery and economic readjustment is the strength of organized labour. A permanent redistribution of income in the interest of increased purchasing power means higher wage scales. The government may establish and maintain the right of labour to bargain in its own way but the utilization of the right is entirely in labour's hands. Hence, the support of labour's efforts to organize is coming to be recognized as a moral issue. The mere affirmation of the *right* without moral support for the *effort* falls short of effectuality, writes *Information Service*.

In view of the fact it is pertinent to cite pronouncements by church bodies which go beyond the benevolent neutrality expressed in the mere declaration of labour rights. The following are particularly worthy of note:

1. An ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment. (Resolutions adopted by the Federal Council of Churches at Cleveland, Ohio, May, 1919.)

2. Participation of labour through representatives of their own choosing and an equitable distribution of wealth and income should be incorporated in any form of national planning and control. (Joint Statement on Unemployment, issued by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council, the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.)

3. The immediate application in every industry of the principle of collective bargaining is not only essential to the protection of the modern industrial worker, but it is the first step toward that co-operative control of both the process and the proceeds of industry which will be the ultimate expression of Christianity in industrial relationships. (Statement adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1912.)

4. Individual workmen cannot hope to bargain on equal terms with a corporation; so collective bargaining becomes necessary in order that industry may become stabilized. (A Christian Industrial Programme, Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention, adopted at Philadelphia, 1921.)

5. Be it resolved: That we respectfully request the management of the Methodist Book Concern in Chicago and Cincinnati to do every fair thing in their power to persuade the eligible employees of their plants to join the International Typographical Union, and when a majority of such eligible employees, by a secret ballot, so decide, the management of the Methodist Book Concern shall enter into a signed working agreement with the International Typographical Union. (Social Service Commission report adopted by the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1928.)

6. To recognize the principle [of collective bargaining] without supporting some method that will make it effective is but to mock the hopes and struggles of the workers with barren words and to deserve their indignation and contempt. (Statement adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1916.)

7. We hold it as a truth verified in experience that labour must organize effectively not only to protect its own rights but, what is equally or even more important, to better understand its own duties and responsibilities and so guard against and prevent conditions which end in ruinous strikes. (Resolutions of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1925.)

A significant change in the Social Ideals of the Churches, revised by the last meeting of the Federal Council is contained in Article 8, which reads:

"The right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection of both in the exercise of this right; the obligation of both to work for the public good; encouragement of co-operatives and other organizations among farmers and other groups."

Here it is asserted not merely that employees and employers alike have "rights" in this matter but that organization by functional groups in the economic system should be encouraged.

There is good reason to believe that the more spectacular phases of the present economic situation may yield in interest and importance, precisely as happened in the early post-war period, to the old and simple issue of collective bargaining among employers and workers, in city and country, and that the real issue will have to be fought out on these lines.

The following excerpts are taken from *The Yardstick*, issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, April 16:

"The anti-New Dealers have gained courage and are talking high, wide and handsome. Business is picking up steadily. Profits are growing. And since they do not want reform but only recovery and they think recovery is travelling towards us fast, they are fighting reform. Of course without reform recovery is a known snare and a delusion.

"The amazing publicity that the newspapers have given the charges of Dr. Wirt has served him and his inflationist Committee for the Nation as a means of attacking nearly the whole programme except inflation. The stock market regulation bill is fired at from a hundred centres even though it is known that the run-away stock market of the Coolidge era and of 1929 helped bring on these black years. The law compelling corporations to tell the truth about the new securities is branded a barrier to recovery.

"It is the old story. When the devil was sick last year, the devil a monk would be. He thinks now that he is convalescing and that it will not be long until he is completely well. And so he is girding himself for another dance on the same primrose path that led us to our four years and more of hell and which, if tried again, will end in the same identical destination.

"The New Deal has to be improved much. It is far from good enough. We have to take this occasion to do things that will make this country and this world far less unjust and far abler to prevent the catastrophe of another collapse. But the drive is on to break it down utterly. The engines of propaganda have been wheeled into place.

"But if we have learned anything at all it is that more money has to go to wage and salary workers and to farmers and less to property; that the relation between production and distribution has to be guided; and that neither of these two things can be safely turned over to the sole control of the representatives of property and credit-power. Corporation executives and bankers have not learned this yet. And so it looks, now that business is picking up, as if we are in for a fight."

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWAS' DAFTAR.

Another volume of the "Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar" which is the 37th of the series edited by Rao Saheb G. S. Sardesai (Price, Rs. 3) has been published by the Government Central Press writes the Director of Information. It is entitled, "The Karnatak Expeditions of Madhavrao I (1761–1772)." It brings together a large number (over 200) of very useful papers which mainly relate to Peshwa Madhavrao I's undertakings in the region usually called the Karnatak, the greater portion of which was subdued by the Marathas under the lead of the Peshwa's father, Balajirao. The unforeseen disaster of Panipat at the beginning of the year 1762 not only undid much of the success which the two previous Peshwas had achieved but indirectly helped the rise of Haidar Ali who managed to suppress the Hindu Ruler of Mysore and seized the opportunity to consolidate his strength so as to become a rival both of the Marathas and the British.

The sudden rise of Haidar upset the previous calculations of the Marathas who had not found time to establish a firm hold on their Southern conquests. Murarrao Ghorpade, who was the only prominent Maratha Jagidar in the territory concerned, had to bear the full brunt of Haidar's first crushing onslaughts. A few important new letters included in this Selection speak eloquently of the heroic stand made by Murarrao.

In order to follow carefully the contents of these papers, the student will do well to remember the following main expeditions of the Peshwa into the South:—

(1) October 1763–June 1765.—The conquest of the region between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra.

(2) October 1766–June 1767.—Maratha penetration into the districts south of the Tungabhadra.

(3) October 1769–1770.—The same expedition continued to the south of the Tungabhadra and led to some stiff fighting.

(4) Up to June 1772.—The Peshwa was prevented by ill-health from being personally present in this last expedition, which consequently was carried to completion by his able generals Trimbakrao Pethe and Gopalrao Patwardhan. Besides the papers which describe the various actions pertaining to these main campaigns, there are other episodes which have been incidentally described in them and of which little has so far been known in history. For instance, the Peshwa had to undertake a year's vigorous warfare to overcome Bapuji Naik Joshi, a near relation of the Peshwa family who had figured prominently in the two preceding regimes but who now deserted the Peshwa's cause. Many other minor affairs are vividly dealt with, which the student would be well advised to note in order to grasp the real aim of the Peshwa's policy.

The details found in these papers go to confirm the accounts about deeds of volour and diplomacy of the Peshwa by the great research scholar Khare as the result of his study of Patwardhan records. The Peshwa assumed the burden of Government at the age of 16 and contending against heavy odds proved himself, in the short space of eleven years, not only a capable general but a just and strong ruler. Most of the letters in the Selection are addressed by Haripant Phadke to Nana Fadnis who was at Poona.

"HARNAM, LET US BE FRIENDS."

"I am an Australian girl, just turned 16 last March, not very tall, fairly plump, and with grey, blue eyes and nut-brown hair." Thus describing herself, a girl from the southern continent has written to Bibi Harnam Kaur, the sixteen-year-old girl of Mogatehsil, Ferozepore district, who put up a heroic fight against a dacoit band in her village last month. resulting in the death of three of the dacoits, says an Associated Press message.

The pluck displayed by the Sikh girl has won the heart of her young Australian friend, who thinks that the life of her Indian sister must be "so thrilling and interesting." Her own life has been the usual Australian girl's life, "to go to school, leave, and then start work in a shop or else house work." "But your" she asks "What could you tell? Your life would probably be so thrilling and interesting to me." And across thousands of miles and over differences of race, language, creed and colour the Australian girl holds out her hand to her Indian friend: "Harnam, though there may be worlds and worlds of difference between us let us be friends."

Bibi Harnam Kaur is at present an in-patient in the Mayo Hospital, where she is recovering from the bullet wounds and other injuries sustained in her encounter with the dacoits. She is progressing very well, and is likely to be discharged shortly. Another Associated Press message announces that two squares of land and Rs. 1,000 in cash, to be given at her marriage, is the reward awarded by the Punjab Government to Bibi Harnam Kaur, the brave girl of village Chaudhariwala, Tehsil Moga, who put a

heroic fight against a band of dacoits last month, resulting in the death of three dacoits.

Similar rewards have also been granted to her three brothers and a monthly pension of Rs. 10 to her mother, who lost her husband as a result of injuries sustained in the fight.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union issued an Order on 13th March 1934 requiring the Governments of the autonomous Republics and the district executive committees to investigate, during September and October 1934, the enforcement of compulsory primary, education for children between the ages of eight and eleven, which was introduced in the towns in 1938, and to take all possible measures to render compulsory primary education universal. The 17th Congress of the Communist Party further decided to introduce compulsory technical training in country schools.

The State Planning Commission and the Commissariats of Education and Finance of the Russian Federation are preparing a plan for the introduction of compulsory training in the seven-year schools in all the autonomous Republics, provinces and districts, to ensure that all children leaving primary schools in the towns and industrial villages shall be admitted to the seven-year secondary schools during the school year 1935–1936, and that those leaving primary schools in the Country shall be admitted to secondary schools during the school year 1937–1938.

Parents whose children attend the three highest classes of secondary schools in the country during the school year 1933–1934 are required to leave their children at school until they have completed the seven-year course.

The Commissariats of Education and Justice will issue a joint Order relating to compulsory technical training for children in the classes refferred to above.

The Commissariat of Education of the Russian Federation will determine the minimum of scientific knowledge to be required of teachers and principals of schools, and the conditions to which school premises and equipment must conform. The local organs of the Commissariat of Education will not authorise the opening of new secondary schools unless these rules are observed.

THE TRAGIC SIDE OF EMPIRE.

Mr. P. E. Mialla, Judicial Officer, Quetta Cantonment, returned a verdict of suicide while of unsound mind on the inquest of second Lieutenant T. G. Barrington of the 1st Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment, writes the *Tribune*. It may be mentioned that Lieutenant Barrington was found dead in his room on the morning of the 9th April 1934. The Judicial Officer in his report says that the deceased was stated to have joined the 1st Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment about September last while the regiment was in Egypt. From Egypt he came to Quetta on Good Friday, the 30th March, 1934. It appeared that for a few days prior to his death the deceased suddenly became disinterested in everything and expressed that he was fed up with Quetta and loathed the place. From letters to his fiancee, his father and his mother, found in the deceased's room, and which are alleged to be in his handwriting, it appeared that the deceased was distressed at having to be away from his home. He also seemed to have taken a particular dislike to Quetta for in almost all his letters, he mentioned how he hated this place. The following passage from a letter dated the 8th April 1934, addressed to his fiancee, indicated that the deceased was in a forlorn state of mind:—

"This may be the last letter that you will ever get from me. Life is unendurable and each day is one hideous nightmare from which I never wake up. I am trapped. There seems no way out and my brain is on fire and almost snapping-demented. I have a revolver that I must get rid of, else something terrible will happen. Perhaps I had better go."

It was evident that the deceased thought of taking his life but since he was depressed probably, in sheer desperation, considered that the easiest way to overcome his troubles was to put an end to himself. The Judicial Officer was thus convinced that second Lieutenant T. G. Barrington of the 1st Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment committed suicide while of unsound mind by shooting himself through the head with his own revolver.

SWAMI ADYANANDA IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Being invited by the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj, Swami Adyananda of R. K. Mission arrived in Johannesburg on 1st February 1934. Many prominent Indians and some Europeans were present at the Railway Stations at Pretoria and Johannesburg. In the evening about sixteen associations in the Transvaal, including the Indian National Congress, extended a hearty welcome to the Swami. The Swami, in reply, spoke on "India's Message to the world. The first public lecture was delivered in the Selbourne Hall, Johannesburg, on the 18th February, when the Swami spoke to an audience of nearly a thousand people, many of whom were Europeans. After the discourse, the Swami answered the questions that were asked by some of those present. The local Vedanta Service Society soon afterwards celebrated the birthday anniversary of Sri Ramakrishna, and the Swami spoke on "Sri Ramakrishna the Prophet of Modern India." Out of the other engagements that followed may be mentioned the speeches at the Indo-European Council on "An Eastern View of Western Civilisation," at the Government Indian School on "The Ideals of Education in India," at the International Club on "India and Her Civilisation" and at the Pretoria Theosophical Lodge on "What is Yoga?" Invitations have been received from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Kimberley and many other important cities. Weekly lectures on "Hindu Philosophy and religion" have been arranged at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg for some time to come. The Swami is also holding classes on the Gita, thrice a week for the benefit of the Indians.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Progressive Afghanistan:—The rapid progress in Afganistan has been marked by the opening of 140 private schools in the Kushag and the Hirat Provinces. The number of students who are receiving education at these institutions is 2,400 and measures are in hand to double the figure. The telephone line has been extended from Khanabad to Gardbai and it will be further extended to the village of Pulkhumbi when it will be lined with the trunk exchange line between Mazari Shariff and Kabul. The fine Arts School and the Bamian Hotel, work on which was suspended during the winter months, has been resumed. Work on the Bano Pass, has also been restarted.

Romain Rolland's Romance:—M. Romain Rolland, the French author, who has lived for several years at Villeneuve, on Lake Leman (Geneva), is to marry his Secretary, Mme. Koudacheff, who is a widow. Mr. Rolland is sixty-eight. Mme. Koudacheff was born at St. Petersburg (Leningrad.) She has been M. Rolland's secretary for many years.

Revolving Solarium at Jamnagar:—The late Maharaja Jam Saheb Shri Ranjitsinghji was highly impressed by the therapeutic utility of the solarium at Aix-les-Bains of Dr. Jean Saidman and made arrangements to establish in India a centre of scientific physiotherapy. The revolving solarium of Jamnagar will be completed very shortly. It is built on the same principles as the solaria at Aixl-es-Bains and Cannes. It will be, it is claimed, the most scientific institution in India for physiotherapy. The solarium is a building of 300,000 lbs. in weight which pivots 10 cabins for treatment, where the sun's rays are filtered in a manner so as to isolate the therapeutic rays and stop the dangerous heat rays of the sun. 10 giant lenses of 64 by 60 inches are each able to concentrate 240,000 candle light on every patient and help to cure extrapulmonary tuberculosis, rheumatism, anaemia and many other diseases. Under the solarium is a tower which contains 12 laboratories of the Institute of Polyradiotherapy for the treatment of diseases of children, malaria and certain types of cancers. The solarium is the invention of Dr. Jean Saidman, Director of Institute of Actionogy in Paris, who has come specially to India for a month to start the solarium and is now in Jamnagar. The building of the solarium, the biggest medical apparatus in the world, has been successfully completed by the Societe Industrielle Re-construction of Paris for the Nawanagar State.—*Indian Engineering.*

The "Rope Trick":—A man who has actually seen the Indian "Rope Trick" performed, has at last been found. He is Dr. Alexander Cannon, Psychiatrist, who described his experience in Indo-China at a London meeting of the British College of Psychic Science. Dr. Cannon said he was accompanied by a member of the French Consulate in Indo-China. "This is what we saw or thought we saw," the Doctor explained. "The scene in an eastern market place. In the centre thereof stands an ascetic, his eyes half open. He stands waving his arms, gesticulating and uttering yogic incantations and meanwhile swaying gently to the rhythm. In front of him is a coil of red-coloured rope, lying on the ground. Over this, he stretches out his hands periodically. On his right-hand side stands a youth, who has a most noticeable far-away expression in his eyes. An adept carefully preserves the semi-circle at a suitable distance of twelve feet radius. At last, the ascetic swoops and lifts up the end of the red rope and holds it at his arm's length. The end of the rope appears to rise higher and higher as if drawn heavenwards by an invisible force. This process continues until the other end of the rope is just free of the ground. The boy then climbs the rope, remaining at the other end in mid-air. He comes down to the ground and then again climbs the rope and the yogi appears to follow him up the rope with a knife clenched in his teeth. He gets hold of the boy, cuts him to pieces and appears to drop the different parts of the body to the ground where they lie quivering in the dust. The magician then descends the rope, puts the pieces of the body together and sends the youth up the rope again right to the top when he appears to vanish into thin air."

Next Naval Conference:—Britain, the United States of America and Japan are engaged in conversations whith a view to ascertaining the possibility of preliminarily discussing naval questions prior to the Naval Conference to be held in Washington in 1935. It is understood that the first overtures came from Britain and Japan, Japanese officials suggested that a preliminary discussion on international questions relating to the Pacific would go a long way in clearing the atmosphere for the Naval Conference. A Japanese Navy Office spokesman declared, says a Tokio cable, that the Washington Naval Treaty would be a rational one and that the London Treaty was signed as a provisional agreement. He pointed out that since the conclusion of the Washington Treaty under the special conditions existing after the world War, big changes had occurred in the international situation. Japan's sense of national security required the conclusion of an equitable national naval treaty to replace the existing ones.—*Reuter.*

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Catholic Landslide:—Three thousand families, numbering ten thousand Indian Catholics, have gone over to the Lutheran fold as a protest against the failure of the Roman Catholic heirarchy to induce the high caste Catholics to accept their low caste co-religionists as their social equals. One of their spokesmen said at a public meeting of the dissenters that they had decided to go over to the new Church on certain conditions which were accepted by the latter, and, if these were not adhered to, there will be another exodus to an unspecified destination. It is quite evident that the part of religion in these mass movements is inappreciable. The acknowledgment of the services of the Self-Respect Movement by the dissenters is significant. Father Heras in an interview in the *Times of India* refers in a rather superior way to the erroneous methods of his predecessors in South India. It will not require much research for him to see that conditions are not very different in Western Indian Catholicism.

"Christianising" Mission Schools:—The implications of the new policy of Christianisation of Mission Schools and Colleges, is beginning to dawn on the Indian public. There have been wholesale dismissal of non-Christian teachers in South Indian institutions. The *South Indian Teacher* in a very temperate article calls attention to the consequences of the new policy if it is persisted in. It warns Mission bodies that a large withdrawal of non-Christian pupils is bound to follow and that "they will be killing the goose that lay the golden eggs," if they make their institutions subservient to the employment of Christians. The *Hindu* has devoted a leading article to the subject. "It is for the educational Department," it writes, "to institute an enquiry into the matter in order to see how far the allegations made are founded in fact and examine how far the policy behind the step said to have been taken by certain Mission bodies is consistent with the principles of State aid." The Lindsay Commission had specifically remarked on the large proportion of non-Christian teachers in Mission schools and Colleges and the Lothian Committee supported by the Viceroy of India recently made an appeal for funds for carrying out the recommendations of that Commission.

A Curious Appointment:—Government has been very unfair to Mr. Faiz Tyebji. He is a much respected citizen, a scholar and an authority on Mahomedan Law on which he has written a work recognised as a standard one. When several years ago the Government of Madras, not finding a suitable Muslim lawyer locally, applied to the Bombay Government the latter recommended Mr. Tyebji as a lawyer in every way worthy to sit on the Bench of the Madras High Court. When he return on the resumption of office by the permanent incumbent, Bombay could find him only a comparatively subordinate judicial position to engage his talents. Since his retirement his services were more than once requisitioned to fill acting vacancies on the Bombay Bench and now, when he is, we believe, past the age at which Judges are regarded in this country as ineligible to dispense justice from the High Court Bench, he is dragged from his well-earned repose and the studies congenial to him, to fill a vacancy as an acting temporary Judge. Government dodging its own rules is hardly a good example to local bodies. Muslim opinion, so far from being gratified, resents such appointments as calculated to create the impression that its claim to be represented in the higher ranks of the Judiciary has to be met in this unusual way. If no suitable candidate is available among the men in active professional practice or in the Judicial branch of the Public Service, one can be secured from another province. Muslims are not as provincial as Hindus.

South African Slimness:—General Smuts speaking at the Empire Day celebrations at Cape Town is reported to have declared that "secession from the Empire was as dead as a dodo so far as South Africa was concerned." The General is not only a soldier and a statesman but also a lawyer, scientist and philosopher.

It will be irreverent, therefore, to say that he was speaking with his tongue in his cheek. The truth, however, is that secession from the Empire is no longer a question for debate because the recent measures adopted by the Union Parliament constitute practical secession. Clause 2 of the principal Bill enacts that "the Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union" and that no Act of the British Parliament shall have force in the Union. The King of Britain is allowed to be the King of South Africa but as such he will act solely on the advice of Union Ministers. The right of neutrality in the event of a war between Britain and another country is recognised as also the right of secession. A leading member of the Nationalist Party told an audience that they had ceased to be British subjects. He added that the Seals Bill was the first step towards making South Africa a Republic and that was something new in the British Constitution. The Prime Minister was virtually the President and, he observed, there was no difference between the position of Mr. De Valera in Ireland and that of General Hertzog in South Africa. The only difference is that while the Irish leader carries on a straight fight the African leader has achieved his object insidiously.

The Codex Sinaiticus:—We have received a booklet on "The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible" published by the Trustees of the British Museum. The publication seeks largely to defend the Russian Government's claims to the manuscript Bible as opposed to the recent counter-claims advanced by the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. An interesting section is devoted to discussing the differences in texts between the Sinaiticus and other Bible manuscripts. Non-Christian readers have regarded his treatment of the problem of the woman taken in adultery as the noblest and most distinctive element in the Christian Gospel. There is nothing to equal it in other religions. The crucifixion, to which Christians generally attach the greatest significance, was after all not Jesus' act nor even sought by him. To make the figure of the crucified Christ the centre of Christianity seems, to the non-Christian at any rate, to build the entire religion on a fortuitous circumstance. Non-Christians will learn with deep regret that in the Codex Sinaiticus, "John vii. 53–viii. 11 (consisting mainly of the episode of the women taken in adultery) is omitted, as also by the Codex Vaticanus and most of the earliest authorities.' Miss Eva Gore-Booth also noted the doubtful authencity of the episode in her book on John's Gospel but she "passed" it on the ground that the passages relating to it seem appropriate. That may merely be due to the skill of the genius who first conceived the story.

Barter.—When the purchase of the Codex Sinaiticus by the British Museum was first announced an English friend wrote to us citing it as proof of the religious-mindedness of British people that the offer was made in times of depression. The Trustees of the British Museum, however, seem to have grave doubts of the appeal of religion to the public for they call for funds on economic grounds as well. The booklet referred to above concludes: "It may be added that the Russian Government is expending the amount of the price in the purchase of goods from Great Britain; and hence subscribers can feel that in sending their contributions they are not merely to acquire a valuable manuscript for the national library but to provide employment for British workmen." The importance attached to this commercial side of the transaction is emphasised by the following words in the national appeal: "The Vendors have given an undertaking that the money paid will be spent in this country. In other words the £100,000 will be a credit to be used in Great Britain." In the circumstances the gibe about the demand of the Mount Sinai monks for the return of the manuscript, at a stage of their negotiations with the Tzar's Government in 1859, being part of the ordinary conduct of a bargain in Oriental countries, is strangely inappropriate. No Oriental Government would have had the business instinct to win, as the British have done, the best of both worlds. It is significant that in appeals to the British public stress is laid on the economic advantages, possibly in explanation of trading with Russia. Dean Inge had obviously the same object in view when he explained in mail week that Russia had shed the "noxious doctrines of Karl Marx" and become Fascist. When other nations seek to establish trade relations with countries like Russia they just make trade pacts. British leaders first make the moral position sure.

A Jealous Governor:—The Governor of Malta, Sir David Campbell, at a banquet held on Empire Day is reported by Reuter to have scathingly attacked the pro-Italian elements in the Island as rendering lip service to the Empire but behind it belittling everything British and praising everything connected with a neighbouring friendly State, namely, Italy. His Excellency was sure that this was repugnant to Signor Mussolini and his Government. The leader of the Nationalists and ex-Premier, Sir Ugo Mifsud, who had been invited to listen to this outburst, made a dignified protest adding "I drink the health of the Empire, but I was told there would be no political speeches." The practice of drinking is responsible for most after dinner indiscretions. It is a Western and British practice which we do not admire. Eat when you are hungry and drink when you are thirsty, and then only plain water, is a wholesome rule which, if followed, would do more to prevent wars than several Disarmament Conferences. Sir Ugo Mifsud would probably take the Governor's hint and drop paying lip service to the British Empire hereafter. When many Englishmen are not only praising but

have actually adopted Signor Mussolini as their model, it is hard on the Maltese leader to have his digestion spoiled by the querulous remarks of a garrulous Governor.

American View of Present Day Japan:—Professor F. R. Eldridge of New York University contributes an interesting article in *Current History*, in which he discusses Japan's position in the world to-day. Mr. Eldridge arrives at the conclusion that the Japanese have, for the present at any rate, no intention of going to war with any nation. He considers, however, that her future attitude depends largely on the treatment she receives at the hands of Western Powers. He remarks that Japan is faced with a rapidly increasing population and a dearth of food-stuffs as well as raw materials for her industries. The Japanese nation has not been endowed with natural resources. She has to depend largely on obtaining food and raw materials from other countries and selling them the product of her factories. As a strictly commercial nation, her survival depends entirely on trade. Mr. Eldridge points out that Japan is surrounded by countries with a much lower purchasing power and living standard than her own. Commenting on her position in relation to Western Europe and the United States, he remarks "Her factory workers are willing to work harder and for less moneys than that of other countries and this gives her comparative advantage in certain types of manufacture. If the world will not recognise the position and insists upon placing obstacles in the pathway of her own attempt to survive, then, and then only, will Japan fight." Mr. Eldridge, however, has not taken into account the most recent factors in the Japanese situation. So long as it was merely a question of Japanese competition with other Asiatic countries, Europe and America could well adopt the policy of live and let live, towards Japan. The fact that Japanese goods are now competing in European markets, has changed the situation. At the commencement of this year, a cable from Manchester announced that Japanese cloth was being sold much below the local textile products, and Japan was threatening to capture the trade in England. The danger visualised by the European powers, is, perhaps, tremendously magnified to-day. It cannot be denied, however, that the incident is regarded as menacing the very existence of European industries. It has been followed by demands for a standard wage in Japan approximating to the wages of European workers in s milar industries and has been largely instrumental in rousing opposition to Japanese national ideals and ambitions in Europe.

Special Constituencies :—A correspondent wants to know whether a special Constituency, such as the Millowners' Association, the Chamber of Commerce or the Indian Merchants' Chamber, can return as its representative to the Legislative Council a person whose principal occupation is not commercial but who may have a connection with—hold shares in—some business or industry. It would seem that some members of the last-named body wanted to nominate the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel as a candidate for election to the Legislature but that the idea failed to find support and was dropped. In the absence of specific qualifications for membership, a special constituency, we suppose, will technically have the right of electing a lawyer or a doctor or a priest as its representative provided he has been admitted to its membership. But it will certainly look anomalous and will reinforce the many strong reasons for the abolition of special constituencies altogether.

The Rope Trick :— We reprinted last week Professor Cannon's account of the rope trick which he witnessed in Indo-China. A prolonged correspondence has been going on in the *Times of India* on the subject. Several eye-witnesses came forward to contradict correspondents who described the trick as a fraud. One correspondent, an Englishman, quoting chapter and verse showed that the trick was referred to in Shankaracharya's writing as illustrating his doctrine of illusion, Maya. Then the scientists came on the scene. One said that it was the result of mass hypnotism as it did not impress itself on a photographic plate. He had tried to get a snap but in the picture the boy was sitting calmly on the ground beside the showman while he appeared to the crowd, including the photographer, to be lost in the sky. A later correspondent, however, stated that he is in possession of a photograph in which the boy is seen climbing the rope. Another correspondent wrote that the trick might be possible in the tropics where men's brains are soft but not in Europe where men are hard-headed. These hard-headed men really believed that the last War would end War! Nine-tenths of their economic devices and political manouverings are but "rope tricks" and the greatest "rope trick" of all is that the White Paper confers self-government on India.

Sequel to Conversion :—The conversion of the American missionary, Mr. E. Stokes to Hinduism with the name Satyanand, had an interesting sequel in the District Court when Pandit Saranpath, a resident of Kotgarh who performed the conversion ceremony, filed a complaint under Section 500 of the Indian Penal Code against certain Hindus of Kotgarh for alleged boycotting him at a meeting held on October 23 last year.

Delhi Jails :—"Except for a few isolated cases in which incorrigible or terrorist convicts were bent on defying authority by refusing to work or going on hunger-strike, the conduct of the prisoners, generally, was good. The conduct of the warder staff has only been fair and several punishments were inflicted, including one conviction, two dismissals and 11 suspensions. The superior staff worked very satisfactorily in face of the trouble and anxiety caused by the obstructive tactics adopted by several of the accused in the Delhi Conspiracy Case. The number of deaths increased from 6 in 1932 to 83, cerebro-spinal fever claiming 7 victims," writes the Delhi Jail Administration Report.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JUNE 2, 1934.

REVIVAL OF ANIMAL SACRIFICES.

The revival of animal sacrifices in several places by Hindus is an omen of evil augury. In Kumbhakonam, one of the orthodox Brahman centres in South India, under the auspices of the Shankaracharya and numerous Shastris, twenty-three goats were killed for offering in a Yagna, according to ancient Vedic ritual. In Ratnagiri another Brahman centre in Western India, many animals were killed to propitiate the Deity. In Ellore in the Telugu country, some thousands of animals of all kinds were killed to propitiate Poliramma, the goddess who is supposed to influence the small-pox epidemic. Goats, pigs and fowls are killed and their heads piled up in a mound before the image. Between five thousand and six thousand animals would it was said be sacrificed on the day fixed in the public street; latter in the night buffaloes would be sacrificed An attempt to get the holocaust averted in the law courts failed, the magistrate holding that there was no likelihood of a breach of the public peace, the ground on which his intervention was sought. An appeal to the High Court resulted in an endorsement of the magistrate's decision. We wish that Mr. Prakasam who sought the intervention of the court, had taken up the higher ground of public policy. It is an irony of circumstance that when the caste Hindus were planning this orgy of animal sacrifice in Ellore, the Harijans of the same place were reported to have resolved to give up animal sacrifices and were taking out daily propaganda processions to promote this object. In the United States several million pigs were slaughtered some months ago and in Ireland some thousands of calves were killed in order to keep up prices. These things do not stir men's minds in the West where the belief that animals were created for the use of man has the sanction of religion. The Vedic Hindus held the same belief. Like the Jews of old they believed in animal sacrifices to propitiate the favour or to appease the anger of the gods. The protests of prophets like Isaiah failed to wean the Jews from the sacrificial religion which continued at the time of Jesus and was finally ended only by the destruction of the Temple and the dispersal of the Jews by the Romans. The teachings of the Upanishads similarly were unsuccessful in weaning the Hindus from the sacrificial Vedic religion and it was Gautama Buddha who by his gracious personality turned people's minds from animal sacrifices to sacrifice of their evil tendencies as the true way of salvation. When Buddhism lost its hold on the Indian people, a Hindu revival followed and the early revivalists were bent on reviving animal sacrifices. It was the great Sankaracharya who fought and overthrew these reactionaries, gave a reverent burial to the sacrificial part of the Vedas and established the Vedanta or the philosophic treatises as the basis of post-Buddhist Hinduism. He was so imbued with Buddhist humanism that he was stigmatised as a veiled Buddha by his theological opponants. Ahimsa, non-killing, became since then organic in Hinduism. With a few exceptions such as the Kalighat at Calcutta, the great majority of Hindu shrines discarded animal sacrifices. Quite recently the Maharani of Travancore abolished such sacrifices in the temples under State control. The Vedic sacrifices were performed with substitutes made of flour where they had not fallen into disuse. The Arya Samajists who went back to the old ritualist Vedas, interpreted the texts in the light of the later doctrine of non-killing. Hindus as a community believe that animal sacrifices are opposed to the principal tenet of their religion and regard the few places where they are still practiced as survivals which must disappear with the spread of education.

The revival of or, to be correct, the stress laid on these sacrifices at the present time is ominous because there is good reason to believe that the religious motive is complicated by others. There is among a section of educated—not as yet very articulate—Hindus a feeling that the depressed condition of the Hindus is largely the result of their renunciation in religion, social habits and in dietary of the will to live by killing animals in order to live. A learned and scholarly exposition of this new tendency is furnished by the excerpt from a paper on the condition of Hindus of the Punjab by Prof. Gulshan Rai which we reprint today. In it the author attributes the subjugation of India by foreign conquerors as having been originally due to the influence of Buddhism on the people who inhabited the North Western Provinces and who were the natural outposts of Hinduism. The fact that Buddhism has had no such deleterious influence on the Japanese, shows that this theory is fundamentally weak. Dr. Barooah, the eminent Pali Professor of Calcutta University, who came to Bombay last week to preside at the annual celebration of Buddha Jayanti vigorously combated the view that Buddhism weakened India's power of resistance. He is justified in his criticism by the fact that the thousand years during which the yellow robe prevailed, were years of great internal prosperity and external security. Indian missions travelled to distant countries and established friendly cultural relations with them. That is by the way. We referred to the paper as indicating a tendency, which is beginning in educated Hindu minds to react with some vehemence against the principle of ahimsa as it affects the destiny of nations. An ancient seer deprecated dwelling overmuch on watchwords and Gandhiji's insistence on non-violence has itself given rise to a revulsion from it in some minds

The example of Europe, the failure of the Disarmament Conference, the doctrines preached openly by Mussolini and Hitler and practised by all the Powers great and little are leading to the conviction that the power of survival of a community is strictly proportionate to its power to fight others successfully. Other causes of an internal character have also helped to encourage this tendency. The Indian mind being rooted in religion, the first signs of any important coming change are to be looked for in that region.

NOTES BY THE WAYFARER.

I wrote last week that the Indian Liberals have no future as their prototypes, the British Liberals, have none. The statement issued this week jointly by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.) on behalf of their party is the best (and most unexpected) proof of it. Dr. Paranjpye spoke of the soul of Liberalism. The only thing which this document shows to be fundamental to Indian Liberalism is to remain within the British Commonwealth in the hope some day of getting full Dominion Status which, as South Africa has interpreted it, is ninety nine per cent Independence. Except that the King of Britain is allowed to be the King of South Africa and the protection of the British fleet is condescendingly accepted for the defence of its shores, South Africa is a foreign country, as much as Holland or Germany, to Britain and (necessarily) to India. It was said some years ago that the Commander of a Japanese warship which visited South Africa remarked with reference to a slight put upon him and his officers that but for the Union Jack flying over the port he would have resented the affront in a different way. An English acquaintance who was asked why safegurasdr should be insisted on in the case of India while none was demanded from South Africa, a recently and properly conquered country, said: "That is exactly the trouble. 'No Englishman need apply' is the order of the day in South Africa. We do not want the same thing to be repeated here." "The Liberals," say Sir Chimanlal and Sir Cowasji, "are firm in their creed of making India a full-fledged Dominion within the Empire." Neither of them is cast for the role of De Valera or General Hertzog who are showing what full-fledged Dominion Status is. If, however, it is their creed that India should become a Dominion of the South African type, the difference between it and Independence is hardly 'fundamental' as they make it out to be. Dominion Status in the case of India is Independence. Bernard Shaw, indeed, thought that it would mean India becoming the dominant partner. India as a Dominion is an etymological absurdity and political camouflage.

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Sir Chimanlal and Sir Cowasji say that the other fundamental difference is, that Congressmen have amongst them a minority which has gained the upper hand in Bombay, of persons inclined to Communism. The Liberals at least in Bombay, it is no secret, are bound hand and foot to Capitalism but one hardly expected a public avowal of partnership at this juncture. The vast mass of the Indian people are neither Capitalists nor Communists. Capitalism versus Communism is not an Indian issue. Even in Bombay it is not really an issue though it suits some on both sides to make it seem so. The employer says the Textile Strike is due to the machination of Communists. The Strike leader says that it is due to the iniquity of Capitalists. Really speaking, the Capitalist and the Communist are concomitants. Without the one the other is unthinkable. The difference between them is one of emphasis. The Capitalist wants to get more work for less wages from his employees. The Communist wants to get more wages for less work from his employer. This economic dualism is at the bottom of the class war. The occupational caste avoided this dualism. Every man was born with his work. To strike work was to lose caste. The conflict between Capitalism and Communism will have to be solved on those lines, if it is to be solved peacefully. However that may be, the Liberal Party is not a Bombay but an All-India political party and it is a tactical blunder of the first magnitude—to say the least—to identify itself with either party in this economic struggle in which it should be the mediator. Except that it is opposed to Independence and Communism—both negative items—Sir Chimanlal and Sir Cowasji do not tell us what the fundamentals of their Liberalism positively are. There are in fact none. Gladstone summed up the difference between Liberals and Tories in two pithy sentences. Toryism was based on fear of the people; Liberalism on trust in them qualified by prudence. How does Indian, especially Bombay, Liberalism stand this test? The "cold aspect of practical politics" is all right in its own place but without an ideal to warm it, it cannot become effective as an influence. The Liberal leaders have not only no enthusiasm themselves but discourage and despise it in others. They are not above using Gandhism as they use Communism as a bug-bear to frighten the authorities with. When they had a great opportunity on the introduction of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms to give a national direction to the administration, they with one or two exceptions failed utterly to assert themselves. Both Sir Chimanlal and Sir Cowasji were, if one remembers rightly, trusted members of the Lloyd Administration. But the masterful Governor had it all his own way, a very costly way too to the Presidency, unmindful of the stalwarts of Liberalism at his Council table. By an accident, rare in the experience of Indian publicists, I was present by invitation at a meeting of the Executive Council several years ago. I have since entertained a sincere regard for the independence of English Civilian members on important issues. Their point of view is seldom the popular one if they can help it. But "the man at the plough or loom" who, Lord Curzon declared, was foremost in his mind in all that he did and planned in India, next to the interests of their own Service, is, or used to be, closer to their minds.

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The Government Press Note, reprinted elsewhere, justifying the arrest of fourteen Strike leaders under Emergency Powers intended principally for a quite different contingency, will convince only those who do not require to be convinced. In fact, the opinion expressed on the Strike and the motives of the leaders, were more forcibly expressed by Mr. H. P. Mody in his address to the Millowners' Associatyon on which we commented last week. The Government Note refers, as did Mr. Mody, to the twenty points of the Strikers. These are, of course, absurd and the reiteration of them at this time was an act of crass stupidity. Government themselves point out that the personnel of the Strike Committee has been frequently changing, a circumstance which to some extent obviously could not be helped—and there is no doubt that as negotiators, the Strikers cannot stand comparison with their employers. But I am in a position to say that if the

Strike leaders had had the same opportunity of explaining their attitude to the head of the Government, as Millowners, he would have found that the twenty points were of no account and a very small concession, coupled with an assurance that Government would see that justice was done to the workers, might have ended the Strike within ten days or a fortinght of its declaration, and the arrests and waste of Police and Magisterial power in dealing with the situation might have been avoided. The second arrest of the leaders has not ended the Strike. On the other hand, four Mills have closed down which till then were trying to carry on. The strikers have refused to avail themselves of the proferred co operation of tried leaders like Messrs. N. M. Joshi and Bakhale.

"HINDU FUNERAL REFORM."

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar.)

Mr. C. Tejpal's article under the above caption in the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay of the 19th May 1934 calls for a few remarks. The burden of his song seems to be that we Hindus are a nation of corpse bearers, and merit the reproach in South Africa of being named as Indian Coolies; that we must carry our dead no more on our shoulders but in a vehicle like the Christians and Moslems; and that otherwise our caste-system and untouchability won't go.

1. One fails to see how these two institutions are bound together with the mode of carrying our dead and why with the latter the former two should go. Manu (5·85) and other Smritis refer to the principle of untouchability in the following six instances, namely, 1. the touch of a 'Panchama,' 2. of a woman in menses, 3. of an out-caste or degraded man, 4. of a woman in confinement, 5. of a dead body or corpse, and lastly, 6. of one who is himself polluted by the touch of any of the five above. So that it is clear that it does not rest solely on caste-system but comprehends various other principles. Items 1 & 3 alone may, if at all, be said to relate to the question of caste. But items 2 & 4 concern women in general and have nothing to do with it, while item 5 relating to corpses falls wholly outside the range of caste, though it may partake of untouchability. Therefore to say "Hindus in general cannot honestly abolish untouchability since it has its stand on the conduct of Hindu funerals," is only to stress on one point and ignore a lot of others.

2. But, one may ask, what has this funeral reform of carrying the dead on wheels instead of on shoulders got to do with untouchability or removal thereof? Yet the correspondent asserts: "The caste-system and untouchability are relatives to each other but alien to Christianity; yet some of the Indian Christians in the South have caste because of their method of funeral conduct, which is the same as that of the Hindus." By 'funeral conduct' he probably means "conducting the dead body over shoulder instead of in coffins or on vehicle." Does it follow, then, that the reform will abolish untouchability and caste at one stroke? Is it not a mere accident that the Indian Christians continue to observe the caste and the bier, as certain converted classes among Mahammadans have done the custom or law of inheritance or succession among Hindus? If not merest accident, the real reasons must be sought elsewhere alike in both cases than in the caste or untouchability principles. They may relate to usage convention, economy, or vested interests in property, according to the nature of the case.

3. Next the correspondent waxes eloquent over the corpse-bearer being no better than a cooly, and the Indians (Hindus?) luckily escaping the serious denomination of being a nation of corpse-bearers or coolies, on account of sheer politeness on the part of other people. Is corpse-bearing so bad as to invite such a dubbing? Is it so dishonourable to carry our dead over our own shoulders? If so, why did Manu lay down in 5·104 that while Kinsmen are available strangers must not carry the dead? And why should Vishnu Smriti (19·1-5) repeat it and add that sons must do this duty by their departed father and mother, except where the son was born of a Sudra wife, among the three regenerate classes?

4. The matter then resolves itself into two aspects touched by the correspondent himself. The bier may look ugly to many an eye. But can it be said of the Brahma-ratham of a South Indian Brahman and the decorated palanquin of others? Why should a horse, carriage and driver be hired for the purpose when the deeply mourning relatives can "pay their last tribute of respect," nay of love, to the departed by their own personal service and save some avoidable expenditure? Are not our temple Gods and Goddesses taken in procession over shoulders of devoted men? Was not a hero of mortal fame seated in an elevated chair and carried over his admirers' head in England? Was not Gandhiji drawn in a carriage by his numerous political chelas the other day from the Central Station in Madras? Do not men all the world over take to sometimes enjoying the pleasant burden of their children on their own shoulders during a crowded tamasha or tournament? So it is clear that whenever respect, love or joy takes an excessive form, our very person comes in to shoulder the dear burden, dearer many a time in the case of a departed parent, guru, relative, friend or national hero.

5. Lastly the correspondent says "but the character of Hindu life and death can be gathered from the fact that a Hindu alive is not so much polluted by the touch of others as a dead one is." True, but not for his reason or object. The matter is put in a nutshell by Manu in 5·104, above quoted, that a Brahmin's corpse is an "Ahuti" or sacred oblation to God. Hence the scrupulous care enjoined in this respect by the Sastras. Asawalayana Grihya Sutra might approve or record the custom of carrying the dead body "on a hearse drawn by bullocks," but the genius of the Indian masses has accepted the simpler, easier and more acceptable and congenial mode of carrying the dead over the shoulder instead of in a cold and indifferent manner in a hearse. After all the latter will have to be every time disinfected before a fresh corpse is placed in it lest the previous infection should affect the people dealing with the body.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE. *

(By John Haynes Holmes.)

If I would summarize the trends of modern thought and life in the religious field, I would declare that what we have known as the supernatural is everywhere giving way before what we have come to recognize as the natural. Nature is at last coming into her own. What is this matter of secularization for example, but the discovery that politics, education, and business, the regular affairs of every day, are merely a part of the natural processes of man's life upon this planet. Why must a child be baptized at birth, or an old man be given the last unction at death, when birth and death are but the beginning and end of the natural cycle of existence and thus

* From *Unity* of Chicago.

have their own sanctity and beauty. So with morals! Why seek for some revelation of what is right and wrong, when out of the substance of man's own experience there proceeds the secret of the law? Science teaches us the same lesson There was a time when nature was but the abode of the supernatuaal; the world was peopled with gods and demons. Phenomena of sun and rain, storm and ocean, were all of them marvels, to be explained in terms of miracle and wonder. Even after Copernicus and Galileo had done their work, Kepler explained the motions of the stars by saying that each was the abode of an angel. Today all such ideas are gone. Science has dethroned the gods, and established in their place the democratic rule of law. The natural, in a word, has swallowed up the supernatural. For now we know that

> Out from the heart of Nature rolled
> The burdens of the Bible old;
> The litanies of nations came,
> Like the volcano's tongue of flame;
> Up from the burning core below
> The canticles of love and woe.

It is this passing of the supernatural before the triumph of the natural which makes inevitable the passing of religion as we have known it in years gone by. For religion has always been associated up to our time with the supernatural. Its rites, its ceremonies, its doctrines, its laws, all have developed out of the supernatural concept of the world. But does religion belong exclusively or necessarily to the supernatural? Must it be identified with the idea of miracle? Are there divine processes only in floating ex-heads and dead men's bones, and not in whirling planets and moving tides and blossoming flowers? Is God to be found only in smoking Sinais and Bethlehem mangers, and not in

> .....the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man?

Is there no religion, in other words, in nature herself? What are we to think of that wonderful hymn found in the note book of Leonardo da Vinci after his death? He had been pondering, this early scientist, upon the wonders of natural law. Moved by the disclosure of what James Russell Lowell so well called "the commonplace of miracle," Leonardo lifted up his cry, "O marvellous Necessity, thou with supreme reason constrainest all effects to be the direct result of their causes, and by a supreme and irrevocable law, every natural action obeys thee by the shortest process."

What is the fundamental truth about religion today? It is that religion springs direct from the heart of man—that religion is life as we feel it within us and see it about us. Where did religion come from? It has its origin not in revelation but in experience—the experience of man wrestling with nature and with his fellows in the stupendous struggle for survival. Religion may be best defined as man's reaction upon the universe, upon the infinite and eternal realities to which his eyes first open on the earth. In the early days this reaction was predominantly that of fear. Man did not know and understand the processes of life, and therefore was afraid of them, and by his religion he sought to propitiate them. In time his ignorance began to turn into wonder, which led to awe and reverence and worship. Then came the beginnings of knowledge; and with knowledge, universe began to take on a kindlier, friendlier aspect. In our day, with the triumphs of science, we are extending the bounds of knowledge and mastering the processes of life with the result that we are accepting the universe instead of fearing or adoring it. We run to welcome and receive it, instead of running away from it, or bowing down before it. We gather life up into our embrace that it may become a part of us and we a part of it. Our desire is the desire of the poet—to be "at one with the perfect whole." Knowledge, in other words, has led us away from fear, through adoration, to love. We have discovered a passion of fellowship with all created things. This passion is a new religion. It is the religion suggested at least by Bertrand Russell, in his little book "What I Believe," which he identifies with "the good life" as "guided by knowledge and inspired by love."

To see this kind of life as religion is to come to a new understanding of the process of our age. What is really happening today is just the opposite of what seems to be happening. The religion which is disappearing today is the religion of the supernatural. But this religion of the supernatural, in the very meaning of the word, is superstition and ought to disappear. True religion, however, religion understood as the spiritual expression of all things natural and normal, this is not disappearing; on the contrary, it is floating in like a great tide from out the deep, and flooding all the area of man's existence. Do I speak of secularization? What is this but the sublime discovery that politics, education, business, the personal affairs of every day, all pertain to the soul of man and therefore are embodiments of this spirit? Ethical autonomy—the breaking away of morals from the sanction of religion! What is this but the discovery that morals is its own religion, exercises its own authority, and reveals its own necessity? As for science, what is this but the mind of man delving its persistent way to truth, which is the heart of God? Religion going? On the contrary, religion is only just beginning to come. At the moment all is confusion; the forces about us seem to be the forces of destruction. But this is because superstition is in the way and must be removed, as the walls of some building must be removed and carted off before the new edifice, already conceived and charted, can rise in a soaring structure of steel and stone. Temporarily this means chaos—not in three hundred years has the religious world known such chaos as that which engulfs us at this hour! But in the darkness there broods upon the waters a creation which will some day bring a new world into birth.

As I look ahead and try to discern the outlines of religion as it will dwell among us in days to come, I seem to see certain things:

1. There will be no gods in the future—no "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord"—but, to quote the words of Charles W. Elliot, in his "The Religion of the Future," "one omnipresent, eternal energy, informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time and throughout the infinite spaces."

2. There will be no churches, as we have churches today. There will be just the community, with its sacred places of the common life—here a quiet spot like the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, where the soul may go apart and pray; there a vast arena, like the Civic Auditorium in Cleveland or the open park in St. Louis, where men may come together in pursuit of truth and beauty.

3. There will be no Sundays, as we have Sundays today. There will be just the endeavour of the common life to make every day a holy day, one hour of each day an hour of communal consecration, and regularly the festal days when all may seek for joy and recreation.

4. There will be no bibles, as we have our Bible today. There will just be the assembled literature of all ages and peoples, the works of universal genius sanctified by usage, and growing with the growing

vision of men's minds and hearts.

5. There will be no prophets or saviours, no Messiah, Christ, or Son of God come down to earth to save mankind from death. There will be only the great and good among mankind—seekers after truth, heroes of justice and the right, champions of liberty, servants of love; a new calendar of saints—Isaiah, Jesus, Francis of Assisi, George Fox, all of these; but also Darwin and Pasteur, Lincoln and Emerson, Whitman and Tolstoy, Romain Rolland and Mahatma Gandhi.

6. There will be no religions as we have them today, but simply *religion*. This means that there will be no sects and denominations—no Confucianism, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Theosophy. These names, and many like them, may survive, but they will be like the "many mansions" in God's house—just so many parts of the one inclusive whole, which is the divine brotherhood of humankind.

So will the world become as one great temple, and men as one great family, and all true life divine. Longfellow caught the vision when he saw, in the happy days to come, that

universal church,
As lofty as the love of God,
As ample as the wants of man.

BUDDHISM IN CHINA

Mr. Tan Yun-Shan, a Chinese scholar, who is trying to establish a Sino-Indian Cultural Society with a view to blending the Indian and Chinese cultures, delivered a lecture, entitled "Buddhism in China' on the 25th May, at the hall of the Mahabodi Society, Calutta.

Dr. B. K. Sen was in the chair.

After tracing the history of the introduction and development of Buddhism in China, the speaker said that during the early years of the Tsin dynasty, all the Emperors had faith in Buddhism, the country then was peaceful and the nation powerful; Buddhism also enjoyed as much prosperity as ever before. But towards the end of the Manchurian regime, Buddhism, as well as the Chinese nation itself sank into a state of obscurity and degradation. It was during this time that European civilisation poured into the Far East like a stream upsetting the Chinese minds. The old system of civil examination was abolished, new schools after the European model were established and scholars were sent abroad to learn the western methods and pursue the scientific knowledge. Buddhism, consequently, sank into the darkest bottom.

In the first few years of the Republic of China, peace and order was not restored and Buddhism was there silently watching and waiting for chance. There was first the "May 4th Movement" of 1919 by students, then known as the New Cultural Movement, but many of the new scholars, as the time was not ripe enough, were merely "embroidered pillows" without any true cultivation of character and knowledge, so that their words were shallow and their deeds unfruitful. The significance of philosophy was too difficult for them to understand, so that attacks were made on religion at random and their attitude towards Buddhism was far from being sincere and friendly. It was only after the success of the nationalist movement and the establishment of the Central Government at Nanking seven years ago that the tendency of blindly imitating the West was checked. Now, religion is protected and promoted, especially Buddhism revives with fresh energy and commands the faith of a great many people; even of some leading members of the Government. The Chairman of the National Government, the President of the Examination Yuan of the National Government, the President of the Judiciary Yuan have much reverence for and deep belief in Buddhism. General Chiang Kai-Shek respects Buddhism and has built in his native district a grand "Vihara" on the beautiful Such-Tau hill. There is, therefore, in China a splendid opportunity to bring about a renaissance of Buddhism.

Buddhist religion is divided into as many as ten schools in China. Fortunately, these different schools have now gradually harmonised themselves and at the present moment it is very difficult to distinguish one from the other. Buddhist leaders are now striving for a movement of unity and have built up at different places Buddhist Associations, while there is the Chinese Buddhists General Association at Shanghai to serve as the Headquarters of Buddhists in China. So far as the Buddhist literature and its teaching is concerned, there is an unusual demand for it, for it is regarded as a kind of essential knowledge and the perusal of such literature is also considered an important factor. Buddhism has influenced almost everything in China; her thought, literature, language and arts, habits and customs of her people, all bear the stamp of Buddhism. Of the present Chinese life, at least a lesser half may be said to be Buddhistic. But it is a pity that in recent years the Chinese Buddhists pay attention neither to international propaganda nor to the study of Sanskrit or other foreign languages. So that they are handicapped in preaching their religion. On the other hand foreigners not conversant with Chinese tongue fail to appreciate the beauty and conception of Buddhism as embodied in the Chinese languages.

Replying to the question as to how Buddhism could make itself felt in China so profoundly, the speaker said that its answer was to be found in the Chinese culture which is moulded by the "golden mean" hence adaptable to "harmony" and specially rich in the spirit of great unity and "universal Ahimsa." The Chinese sages in all times teach people the virtue of magnanimity by the metaphor of the "great Ocean," so that the Chinese people are apt to show a receptive and magnanimous attitude to any other civilisation of the world and try to assimilate and reform it. That is why China can contain the different religions and yet be free from the destructive religious wars which have filled up the pages of world history. The teachings of Buddha and Confucius are not far from each other and the cultures of India and China are also similar to each other in many respects, so Buddhism is able to reach its special development in China. Today, is the opportune moment to make efforts for a universal propaganda and for a cosmopolitan salvation through Buddhism which is gradually being appreciated throughout the whole world. It is reported that the Mahabodi Socity is contemplating to establish at Sarnath, an International Buddhist University. This is a great work and the speaker hoped for its early realisation. It is of urgent need that all the Buddhistic countries must join their hands together for world salvation.

Father Blatter:—The Rev. Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J., Ph. D., F. L. S., died on Saturday at the Deccan Hospital, Poona, after a long illness. The funeral took place on Sunday at the Sepulchre cemetary, where the Archbishop of Poona conducted the service. It was attended by a large number of his colleagues, friends and admirers from Bombay and Poona.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM IN NORTH INDIA.

Prof. Gulsan Rai contributes an interesting series of articles in *The Tribune* of Lahore in which he discusses the position of Hindus in the Punjab. Writing of the part played by Buddhism he remarks:-

If we look carefully into the present distribution of Muslim population of India, it is a very significant phenomenon to note, that all those tracts of land in this country which were formerly centres of Buddhism, are today centres of Islam. At the time of the Buddhist emperor Kanishka, who probably ruled from 120 to 160 A. D., Sindh, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir, and Western Punjab, were all Buddhist in population. Today an overwhelming proportion of the population in these lands is Muslim. The Pala kings of Bengal, who ruled in Bengal and Bihar from 740 A. D. to 1070 A. D., and in Bihar from 740 to 1197, are known to be staunch Buddhists. In their time East Bengal was a centre of Buddhism. Today it is a centre of Islam. The natural inference one can draw from this is that it was the Buddhist population in India, and not the Hindus, who became converted to the faith of the Arabian prophet Muhammed. In our present day histories we are taught that the Muslim rulers of India converted the Hindus to the faith of Islam at the point of the sword. Stray individual rulers may have some time done it, but they could not in any case have brought about mass conversions. We know that the centres of Muslim political power in India have been at Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Golkanda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, and Ahmedabad in Gujarat Kathiawar. Some of the kings in these places have been very bigotted Muslims. And yet we find that almost the entire population round about these capital towns is to this day mainly Hindu. No, the sword could not have, at any rate in India, brought about the conversion in mass of the people to the faith of Islam. If it had been so, I would have considered Hinduism to be a failure as a spiritual force. If it had been so, it would have been unable to produce personalities like Rana Pratap, Sivajee, Guru Govind and Hakikat Rai. If it had been so it would have, like the ancient faiths of other countries in the world, long ago disappeared under the hammering blows of 25 centuries of invasions. Really the fact is that all those parts of the country which had, before the arrival of the Muslims in India, been reclaimed by orthodox Hinduism, have remained Hindu in population to this day. Those people who had lost faith in the Vedas, those who had trampled under foot the structure of society laboriously built up by the Aryan Rishis and Munis, and those who had ceased to take pride in their own culture and civilisation, it is they who easily became slaves of a foreign culture and civilisation, imported into the country by foreign invaders.

The Buddhists in north-western India became not only themselves lost to Indian culture and civilisation, but they also brought about the enslavement of the rest of India. The Buddhists lived in the region which is called the sword hand of India. Buddhist religion had taught them to hold Vedic culture and civilisation in contempt. They attached so exaggerated a value to the idea of the brotherhood of man, that they altogether lost sight of the principle of nationality. They became so extreme followers of the doctrine of non-violence, that they neglected all military preparations for the defence of the country. The result was that the people living in the region watered by the Indus and its tributaries which is of so great a strategic importance to the rest of India, lost all ideas of patriotism, and did not consider it worthwhile to fight in defence of Aryan culture and civilisation. For the next seven hundred years north western India was under the military, political and cultural domination of foreigners. North Western India now became a base for the subjugation of the rest of India. Within two hundred years after the conquest of the Punjab, the whole of the Ganges valley was conquered, and within another hundred years, Muslim arms reached Cape Camorin. It took the Muslims quite 400 years to conquer north western India. They took hardly twenty years to conquer the whole of the Ganges valley. Ala-ud-din Khilji took less than ten years to conquer the whole of the Deccan and South India.

For full five hundred years after the conquests of Mahmud, the Punjab and other parts of north western India remained lost to Indian culture and civilisation. But help again came from the Ganges valley. First came into the Punjab the Yogis, the followers of the sect of Guru Gorakhnath, who lived in Oudh somewhere in the 13th century. This sect had combined the old Hindu philosophic systems of Jaimini and Patanjali, that is to say Karma Mimansa and Yoga, and given to it a flavour of Muslim Sufiism. They, like the old Buddhists, established monastries, and then began to preach their faith to the people. They became respected even among the Muslims, and to this day they possess in the Punjab the title of Peers. Then came into this part of the country the Sanyasis, the followers of the sect founded by Swami Sankaracharya. They too established monastries, and filled the country side with their preachers and friars. After them came into the country the Bairagis the followers of Swami Ramanand who lived in Benares in the 15th century. After Swami Ramanand, the Punjab, it seems, became flooded with the preachers of all kinds, who came from the United Provinces, and re-awakened the Hindus of the north west to the political and cultural greatness of the ancient Aryans. A great amount of credit is due to the four Sadhu fraternities of the Yogis, the Sanyasis, the Bairagis, and the Udasis, in re-awakening the Hindus of the Punjab. They certainly put a new life into the souls of the Hindus, who were being crushed under the heels of foreign invadors. It was under such an atmosphere that the great Sikh movement rose in the Punjab. Guru Nanak lived from 1469 to 1539. He and his nine successors, the Sikh Gurus sought to establish in the north west a spiritual empire in the hearts of the Hindus. The people of the Ganges valley have always come to the rescue of the people living in the region of the Indus and its tributaries, whenever they are lost to Aryan culture and civilisation.

WILL AUSTRALIA BREAK UP?

Mr. John Rawdon writes in *Current History* :—

About a year ago Western Australia held a referendum in which a large majority of its 450,000 inhabitants voted for secession from the Australian Commonwealth, of which it is one of the six federated States. In the United States, which is accustomed to granting the importance of sectional interests, it does not appear so strange, as it does to English commentators, that so small a population should be willing to face the difficulties and responsibilities of independent statehood. Geographical factors are of overwhelming importance in Australia, which has fewer inhabitants than those of New York City but an area almost exactly the same as that of the Continental United States. It is therefore natural enough that people who live in the remote regions should feel that their interests are neglected at

Canberra, the Commonwealth capital in favour of more populous districts.

Western Australia has been joined by other States, particularly Tasmania and South Australia, in protesting against the proportions in which revenue is allocated to Federal and state purposes. At Canberra, on the other hand, there has been a feeling that the Federal Government's powers should be increased if it is to function efficiently, for the Australian Constitution, like that of the United States, leaves the residuary powers to the States and not, as in Canada, to the Federal Government. As a direct consequence of Western Australia's threat of secession and of the discontent prevailing elsewhere, and on the suggestion of Mr. Lyons, the Federal Prime Minister, a constitutional conference of the Federal and State Premiers met on February 16, to review Australia's thirty-three years of federation. It immediately became clear that there was a sharp conflict of interest. Mr. Stevens of New South Wales was the only one of the State Premiers who defended the Federal Government'a point of view; the others put forward various plans to obtain greater revenue for their States.

Prime Minister Lyons, in his opening speech, held out little hope of financial concessions, which would involve increased taxation and might threaten the Commonwealth's capacity to pay its way. He referred to a resolution by the five dissident Premiers which advocated, unless unification was the ultimate goal, amendment of the Constitution as the only way of putting the States on a stable financial footing, and he pointed out to them that they had not proposed any specific amendment. He deplored any suggestion that constitutional changes should be made on a depression basis, and suggested that the depression was the chief cause of troubles. He then asked for Federal control of inter-state shipping of minimum wages and hours of labour, and of company law, films, aviation, broadcasting, unlawful associations and fisheries.

Premier Stevens of New South Wales, dissenting from the resolution, said that the State owed what credit they had to the Federal guarantee of interest on the whole public debt. He proposed, however, that the temporary grants to the smaller States should be made permanent, and that the Commonwealth should make some further financial concessions.

Acting Premier Menzies of Victoria said that the Federal guarantee was poor compensation for the per capita payments to the States which had been made before the years of crisis. He contended that, failing the adoption of a virtually unitary government (which no one seems to want), the Constitution must be amended to insure that the States would have sufficient financial resources "to discharge in their sovereign capacity the duties reserved to them." Mr. Menzies's views apparently did not impress the Federal Ministers who were inclined to regard the financial difficulties of the States as temporary; but he was enthusiastically backed up by Premier Butler of South Australia who said he whould leave the conference if some concessions were not made, and by Premier Collier of Western Australia, who renewed the threat of secession. Sir Walter Lee, Premier of Tasmania, endorsed this threat.

Mr. Lyons, replying to the criticisms of the States, reminded the Premier that the present conference was experimental and had no authority to accede to any of the proposals made, and that suggestions for constitutional reform had to be submitted to Parliament and to popular rererendum. None of the State Premiers, he said, had made concrete suggestions in regard to the means whereby Commonwealth liabilities might be lessened in order to make concessions to the States.

The conference then went into committee and considered certain practical schemes concerning revenue. None of the proposals made were acceptable to all the participants, and the financial discussions were finally abandoned as abortive on February 26, although the Commonwealth Government appears to have agreed that the necessity for a constitutional amendment would not be regarded as a bar to any proposal which was otherwise acceptable. In these circumstances the States proved to be quite unwilling to grant the Federal Government the powers which it desired, and the conference broke up on February 28. Its practical decisions were limited to the agreement that the Federal Government shall control whaling, pearling and *Bechede-mer* (trepang) fishing, thus providing a romantic subject of study for Federal officials who live far from the sea, and permitting the ratification of the recent international agreement on whaling.

The States, with the exception of New South Wales to which the Federal Loan Council granted the statutory borrowing authority for which it asked, were bitterly disappointed, but the conference was not entirely without result, for the discussion of constitutional problems was valuable and informative. One of the most important of the questions dealt with was inter-state trade; a commission of experts is to be set up to recommend how a clearer delimitation of Federal and State powers can be made. Although the financial difficulties of the States (which collectively still have a budget deficit) remain to be solved, and the threat of withdrawal from the Commonwealth has not finally been staved off, their readiness to disagree on constitutional problems is perhaps a sign that the worst of Australia's economic troubles are over.

The exact nature of these troubles and the methods adopted to meet them are explained in Professor Douglas Copland's book, "Australia in the World Crisis 1929-1933," which has recently been published in the United States.

Although Sydney and Melbourne, each with a population of over 1,000,000, contain about a third of Australia's inhabitants, the country's chief resources are agricultural, and the depression was felt early and severely. It became extremely difficult to find the interest on Australia's large foreign obligations; the farmers' income fell, and since their purchases fell, too, there was much unemployment in the cities. The Government consulted a committee of economists, of whom Professor Copland was the chief, and was advised to adopt certain remedies.

First, the economists endorsed, as a means of preventing credit deflation, the depreciation of the currency which had already occurred, and which the Commonwealth Bank found little difficulty in maintaining at a given level. Second, they recommended comprehensive but limited deflation, including the lowering of wages. Third, they suggested an extension and cheapening of credit through conversion of public loans to lower interest rates. This affected external as well as internal bondholders, and was carried out with the co-operation of the London money market, while private interest, rents and so on, were cut by legislation. Fourth, no encouragement was given to any attempt to create an artificial scarcity by witholding raw materials from the market; the wool crop was sold each year for what it would bring, thus leaving a clear field for the future. Fifth, the tariff, which had been raised in 1930, was lowered, since the chief problem was to raise agricultural rather than industrial prices, and to facilitate exports.

Australia differs in its economic position from industrial countries in that its chief source of prosperity lies in the export markets, and wages are, more clearly than in other countries, rather an item in costs than a basis for increased demand. The theories of Australian economists, though they would not all find favour elsewhere, have nevertheless been very well borne out in practice, and the prompt disposal of stocks has enabled the wool-growers to take full advantage of the improvement of the wool market in Great Britain, America and Japan.

In Professor Copland's view recovery would have been more complete if the tariff had been further reduced, but the manufacturing interests and the industrial trade unions are now exerting a great deal of pressure to have it restored to its former level, in order to benefit by the increased wealth of the farmers. The unions are also beginning to demand a restoration of the wage cuts, although the Federal arbitration Court has recently further lowered the minimum wage.

THE BOMBAY MILL STRIKE.*

Government have again found it necessary in the interests of the public safety and peace to arrest and detain under Section 3 of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act 14 persons who are professed Communists connected with the present leadership of the Bombay Mill Strike. It has for several days been evident that these persons, and others, acting under their directions, have been abusing the liberty of speech allowed to them by delivering to the mill hands speeches of an inflammatory nature which had small reference to any dispute in the textile industry and the main object of which was to incite the strikers to attack the police and to defy all lawful authority. Such speeches have lately resulted in an increased tendency to the commission of acts of violence against loyal workers and the police. On the night of the 23rd May, after speeches of this character had been delivered on the Esplanade Maidan, a procession of strikers attempted to force its way by a prohibited route and violently attacked the police whilst being dispersed. Such demonstrations are now being instigated and organized by the strike leaders with the deliberate object of bringing the strikers into conflict with the police. A further indication of the character of the present leadership is contained in a leaflet issued on the 23rd May under the signature of the Secretaries of the Joint Strike Committee in which an appeal is made to the railway, dock, municipal and tramway workers to spread the strike all over Bombay and thus to launch a general campaign against the existing order of Society. It is significant that similar advice is given in an anonymous leaflet issued in the name of the Communist Party of India in which workers of all industries are urged to join the strike, collect arms and ammunition and fight the Police and the Military.

In now removing the persons responsible for these methods of leadership of the strike Government have considered only the requirements of the peace and safety of the City and have not departed from their previous attitude towards the strike itself. The present position of government in regard to the mill hands and Millowners is as follows:

On the 9th May the Secretaries of the Joint Strike Committee sent to Government and the Millowners a statement of 20 demands for which they alleged that the mill hands had gone on strike. On the 19th May Government addressed an enquiry to the Secretaries of the Joint Strike Committee asking for particulars of the constitution of this Committee amd its authority to speak for the textile workers as it was alleged that such authority had been given by the two Textile Trade Unions. As there appear to be almost daily changes in the personnel of the Secretaries they were also asked to state their authority for the statement of 20 demands, some of which were not within the power of the millowners to grant and appeared to have no relationship to an industrial dispute. Government have so far received no reply to this letter. As regards the Millowners the correspondence has already been made public in which, on the invitation of Government, the Millowners' Association have confirmed the fact that they have no intention of making any further alterations in wages or conditions of labour until the results of the investigation of these matters already instituted by Government have been published and considered.

Government are aware that the Municipal Corporation and other bodies have suggested the establishment of a Board of Conciliation. Government understand that the bodies making such suggestions probably do not refer to the establishment of a Board of Conciliation as defined in the Trade Disputes Act, 1929, for the purposes there specified, but they contemplate a small body which would seek in some manner to bring both sides to a settlement. After careful consideration Government think that action in this direction is not likely to be effective before the publication next month of the report of the investigations now being held by Government.

* Government Press Note.

INDIA'S METALLIC RESERVES.

Sir Montague Webb, who only recently sent a cablegram to President Roosevelt in connection with the free mintage of silver, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"There is a talk of Great Britain making another 'token' payment next month to the United States in silver. India should be keenly on her guard, lest another twenty millions of her precious monetary metal are quietly removed without her permission and then not properly paid for.

"Last year, it would be recalled, in pursuance of the Hilton-Young Policy of Monetary Restriction and Silver demonetisation, 20,000,000 ounces of India's silver were, without the Indian Legislature's permission, quickly shiped to the United States, under arrangement with the British Government.

"But, when the United States generously accepted 20,000,000 ounces of silver from Great Britain as a 'token' payment towards Britain's liabilities to the United States, President Roosevelt credited Great Britain with the same 'fifty pence for ounce' that India had been compelled (by her own default) to pay the United States for the silver in 1918–19.

"But Great Britain only credited India with twenty, and seven-sixteenths pence per ounce which was, of course, more than the current market rate at the time. But why was India not credited with the full 50 pence per ounce that she paid?

"Therefore it is of vital importance that, if England makes a 'token' payment in silver to the United States next month, she does not do so by withdrawing precious metal from India. The wording of the Reserve Bank of India Act and the recent issue in Calcutta by the Government of three crores of rupee notes based not on silver, but on the Government of India's sterling paper balances lying (quite uselessly and unnecessarily) in London, are now secretly working to push India off silver (just as the British themselves have been forced off gold) so that India, with a paper currency *here* based on a paper currency *there* may be more easily controlled within the sterling (paper) area in which the London money powers are working to enmesh and control the whole world."

FROM CATHOLICS TO LUTHERANS.

Sengaraiyur, a fertile village on the banks of the Coleroon, eight miles from Lalgudi, situated on the border of the district, just opposite to Tirukattupalle on the other side of the river, in the Tanjore district, was the scene of great enthusiasm yesterday when more than 3,000 families who had professed the Roman Catholic faith, or of late had become 'Self-Respectors,' became converts to the Lutheran Mission of the Protestant Church. A Conference of the villagers in the vicinity was held at the same time to declare their intention publicly not only to all people in the two districts but to mobilise their own forces and be present at the inauguration service held at the village.

The conference commenced its proceedings with a prayer by Rev. Manuel of Irungalur. Mr. V. O. Arpudasami, in requesting Dr. A. Mathuram, to declare the Conference open, recounted the various difficulties and disabilities under which they had suffered in the Roman Catholic Church, and hoped that their intention to change to Protestantism would result in their regeneration. He appealed to the Christian community as a whole not to call them Adi-Dravidas or depressed classes, but as Tamilians and sons of Bharata Mata in the same way as people similarly placed in France and England called themselves as French and English people.

Dr. A. Mathuram, in declaring the Conference open, read an address, in the course of which he congratulated the Christian Harijans on devoting their attention to the consideration of spiritual subjects when political and social subjects loomed large in all Conferences. He outlined the benefits of British rule and Christian influence for the good of India and emphasised the need for the obliteration of all caste distinctions, particularly among Christians in the precincts of the Church. Dr. Mathuram warned his fellow-religionists not to fall into the trap of those who would lure them by promising impossible things in regard to their political status and advised them to give up the drink habit, to lead clean and pure lives and above all, to be united and act in fear of God.

Mr. T. Xavier in the course of his welcome address stated that the community was suffering under great disadvantages which they represented to the Roman Catholic Church first with fear, then with obedience; but the Church had turned a deaf ear to their repeated requests.

Mr. Das Manickam, M. A. Ph. D., Headmaster, Union Christian High School, Madura, who was formally voted to the chair, then delivered an address in Tamil in the course of which, he referred to the condition of Negroes in America who had advanced a great deal during the last sixty years. He was often asked while in America about the condition of the depressed classes in India and he was not ashamed to tell the Americans of the efforts taken by reformers and the various missions to improve their lot. Whatever others might do for them, the community had to rely on themselves for their own uplift, although it could not be denied that extraneous help was necessary. Reviewing the work of the Christian Missionaries in India, the President paid a tribute to their great educational enterprise and South India, he considered, in particular, owed them a deep debt of gratitude. It could also be found that where education was spread, Christianity coexisted. It seemed to him that they had decided to become converts to the Protestant faith and the Lutheran Mission to which he belonged. He would writes the Trichinopoly Correspondent of the *Hindu*, ask them the same question he was asked by others, how long would such mass conversion endure? Would the movement continue to inspire the same belief in the individuals as single conversion; in other words, would those thousands who joined the new Faith that day continue to remain their for ever? Continuing the speaker said that he took some pains to examine the statistics of the spread of Christianity and found that the percentage of mass conversions worked at 80 per cent. Where whole families and villages decided on changing faith, there were no such difficulties and mass movements of this kind were quite in keeping with the spirit and social custom of India.

The Conference passed resolutions most important of which was the unanimous declaration of allegiance to the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church from that day with a prayer to the Lutheran Church to receive them in their fold and to confer upon them such privileges and concessions as were granted to Depressed Classes of the Lutheran Church in other districts.

After the inauguration service conducted by Rev. D. S. Pichai followed by a benediction by Rev. T. M. Rajendrum, the Conference terminated.

PURDAH.

"Miss Jahan Ara" writes in the *Mahratta* of Poona :—

How many of the Indian Muslim women observe purdah? Not more than fifteen per cent. This might come as a surprise to some but it is true. Eighty per cent. of the Indian Muslim women live in villages and cannot afford the costly luxury of observing purdah invented by the upper middle and aristocratic classes living in towns and cities. The peasant women work in the fields working shoulder to shoulder with their men and have no time to think of expensive frivolities like the veil and the burkha. Hard indeed would be the lot of the Indian peasant if the female members of his household confined themselves to their homes and spent their time in idle gossip like their urban sisters, instead of helping him with his work. Nor does purdah prevail among town labourers whose women are earning members of their families and even if they do not actually go to work, they have to do household and domestic work which naturally necessitates their coming out of their homes. A labourer earning a few rupees a month who goes to work early in the morning and returns late in the evening can hardly be expected to keep a servant, only to keep his wife in purdah. But the world is so used to talking in terms of the ruling upper classes that again and again it is repeated that Muslim women in India observe strict purdah without realising that the bulk of Muslim population in this as well as in other countries is too poor to think of such things.

The evils of purdah system have often been discussed. But to me it seems that so far very little attention has been paid to the most important—the economic aspect of the problem. It is not perhaps realised how much this practice costs a lower middle class family. Sirict observance of purdah means that the ladies are not expected to go out and do their own shopping and therefore servants have become an absolute necessity even in families of meagre monthly incomes. Whenever a lady has to travel, a male relative must accompany her however much expense and worry it may mean. Earning a living is of course considered too vulgar for gentle ladies and thus women are reduced to a position that is a

dubious cross between an expensive maid-servant and an unamusing plaything.

• An uncle of mine who is an ardent supporter of this form of rigorous imprisonment for women, when told of the disastrous effect purdah had on the health of women, complacently said, " Why, if they did sufficient exercise in their own homes and made a thousand rounds of their court-yards daily, they would never fall ill." When I asked him to try this exercise himself and not to go out of the house for a few days, he pondered for a while and then decided: " Well if you think you are all tired of the four walls of your homes, go out in burkhas." I suggested to him to experience walking in this moving tent one day and then tell me how he enjoyed it. The discussion abruptly came to an end with his final remark, "Well, I am not a woman."

Now this is exactly the position taken up by men who support purdah. Just because they are men and we are unfortunate to have been born women, they think they have a right to keep us shut up in houses. Complacency thy name is Man! Having satisfied themselves that they are somehow superior to women they refuse to listen to arguments. Why should they care that thousands of purdah women die every year of tuberculosis and consumption just because their lungs never breathe fresh open air, because they are condemned to live in unhygienic houses? Why should it trouble them that every third purdah woman suffers from hysteria because she is denied all forms of recreations and diversion and eternally destined to look at the maddeningly familiar walls of her house that constitute the boundaries of her miserable world? Yes, why should they care? They are not women!

A story was published some years ago of a Chinese prisoner who had been condemned for imprisonment in a dark cell from which he was taken out after twenty years of servitude. When he was brought out of the cell into the strong sunlight, his eyes were blinded by the so long unfamiliar glare of the sun and he was so scared that he begged the warder to let him go back to his dark cell.

Indian women who are content to remain in purdah are in a similariy pathetic position and they refuse to come out of their dark cells fearing lest they be blinded by the sun of freedom so long denied to them. Such women are found not only among Mussalmans but also among other communities. Though the burkha may be the exclusive symbol of Moslim women, seclusion of women is rigorously enforced in certain sections of the Hindus also. A movement is already afoot for the abolition of purdah both among the Hindus as well as the Mussalmans but its progress is still slow and confined to those who have been made to discard purdah not to share the burdens and responsibilities of men but only to become 'society butterflies.' They don't seem to realise that they are still in the same inferior position — mere playthings of Man. It is high time women themselves took the initiative and united in a determined attempt to rid themselves of the shackles of traditions and to assume their rightful position—equal partners of man in life.

Men who are conscious of the evils that have crept in our society because of utter seclusion of women, will undoubtedly help us in this task. But it is wrong to depend on them in a task that primarily concerns ourselves. We should remember two things: let us be free not to be frivolous but to work as our sisters work in the villages, let us do it ourselves without waiting for the men to come and release us. For if we waited for the them the chances are the hour of our deliverance may never come.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Unity a Shibboleth:—It is high time that Indian publicists gave up harping on the need of unity among the Indian communities, particularly Muslims and Hindus. The old generation of leaders seldom spoke of unity but there was if not more of unity at least very much less of disunity between the Hindus and Muslims then. For the last fifteen years we have talked of nothing but unity and, as a Muslim correspondent wrote to Gandhiji, there was never a time when there was more disunity than now, unity, like all essentials of life such as sleep, health of body and peace of mind, is best induced as an incident—something which has an intrinsic value of its own apart from its particular value to our personal or sectional convenience or comfort. Sleeplessness is never cured by worrying over how to get rid of it. Chronic anxiety about one's health predisposes a man or woman to ill-health as nothing else does. Peace of mind follows, as the Gita teaches and as every one can prove to himself, immediately on ceasing to think of oneself as the centre of the Universe. There is no unity between Hindus and Muslims. Notwithstanding that fact the world moves on and India with it. In as much as they reflect the fact that Hindus and Muslims have existed as separate communities for centuries, that whatever may be the teaching of the Koran or the Vedas they hold diametrically opposite views in certain matters of conduct and that historical events have left racial memories behind which are not wholly effaced, communal electorates represent some of the realties of Indian life and cannot be got rid of on abstract grounds of being incompatible with Democracy or Nationalism. We would, therefore, give up trying to cajole, bribe or bully any community which fears for its safety into joint electorates. On the contrary, we would invite every community or even sect or caste which wants it, to claim and help it to get a separate electorate to itself. But we would on no account allow any weightage, not because it is undemocratic or anti-national, but because it is a species of favouritism calculated to turn communities against one another. Instead of fighting against separate electorates which represent an existing fact, we should fight against weightages which are based on a fiction. It is the weightages which add to the attractions of separate electorates and if weightages are abolished, separate electorates too will lose much of their fascination.

Asia and Europe:—The death of Admiral Togo recalls memories of the Russo-Japanese War which marked the opening of a new chapter in Euro-Asiatic relations. The destruction of the Russian Fleet in the Sea of Japan undermined the Tsarist regime and paved the way for the Soviet Republic. It raised hopes in all Asiatic countries which till then had accepted with almost fatalistic credulity the pretensions of Western civilisation, not only in the military and industrial but also in the moral and social fields, to unapproachable excellence culminating in Kipling's doggerel about East and West. In the person of Togo the East met and overthrew the West in the person of the ill-fated Rozhestvenski. History has moved forward since then at a terrific pace and Japan today faces the Western world not only as an acknowledged equal but as a powerful and dreaded rival. She has won her position by mastering the arts of the West in war and industry. But she is not satisfied. We reprint a remarkable article contributed by a destinguished Japanese publicist to the *Atlantic Monthly* in which he gives a inside view of Japan's outlook at the present day. Japan asks herself, how does it profit her to win the whole world, if it means losing her own soul. Not that she undervalues her gains through acquiring the Western military and industrial technique. She would keep them but, at the same time, she would apply herself with more zeal than hitherto to recapture the spiritual values of old Japan which have gone somewhat into the background. India came under Western influence much earlier than Japan but her position today is far different from that of Japan. The industrial and military equipment of the West was carefully excluded from the purview of Indians. The whole trend of policy has been such as to make Indians diffident of their own

capacity and to make them feel helpless without the support (at a heavy price) of the White Man. Thus it comes to pass that while Japan is ahead of the West and claims the leadership of Asia, we here are busy quarrelling over the White Paper scheme. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee shows that there has been a reaction against westernisation in India also.

Religious Intolerance :—We publish this week a report of a speech delivered at the Y. W. C. A. Hall, Simla, by Signor Macchiono, on the "Origin of Religious Intolerance." Signor Macchiono has come to India to establish greater intellectual co-operation between East and West; with this object he has been sent to Benares Hindu University by the Institute for the Middle and Far East at Rome. He gave a new interpretation of the origin of intolerance in religion when he remarked that Christianity had derived it from the Greeks. Gibbon, on the other hand, is equally definite that the origin of religious intolerance was to be found in the exclusive religious and social customs of the monotheistic Jews. "The descendants of Abraham," he writes in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," "believed that they alone were the heirs of the covenant, and were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance by sharing it with others..... Whatever difference of opinion might subsist between the Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics, (among the primitive Christians) concerning the divinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by the same exclusive zeal and by the same abhorrence for idolatry, which had distinguished the Jews from the other nations of the world." Yet the polytheistic ancient world of Europe was prepared to tolerate the Jews and to "protect a superstition they despised", while they launched a determined campaign of persecution against the Christians. Gibbon explains this by saying that the Jews were a nation while the Christians were a sect. Having received the Mosaic law ages ago the Jews were justified in following the faith of their fathers by the example of the world Christians, on the other hand, "dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institution of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true or reverenced as sacred." Prof. Macchiono contends that the Homeric conception of gods and later attempts at interpretations of life in the divine world were responsible for the persecution of dissenters. The Professor ignores the fact, however, that polytheists were not unwilling to include new gods in their pantheon. The experience of India and China has confirmed Gibbon's view that Semitic monotheism has been accompanied by intolerance. Hindu theism, on the other hand, has been free from it.

Germany's Lost Colonies:—The demand for the restoration to Germany of the colonies which were taken out of her control by the Treaty of Versailles, is gathering force. Gen. Goering speaking in Berlin towards the end of last month declared that unless Germany has a colonial soil she will "die of suffocation." Dr. Schacht in his "The End of Reparations" (Jonathan Cape, 1931), denounced the deprivation of German colonies as a "theft" and declared that it was bitter economic need that inspired the demand for restoration. He stresses the fact that Germany depends more than other countries on a supply of raw materials and with the loss of her colonial empire she was cut off from such supplies. Nevertheless, the demand is based on the Spenglerian view that certain parts of the world have been designed by Providence to provide raw materials to the Nordic nations and to consume the finished products of their factories. The League of Nations by its Mandatory system has achieved a technique, imperfect though it is today, by way of counteracting the imperialistic tendencies of western nations. Suggestions have been put forward for an extension of mandates to all backward countries, but they have not met with the approval of imperialist powers. Today in theory at any rate Germany has equal rights to trade in Tanganyika with other powers. Her demand for preferential treatment and the control of the Government there is not acceptable to the people of that territory who prefer the present regime to being under the tutelage of any single power. The League of Nations cannot ignore the wishes of the people of Tanganyika.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh : —At a public meeting of Hindus in Bombay after the Poona Pact in September 1932, an organisation was formed with the object of abolishing Untouchability by reason of birth and securing equal rights of access to public institutions for the Untouchables. This society which started as "The All India Anti-Untouchability League" and changed its name in the second year to "The Servants of the Untouchable Society," now emerges from its third year of life as the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Sangh has issued its annual report for the year 1932–33, which reveals that the greatest work done by the society has been in the sphere of education. By the grant of scholarship, the opening of students, hostels and of day and night schools for primary education, the society has made a genuine contribution to the movement for Untouchable uplift. It has also secured the admission of Harijan children into the ordinary Municipal and Local board schools. Evidently the society considers the creation of the "David Education Fund" as its most important achievement during its short existence. The Fund aims at providing education from the upper primary standard to the close of a college career for a thousand Harijan students. The finances of the Fund have been augmented by the "Gandhi Recovery Felicitation Fund." As for social work, the report emphasises the need for steady effort

on the constructive side. It remarks:—"The housing problem, merely for Bhangis in our cities is a huge problem, where we can show the way but cannot walk the whole distance. But we may reasonably expect to secure tap connections, install lights and even put up latrine seats, at the Harijan Sevak Sangh expense, where urgently required. This way of giving help is really more effective and better appreciated than even weekly sanitary visits and casual sweeping of Bastis and meagre distribution of soap cakes."

The South African Manifesto:—The two political parties of South Africa led by Generals Hertzog and Smutts have amalgamated and have issued a joint manifesto declaring their future policy. The Party, we are told, stands for protection of European, coloured and native populations against Asiatic immigration and competition, but maintaining the existing rights of Asiatics now legally domiciled in the Union. The whole world knows how well the South African Union Government protects its native subjects. As for Asiatics domiciled in the Union, mostly Indians, they have few rights left to be maintained and the new Party promises nothing more. When Indians were required to save Natal from ruin they were taken under indenture to South Africa with the distinct promise that on the expiry of their indentures they would be free citizens enjoying all the rights of free citizens. There was no restriction of the right of entry and many Indians went and settled in the country in the wake of indentured labour. This right India has always claimed. It was surrendered in the agreement made with the Union Govern in 1914 in return for a promise, never kept, to treat domiciled Indians fairly. Sir Phirozeshah Mehta was furious at this unauthorised surrender of the claim of unrestricted entry which Indians as British subjects, he held, were entitled to. The Indian part of the agreement has been ever since rigorously enforced but the Union Government has not abated its hostility to Indians. The Asiatic immigration from which the new Party wishes to protect South Africa is not, therefore, that of Indians but of Japanese. Without British protection, South Africa is no match for Japan and that is, perhaps, the only reason why she does not declare her independence at once. In the ultimate resort therefore, it is Britain which upholds this anti-Asiatic policy of South Africa.

The Ethics of Default:—The British Government was presented recently by the Government of the United States with a bill for sums due on account of War Debt. In reply the British Government have issued a long statement explaining that it has decided not to pay as it would not be to the advantage of the world, of the United States itself and of the British people also, if the debts were repaid. It has also sought to make a difference between debt contracted for War and debt contracted for other purposes. These arguments and the decision they are used to justify, are altogether new to the world, particularly from British statesmen. Reuter says Europe is surprised but approves of the British decision. This was to be expected. Britain hitherto has prided herself on not being like the Continentals but she has now become one of them. America has evidently no illusions about repayment. She is prepared to give up her claims on condition that her European debtors undertake not to spend the money thus saved to them on armaments. The failure of the Disarmament Conference shows that this condition is unacceptable and that while America is not to be repaid her loans, the race of armaments will go on with unabated vigour.

Government and the Congress:—Government have withdrawn or rather suspended the orders declaring Congress organisations illegal but they retain the emergency powers against Civil Disobedience for use should there be a revival of it. This is precisely on the lines of the policy which was marked out for congressman at Patna, and we fail to understand the complaint of some of their leaders that Government have not been magnanimous. Congress Committees are free to meet and carry on their activities for uplift of harijans, svadeshi, village reconstruction, khaddar, prohibition of liquor trade and birth-control (if they wish) but any act of Civil Disobedience will instantly bring in force the emergency powers. Government do not see their way to release political prisoners. Perhaps they intend their release to be utilised as a consideration for a further bargain. No decision of the Congress arrived at in the absence of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel can be regarded as final. As the abandonment of Civil Disobedience was unaccompanied by any conditions regarding the release of prisoners, Congress leaders can not at this stage make a grievance of the decision of Government to leave the question for future consideration.

Misunderstood Marx:—Two books have been recently published to correct the mistaken views about Karl Marx's teaching which have come to be accepted by a large circle of his followers as well as antagonists. Their authors, G. D. H. Cole and Sidney Hook, are men of recognized competence. We reprint today the review of them in the Information Service issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The writers show that Marx was not a materialist but an idealist, that he recognized values other than the utilitarian, and that he admitted the possibility of bringing about changes in the economic structure of society by methods other than "bloody revolution." One sentence in the review may be quoted: "Marx might have uttered from many a modern pulpit the statement, 'M. Proudhon does not know that the whole of history is nothing but the progressive transformation of human nature.'"

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JUNE 9, 1934.

WASTAGE AND EDUCATION.

The career of Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, is unique in its interest and variety. Professor at a College in South Africa, on the conferment of responsible Government on that country, he along with other English employees were summarily relieved of their jobs. "General Botha owes me £ 40" was often on his lips when he came to Bombay as Professor of History in Elphinstone College. He was very popular with his students both because he took a genuine interest in them in and out of College and because his historical outlook was such as to engage his sympathy with the liberal tendencies on Indian politics. In the University he often voted with Mr. Gokhale notwithstanding that the Director of Public Instruction was officially in opposition. He collaborated with Mr. Manu Subedar, authority on Indian Finance and Translator into English of Dnayeshvari. Bombay, proved too small for his ambition. Mr. Anderson went to Simla where he became the right hand man of Sir Sankaran Nair. The Secretary for Education was Sir Edward Maclaglan but it was the Under Secretary, Anderson, whom the Hon. Member liked to have always at his elbow. He might have returned to Bombay which had to import an officer from the Central Provinces to fill its vacant Directorship of Public Instruction. But he wisely preferred the Punjab notwithstanding its inferior status in the Provincial roll of precedence. There he made himself as indispensable to the Education Member, Sir Fazli Hussain, as he was to Sir Sankaran Nair. His almost unperceived accession to the topmost rung of the Indian Educational Service was the natural reward of his industry and gift of making himself acceptable to persons of diverse, if not opposite, temperaments. Mr. Anderson served with zeal and distinction on the Sadler Committee as well as on the Hartog Committee, the former on the condition of Calcutta University and the latter to find out how far the advance of Education in British India had qualified the people to become voters in scheme of constitutional reform. No such enquiry has been considered necessary to the enlargement of the franchise in any other country and very little use was made of the report of the Hartog Committee in the recommendations of the Simon Commission of which it was an auxiliary. But Sir George Anderson has found in it the main text of his review of Indian Education from 1927-32.

The Hartog Committee quite excusably forgot all about its main object, which was to appraise from educational facts the capacity for recording their votes of the people of India, and launched into a general survey of the merits and results of Indian education. In passing, we may note that since the beginning of this century the Indian Educational system has been almost constantly under surveillance by some Commission or Committee, Imperial or Provincial, either in whole or in part. One consequence, as might be expected, has been that Indian educationists have completely lost faith in themselves and are ready to plead guilty to any dereliction that may be urged against them. Indeed, some of the most prominent of them are the most vehement denouncers of their own life work. Sir P. C. Ray is the loudest detractor in this class. The Hartog Committee could find no redeeming feature in Indian Education. "Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness," it declared. The "wastage" in the case of boys was great. In the case of girls, it was still greater. Primary education, secondary education, University education, all came under the same sentence, if anything the one more than the other. Sir George quotes the indictment at length and proceeds by tables, charts and other devices to justify and confirm it. It is not clear what is meant by 'wastage' in education. Every utility involves some wastage. The very food we eat has in part to go out as wastage in order that it may fulfil its purpose. In fact, if any Committee proposed to get all that we eat assimilated into the body we should die of stomach trouble. Some roughage is now prescribed if it is not present in sufficient quantity in the shape of bran in order that it may be wasted. Sleep may be considered a waste by conscientious educationists but nature knows better. Leisure may be described as waste by the factory owner but the wise employer knows that the efficiency of his worker depends upon his "wasting" some of his time. The question then is, is the so called 'wastage' in Indian education incommensurate with the results achieved by it? The next question, if it is disproportionate, is it so because of its special defects, or because the whole system of which it is a part, revels in waste from top to bottom? The third question is, what exactly is education intended to produce and which it does not produce in satisfactory proportion? The answer to these question will differ, according as the answerer represents the system or the society which it dominates. The last thing that we expected of Sir George Anderson is that he would succumb so throughly to the utilitarian view of education.

The times are critical, says Sir George. When were they not? Really, however, it is not the times but the way in which one regards them that makes them critical or placid. The Commissioner of Education thinks—many others think it is all an illusion—that far-reaching schemes of political advancement are in the making. He, of all officials, should be above this sort of claptrap. Education, surely, has a higher purpose than producing voters. We commend to the Commissioner, if he has not already seen it, an article headed "Education and Civilisa-

tion" by Bertrand Russell in the *New Statesman* of the 5th May. It is one of the wisest pronouncements on Education we have come across for many a long year. We pick out for the special attention of Educational Authorities in this country, the following :

> The submissive lose initiative, both in thought and action; moreover, the anger generated by the feeling of being thwarted tends to find an outlet in bullying those who are weaker. That is why tyrannical institutions are self-perpetuating; what a man had suffered from his father he inflicts upon his son, and the humiliations which he remembers having endured at his public school he passes on to 'natives' when he becomes an empire builder. Thus an unduly authoritative education turns the pupils into timid tyrants, incapable of either claiming or tolerating originality in word or deed. The effect upon the educator is even worse: they tend to become sadistic disciplinarians, glad to inspire terror, and content to inspire nothing else. As these men represent knowledge, the pupils acquire a horror of knowledge which, among the English upper class, is supposed to be part of human nature, but is really part of the well-grounded hatred of the authoritarian pedagogic.

Authority and Discipline are the key words of the system of which Indian Education is a rather clandestine offspring. The schoolmaster or even Professor in India is a policeman in some measure. The Indian educator and the bodies which control it, from Local Boards to Universities, are constantly worried by the necessity of reconciling the purpose of education with political and administrative exigencies. So long as this state of things continues, it is futile to expect or attempt to instil any principle into education.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

One of the many good-hearted, well-meaning English persons who are sincerely distressed at the estrangement between Britain and India and are anxious to do their bit to remove its causes, asks me what I think of the situation. The situation in India today is that Lord Willingdon's policy has completely succeeded in putting down Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation. What Congressmen want now is that Government should accept their submission—which they try to clothe in the garb of defiance—and facilitate their purpose of capturing the Councils and, through them, the machinery of the administration. It is clear that they do not propose, as the old Swarajists did, to deny themselves the opportunity of taking office should it come their way. Although they have declared that their turning their backs on Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation is not in the least due to a desire on their part to meet the wishes of Government, they, nevertheless, demand that Government should accept it as such and release political prisoners, remove the ban on Congress meetings, and otherwise show that they rejoice at the return of the prodigals. The Government, on the other hand, seem to think that, having put down Civil Disobedience and obliged Congressmen to realize the futility of Non-co-operation, they are in a position to do without their co-operation and to hoist the erstwhile Non-co-operators with their own petard. This is the present situation and, so far as I can see, it will be the situation in the near future.

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The possibility of Gandhiji alone resuming Civil Disobedience does not materially affect the situation. One of the reasons, and it does them honour, which have led to his personal reservation of freedom to start Civil Disobedience, is that while Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the Frontier Gandhi, Gaffar Khan, are in prison, it will be rank ingratitude to declare that the cause for which they went to prison has been finally given up. There may be other reasons, too. Congress leaders, though they could not act directly, have looked with satisfaction and not a little eagerness, at efforts to bring about a meeting between Gandhiji and the Viceroy before the latter left India. Gandhiji's personal reservation may be given up if these and other political prisoners are released. That brings me to my correspondent's next question, "Could Gandhiji deliver the goods?" The commercialisation of politics, and its consequent degradation, is exemplified by this hateful phrase. Delivering goods is the final incident in a sale transaction. When it is said that so-and-so can deliver the goods, the association of ideas suggests a sale transaction. Would the country accept as satisfactory proposals which satisfy Gandhiji? Three years ago, I might have said, yes, to this question. But today, I can not. During these years my respect for Gandhiji as a man has remained unabated. But my confidence in his judgment in public affairs has, I am sorry to say, appreciably declined. The revolt of the Swarajists has an unmistakable meaning. The spell is broken. I should welcome every sign of appreciation of Gandhiji's eminence on the part of Government here and in England. There is no man living of whom it can be said with the same confidence as of Gandhiji that he has no personal axe to grind. But his handling of political issues at the Round Table Conference, particularly the muddle about the representation of the Depressed classes, has made people apprehensive of leaving him to settle the political destinies of India. Gandhiji has a way of raising big issues and then compromising on trivial ones. Government have thoroughly understood this trait in his character, and they are better at a bargain than Gandhiji.

* * * *

That is the situation in India. If that was the only factor involved, the White Paper scheme or an even more safeguarded one or none at all of constitutional reform, can be worked with the help of the Police and the Magistracy and the communal jealousies aggravated by the modern conflict between Capitalism and Communism. But there are other factors. They have their origin not in India but outside. The defeat of Russia by Japan led to the Morley Minto Reforms. The Great War led to the Montagu Chelmsford reforms. The clouds which are gathering on the international horizon, while they fill my heart with sadness as one who has friends in many lands, also give rise to hopes for the day when India too will share the travails and joys of the new world that is being born, not as an unwilling camp follower but as a free agent bringing her special gifts to the service of humanity. The increasing acerbity of European politics is a portent of black significance. But of far greater because nearer import is the courageous assumption by Japan of the hegemony of Eastern Asia. Japan has higher ambitions. The spokesman of her Foreign Office recently declared in an unofficial capacity, "we being Asiatics are far more capable of dealing with other Asiatics in their best interests than are Americans or Europeans." European writers realize the transformation wrought by world events in the position of Europe face to face with Asia. The far-sighted Mussolini in his address

to the Asiatic Students Conference at Rome dismissed contemptuously the Kipling dogma about East and West and declared Italy's determination to work for the co-operation of Europe and Asia. The Asiatic Labour Conference held in Colombo a few days ago is also significant. The strained relations with the United States on the War Debts and the acrimonious exchanges with France at the Disarmament Conference this week, cannot but have their repercussions on the Indian problem. It is impossible to believe that Britain with her great political acumen will fail to see the advantage in these circumstances of having at her side a contented and co-operating India rather than behind her a sullen and resentful India. Sir Samuel Hoare's address to the women of Chelsea shows a marked advance on his earlier peremptory attitude. "The dogs bark but the caravan passes on." The same Samuel Hoare who said that years ago says to the women of Chelsea now that the Empire would go smash if the barking dogs are not taken into the caravan. He still believes that the White Paper meets Indian demands and satisfies Indian aspirations. He will soon change his mind on that too. There are signs that the truth about happenings in India is at last coming home to Britain. The British Sedition Bill has awakened the British people to the certainty that Anglo-Indian administrative ideas will invade British administration and that whatever is permitted in India will eventually recoil upon their own liberties. These things provide a background which relieves the internal Indian situation of some of its gloom.

N.

THE KUMBAKONAM VAJAPEYA YAGAM.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar)

The 'Indian Express' in its issue of the 23rd May raised a strong and dignified protest in a short and sweet way against the "unwanted demonstration of faith in those parts of the Vedas which have lapsed into quiet oblivion," meaning thereby the totality of Yagas involving bloody sacrifice of innocent animals. This has brought forth a prompt reply from the Treasurer, Tanjore District Brahmana Mahasabha, published in the same paper on the 29th instant, with a rejoinder by the editor in the same issue. While the public-spirited editor took his stand on a practical basis of stout common sense and current "Brahmin sentiment," the other took up an apparently invulnerable position on the authority of the Veda and Sastra. But is it really so impregnable that the editor should despair of meeting his adversary on his own ground? The 'Evening Mail' of Bangalore in its editorial of the 26th instant has ably struck the right note of indignant but balanced protest thus:- "The wise Brahmana had the ancient Dharmasastras recast in such a manner that for the Dwijas at any rate drinking, and meat-eating in non-sacramental fashion and the offering of animal food in the course of sacramental sraddhas were alike forbidden and the heaviest penalties attached to their contravention," and asks whether present day "Hindu society is tired of itself and has made up its mind to drift bodily into Semeticism."

2. Now what has really escaped public scrutiny in respect of the Kumbakonam Yaga, as distinguished from the Ellore Polaramman sacrifice of about 6000 animals is the most revolting and sorry spectacle of a section of learned Brahmins that have from time immemorial given up flesh and fish in every-day life, suddenly taking to the same under cover of Vedic sanction on the occasion. Nothing could be more inconsistent and disparaging except perhaps Mahatma Gandhiji's mystic but yet indefensible act of despatching an ailing calf to an earlier grave, and his astounding justification thereof by his own notion of right and wrong in the light of his "inner voice." It is clear I would venture to submit that both the Mahatma and the Kumbakonam Brahmins have only grievously erred. The gross error on the part of the latter lay not in finding Vedic sanction for the present goat-sacrifice but in their grotesque application of an out-of-date ritual in circumstances wholly out-of-tune with the present times. It consists of an utter defiance of the very Sastras suited to more highly evolved types and classes of men, as ages roll on. Lord Shri-Krishna has in the Bhagavad Gita enjoined "Whatever thou drinkest or eatest, make an offering of it to me." What is it that the learned Sastries and Vaideeks have done at Kumbakonam? They have done just the wrong thing; they have offered to Him at the Yaga just the very thing that they have not tasted for ages together, nay, that they have solemnly abjured and heart and soul abhorred and eschewed from their own daily, monthly, and yearly ceremonies observed in common with their fellow Brahmins and higher classes among their non-Brahmin brethren.

3. In the language of the Manu Smriti (Chapter 5. Slokas 53-54) those Brahmins have both individually and collectively violated the strict vegetarian principle of scrupulous and deliberate avoidance of all flesh which has been held in merit equal to a hundred years' performance of annual Aswamedha or horse-sacrifice. The Ellore non-Brahmins might well be excused in offering any number of poor animals in bloody sacrifice as they were not far removed from the habit of flesh-eating and did not offer what they would hesitate or decline to eat themselves. The "Havis-sesha" or sacrificial remains must necessarily be (Manu, 5·24) honoured by eating and cannot be refused in a fit of spontaneous or natural revulsion, and cannot be eaten with a forced effort or repressed conscience, (Manu, 5·35) as the Brahmins must have done. What was there to prevent them from having recourse to Manu's fiction in the form of an animal made of rice or wheat flour mentioned in Chapter 5 Sloka 37? Is it not immensely clear that the animal-sacrifice rules and remarks mentioned by Manu in Chapter 5 Sloka 22-52 applied to an altogether different state of society than our own and were directed against indiscriminate slaughter of the dumb creatures in season and out of season so as to restrict the same to the specified occasions only?

4. Manu has no doubt referred as a fact (5·28–30) to a living being sustaining itself on other animal and vegetable life, and hence it may be that no slur is cast on doing things natural in the way of eating, drinking or sexual craving; but we must never forget that the great saint has added that it is most meritorious to avoid or escape from such natural temptations, (5·56). While enumerating the various kinds of fish and flesh (3·267–274) he would prescribe for the benefit of the ancestor's manes during Sraddhas, he emphasises the importance of vegetable food by way of oblation to them and the enormous satisfaction they derive therefrom, nay, eternal gratification they get when offered in monthly or annual Sraddhas, (3·267 & 272) which Sraddhas he says are superior and more important than Yagas to Gods (3·203). It is a matter of common knowledge that on this account and on the strength of this injunction even non-vegetarians, caste-Hindus and the Harijans or depressed classes alike, abjure to this day all sorts of fish and flesh on Amavasya and Sraddha days, and even marriage occasions while they are not so very particular on other occasions.

5. When the movement is thus gradually tending towards pure vegetarianism and animal food is on the decline on religious and humanitarian as well as on scientific grounds, it is simply atrocious to retrace our steps by first driving the thin end of the wedge under cloak of Yaga and Yajnya and set a very bad example to our less enlightened brethren, who in all duty must be given every uplift towards general advancement all round. If our eminent Vaideeks proficient in Sastraic lore take to such obnoxious forms of impotent exhibition of faith or piety at at this late hour of the day, then would not their own English-educated children and children's children be fairly justified in their outrageous and unpardonable ignorance and open defiance of the very Sastras and take to all kinds of forbidden food or drink and all sorts of prohibited acts of commission and omission? Would not father's sins be visited on the children? If all goes ill with them, who is to thanked? Every one seems to contribute his mite towards the general downfall of the happy blend of morality, religion and conscience, held up to admiration in our books of right knowledge and right conduct.

GENEVA'S JUNIOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(By Henry Compton)

The League of Nations is by no means the only example of international co-operation in Geneva. Many unofficial leagues of nations find a home in the international city, and among the most interesting and successful of them is the Geneva International School.

The School is in some sort a child of the League. It was founded in 1924 by a group of international officials, in order that their children might have a good education in their national cultures, while remaining in the international atmosphere of Geneva itself. The beginnings were modest. Eight pupils and three teachers attended the opening classes of the school, which were held in a chalet lent by an interested Genevese friend.

Today, as it approaches the end of 10 years' work, the School looks back with pride on a story of steady growth, of difficulties overcome, and of exceptional problems satisfactorily solved.

The scholars are now housed in a large handsome building surrounded by trees and playing fields. They number over 150 and they are drawn from 20 different nations. Boys and girls from England, America, France, and Germany rub shoulders with comrades from India, China, and Japan, and half-a-dozen languages are heard during the course of one day.

The language problem would appear at first sight to be one of the most formidable problems in international education. Actually, in Geneva, bilingualism is made one of the chief means of developing the children's minds. Some lessons are given in English, others in French.

In an address at a gathering in celebration of the School's tenth year of work, the Directricx, Madame Fernand Maurette, said that great importance was attached to the use of the two languages. "The French-speaking children," she said "are made to see how their English friends interpret the world around them, and conversely the English-speaking children see how the French-speaking children think. Two languages are two different ways of looking at the world."

In pursuance of this idea, the teaching in the two languages is made to reflect the differences between the corresponding ways of thinking: the French, analytical, logical, and orderly; the English synthetic, aiming rather at the development of literary sensibility and creative powers.

The national characteristics thus prove themselves to be complementary, and not inimical, to one another. On this principle the training of the children is developed from the kindergarten stage up to the age of eighteen. An international outlook is ensured by teaching geography and history from a world point of view. But no attempt is made to belittle national traditions. Once a week national culture lessons are given to the various national groups in the school.

International co-operation of this kind works smoothly. To the children it is the most natural thing in the world, and quarrels arising out of racial differences are practically unknown.

NEITHER MATERIALIST NOR REVOLUTIONARY.

The appearance of scholarly yet popular expositions of the philosophy of Marx (What Marx Really Meant. By G. D. H. Cole. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. $2·0 .—Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. By Sidney Hook, New York, John Day Company, 1933. $2·50,) calls attention to the widespread and growing interest in the chief historic source of socialist and communist theory. A perusal of them impresses one with the fact that Karl Marx was among the most misunderstood men in modern history. The stereotype most of us have formed of him is far from anything that his actual writings will support. This misconception is shared by friend and foe, by follower and critic.

Of the books under review, Mr. Cole's is simpler in statement and more readable. Those who have read his *Guide Through World Chaos* will read this book with high interest and without disappointment. Mr. Hook's is more philosophical and is heavier going. Both men are Marxists essentially, and their expositions are quite consistent though far from identical in form and emphasis.

Both writers are concerned to explain the materialism of Marx and to remove the current confusion that surrounds it. In what sense was Marx materialistic? Not at all in the ordinary sense. Indeed Mr. Cole asks "Why call such a conception 'materialist,' when it in fact embodies the fullest recognition of the conscious determining power of mind?" The reason he called his theory of history "materialist" was that he wanted to "mark it off sharply from the metaphysical idealism of Hegel and his followers." It would be more accurate to call Marx's theory "realistic" than "materialistic." He leaves ample scope for "the constructive influence of the minds of men." He was concerned to make men understand the material framework which conditioned their lives in order that they might control their environment. To this extent he was determinist but in no sense fatalist.

"Marx's own life," says Mr. Hook, "with its ostracism, grinding poverty, refusal to compromise truth and revolutionary honor, is an illustration of what his ethical values were. He was surer that there were some things that human beings ought to do than he was that those things would bring pleasure and not pain."

Furthermore, as Mr. Hook says: Marx was no utilitarian in the sense of the word used to designate the "happiness" school. "He condemns capitalism not because it makes people unhappy but because it makes them *inhuman*, deprives them of their essential

*Information Service published by Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

dignity, degrades all their ideals by setting a cash value on them, and inflicts *meaningless* suffering."

Far from being "materialistic" about human nature, Marx entertained what most of us would call a spiritual conception of it. "By acting," he said, "on the external world and changing it man changes his own nature." Elaborating this point Hook interprts him further: "Once [man] acquires control of the conditions of social life, he can consciously make over his own nature in accordance with a morally free will, in contradistinction to man in the past whose nature has been unconsciously made over by the socially determined will of economic classes." Marx might have uttered from many a modern pulpit the statement, "M. Proudhon does not know that the whole of history is nothing but the progressive transformation of human nature."

The extreme interpretation of economic determinism is held by Mr. Cole to be a perversion of Marx:

"There are some Marxists who cannot see a flapper use her lipstick without producing pat an explanation of her conduct in terms of the powers of production and the class-struggle. It is, of course, undeniable that the prevalence of lipstick at a price within the normal flapper's purse is a by-product of capitalist mass-production, and has therefore an economic cause; but in relation to world history it is a phenomenon completely irrelevant to the class-struggle, and of no significance at all.....All that the most rigid Marxist needs to claim is that the influences which are not manifestations of the class-struggle are of a secondary order, and exert their effects, however important they may be, within limiting conditions set by the evolution of the powers of production."

Likewise, the notion of the inevitability of revolution is falsely derived from Marx. There is no guarantee, says Mr. Hook, of the "final validity and certainty of communism. Only the objective possibilities are given." Mr. Cole is also far from dogmatic in discussing the possibility of a parliamentarian, rather than a revolutionary, solution of the economic problem. There is, he says, "a real possibility of capturing the state machine, as far as it can be captured as the result of a parliamentary election, on the basis of a policy that is not mainly social reform, but constructive socialism." The likelihood of this, he thinks, is not great. In Great Britain, the House of Lords and the Crown would stand in the way, and in the United States, the Supreme Court. Mr. Hook is troubled by Marx's own statement on this point: "We know that special regard must be paid to the institutions, customs and traditions of various lands; and we do not deny that there are certain countries, such as the United States and England in which the workers may hope to secure their ends by peaceful means." He thinks this inconsistent with the whole current of Marx's thinking, but after weighing alternative explanations gives it up.

Mr. Cole after a careful analysis of economic classes in modern society, concludes that "on the other hand, if the proletariat could be reinforced by the adhesion of even a minority of the technicians, administrators, and professional men and women who form the active section of the new *petite bourgeoisie*, it could be strong enough both to resist fascism and to build socialism against the united hostility of the *grande bourgeoisie* [the great capitalists and industrialists] and the more reactionary *petit bourgeois* groups [shop-keepers and the like], and even, with good fortune, to do these things by peaceful and constitutional means. That this should come about is by far the best hope for Western civilization in its present plight." This outcome Mr. Cole thinks unlikely. In any case, Communist policy is in danger of opening the door to "a real growth of fascism." The alternative possibilities are numerous and Mr. Cole, as a careful student of economic history, is "sceptical of inevitabilities."

Mr. Hook makes much of the point that in Marx's thought, the revolutionary purpose will never work itself out unless embodied in a political movement. The party is necessary to give form and effectiveness to the class struggle. Furthermore "Marx and Lenin realized that left to itself the working class would never develop a socialist philosophy . . . A revolutionary socialist philosophy does not flow from the same source as the primitive class struggle of trade unionism. It must be introduced literally into the trade-union movement, although without the existence of such a movement, socialism would have no revolutionary meaning."

Both authors are interested in Marx's method—dialectical materialism—more than in his specific conclusions. Says Mr. Cole, that method rests on a denial of formal logic, the essence of which is "the exclusion of the contradictory"—the assumption that a thing cannot be itself and something other. Marx, following Hegel, adopted a philosophy of "becoming" instead of the traditional philosophy of static "being" believing that the latter is wholly untrue to the real world. For things are always becoming what they are not. For Marx, however, the thesis, antithesis and synthesis are not *ideas* as with Hegel but *things*—specifically economic classes in society. The capitalist class creates its opposite, the proletariat. Conflict between them results and the issue is the emergence of a new class, or rather as Marx ultimately envisaged it, a classless society. The theory requires that each synthesis shall become a new thesis, but Marx was not interested in prediction to that extent.

As Mr. Hook puts it, for Marx, "the real task of the empirical philosopher,.....was not to show that the content of history was logical but that the content of logic was historical." Communism in no sense "involves a complete break with the past." Marx was, first and last, a revolutionist but he found the stuff of revolution in history.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN GERMANY.*

Under recent German legislation loans are granted by the Government to young couples wishing to marry, on condition that the woman undertakes to abandon her employment. Further measures in connection with these loans have now been found necessary.

According to an article in *Sosiale Praxis*, the system of loans has attained its object of permanently withdrawing a large number of women from the labour market and reviving the furniture and domestic utensils industries. Applications for loans, which the Ministry of Finance estimated would number 200,000 for the whole financial year, have however increased to such an extent (amounting to 194,485 between August 1934 and the middle of February 1934) that the funds allotted to finance them proved inadequate during the period between the middle of February and the middle of April. These funds are derived from special tax on unmarried persons, estimated to yield 220,000,000 marks a year; in February 1934 the amount granted in loans had reached 120,500,000 marks. Although the average loan had fallen from 730 marks in August and September to 560 marks in February, and the maximum had been reduced from 1,000 marks to 800 marks in October, the proceeds of the tax were insufficient to meet the demand for loans.

* Industrial and Labour Information, League of Nations.

In these circumstances the Government decided to strengthen one of the main provisions of the Act, which prohibited married women from re-entering employment. An Act of 28 March 1934 amends the Act of 1 June 1930 by prohibiting any married woman from re-entering employment so long as her husband is not in need as defined for the purposes of unemployment insurance, and so long as the loan has not been repaid in full. A woman was previously allowed to reenter employment if the husband's income did not exceed 125 marks a month. The preamble of the Act states that women often left their employment temporarily for the sole purpose of obtaining a loan, knowing that their husbands were not earning more than 125 marks a month and were not likely to do so in the near future, and that they could reenter their former employment or find a new post without departing from the provisions of the Act. The new Act is intended to put a stop to this practice, which has prevented the Act from fully attaining its object of reducing unemployment.

The Minister of Finance also issued new instructions to the local authorities on 7 March 1934 in regard to the granting of loans; the maximum to be granted in future is fixed at 500 marks, and this sum may be exceeded only in quite exceptional cases.

On 16 March 1934 the Minister of the Interior issued new instructions in regard to the medical examination required for the grant of loans, the object being to render the regulations uniform.

Finally, the Government has decided that gifts voluntarily made by employers to women workers leaving their employment on marriage shall be exempt from income and wage tax, the tax on unmarried persons, the tax on gifts, and the special tax for unemployment relief.

Reference has also been made in these pages to the views of the German Government on the question of multiple earnings and the instruction of the Minister of Labour that all cases should be considered individually. On the basis of these instructions the Labour Trustee for Saxony, after consultation with the Minister of the Interior of Saxony, recently decided that the profession of midwife should not be considered as a case of multiple earnings unless the income derived from it considerably exceeded the minimum income guaranteed to midwives.

In support of this decision, it was stated that the profession of midwife comes under a special category in that it is carried on solely by women. It is desirable that midwives should be married. It is true that a minimum income is guaranteed to them, but in return they must be at the disposal of their patients at any hour of the day or night, and this greatly limits their capacity to fulfil domestic duties. They are not allowed to carry on any other trade incompatible with their regular profession, and in view of their considerable expenses, their earnings cannot be considered a net income.

ORIGIN OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.

Signor Macchiono, the Italian visiting Professor who has been sent to the Benares Hindu University by the Institute for the Middle and Far East in Rome, established to secure greater intellectual co-operation between the East and the West, gave a lecture at the Y. W. C. A. Hall, Simla, on "The Origin of Religious Intolerance," on May 31. Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, presided.

The origin of this particular kind of intolerance, the Professor said, was to be found in the Homeric or Greek conception of gods. The Greek legends, specially Homer's, claimed to know everything about the divine world. Homer described in his poems every detail of the divine life; he knew how gods sat, slept, fought, quarrelled and so forth. His way of thinking was connected with the scientific frame of the minds of the Greeks, whose greatest aspiration was attainment of knowledge; they wanted to know everything which could be seen and could not be seen.

The Homeric religion was the key to a right understanding of the origin of Greek mythology which originally meant the science of the divine stories, but latter writers, who used to deal with mythological stories, were small theologians. In other words mythology was not for the Greeks a complex of tales but a complex of notions. A new myth was not a new story but a new conception of gods.

From this later flowed the conception of two worlds—the one where we lived and the divine world—equally real and true. In Plato, we find the notion of the divine world, where souls live before being embodied. This Platonic and realistic motion of a divine world entered into Christianity. Theology, which is the science of the divine world is as true as science. Now science must be intolerant; science cannot come to compromises; scientitic intolerance was transferred to theology because theology itself was a science. This was the origin of religious intolerance, which was fed on the presumption that it was possible to know God in a logical way.

The only way to overcome this intolerance was to give up pseudo-scientific knowledge of God, to reduce theology to mythology, and to consider it not as a complex of knowledge, but as a complex of imaginative representation of religious experiences, not very different from language and poetry. All religions must be considered as different languages, which expressed in different ways the same experiences. No language was true by itself—it was true only in reference to the idea which it expressed. No religion was true by itself—it was true only in reference to the expression of the religious experience.—United Press.

"WHAT HAPPENS AT LOURDES."

In an article on this subject, with the subtitle "Psychic Forces in Health and Disease," Dr. H. Planders Dunbar comments in *The Forum* for April on the importance of emotion in physical and social health. "It is emotion that makes us think, and it is emotion that illumines for each of us the things worth thinking about.....More especially it is emotion that makes us *free* to think and act." Yet "we think rarely of the whole range of psychic forces in the integration of personality or of our social order."

Lourdes has been described as "sordid, depressing, unhygienic and medieval," as well as "impressive, mysterious, inspiring." The atmosphere of fervour and devotion and the wonder of its people over the mysteries of God and nature affect pilgrims whether they are cured or not. Pilgrimage follows pilgrimage in the town, each with its daily schedule of "so many masses, so many hours of prayer for the sick at the baths, stations of the cross, nursing service, and participation in the great processions," all in a silence unbroken save by chants and prayers. The "ultimate power" rests not with the priests or the physicians of the Medical Bureau but with the nurses and stretcher bearers who

"constitute a powerful organization" and who by their own criteria are quick to differentiate between real cures and hysteria. The hospitals are uncomfortable and by professional standards inadequate, but one is arrested by "an atmosphere of confidence and contentment" not achieved in more efficient hospitals under competent and famous physicians. Processions pass, "hundreds of sick and dying people carried painfully on primitive stretchers or drawn in wheel chairs over rough cobblestones. . . . . The stretcher bearers, and the patients too, to the extent of their strength, pray constantly and audibly during the course of the procession.

"What is remarkable is that every one who comes goes away quiet, and that not just for a few days; often it is a quietness lasting a lifetime." Physicians say that their patients achieve "a different attitude toward their illness" whether they get well or not. "The important thing is that psychic forces without the help of scientific method and many of the tools for healing that science has given us, and indeed in disobedience of many of the principles science has taught us, are making people happier and freer to act. . . .

"We know now that we cannot have a sound mind or body with a distorted emotional life. More than this, the physician often cannot cure an ordinary disease in a person with a distorted emotional life. Even drugs, on which the physician usually relies, are hampered in their effect or rendered ineffective by emotional or spiritual conflict.

The physician has discovered that phychiatry has more effective techniques to offer than the temporary building of emotional or spiritual conflict with sedatives. . . .

"Modern civilization has accomplished a rather startlingly complete separation of body and soul, priest and physician, although early in our history the powers of both were vested in one person."

We forget that emotional conflicts or depressions when allowed to develop may be equally as disastrous as physicial catastrophes. "One may venture to say that in all the history of the development of mankind, nothing more important has happened than the present application of the scientific method to the study, not merely of human behaviour, but especially of emotions from the point of view of their physiological significance on the one hand and their social significance on the other."

Dr. Dunbar is Director of the Committee on Religion and Medicine of the New York Academy of Medicine and the Federal Council of Churches.

Terrific Waste of Money:—Mr. Frederick Atherton, in an article in the *Daily Herald* (London) contrasts the pomp and splendour of the official headquarters in Simla during summer with the grinding poverty of the Indian masses in the plains. "When the Prime Minister leaves Downing Street for a few weeks and shelters at Lossiemouth, there are complaints that the business of the country cannot properly be conducted by dispatch and telegram and that such remoteness from the centre of affairs is bound to lead to inefficiency. What would be said if the whole of Whitehall and the Cabinet, all the secretaries to secretaries, the Civil Service, except for a very junior handful and endless truck-loads of files and papers were solemnly transplanted in the wake of the Prime Minister and established round about the Moray Firth for some seven or eight months? For this is what happens in India—in fact what is happening now. The Government of India is moving to Simla and the Provincial Governments are moving to their respective hill-stations."

EAST MEETS WEST.

1 INDIA.*

The gigantic protestantism initiated by the great Ram Mohan Roy and taking shape in the movement called the Brahmo Samaj, came to a spontaneous fruition under the divine touch of the Saint of Dakshineswar. The appeal of Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj was to and through the intellect; it was bound to leave India untouched. I don't say that there was no need for the protestant movement we associate with the name of the great Rajah. But it awaited the coming of him who could bring to the deepest instincts embedded in our race consciousness the living touch of God Himself—of the Truth that needs no syllogism for its demonstration. The Paramhamsa Deva's word was Truth which burnt up and dissolved the difficulties of a century like an irresistible renewing fire. Indeed, we have been the privileged witnesses of one of those visitations of Divinity in man in the hour of his soul's flagging and failing which constitute the purpose of human history and give it its meaning and dignity.

As students of history we are aware of the cyclic renewals of the human spirit but for which the record of man would have been a very sordid one indeed—one of mere existence and multiplication varied by outbursts of passion, individual, tribal or national. As a matter of history we know that there is hardly a nation or race on this earth which did not at some time or other come perilously near its doom, when all the attributes that lie on the Godward side of humanity appeared to have deserted it one by one, leaving an awful emptiness behind, of cynicism and despair—the very blackness and blankness of death. Some sank from this to extinction; but history bears witness to the fact that most of them were borne back to life by the resurgent wave of a regenerating flood which restored to the nation or the race concerned all its pristine possessions—faith, hope, courage, aspiration, and defiance of death. These visitations of Divinity in man, as I have already said, have gone down in history by such names, as Buddhism, Christianity, Vaishnavism and, the like.

We remember with a shudder to-day that we, the Hindus of Bengal and of India, were trembling on the brink of a spiritual extinction in the last century. The "English-educated Hindu" of the nineteenth century seemed to have lost his very soul—the spirit seemed to have died within him. He had become the sorriest ape, the miserable mimic of his European overlord. To be like the latter in all his external appointments, and even in the inward growth of his feelings and ideas, appeared to be his sole creed of existence. Approval of the Englishmen summed up his experience of the highest bliss; his disapproval plunged him into abyss of sorrow. Nameless horrors began creeping over the face of India. The educated Bengali strove hard to forget even his mother tongue and preferred to speak his execrable English; he most probably would have forgotten his native tongue but for the saving fact that his mother, sister and wife refused to forsake their mother language. The Bengali of those days preferred to cover his person with a tawdry mimicry of Englishman's clothes instead of putting on his own national costume. As he all but persuaded himself that his country had never had a civilization and that its salvation lay in its transmutation into a vast suburb of Europe's civilization. Asia, according to him, had to be translated into Eurasia; India into Anglo-India.

We still thrill to our recollection of the new dawn-light that fringed our Eastern skies, the new life that

* Mr. B. C. Chatterjee writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata*.

came pouring into our being, with the oncoming of the new century. Just picture to yourselves how the educated Bengali, that greatest sinner of all in the matter of anglicization, stood suddenly transformed. A storm of patriotic fervour shook him from head to foot, and blew out of him all that worship of the West which had so gripped him in the century that was over. He shouted *Vandemataram* with a new strength in his voice and a new purpose in his eyes and descried all the promise of his country's future in the revelation of her past. Indeed, he stepped out of his dead self—a perfect miracle of resurrection. The subsequent history is well known to all of us, and needs no recapitulation. Well, gentlemen, behind this miracle we begin to catch the glimpse more and more clearly, as the mist of the passing years lifts slowly, of the radiant figure of one, whom God sent us for our salvation in our hour of peril—the figure of him and of his apostles among whom was the great son of India, Swami Shivananda, who has left us so recently.

2. JAPAN.*

Of Japan of old—the Japan of the Samurai, of Utamarao, and of Lacquer were—the West has always shown a sympathetic *albeit* patronizing appreciation. The spirit of old Japan as reflected in the tranquil and mystic atmosphere of Kyoto and Nara finds numerous admirers abroad. It is this old Japan that not only her well-wishers but her enemies are anxious to see preserved or revived.

Many a foreign observer on Japan would remark with a sigh: "What a pity that things of the past, things of real beauty and joy forever, should be so mercilessly sacrificed at the altar of modernism!'

Heretofore this criticism apparently fell flat among the Japanese, who were so feverishly busy learning from the West—making what it made, trying to think what it thought and even sinning where it sinned. And what clever pupils they proved, too! To-day Japan is outwardly as modern a state as any in Europe and America. Her industry is carrying everything before it in the markets of the world, enabling her to feed fifteen times the population of Sweden on an arable area of equal size. She boasts of a navy and a merchant marine, the third largest in the world. And all that has been brought about within less than three quarters of a century following the rude awakening caused to Japan by the sudden appearance in her waters of Commodore Perry's dark threatening squadron.

Having thus almost blindly followed in the footsteps of the West, and having achieved a measure of physical progress undreamed of by their forefathers, the Japanese people began to pause and ponder.

What is all this mad driving and striving for? Where has it landed them? Where are the nations of the West whom they were running after? Would that be a consummation devoutly to be wished?

These are the questions they are asking themselves.

The strain in Japan's foreign relations consequent upon the Manchurian trouble and the unfair restrictions now being placed upon her trade everywhere had no doubt accelerated this introspective mood of the Japanese nation. But that is not by any means the cause of the reawakening which is so distinctly and vociferously in evidence throughout Japan. At first sight the same forces are at work there as in the Occident. It is an agitation for a thorough going revision of the system of capitalistic liberalism with all that it has brought upon the life of the Japanese people. To the extent that it aims at removing the evils of capitalism, it has something in common with the social and political agitation in Europe and America. But in that it is a national, not a class, movement, this new campaign in Japan is fundamentally distinct from that of either socialism or communism. Unlike these, moreover, it is at bottom a revolt of mind against matter.

The Orintal outlook is essentially idealistic. All surface indications to the contrary notwithstanding, the mind of the Japanese has never been westernized. True, under the pressure of the menace from abroad, they were obliged, much against their grain, to adopt the ways of the 'barbarous' West in order to be able to stand their ground against the aggressors. To the exclusion of all other considerations, and at the sacrifice of much that was precious in their traditions the entire nation was bent upon attaining proficiency in the acts, both of war and of peace, such as the West sets store by. Throughout these long years of restless endeavours, however, the Japanese people have never lost themselves entirely. Amid the glare and glitter of modern civilization, the grip upon them of the spirit of the past has remained as potent as ever.

When, therefore, the inherent weakness of Western civilization began to make itself felt in Japan also, when money and machine seemed rapidly to undermine all that the nation held sacred for centuries; when, above all, communists and fanatics, all products of the materialistic individualism of the Occident, went so far as to harbour designs upon the person of the Emperor, the very spirit of Japan incarnate, the disillusionment was spontaneous. That the re-action should take the form of a challenge to the western civilization, that the cry of "Back to Asia" should be adopted as a slogan, that the demand for Restoration should daily become more insistent seems likewise not unnatural. It is only another instance of history repeating itself. In those turbulent years preceding the Restoration, the skies resounded with the cries of 'Honour the Emperor,—'Down with Shogunate'—Expel the Foreign Barbarians!' The air is thick in Japan to-day with leaflets up-holding Nipponism, denouncing political parties as usurpers of the imperial power and, above all, advocating a strong foreign policy.

At home in Japan, the unrest, political, social and economic, has not in the least abated. The feeling is general that the national crisis has only just begun and that the worst is yet to come. And it is averred that nothing short of a fundamental reorganization of the political and economic structure of the state would suffice to weather the storm. As all efforts are bent in Manchuria to the creation of a state where the Confucian 'Kingly Way' may prevail and where there may be no exploitation of man by man, so in Japan a return to the 'Way of the Tenno (the Heavenly Ruler)' and the eradication of all the baneful aspects of the materialistic civilization, are impetuously demanded. Thus the Manchurian affair must be regarded only as a sort of prelude to the real movement.

The world has been accusing Japan of something of which she is entirely innocent—that is aggression as the term is understood in the capitalist imperialistic West, a thing which simply does not exist in the philosophy of the East. The Japanese, too, have tried their best or their worst, to defend themselves in the language of their accusers knowing full well, as they do that it is futile to argue where there is such an unbridgeable cleavage

* Mr. Toshio Shirato writes in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

of thought and mentality. They felt from the outset that the best defence and the ultimate justification lay in the motives that animated them and the final results that would be attained. They are aware not without compunction, that in the meantime deplorable excesses have been committed both at home and on the continent; they are prepared for further annoying occurrences and development but all that is taken calmly as the inevitable throes attending the new birth which is taking place in Japan.

The whole situation in Japan today is rather too involved to be reduced to simple terms, nor are the various elements of the nation as yet thinking with one mind or working towards the same objective. On one point, however, there seems to be a consensus of opinion, and that is that blind imitation of the West has to cease and that there must be cool and mature re-examination of the materialistic institutions of the West in the light of the idealism of the East, so that there may be evolved a distinct civilization hitherto not known.

Even as she is, Japan is the only country on the globe where the old and the new can exist side by side with any degree of harmony. In the West, unfortunately, the break with the past is definite and final, while the rest of Asia still remains largely impenetrable to modern civilization, Japan has been looked upon as the meeting ground of the two. The aspiration to-day is for a higher role than that of a mere bridge or a halfway house. Not only shall the East and the West meet in Japan, but they shall meet and grow into a compact and coherent whole whose radiance shall brighten the remotest corners of the earth. That is taken to be the supreme mission of new Japan.

INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Prague correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—

An important step for the development of commercial and cultural relations between the two countries was taken last week by the opening in Prague of the India Society under the auspices of the Oriental Institute. The decision to open the Society is a reflection of the interest shown here in India. The inauguration ceremony took place in the main hall of the palatial headquarters of the Oriental Institute before a big and representative gathering of industrialists, professors, and others prominent in public life. A number of Indians from different centres were also present, including Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who arrived from Vienna and Mr. Erulkar who came some days in advance from London. The proceedings were formally opened by the President of the Oriental Institute, Minister Hottowetz, who in a short speech welcomed the idea of forming the Society and expressed the hope that it would discharge work of value and utility. He was followed by the eminent Indologist, Professor Lesny, who is held in great esteem and affection by the not small number of Indians, who have the pleasure of knowing him and his deep interest in India and Indians. Professor Lesny, in a fairly long speech referred to India's cultural contributions of value, emphasised the need and importance of a close contact between India and Europe being maintained and developed, sketched the aims of the new society, and advanced the hope that the new organization would develop into an active, useful, and productive one. In general, stated Professor Lesny, the new organization which stood for the development of cultural contacts and direct trade relations between India and Czechoslovakia, would attend to the promotion of useful visits, spread of information, and convenience of Indian students. Professor Lesny, who is the Chairman of the new organization, in this connection also referred to the importance of the Society being supplied by Indian papers, periodicals and other publications, which would be made available for interested persons and put to public use. It is to be hoped that the suggestion and call of Professor Lesny coming at a time when there are renewed talks in India about the spread abroad of information relating to India would find a strong and speedy response. Publications are expected to be addressed to: The India Society, c/o Professor Dr. V. Lesny, Philosoficka Fakultai, Smecanova 12, Prague I, Czechoslovakia.

Messages appreciating the aims of the Society and wishing the Society success from several well-known persons and various organisations were read out. On behalf of the Indians, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who on his previous visits had pointedly raised the issue of a Society as now opened, and Mr. Erulkar, the representative of the Indian Chambers of Commerce in London, addressed the audience. They expressed in warm terms satisfaction at the cordial feelings entertained here for Indians marked by the absence of false racial prejudices and superiority complexes which guaranteed Indian residents and visitors a congenial atmosphere, underlined the value and utility of the new organization, and stated that India would not fail to make all possible contribution to the Society. At the end of the ceremony, the guests were entertained to tea.

A special word of appreciation is due to Professor Lesny for the great trouble taken by him in attending to the comforts of Indian visitors and the close and affectionate interest he displayed in making the stay of the Indian students both pleasant and profitable. Several of the students, who came from outside for the inauguration ceremony, have decided to come down again for the vacation and some of them have found it possible to make arrangements, for their practical training here.

The address of the new Society is: The India Society, Oriental Institute, Lobkovicky Palace, Vlasska 319 Praguel III, Czechoslovakia.

White Zulu:—An extraordinary case has just come to light at the Newcastle Colliery compound. The wife of one of the European employees of the mine found that an elderly native woman at the compound was in charge of a little European boy about three years of age. On asking whose child it was, she was informed that he belonged to a native woman. Further inquires elicited the story that the native in question, who is married to one of the native employees of the mine, was in the Volksrust district and took the child, then an infant in arms, from its mother who, said the native woman, intended to strangle the child; but she persuaded her to give it up to her. Ever since the child had been brought up entirely by this native couple who have treated it as their own. They have no other children and the child is well cared for and clothed, but speaks nothing but Zulu. There is no doubt that the child is pure European. It is a bonny boy with fair straight hair and is stated to be particularly bright and intelligent. When told that the child might be taken away from her the native woman was most distressed.—Bhusamasoor in *Indian Opinion*.

THE PHILIPPINES ACCEPT.

One day last week, writes *Time*, New York, of May 14th 1934, Sergio Osmena and Manuel Quezon, the two great leaders of the Philippine Nationalist party, marched into the Philippine legislature arm in arm. Their appearance in that fashion was greeted with surprise and applause, for they had been political enemies since a year ago when Congress offered the Philippines freedom and Senor Quezon succeeded in defeating acceptance of the offer.

But the applause was as nothing compared to the demonstrations next day when the legislature in joint session adopted a resolution written by Senores Quezon and Osmena, promising "appreciation and everlasting gratitude to the President and Congress of the United States and to the American people." The resolution was adopted on the 36th anniversary of the day when Commodore Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and made Swiss Cheese of the impotent royal navy of His Imperial, 12-year-old Majesty, Alfonso XIII, last King of Spain. It marked the formal acceptance on behalf of the Philippines of the new offer of freedom made by Congress.

Next step on the road to independence will be the assembly (July 4) of a convention to draft a constitution. When that fundamental document is approved by the President of the United States, establishment of a Commonwealth next January 1 will follow. Finally independence will come ten years after the birth of the Commonwealth.

In one respect, however, last week's action made Fillipinos already independent. Foreigners in the eyes of the United States immigration law, they were entitled to a quota of 50 emigrants to the United States per year. To grant immigration visas, a United States Vice-Consul was appointed to Manila just as if it were any other foreign port. Named to the post was Henry B. Day (Yale '27) who until last week was Vice-Consul in Hongkong.

A NEGRO CULT.

Week by week, says *Time*, during recent months Negro moppets have been disappearing in batches from Detroit's public schoolrooms. One day ten black pupils would be reported missing and the next it would be 20. Meantime reports grew that a Negro cult school called the University of Islam was making corresponding gains. Alarmed teachers complained to the city attorney. Detroit's truant officers called at the University of Islam, housed on the second floor of an old brick theatre building, ten blocks east of the city's downtown business district, and had the door shut in their faces. They went back with police, but the school's instructors were calm-mouthed.

Last week truant officers and police bore down on the school in earnest, seized text books, carted John Mohammed, 24 year old leader of the cult, Tadar Ali, Allar Cushmeer and ten other instructors off to jail. This time they found only two pupils, but some 400 were on the school rolls.

Two days later a mob of 500 disgruntled "Islamites" roared up in front of police headquarters. "Get along," said five patrolmen.

Knives flashed, fists flew. A riot squad charged out from headquarters, thwacked heads. In 15 minutes the melee was over, 13 policemen retiring for first aid, 41 rioters going to jail.

Arraigned on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of minors by keeping them out of public school, University of Islam instructors kept their mouths tight shut. From the text books police learned that the school's curriculum included courses in General Knowledge of the Spook being Displayed for 6,000 Years, General Knowledge of Spook Civilization, The Duty of a Moslem.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Question of Privilege:—The enquiry by the Privileges Committee of the House of Commons into the charge of influencing Lancashire manufacturers to modify their opposition to the White Paper, as expressed in a memorandum which they had submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, has ended, as might have been expected, in the exoneration of Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Derby. Only one member of the Committee has thought it his duty to add, while agreeing in the exoneration of these gentlemen, a caution lest the free persuasion of witnesses in the present case should be regarded as a guiding precedent. Lord Hugh Cecil's warning was emphasised in the rather perfunctory remarks with which the Prime Minister moved the adoption of the Report in the House of Commons on Wednesday. "Not guilty but don't do it again." The procedure about Privileges like Impeachment was originally intended to protect the freedom of Parliament against royal intrigues through corrupt Ministers, in days when Ministers were appointed and could be dismissed by the Crown. The Cabinet now is a Committee of Parliament and whatever it does or fails to do is covered by the authority of the latter. Apart from the merits of the case, the consequence of finding the charges proved would have been the immediate resignation of the Cabinet, dissolution of Parliament and a General Election. It would have needed a far more serious matter than an Indian issue to induce a Committee of the British Parliament, composed of Party leaders and presided over by the Prime Minister, to face it. On the merits themselves, if Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Derby did try and persuade the Lancashire manufacturers to adopt a conciliatory tone towards India, it would have been a service which any Englishman of goodwill, and more so the Minister responsible for India in England, was bound to render to an industry which looks to Indians to be among its chief customers. The credit of converting Lancashire to the gospel of goodwill is assigned by the Committee to the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, Mr. H. P. Mody. We only wish that the result of the conversion was more tangible than a pious expression of belief in the method of conciliation, which is what Lancashire was persuaded to prefix to its statement. This was all the change the Lancashire witnesses made in the evidence, which they had submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, after the Derby dinner and the Mody Pact. In a weighty speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 15th March, Sir Abdur Rahim who was a Member of the Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, said: "I heard all the evidence that was adduced before it (the Committee,) and I admit that, after this Pact was entered into here, the evidence that was given by the representatives of Lancashire before had undergone considerable modification in tone. But as regards the substance of their representation they remained adamant." Sir Abdur quoted, from the minutes of the Committee a question put by Sir Phiroze Sethna to the Lancashire delegation. Sir Phiroze asked, in view of their expressions of goodwill, whether they would not withdraw a paragraph (in their statement) "because the implication of that paragraph amounts to this, that they would like India to continue in perpetuity to supply the markets for British manufactured goods and not attempt to develop her indigenous industries. The answer was "No; we do not agree to that." Sir Phiroze: "That is the clear implication of that paragraph as I read it." There was no answer. Mr. N. M. Joshi, in his speech, maintained that after the Pact was concluded a new demand, not theretofore made, had been added by the Lancashire Delegation, for a guarantee against what they called "political tariffs." From the point of view of India, therefore, neither Mr. Mody's Pact nor Sir Samuel Hoare's and Lord Derby's intervention brought about anything more than a few friendly expressions. No doubt this was made plain in the proceedings before the Privileges Committee and naturally the British Government do not wish them published.

Sedition in Britain:—There has been, so far as we know, no law of Sedition, no section like Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, in Britain. The jury had to decide in every case on the facts and in the light of public opinion of

the day whether a writing or speech was seditious. The reason for this absence of a law of sedition was no doubt that the British Constitution provided a natural outlet for all shades for loyalty and disloyalty and that any group of men who had strong opinions on any question had a ready means at hand to have them embodied in the constitution by getting a majority of members of Parliament to espouse its views. In other countries special methods are devised to prevent rash constitutional changes. In Britain there are none. The Parliament Act was carried just like any other measure though it made large inroads on the functions and powers of one of the estates of the realm. Even Karl Marx recognised that it might be possible in Britain to establish a proletarian State without a violent revolution. The introduction by the British Government in Parliament of a Sedition Bill, has shocked British public opinion and the opposition to it in and out of Parliament is very strong. Especially important is the opposition of a great Conservative authority on constitutional law, Sir William Holdsworth. It forced Government to accept some important amendments in their Bill. Sir William is not satisfied. The amendments so far accepted, he maintains, leave untouched his original objections to the Bill. He writes:

> Unless further amendments are accepted, the Bill will still place in the hands of a single magistrate the power of granting a search warrant if he is satisfied there is "reasonable ground" for suspecting an offence. It will still allow a single constable to enter premises on a warrant granted by only one J. P. and seize any documents which he personally thinks may be evidence of an offence.

The most remarkable thing about the discussions on this Bill in the British Press and by British publicists, is that they seem to be utterly unaware that the British Bill is a mild version of the law as it is in British India. The reason urged by Government there as here is that grave emergencies have arisen which necessitate such drastic legislation. The *New Statesman* demands proof of this which, it suggests, is pure panic. It says that the opposition to the Bill is growing in volume and strength and that Government may find it necessary to drop the measure. Even if they do so now, the danger will always be there so long as such measures in British India are acquiesced in without protest by the British public. Imperialism has its penalties. The chains which you fasten on subject peoples wind themselves round your own neck.

Crop Planning:—Since Russia started her five year plan, planning has become the fashion everywhere and in all sorts of things. The Government of India too after a long delay thought they should do some planning also. They called a Conference of the heads of all provincial agricultural departments and these with their advisers, assistants and camp-followers congregated in Simla to the great benefit of hotel keepers and rickshawallas of the place. When the Conference met, the Hon. Member of the Government of India in Charge of Lands opened the proceedings with the usual commonplaces about world depression and the duty of Governments to do something; and he invited the provincials to find out what it should be. One of the experts of the Government of India proposed that the production of rice should be curtailed in order to increase the price of the commodity and to make its cultivation profitable to the cultivator. All the provinces which grow rice at once fell upon him and tore him metaphorically to bits while the non-rice provinces enjoyed the fun. Then thir turn came. The same or some other person proposed that the production of wheat should be curtailed and the wheat-growers made mincemeat of him. The Conference finally adopted a vapid resolution recommending the Provinces to watch the course of world prices and do whatever occurred to them to keep pace with it. The one crop which urgently calls for planning was relegated to the Central Cotton Committee which was established to promote the trade in cotton. A drastic reduction in the area under cotton would make Lancashire and Japanese Pacts unnecessary. We deliberately encourage the overproduction of cotton and then go begging other countries to take it off our hands undertaking in return to underproduce cloth in order that those other countries may have a share of the Indian market. We have been protesting against the exodus of the Government of India to Simla but now not only one Government but departments of all provincial Governments assemble periodically at Simla for Conferences which so far as the public know, lead nowhere. This is a very expensive and ineffective way of ensuring co-ordination among provinces after giving them what is called autonomy.

The Woman in the Temple:—The current number of the *Dnyanodaya* contains an interesting article on the authenticity of the story in John VII.53–VIII. 11 of the adulterous woman in the temple. The *Dnyanodaya's* extract from a more detailed account in an early manuscript is interesting. We had always felt a certain regard for the Scribes and Pharisees who by going away from the temple precincts had silently acknowledged that their own lives had not been above reproach. At any rate, it would be difficult to find any sect today which could be so touched, as were the Pharisees in the Bible story, by the simple words of Jesus "Let him who is sinless cast the first stone." The detailed version reveals that when Jesus wrote on the ground he wrote the details of crimes which the accusers had themselves committed and, as each one saw his evil deed discovered, he turned and fled. It is unfortunate that the fuller story has not been incorporated in the Bible as that would have settled a perplexing passage for many a Bible scholar. Miss Eva Gore-Booth, for instance, has built up almost an

entire philosophy over Christ's silent writing on the sand. "The story," she writes, "is an illustration of the teaching of Christ that condemns the psychic tendency to judge and punish other people. For not only does he not judge the woman, but he does not judge her judges. He suggests to them that they shall judge themselves, and will not even impress, influence or embarrass them by looking at them. This seems the only natural explanation of his looking on the ground..... He will not accuse any individual, he will not stare them out of countenance; he will only give them a test by which to judge their own actions.....Some enlightened people now-a-days might have forgiven the woman, but would have denounced her self-righteous judges." This seems to us to be more consonant with Jesus' command "Judge not lest ye be judged," than the circumstantial story unearthed by our contemporary.

New Chapter in Madras Politics:—The adoption of a resolution by the Executive of the Madras non-Brahmin Party, known as the Justice Party, in favour of the removal of the ban on the entry of Brahmins, will, when it is adopted as seems likely, at the meeting of the general body in October, open a new and bright chapter in South India politics. Seven years ago this writer had a long talk with the late Raja of Panagal, then leader of the Party, and he expressed himself as being anxious to widen its basis so as to make it a true political party. An attempt was made next year to give effect to the Raja Sahib's desire but it failed. His untimely death caused an interruption but his successor in the leadership, the Raja of Bobbili and his colleagues have continued on the sagacious lines of the late Raja's policy and the time now seems propitious to effect the change which will give an All-India character to the Party. With this change, the distinction between the Liberals and Justicites disappears. The Madras Brahmin Party when it drops its negative composition will stand forth, with its clear-cut creed of self-government as a component part of the British Empire, as the alternative Party to the Indian National Congress with its creed of Independence. The Party has an advantage over the Congress in two ways. It has been in power for over twelve years and has leaders who have acquired administrative experience during that period. It has no embarrassing communal commitments and is unhampered by conditions as to what members should wear and in what language they should express themselves in order to obtain a hearing at meetings of the Party. The leaders have chosen a psychological moment for enlarging the basis of their Party and we wish them God speed.

The War Debts Note:—The British note to America in justification of non-payment of war debt has been carefully studied in this country. The arguments used are generally regarded as special pleading. In extreme nationalist circles they have been commented upon mainly as strengthening the Indian claim to have the financial obligations of India to Britain investigated by an independent tribunal. The opinion of nationalists who favour attainment of self-government by India within the British Empire, is accurately voiced by *Justice*, the organ of the Madras Ministerialist Party. It observes that "the virtual repudiation of the payment has created a very bad moral atmosphere," that "a large creditor country, itself with outstanding obligations from many debtors all over the world, Great Britain can not afford to be a party to the theory of the repudiation of debts" and concludes by remarking that the provision made in the Indian budget towards repayment of India's portion of the War Debt to Britain "will be unnecessary to carry out, in case the present attitude of the British Government is maintained." The *Leader* of Allahabad, the organ of the Liberal Party, criticizes the British note in rather more direct terms. We reprint both the articles. Since the above was in type, America has replied to the British note. It is prepared, if the instalment due on the 15th June is paid, to discuss any proposals which Britain may make regarding the future disposition of the Debt question.

Purdah:—Mrs. Shaukat Ali's interview with the *Bombay Chronicle* reporter which we print in another column, must have come as a pleasant surprise to the advocates of abolition of purdah. For Maulana Shaukat Ali has been a staunch supporter of the purdah system in the past. At the National Social Conference in Madras in 1927 the Maulana Saheb startled his audience with a short speech, on a resolution by a Muslim lady for its abolition, in favour of the purdah. In his interviews two years ago after his marriage, he said that his wife approved of purdah. Mrs. Shaukat Ali observed purdah for a short time and has concluded that it is a man's institution and contrary to Islamic tenets. We trust that the Begum's public condemnation may be interpreted as a recantation by Maulana Shaukat Ali of his pro-purdah sentiments. The Maulana is temperamentally incapable of allowing others to cover his change of front and it will not be strange if his next public appearance is on the side of the purdah abolitionists.

Colonization Inquiry Committee Report:—The New Delhi correspondent of *The Hindu* of Madras reported last April that Sir Maharaj Singh, Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, had communicated to that Government that the South African authorities contemplated the suppression of the Colonization Inquiry Committee Report as a confidential document. We are glad to read in the *Indian Opinion* that Sir Maharaj Singh has denied the report.

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WASTAGE IN EDUCATION.

In our leading article last week we referred generally to the charges of "wastage" in Indian education which the Hartog Committee made and which Sir George Anderson, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was a member of that Committee, has taken up for elaboration in his review of education during the five years 1927-32. He has given five illustrations of "wastage." The first is "the reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools" in Bengal. Those who are unacquainted with conditions in this country, will be astonished at the use of epithets such as "reckless" and "impetuous" with reference to an increase of primary schools. Primary schools are not liquor shops or gunpowder factories or even offensive trades like slaughter houses. These schools do not cost anything to the public revenues, as the commissioner erroneously thinks. To quote the words of the Director of Public instruction in Bengal: "The number of primary schools has increased, largely as a result of individual initiative but there has been no effective control over them by local authorities and there are about twice the number of primary schools as (*sic*) are actually necessary....Schools of a very low grade, schools with only one teacher, teachers without a living wage, teachers without proper training, schools under no adequate control, schools with no effective inspection—these are the problems we have to face." Private initiative in education is a matter, one would think, for encouragement rather than deprecation. But Directors of Public Instruction in this country are apt to think that whatever does not originate with them and is not subject to their control, is mischievous. That explains the censorious epithets noted above. No one would want to have low grade schools, with only one teacher, paid less than a living wage, without proper training, if it can be helped. The position, however, is that Government will not or can not provide enough primary schools. The people have awakened to the importance of education to their children. Private individuals try to meet the demand by starting schools which in the circumstance can hardly be model ones. The Department, instead of thanking them for coming forward to supply what it should and does not provide, denounces them and the Commissioner of Education with the Government of India broadcasts this fatuous passage to the world with his hearty endorsement. We are unable to understand what the Director means by saying that there are twice the number of schools in Bengal as are actually necessary. Of the three Presidencies, Bengal has the smallest proportion of children of schoolgoing age under instruction up to the Vth standard, the percentages being 59·8 Madras, 49·6 Bombay and 48·8 Bengal. Out of 43000 primary schools only 4700—about one-ninth—are unaided schools with an average enrollment of less than forty pupils each. This is also the average in the primary schools under Government management. The vast majority of schools are under the management of local bodies or are aided schools supervised by the Department. The 52 per cent of children of schoolgoing age in Bengal who have no schools to go to, can certainly not be provided for by an addition of 2400 schools which is half the number of private primary schools. There is a considerable disparity between the numbers of children in the first two classes and those in the third, and this the Department stigmatises as wastage. It is certainly unfortunate that all children should not be able to proceed to higher stages but it is something that they study two years even. It may be noted here that of the three Presidencies the Bengal Government spends the least on primary education. The amounts are: Madras Rs. 191 lakhs, Bombay 167 lakhs; Bengal 67 lakhs. The parsimony of Bengal in respect of education compares ill with its lavish expenditure on measures to put down terrorist outrages. Open a school and close a jail, is an old saying which has stood the test of experience. It may be tried with advantage in Bengal.

The second instance of wastage which the Commissioner describes as even more wasteful, is the continuance of "the three class primary school." We understand that the reference is to the lower primary school with an infant class. The Director of Education in Bengal condemns this school on the ground "that they (the children) are at school merely to be out of the way at home." An excellent reason, we should think. A school which not merely imparts the three R's to children but also makes itself useful to their parents, thus serving a need of the community, is a social service institution with great possibilities. We knew a wise old school-master who, by way of inducement to parents, provided a spare room in his school in which on mats spread on the ground the infant brothers and sisters of pupils attending his class slept during school hours. His school produced many useful and even some eminent men. He was far ahead of his time. Kindergarten and Montessori were unknown. Madame Montessori, it is reported, will shortly visit Calcutta and we hope our educational bureaucrats will not miss the opportunity of learning from her some of the elementary principles of child education. The third instance of wastage adduced by the Educational Commissioner is the increase in the number of communal schools in the Punjab "which has resulted in extravagant competition, often in loss of discipline and in reduced efficiency." As Sir George Anderson was himself responsible for educational developments in the Punjab during the greater part of the

quinquennium, he is the proper person to meet the Commissioner's criticism, "yet no reference is made in the Punjab report to any bold and concerted attempt to remedy this inadvisable form of expenditure." We can only say that circumstances vary in different localities and what may be unjustifiable waste in some places may be justified and even necessary in others. Communal prejudices have to be conciliated even if some extra expenditure is involved in order to induce parents to send their children to school though it may be hoped that the need for it will gradually disappear. The alternative is to convert the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India into an Educational Commissary of the Soviet type. That may not be a bad thing and it may come, but not in the time of the present writer or Educational Commissioner. The last example of wastage adduced is the rapidly increasing number of students "who throng the colleges and the upper classes of high schools, many of whom are incompetent to benefit by such instruction; hence the alarming increase of unemployment among the middle class." The large increase in the number of students is what was to be expected from the great awakening to the value of education among classes which until now have been apathetic to it. We should rejoice at the increase and expand our system so as to meet the growing demands made on it, instead of bemoaning it or devising means of choking off the increase. The unemployment among the middle classes has not been increased by education. This is a parrot cry which we are sorry to see repeated in the Commissioner's review. The unemployment would have been there if all our Universities had been closed down: only there would be uneducated unemployed instead of educated unemployed. As for the remedy suggested let us remind Sir George that unemployment is worst at present in the countries where education, general and technical, has attained a very high standard of efficiency. The fact is that the Indian administration has became wooden and ante-deluvian. It is unable to adjust itself to changing conditions. It is therefore thrown into a frenzy by every new development. It is alarmed by the growth of population; alarmed by the increase of students; frightened by its one shadow.

EUROPE AND ASIA.

From the commencement of this century attempts have been made to interpret Asia to Europeans—attempts mostly inspired by fear. The first sustained effort in such an interpretation was Meredith Townsend's "Asia and Europe." Mr. Townsend who claimed for his conclusions the authority of one who had "devoted a long life to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe," declared emphatically that the fears of the German Emperor of Japanese invasion of Europe preceded by Japanese domination over China, were baseless because the Yellow Peoples could make no headway against an united Europe which according to Mr. Townsend's thesis they would have inevitably to face. He, however, was equally definite in the belief that ultimately Europe and Asia would each go their own way. Mr. Townsend wrote between 1874 and 1910. The Coloured Races Peril theory, nevertheless, was welcomed in certain European circles for two reasons. First as a salve to a conscience uneasy at the methods employed in penetrating into Asia and Africa by the imperialist powers of the West. And secondly, as a much-needed distraction from European obsession with the Semitic question to which the historian Mommsen had given expression: "However wars and migrations may have altered the line of demarcation, and thrown the races across each other's path, a deep sense of diversity has always severed, and still severs, the Indo-Germanic peoples from the Syrian, Israelite and Arabic nations." The Yellow Peril scare was developed by Mr. Basil Mathews and Dr. Lothrop Stoddard to the point of dividing the world into two warring camps, the White race and the Coloured ones. The suggestions for meeting the situation put forward by these two writers were all on the lines of force. These arguments were countered by missionaries who stressed the possibilities of peace in their programmes for Christianizing the world. The most effective answer, however, was provided by the American writer "Upton Close" in his "Revolt of Asia" (1927). "Asia's movement," he wrote, "is thus far entirely directed against the Westerner on Asian shores. There is not the bud, thus far, of an offensive against the white man in his own countries. It would be decades before a new Yellow Peril could be born, even in thought."

Many incidents have taken place since Mr. Townsend wrote his book. Japan has shown that though, as Mr. Townsend remarked, all she wants is markets for her products, China alone can not satisfy her trade needs. If the Imperialist motive was lacking in Mr. Townsend's days, economic ones have now forced the situation. Moreover, Japan has learnt that even in opposition to her ideals and ambitions Europe cannot unite. The Manchukuo incident laid bare the defects of the League of Nations. It also showed up the weaknesses of the European powers. Japan, after biding her time, has now sprung on a startled West an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine relating immediately to China. There is little likelihood of a Pan-Asiatic movement arising out of this situation even though Japan has raised the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics." It has, however, revived European fears of an Asiatic menace and, though these fears are not factors potent enough to unite that Continent, various political parties are clamouring, for reasons of their own, economic and militarist, for action against Japan. Even the usually pacifist *New Statesman* urges in a recent issue that Britain should adopt a strong line on the new Japanese claims. Incidentally the British attitude is well summed up by *Time* of New York in its issue of May 7th. "The Occidental Powers cannot look to England to take the lead in resisting Japanese encroachments in China." And, as in the Manchukuan affair, Japan has not been slow in taking advantage of the present tendency in European countries of looking to each other for a lead. Western imperialism ignores the fact that the diplomacy of one Asiatic nation is concentrated mainly on securing for itself a place in world politics and attempts to read into the situation a threat to Europe's existence. In doing so it assumes a measure of unity in Asia which it has hitherto denied and which has never been attained in Europe itself. In their dealings with Asia the two leading colonial powers, Britain and France, have relied on diplomacy. The alternating use of

conciliation and repression has served their purpose of maintaining the *Status quo*. But it is in Italy and Germany that efforts are being directed at finding a permanent solution to problems confronting the West in its intercourse with the East. Germany seeks to establish the cult of Nordic supremacy. Italy under Mussolini is interesting herself in attempts at bringing about cultural assimilation. Both have their prophets. Mr. Oswald Spengler, with his pessimistic forebodings of the extinction of the White race and destruction of their ideals, urges his German followers to press forward their advantage and to keep the coloured races in check. Mr. Cohen-Portheim presents the ideal of Asiatic-European co-operation in solving world problems. The publication at this juncture of English translations of Mr. Spengler's "The Hour of Decision" (Messrs. George Allen & Unwin; 8s 6d) and Mr. Portheim's "The Message of Asia" (Messrs. Duckworth & Co.; 8s 6d) is most opportune.

Mr. Spengler maintains in his recent book, as he did in his earlier "Man and Technics," that "the whites are under attack by the collective mass of the coloured population of the earth" and that the white peoples are an exhausted race. He sees the hope of Europe centred on the German nation. The struggle of the day, as he visualises it, lies between the herd collectivism of Asia and the individualism of the West. He has a feeling that the White race is nearing extinction but in the Hitler movement he sees the germs of resistance to decay. The collapse of the West has been put off by the rise of the Nazis to power and is no longer regarded as imminent. This is certainly more optimistic than Mr. Spengler's conclusion in "Man and Technics" that all that the white man had was the right to die a noble death. Mr. Spengler derides pacificism as symptomatic of weakness. He obviously makes the coloured man in his own image when he remarks "the coloured man sees through the white when he talks about humanity and everlasting peace; he scents the other's unfitness and lack of will to defend himself." The coloured races have been free from traditions of war. Even if they did desire to engage in a life and death conflict with the Whites, they are far too much under White control to achieve that end. There is, however, one pleasing feature—to the Nordic—about Mr. Spengler's new book. The "White" epithet has been utilised to include the Italians and the French and the adjective "Nordic" or "Faustian" has been employed very sparingly. This should go far to give Western Europe the security of numbers and to allay its panic. We welcome Mr. Spengler's book if only for this reason because unless Europe discards the fear complex there can be no true understanding of Asia.

Mr. Paul Cohen-Portheim's book, "The Message of Asia," is on a far higher plane. Mr. Portheim, an Austrian author who died in 1932, writes with insight and vision. The East is fortunate in having an interpreter who can discriminate even in things relating to the Orient. Approaching the subject from the cultural standpoint, Mr. Portheim sees the conflict between Asia and Europe as a clash of individualism and universalism. "The history of civilisation," he writes, "is the history of the efforts, struggles and compromises of Asia and Europe." Our author pictures the history of Euro-Asiatic contact as an exchange of qualities peculiar to each continent. The present era is an age of the grand "settling up of disputes" for humanity. Recent events do not seem to bear out Mr. Portheim's optimism regarding the approach of a new era of reconciliation between the two ideals. Yet side by the side with the forces of reaction in East and West there is a steady movement for solidarity. It is a singular coincidence that Spengler and Portheim start from the same premises—the conflict between individualism and universalism and the European exaltation of reason above intuition—but arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions. This is chiefly due to the fact that Spengler's conception of history is almost solely as a succession of wars while Portheim's is a steady movement towards a synthesis. Of the two methods of European approach to Asia there is no doubt that the cultural is superior to the militaristic.

So much for the European attitudes of the present-day towards the East. In large measure they have been responsible for two similar movements in Asia itself. The militaristic attitude of Spengler finds its oriental counterpart in the cry of "Asia for Asiatics." There have been many Asiatic interpreters of European civilisation of the Cohen-Protheim School. The superficial attitude underlying the dictum that "East is East and West is West" has not had a very wide appeal in Asia, probably owing to the closer contact with the West which this continent has had for over a century. Even in Japan, where the new Asiatic Monroe Doctrine has been formulated, the anti-European feeling is not so acute as the Occident might imaginate it to be. Japan, notwithstanding Spengler's assertion to the contrary, has not yet reached her peak. She is not likely to deliberately court the exclusion or restriction of the right of immigration, of Asiatics, which European countries might enforce as a measure of retaliation. As the first of the Asiatic countries to assimilate the lessons of the industrial West, Japan will not, even for leadership in Asia, forego the advantages of points of contact with Europe. The rest of Asia, with the example before it of Japan, has come to realise that her survival in the future depends largely on a mastery of the technique of Europe. That she has also in recent years come to realise that this alone is not enough, will not affect materially her relations with Europe. The attitude of Asia towards European imperialism in Asia has very little to do, at present at any rate, with Euro-Asiatic relation. The future will largely depend on what Europe requires from the East—co-operation or markets.

A Madras Minister on Temple Entry:—Speaking at the Tamils' Conference in Tinnevelly, the Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan, Development Minister in the Madras Government, referred to the question of admission of antyajas to temples. Mr. Rajan said that he was not speaking as a politician but as a devout lover of his religion, Saivism, but his view may be taken to be shared by a large section of Hindus who have no interests in temples other than that of worshippers. He declared he was not in favour of any legislation enabling the Adi-Dravidas to enter into the temples. Public opinion should bring about the desired reform before any enactment was placed on the statute book. He exhorted his audience to open the temples to the depressed classes. This is also the view of Mr. Venkatrama Sastry and, we believe, even Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar will not be opposed to it. This consensus of opinion is conclusive against the attempt of supporters of Temple Entry by legislation to hold up those who oppose it as enemies of Hinduism.

RAMA RAJYA.

Mr. S. D. Nadkarni who is not a stranger to readers of the *Reformer* has written a book, entitled "Rama Rajya," on which he wishes to have my opinion. It is in the form of an open letter addressed to Gandhiji requesting him to explain several passages in his writings and utterances covering a considerable period of time in which Rama Rajya is held up either directly or inferentially as an ideal State. Unfortunately I am not such a close student of Gandhiji's writings and speeches as Mr. Nadkarni. I know in a general way that Gandhiji regards Rama Rajya as being synonymous with righteous rule, as the generality of Hindus do, but it has never occurred to me to probe further into the matter. When millions of people for untold generations have held Rama Rajya as the best period of government known to Hindus, there is more than a presumption that there must be good grounds for it. Undoubtedly there is also an obverse to this medal as to every other. When historians write of the Elizabethan Age or the Augustan Period or the Age of Pericles, we know that there were several flaws in them but we understand that the general trend of those periods was towards progress and expansion. Rama Rajya has also to be understood in the same broad way. The tendency of modern historical research is to place greater reliance on tradition than on written records. The latter can be and have often been forged. Tradition can not be manufactured. Besides I have not found it necessary in connection with any question which has interested me, to doubt or deny the correctness of the belief that Rama Rajya was a model Raj. To reproduce Rama Rajya you must first produce a Rama. This is not a matter of practical politics. Mr. Nadkarni, however, seems to apprehend that an effort might be made to substitute Rama Rajya for parliamentary government and he has in this open letter tried to prove that it will not be an improvement. No useful purpose is served by discussing whether an impossible scheme will or will not be an improvement.

The question raised by Mr. Nadkarni, namely, whether the incidents in the life of Rama which he has selected for reproof, are compatible with the traditional idea of Rama Rajya as a righteous Raj, admits of a simple answer. One of the first rules of criticism is that every historical character should be judged according to the standards of his own time. A ruler who in our day did some of the things alleged against Rama by Mr. Nadkarni would be rightly deemed guilty of objectionable conduct. In judging a pre-historic personage, who has come to be regarded by millions of Hindus not only as an ideal man and ruler but an incarnation of God, there is at the least a strong presumption that anything imputed to him which is out of tune with the main lines of his character and disposition, is due to misunderstanding or misreporting at the source or to our inability or failure to perceive the meaning of the figurative language which the ancients in India and elsewhere used profusely. There is yet another reason for caution. Valmiki's Ramayan is a classic. But its version of the story is not the most ancient. In one of the Jataka stories of Buddha, Sita is referred to as the sister and not as the wife of Rama. Javanese sculptures indicate some other variations. The incidents which Mr. Nadkarni notes, might not have taken place or might have been interpolated either by Valmiki himself or an earlier poet.

There is another episode which Mr. Nadkarni has overlooked—I am sure he cannot approve of it—which to my mind is a worse blot than these. The mutilation of Surpanakha was not only a brutal outrage but it was really the cause of the Rama-Ravana War. From the earliest times Hindu law and custom have condemned physical violence to women, even to a flower being thrown at her. The rules of war are even more emphatic on the point. I cannot believe that a great soul like Rama was guilty of this cowardly assault on a woman whose misfortune it was to fall in love with him. The Ramayana *as history* records the inception of two great movements in Hindu history. The one was the assimilation of the Vedic cult of Dasaratha with (or by) the philosophic school of Janaka, famed as Raja-Rishi or the royal sage. The other is the contact between the Northern fire-worshipping cult with the highly civilised Southern devotees of Shaivism. Valmiki has utilised this historical background to inculcate certain virtues of social and family life which were perhaps not very common in his day. The most prominent of these as it appears in the Ramayana is chastity in women. One gets rather bored by the extolment of this commonplace virtue until one remembers that Vedic sages were latitudinarians in sexual relations and that the daughter of the philosopher-king Janaka represented a new influence in the life of Ayodhya under the easy-going uxorious Dasaratha. That, to my mind, explains the malicious readiness of the mob of that city to cast suspicion on her whose life was a rebuke to its own.

Even if all these charges are held to be proved, the idea of Rama Rajya would remain unaffected. It stands for a system which is known now as the Totalitarian State. Kalidasa says that the King is the father of his people for all purposes except that of bringing them into the world. It was the King's business to keep himself informed of all matters affecting the well-being of his people. Like the Hebrew kings of old he was considered responsible for any calamity, including a natural calamity, that happened to befall the country. An earthquake would have been regarded as a punishment for some dereliction on his part. In one respect, and that an important one, Rama Rajya differed from the modern Totalitarian State. The King did not legislate. The laws were laid down by sages and was administered by the King on the advice of Ministers whose hereditary function was the study and interpretation of the Law. Adjustments of the Law according to changing conditions were made by the caste and the village councils which by an unanimous vote—majorities and minorities were unkown to Indian polity—could modify custom; and custom, according to an axiom of Hindu jurisprudence, overrode the written law. This is not the place to enlarge on this fascinating theme. But it may be said that in a self-contained State the Indian system provided all the requirements of both self-government and good government without the wasteful paraphernalia of political agitation. Thus Rama Rajya satisfied the Campbell-Bannerman aphorism which Mr. Nadkarni, without even a suspicion of the anachronism, insists on applying to it.

N.

Gandhiji in Bombay:—Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee arrived in Bombay from Wardha by the Calcutta Mail on Thursday morning. On arrival at Victoria Terminus, Gandhiji was received by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Mathuradas Vissanji Khimji, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Mr. K. M. Munshi and members of the Gandhi Reception Committee.

Among those who arrived with Gandhiji were Mr. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. K F. Nariman, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Mr. Shankerlal Banker, Miraben, and Dr. B. C. Roy.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN FRANCE—I.*

(By Prof. Sylvain Levi.)

India, involved in the current of European politics in the course of the 18th century, immediately attracts and retains attention. The "wisdom of India," consecrated by Greek and Latin testimonies, excites curiosity. The Church, as well as the Encyclopædists, propose to draw arguments from it, either to defend the Revelation or to condemn it. A twenty-year old Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, eager to rediscover the Vedas of the Brahmins, as well as the Zoroastrian Scriptures, does not hesitate to sail as a volunteer in the service of the Compagni des Indes, in 1754. Almost half a century afterwards, faithful to his programme, in a world which had undergone such drastic changes, he reveals to the elite of learned and patient readers the mystical and theological speculations of Ancient India; worded in implacably literal Latin, his work is the translation of a Persian version of the Sanskrit originals. Anquetil had not succeeded in obtaining from the Brahmins the knowledge of their sacred idiom.

Without leaving Paris, and with no other materials than the collection of manusoripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Chezy masters the Sanskrit language; a chair in the College de France is created to consecrate his success. Between the disasters of 1814 and Waterloo, France, faithful to her traditions, welcomes Sanskrit into the glorious institution which had formerly been the first centre of Greek and Hebrew studies. Endowed with a romantic temperament, Chèzy was especially sensitive to the exotic charms of Indian poetry; he delivered, as his opening lecture, a "Discourse on the excellence, beauty and richness of the Sanskrit language, and on the utility and pleasures which can be derived from its study." But this distinguished dilettante did not shirk the most arid labours of the philologist to satisfy his taste. A passionate admirer of *Sakuntala*, which had been revealed by William Jones and enthusiastically greeted by Goethe, he succeeded in mastering the original by means of the materials at his disposal; the "Princeps" edition that he has given, is already almost a definite edition.

After Chezy, Burnouf, who succeeds him in the College de France, carries the gifts of the philologist to the point of genius. His marvelously balanced personality combines scrupulous exactitude, long patience and powerful labour with unfailing intuition, a very fine sense of realities and an accurate and pleasing style; he animates old texts anew, he revives life in the same way as the artist creates it. Whether he edits and translates a Brahmanic text, the *Bhagavata Purana*, or undertakes to study Buddhist literature with the *Lotus del a Bonne Loi*, or again, elaborates a vast synthesis of unpublished materials in his *Introduction a l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, he builds up imperishable monuments. He still remains, and shall continue to remain, the model and the guide. On the threshold of an immense literature, where curiosity, attracted from every side, runs the risk of losing its way, he discerns and indicates the two directions that French science will most willingly follow after him: interpretation of the Vedas, study of Buddhism. The choice is not arbitrary. It bears on the two fields through which India has come into contact with the rest of the world. If the Vedas are not the "Aryan Bible," as some ardent imaginations had complacently pictured them to be, they nevertheless throw a unique and remarkable light on the religious past of a vast human group which reaches from the Atlantic to the Ganges; not only are they the starting point or the richest and most abundant religious development known to humanity, but they bring to the comparative study of religious phenomena an indispensible contribution. On the other hand, Buddhism propagates the genius of India outside the natural boundaries of the country; it links the peoples of the Far-East as Christianity links those of the West; while its action is evident in Tibet, in China, in Korea, in Japan, in Indo-China, it is traceable on Iranian soil, and is even attached, by Manichæism at least, to the destinies of primitive Christianity. Chezy had come into contact with India through Persia; he taught Persian in the School of Oriental Languages. Burnouf annexes to Sanskrit not only Pali, but Tibetan, Siamese and Burmese; and at the same time he deciphers, with almost unfailing accuracy, the old Texts of the *Avesta* which had been brought to Paris by Anquetil, but had as yet not found an intrepreter.

The creation of Ecole des Hautes Etudes [School of Higher Studies] in 1868 opens a new centre of Indological studies. The edition of the *Grammaire palie de Kaaayana* by Senart; the essay of Paul Regnaud on the poet Bhartihari; the edition of the *Bhaminivilasa* by Abel Bergaigne; and the review of this work published in the *Revue Critique* by a co-worker still unknown, August Barth, heralds the birth of a Pleiad of Indologists. The study of the problems of religion is a favourite pursuit with this generation of workers. The spirit of Romanticism had invaded erudition and tended to falsify its results. But the French school appeals to critical reasoning against arbitrary sentimentalism. Opposed to all sweeping generalisations, it proposes to study the religious movements of India within the framework of Indian civilisation. Barth's work on the *Religions de l'Inde* is the most powerful attempt which has been made to link up in one continuous series the religious manifestations of India, from the Vedic hymns down to the contemporary reformers. *Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde*, the scattered reviews and memoirs by Barth in several journals—at present put together in his collected works—attest to the extraordinary variety of his erudition as well as the vigorous fecundity of his critical powers. Bergainge brings about a complete revolution in the sphere of religious history by a tireless series of works grouped around the Rig-Veda; the Vedic hymns, which had been interpreted as songs of spontaneous adoration towards the forces of nature, reveal an artificial pedantic religion at his hands, surcharged with liturgy and rites. The primitive man, who was supposed to reveal himself through these hymns, vanishes altogether and leaves in his place the priest, the minister of a culture more formal than inspired. At the other extremity of Vedic literature Paul Regnaud shows in the older Upanisads the rudiments of the great philosophical systems. Senart devotes most of his energy to the study of Buddhism; he tries to discover in the legendary figure of the Buddha traits of Vedic origin as well as those common to the divinities of the Hindu pantheon; in a sphere better protected than all others against any preconcived ideas he demonstrates how through the tangle of fusion the legends evolve the figure of a mangod. The edition of the *Mahavastu* offers to scientific reseach a biography of the Buddha particularly rich in mythical elements. It is also under the inspiration of Buddhism that Senart applies himself to the study of the inscriptions of

* Translated from French by Madame Louise Morin and Dr. Satakrishna Ghosh from *La Science Francaise*, by courtesy of Librairie Larousse, Paris. Reprinted from *India and the World*.

Piyadasi, the Constantine of Buddhism, which furnish the earliest positive materials for researches on paleography, linguistics and the political and religious history of India.

Directly or indirectly all Indological studies in France to-day have their origin in Abel Bergaigne. It is under his encouragement that appear the works of Victor Henry on the ritual of the Agnistoma (in collaboration with the Dutch scholar Caland) and on ancient Indian magic, and Sylvain Levi's work on the Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brahmanas is inspired by the same revered master. Bergaigne opened up another new field of research before his premature death. The conquests of France have opened up Indo-China to the explorers; Aymonier, a captain of the Colonial Infantry, has discovered an immense epigraphic literature in Sanskrit, whieh has been classified and scientifically dealt with by Bergaigne, and from which he has brought to light an unknown chapter of universal history; Indo-China owes her civilisation to India; the literature, the sacred language, the institutions and the arts of India have flourished in India from the first centuries of the Christian era. Suddenly, attention is drawn to the role of India in the civilisation of the Far East and on her importance for the civilisation of the whole humanity. The brilliant revival of Sinological studies in France favours this new orientation; the French scholars, who had given to the Science of Indology the invaluable accounts of the voyages of Fa-Hien and Hiuentsang, find now fitting successors. The creation of the Ecole Francaise d'-Extreme-Orient at Saigon in 1899 definitely joins Indology to Sinology and its annexes.

The historical importance of India shines forth from that date in all its glory: connected with the group of original Indo-Europeans by her language and rituals, with Iran by an even closer bond of linguistic and religious relations, attached to Persia by the Achæminia conquest and to the Hellenistic world by Alexander and his successors, to China by Buddhism, to Tibet, Indo-China and Polynesia by the civilisation she has given to them, India is the connecting link between the two sections, apparently isolated, of the antique world. The recent discoveries in Central Asia, to which France contributed her glorious share through the Pelliot Mission, have added a new chapter to the already vast history of the cultural expansion of India. More than any other country in the world India presents our civilisation clearly as the result of the collective labour of the whole humanity, where every historical group has its own story of its loans and borrowings. It is from this fundamental conception of Indian civilisation that proceed most of the Indological works published in France during the last twenty-five years; it is a fundamental characteristic feature of the *Melanges, dedies a Sylvain Levi.* In the field of literary history it has inspired the *Theatre Indian* of Sylvain Levi and Lacote's essay on *Gunadhya et l'histoire des contes indiens*; in the field of history, iu the narrow sense of the word, it has inspired Sylvain Levi's work on Nepal, the Hindu kingdom on the border of Tibet and with opening into China; in the field of archæology it inspires the beautiful studies of Foucher on Greco-Buddhistic art and the iconography of Buddhism.

The onerous task of editing texts was not neglected during this period; thus the *Ratnapariksa* of *Buddhabhatta* and the *Rastrapalapariprecha* were published by Finot, the *Mahayana—Sutralankara* by Sylvain Levi; the *Brhatkathac loka-samgraha* by Lacote.

ISLAM AND PURDAH.*

(By Mrs. Ayesha Shaukat Ali.)

I should have hesitated before giving my opinion on "Purdah" but for the fact that I have observed it myself for a short time and feel that I know both sides of the question. I can only speak, on "Purdah" as it affects Muslims, however, as I have not had the privilege of meeting many Hindu families. To be perfectly frank I cannot think of any justification whatever for "Purdah."

In the first place it is contrary to the whole spirit of Islam which is essentially a practicable faith, and one which gives, in theory, more privileges to its women followers than, I might say, any other Faith.

It is always put forward in defence of "Purdah" that the virtue of woman is of more importance than her health or happiness. But, I ask, what virtue? A woman of true virtue needs no "Purdah"; the virtue is cloak enough. As for the others a stimulation of virtue may please their neighbours—it is true—but will it satisfy God?

It seems to me after close observation that the whole system is essentially a man's institution. I am ready to believe that at one period of history it may have been necessary but that time has passed; unfortunately for all concerned man was given the opportunity of finding out the convenience of the system from his own point of view and he is naturally reluctant to give it up. His women folk keep a discreet silence on the subject which speaks more eloquently than words.

I am afraid that only a measure of economic independence will be able to restore their individuality and their freedom of speech—as it is they are only a faint echo of their menfolk.

'Purdah' seems to be based on the assumption that man is capable of running his own particular sphere without the help of woman. This is merely ridiculous optimism for no community which amounts to anything, has ever been able to work on these lines and makes a success of it.

Woman has a specific role in life which demands health, knowledge, beauty and confidence for its fulfilment. One must ask oneself if 'Purdah' is likely to encourage these.

It is no coincidence that the infant mortality of India is the highest in the world, and the greatest contributory factors, I should say, are poor physique of the mother due to lack of God's sunshine and the ability to move about freely—privileges which the lowest of His creatures can enjoy—and her ignorance of child-care, ill-health and ignorance are the two chief evils resulting from 'Purdah' not the only ones by any means, but quite enough to prevent woman from living that beautiful and natural life for which she was ordained.

Man may struggle to keep 'Purdah' but it can only survive another generation or so. Even now the upper classes are rapidly freeing themselves from the shackles of a useless and pernicious convention. Let us hope that this heralds the end of a useless and pernicious convention.

The initiate will have to beware, however, of confusing liberty with license and the dividing line is not always apparent to the inexperienced. I notice that many erstwhile 'Purdah' ladies, in their enthusiasm, are adopting some Western ideas which are not in the least suitable for them.

The superb dignity, grace, and modest bearing of the daughters of India are qualities to marvel at; it would be tragic if these were to be discarded for the vulgarity of the new world.

* Reprinted from *The Bombay Chronicle.*

THE STORY IN ST. JOHN.*

The Indian Social Reformer has an interesting note concerning the Codex Sinaiticus which Britain has bought from Russia for £ 100,000. From this 'Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible' there is missing the section in St. John vii. 53—viii. 11 about the woman who was found committing adultery. 'Non-Christian readers,' says the *Reformer*, have regarded Jesus Christ's 'treatment of the problem' of this woman 'as the noblest and most distinctive element in the Christian Gospel,' as there is 'nothing to equal it in other religions.'

Since two of the very oldest manuscripts, the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus, both now in the British Museum, and most early authorities for the Greek Testament, do not contain this moving story, the English Revised Version prints this section within brackets and gives the footnote: 'Most of the ancient authorities omit John vii. 52—viii. 11. Those which contain it vary much from each other.' The Marathi Bible issued by the Bible Society also prints the section in brackets; 'the Athavale Version' (1st and 2nd editions) has no brackets.

Dr. Moffatt, from whose rendering of the story we quote mainly below, has the note: 'It is uncertain to which, if any, of the canonical gospels, this fragment of primitive tradition originally belonged.' As the *Reformer* 'learns with deep regret' that this story 'is omitted' from early manuscripts of St. John, there may be some comfort derived from the theory some scholars hold that the section has strayed out of Mark's Gospel and that it possibly belongs to a different ending to St. Mark than the one found in our English Bibles. We give below, first the story itself, and then a remarkable addition from one of the manuscripts.

One day in the life of Jesus, the Scribes and Pharisees brought a woman who had been caught in the act of adultery, and making her stand forward they said to Jesus, 'Teacher, this woman was caught in the very act of committing adultery. Now Moses has commanded us in the Law to stone such creatures; but what do *you* say?' Jesus then stooped down, and began to write with His finger on the ground, but, as they persisted with their question, He raised Himself and said to them, 'Let the innocent among you throw the first stone.' Then He stooped down again and wrote on the ground. On hearing what He said, they went away one by one, beginning with the older men till Jesus was left alone with the woman standing before Him. Looking up, Jesus said to her, 'Woman where are they? Has no one condemned you?' She said, 'No one, Lord.' Jesus said, 'Neither do I; go your way, and sin no more' (John viii. 3–11).

Some years ago there was discovered an old manuscript which adds certain deeply interesting details to the story referred to above as narrated in St. John viii. 3–11. These added details show not only how very Pharisaic were those critics of the guilty woman brought to Jesus but also how Jesus penetrated their hypocrisy, for this old manuscript adds that when 'Jesus stooped down and wrote on the ground' it was on sand that He was writing and that He wrote down the details of crimes perpetrated long ago by these very men. One of those accusers, says this old manuscript, bore the name of Eldad, and as Jesus wrote in the sand He wrote: 'Eldad slew his companion in the desert.' Though forty years had passed since the deed had been done of which none other knew, the crowd now standing around saw the flash of Eldad's sword drawn for murder; and Eldad crept away in silent guilt. Still Jesus went on writing and this time He wrote: 'Horan stole a house from Bunan's widow.' As soon as the horror-stricken Horan saw his deed written there, off he fled. And so, says the old story, Jesus went on writing some ill deed done by each one of this woman's critics until every critic had vanished. Preachers among our readers will see in this striking story an illustration of more than one important truth.

* The Dayanodaya.

MADRAS NON-BRAHMIN PARTY.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation, Madras, was held this evening in the premises of Sir Theagoroya Chetti Memorial buildings. There was a large gathering of members from all parts of the presidency and there were forty members of the Committee. Sir R. K. Shunmugam Chettiar was present by special invitation, but did not take part in the proceedings. Kumararajah M. A. Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad, Chairman of the Executive Committee, presided.

The following resolutions were passed:

(1) This meeting of the Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation places on record its deep sense of sorrow and regret at the demise of Mr. O. C. Srinivasan, a member of this Committee, and conveys its sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Moved from the chair and carried all standing.

(2) Resolved that the following members do constitute an Election Board, with power to co-opt, to issue an election manifesto, arrange for carrying on propaganda, select candidates on behalf of the Party, and make all other arrangements for the coming elections to the Legislative Assembly:

(1) The Hon'ble the Rajah Sahib of Bobbili, (2) Diwan Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu, (3) Kumararajah of Chettinad, (4) Mr. W. P. A. Soundara Pandya Nadar, (5) Mr. R. M. Palat, (6) Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannirselvam, (7) Kumararajah of Venkatagiri, (8) Mr. Yahia Ali, (9) Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan, (10) Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, (11) Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetti and (12) Mr. G. Lakshmana Reddi.

Proposed by Mr. T. S. Nataraja Pillai, and seconded by the Rajah of Mirzapur.

(3) This meeting of the Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation reiterates the following resolutions passed at its meeting on June 15, 1930:

"The creed of the South Indian Liberal Federation being (*a*) the attainment of Swaraj for India as a component part of the British Empire by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means; (*b*) the attainment of social equality by the abolition of all distinctions based on birth; (*c*) the ensuring of adequate representation of all communities in the public services, in the Legislatures, and in other public bodies. Any person above the age of 21, who subscribes to this creed, is eligible for membership in the South Indian Liberal Federation"

and resolves that this be a recommendation to the next Confederation.

Moved by Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar and seconded by Mr. K. A. P. Viswanatha Pillai of Trichinopoly.

(4) Resolved that the next Confederation be held at Madras sometime in October, the date to be fixed by the Reception Committee.

Proposed by Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetti and seconded by Mr. A. V. Banoji Rao.

BRITAIN AND WAR DEBTS.

(JUSTICE, MADRAS.)

Italy and France, as we have already pointed out, welcome the fact that Great Britain is in line with them in not paying the war debts. Meanwhile, in spite of the justification that Great Britain can find for the attitude that it has taken up, the virtual repudiation of the payment has created a very bad moral atmosphere, and there are not wanting people who desire to take advantage of the situation and to suggest that repudiation of debts in circumstances which are beyond the control of the debtor is thoroughly justifiable.

Great Britain has pointed out that any large payment or war debts at the present time would seriously cripple further the present trade position in the world. The restriction in international trade is of so acute a character that Great Britain feels that the world economic position will further deteriorate, and a greater slump in prices of commodities will be the result, if the payment is to be insisted on by the United States. The paralysing influence upon trade and commerce, due to the transfer of large amounts of gold and silver from one country to another, cannot be exaggerated. But it is not unnatural that America should find itself unable to accept this position. Its advocates feel that while they came to the help of Great Britain and the European countries in their hour of great need, the obligation then undertaken should not be repudiated with such little concern. They feel also that with the money that they will get they can support many projects of public utility involving capital expenditure, which may, both directly and indirectly, influence an upward trend in commodity price. This, in its turn, will have a salutary effect on the economic position of the world as a whole.

The Note of the British Government is not, obviously, the last word on the subject. A large creditor country, itself with outstanding obligations from many debtors all over the world, Great Britain cannot afford to be a party to the theory of repudiation of debts in extreme circumstances. That is why in every communication of the British Government stress is laid on the fact that no question of repudiation is involved. The amount of outstanding debt which Great Britain has to pay for the last three instalments is over fifty million pounds sterling. What the ultimate result of further negotiations, which are bound to take place, can be, it is impossible to predict at present.

India is, however, interested in the question, because the Finance Member has made a provision for the payment of Rs. 58,00,000 to Great Britain on account of war debts—a provision which it will be unnecessary to carry out, in case the present attitude of the British Government is maintained.

The reply from Washington will be awaited with keen interest, and until America realises that it is to its own interest not to press for its obligations at this juncture, and to come to a better understanding on the whole question of the payment of war debts, it is difficult to see how the question can be solved to the satisfaction of the debtor countries and their creditor.

(LEADER, ALLAHABAD).

The British note on war debts presented to the United States shows that Britain is not going to make even a token payment. The grounds urged for withholding payment will be regarded as unconvincing by its creditor. It urges that the transfer of large sums will cause a sharp depreciation of the sterling against dollars which Government understands is inconsistent with the monetary policy of the United States. Britain seems to be much more anxious that the monetary policy of the United States should not be disturbed than the American Government themselves. The latter must have been fully aware of the effect on exchange of the transfer of large sums, and yet they were not deterred from making a demand for the payment of the debt instalments. The note seeks to link, not for the first time, the payment of the American debt with the realization of the amounts due to Britain from its European debtors. The United States has never admitted that the payment of its dues should be dependent on the realization of their dues by its European debtors. When it gave huge credits to them during the war, it was not stipulated that the countries to which it advanced the loans would repay them only if they won the war and were able to exact reparations from the defeated powers. If Britain cannot realize its war debts this cannot be a valid excuse for not meeting its own obligations. The note emphasizes that the chances of world recovery would be indefinitely postponed if Britain made demands of her own war debts. 'Such a procedure,' it is stated, 'would throw a bombshell on the European arena having financial and economic repercussions in all the five continents.' The United States, however, never wanted Britain to throw such a bombshell. The arguments urged in the note, in plain language, come to this that America need not expect any payment of the amounts due to it from its European debtors unless the latter are able to realize their dues from their debtors. Incapacity to pay is nowhere pleaded in the note as a reason for deferring payment.

It is an ungrateful world we live in. Had it not been for the timely American help in men and money it is very doubtful if the allied powers would have won the war. Britain and France, as a result of the crowning victory won, have made large additions to their territories and realized large sums as reparations. The United States did not claim any territorial expansion or reparations. It has been simply asking those powers whom it helped with money, men, munitions and materials in a moment of crisis, to repay its just dues. President Roosevelt in his message to the Congress has made it clear that he does not want to drive a hard bargain and that he is willing to discuss frankly and fully the special circumstances relating to the means of payment.

The British note wants the initiative to be taken by President Roosevelt for starting discussions for the 'ultimate settlement of inter-Governmental war debts.' We doubt if the United States will ever agree to start such a discussion. It has been ready to enter into negotiations with individual debtors, but it does not want to involve itself in the larger question of inter-Governmental debts.

(NATIONAL CALL, DELHI).

Honesty is the better part of valour. And Britain has for once behaved honestly. Instead of continuing the farce of making token payments, Britain has definitely decided to default. Of course as is usual, Britain's action has been given the colour of martyrdom. England has repudiated its war debt and its obligations to America, not because it is unable to pay, but because England has discovered in it the only sure means of forcing America to come to terms with the debtor nations, and because unless the question is settled world prosperity would be delayed. It is significant that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made no provision in the budget for debt payments, and had assumed at the time of framing his budget, that the debt would be repudiated. After what England has done we hope British statesmen will hardly mind if India at a later date also decides likewise and repudiates such obligations which have been contracted on her behalf to further Imperial and not Indian interests.

FATHER BLATTER.*

Fr. Blatter was born at Rebstein, a bright little township perched high above the banks of the upper Rhine. He must have been the joy and the despair of his mother. He was her only son and his father died so early that he never knew him and that a bachelor uncle, a physician, had to come to the rescue when a man's sterner handling was imperative. A boy so clever, keen, quick, so indulged with money, so sure to be pardoned in the end by a mother, could dare much and did not fail to do so. He went to sundry schools and the chief reason of his multifarious changes were the outrageous practical jokes which he played and inspired. For some years he went to a Real-Schule in the canton of Thurgau where he took up modern languages—French, English, Italian, Spanish, with such ease that later on he spent very little time in becoming familiar with English and French which he spoke almost as well as his native German and never found any difficulty in consulting Italian or Spanish books. In after-life for the purposes of his science he looked up Danish, Portuguese, Russian books and ascribed his facility to his early training. For his classical studies he went to the Benedictine School at Sarnen in Unterwalden. The monks despaired of reducing this irreducible Appenzeller to time-honoured discipline and so they advised the culprit's mother to make him finish his secondary classical studies elsewhere. This was done at Schwyz in a Gymnasium still more beautifully situated above the lake of Lucerne than Sarnen. Here he fell into the class of his future colleague at St. Xavier's College, Robert Zimmermann. Robert his whole life through kept something of the admiration which a more plodding school companion has for a brilliant, all successful fellow-student to whom everything comes easy: games, acting, singing, studies, popularity.

Blatter's vocation requires some explanation. What could have made this boisterous, jovial, life-loving, well-to-do, clever, universally popular Swiss lad dream of giving up whatever was most attractive to him? His uncle's practice was held in reserve for him; his aptitudes made it sure he would have a brilliant University career. He was an only son and his mother would be left all by herself. She was a Protestant until her son was in his teens, but she herself had taught him his Catholic catechism and went to church with him. Her conversion to the Catholic faith was the beginning of an extraordinarily saintly life. She instilled into her son her own deep religious outlook on life. He ever wore his good humour on his sleeve and only a few intimates knew his real self. His mother died some five years ago and like many good people lost all her money in the aftermath of the War. One consolation she had when her son saw her again in 1926. But he was so unwell that he went from the train to bed and from bed to the train for the return to India.

Blatter entered the Jesuit noviceship at Tisis, near the Jesuit College, Stella Matutina, Feldkirch, on October 1, 1896. Here he was initiated into the ascetic life with some fifty other candidates of his own age, hailing from Switzerland and S. Germany. The Jesuit novices have to undergo certain experiments laid down by St. Ignatius, the founder of the order. Our novice stood all tests and after two years was admitted to his religious vows, From the days of Bismarck's Kulturkampf, the Jesuits were exiled from Germany Their houses of training had to be located just on the border as at Feldkirch or in Holland.

In Autumn 1898, Blatter proceeded to Exaeten in Holland for the next stage in his Jesuit formation: the juniorate. Under excellent teachers he perfected his classical studies, followed lectures in rhetoric and aesthetics, wrote poetry and essays. There was none who came up to his level in genuinely original achievement in German verse. And yet when after two years of literary studies, our scholastic as he now was, proceeded to the well-known philosophical and theological College of the German province of the order at Valkenburg in the south west corner of Dutch Limburg, he lost contact with literary studies, rushed lightly through philosophy and applied himself heart and soul to Botany.

At the end of their philosophy, the scholastics of the then German province were detailed off for five years, some to Brazil, some to the flourishing Colleges of the province in the United States, some to Feldkirch or Copenhagen or Zittard, others to the Bombay institutions. Blatter had already been chosen for Feldkirch which he would have loved, when St. Xavier's College, Bombay, applied for a botanist. He was sent for a few months to Manresa House, Roehampton, near London and came out at the end of 1908. For five years he taught Botany, set up a laboratory and made lengthy botanical excursions to Kashmere, the Deccan, Ceylon, explored every corner round Bombay and Khandala. The solemn old German Fathers were aghast when this young fellow, not yet ordained, began to publish papers and books. It was quite improper and ought to be stopped, but no one ever stopped Blatter from doing what he had set his heart on. He was soon one of the best botanists in India, in communication with whatever botanical research or garden or specialist within the boundaries of the lands then so gorgeously lorded over by Curzon. So much so that when Fr. Blatter returned to Europe for his theology in 1903, he was welcomed by the curators of Kew Gardens, became a fellow of the Linnean Society, had to read a paper at the Brussels exhibition of 1910. From the end of 1908 till the end of 1913 Fr. Blatter studied for four years theology at Ore Place, Hastings in the South of England. The College was in England but belonged to the Jesuits of the Paris Province; in other words it was a French institution on English soil. The professors were men like Condamin, de Grandmaison, Harent, Chossat; his companions, de Mondadon, Jalabert, Rousselot, Lorand and others.

He was ordained a priest in 1912, finished his Theology, went through his third year of probation at Exaeten, took his last solemn vows on February 2, 1915. From the middle of 1914, Fr. Blatter was busy on Botany at Kew Gardens and found himself in England at the outbreak of the War. As many of the English Jesuits joined up as military chaplains, Fr. Blatter had to take up some priestly ministry.

The war upset Fr. Blatter's plans altogether. His superiors had decided to give him the best training in Botany Europe could offer. But when the German Fathers were interned in Bombay, a Swiss who had successfully taught at St. Xavier's could not easily be spared and at the end of 1915 Fr. Blatter was again at his former post. Until May 1919 he did probably his best work and was in his fittest condition. He harnessed several men to his work, students, assistants, amateurs, professionals. A mathematician, Prof. Hallberg from Upsala, had done no botany whatever and yet Blatter fired him with such enthusiasm that a large number of papers were published under their joint names and Hallberg with the direction

*J. D. writes in *The Examiner*.

of Fr. Blatter was able to carry through the botanical survey of Kashmere. Hallberg did not live to see "The Beautiful Flowers of Kashmere,'—a really fine work, delightful to read for any one who loves flowers. Great botanical excursions were made all over India, in Assam, the Western Ghats, the Sind desert, Mt. Abu, the Indus Valley. The College magazine of those years and still more the recollections of those who took part could give an adequate idea of the more human and humorous incidents, the pageantry and chiefly the unforgettable energy and undaunted endurance of Fr. Blatter himself.

From the point of view of Indian botany and for Fr. Blatter's own sake it was a misfortune when, on the appointment of Fr. Goodier as Archbishop, he had to take up the principalship. It is true he was able now to display many of the gifts and qualities which had little scope in the more austere setting of continuous scientific research. He was nominated a fellow of the University, served for years on the Syndicate and other bodies, inspected all the Colleges and scores of schools, had much to do with preparing the way for University reform, became acquainted with a large number of people, high and low, rich and poor, belonging to all creeds, castes and races, devoted most of the day and even part of the night to the students, the administration, the correspondence of his office, the College associations. His first concern was to organise the College Golden Jubilee, a splendid occasion for revealing the full size and measure of this spacious-minded, far-seeing, many-sided, universally sympathetic character. Only he was capable of bringing out the lavish Jubilee number of the magazine. During these years Fr. Blatter made a point of giving the classes of religion to Catholics himself. In 1924 he felt in duty bound to serve on the University reform committee.

His health could no longer stand Bombay. He did not want to return to Europe because his material could not be carried so far and he felt the need of the Indian sun if he were to last long enough for publishing what he had all but ready. Thus it came about that he applied to be made chaplain at Panchgani. Here with the assistance of his faithful secretary and co-worker, he had the happiness of preparing for the press an enormous amount of systematic botany. His last work—undertaken in collaboration with Father Caius—all but killed him but the manuscript is finished, in the lands of the printer.

When Fr. Blatter went to Panchgani he was suffering from diabetes and dysentery. It did not prevent him from working all through the day and into the night until the electric current was cut off. From 1926 till about 1929 he frequently came to Bombay for University meetings. Later on his visits became rarer. On a short botanising tour around Panchgani he entangled in a thorn bush, the small wounds caused were sufficient to-bring him to death's door—they would not heal and whatever cuttings were necessry had to be made without chloroform or anaesthetics. But his marvellous vitality pulled him through. It was a glorious day when he felt fit enough to go to Waziristan with Fr. Palacios to study the flora and fauna of a country innocent of all previous scientific survey. Whether a bad fall from a horse was the reason of a general collapse on his return, is not quite so certain. In any case he had two mild strokes. He recovered once more but the power for work was broken. As long as he could, he carried on. When he felt there was no hope of ever doing again a full man's work, he lost the desire to live. In January this year he was so low that he was brought down to Poona on the 22nd. There he lingered on until the end.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Britain and Japan:—When the negotiations for a trade treaty between Japan and Britain broke down, Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, evoked enthusiastic cheers in Parliament by declaring that he would strike at Japan's trade with the Colonies which supplied much raw material to that country and took a lot of her manufactured articles. The Japanese Government showed little perturbation at this portentous challenge. The event has justified its confidence. Australia's principal newspaper promptly declared: "Australia has no complaint against Japan who is a good customer for her wheat and wool. Australia, as is natural from her geographical position, has found good markets in the Far East, and unless international rivalries are pursued to the point of national suicide that trade must not be discouraged. The poor people of England and Australia do not welcome a policy compelling them to buy in a dearer market." It is expected that Australia will have soon her own Agent in Tokio to look after her trade interests. It was found that treaty rights of Japan precluded invidious measures against her trade in East Africa. Tanganyika as mandated territory could not be subjected to imperial preference. A Doctor from Tanga wrote: "People forget the low purchasing power of the native boys. The purchase of cheap Japanese rubber soled shoes has done more to check hookworm here than all the efforts of the Health Department." In the realm of politics, Sir John Simon startled the House of Commons by pleading in answer to a demand for vigorous action against Japan in China that Britain had never entered into a treaty to protect the territorial integrity of China. The Chinese Minister in Washington drily remarked on reading this statement that the British Foreign Minister would seem to have forgotten the League of Nation's Covenant by which the League and every member State undertook to preserve the integrity and independence of every other member, including China.

China and India:—At no time were British people so anxious as they now seem to be to hear from their own publicists and foreign ones that they are the most stable, free, liberal and prosperous people on the face of the earth. In the course of an article calculated to assure his countrymen in these respects, Sir Arthur Salter incidentally makes a comparison between India and China. He says the natural advantages of China are incontestably greater than those of India. "Its climate, its resources, its river system, the average physique of its people," he writes in the *Observer*, "would, if other things were equal, promise a standard of living much higher than India could hope for." But other things are not equal. India has the privilege of being governed by the British. China has the misfortune to be governed or misgoverned by her own nationals. "The result is that the Indian standard of living," he writes, "instead of being much lower, is very much higher. The best economists' estimates put the average national income in India at £ 8 a year, in China at about £ 3 a year." Such monetary estimates, he admits, are misleading. He mentions as a more reliable test that whereas the Chinese peasant uses a wheelbarrow, the Indian has an animal-drawn truck. "You will not find in India as you do in China, men and even women, harnessed to the plough like oxen." India's economic position, he says, would be even more striking if the greater part of India's production had not been absorbes by a rapid increase in population, and went to buy Lancashire goods. India has to provide not only for her increased population but also for one fourth of that of Britain and that on a higher scale. The economic conscience of Sir Arthur Salter suddenly fails here. Then, while the Chinaman abroad notwithstanding his penury is a Chinaman, the Indian is a political non-entity. Sir Arthur hastens to assure the reader that he is not suggesting that Britain should take over China. It is very considerate of him.

Political Piracy:—To adapt the epigram of a British statesman who afterwards became the leader of the Party he denounced, the Congress Parliamentarians have caught the Liberals sleeping and have walked away with their clothes. When five months ago, a number of citizens who met in Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's

office, to consider the possibility of calling a Non-Party Conference to consider the White Paper proposals, decided to leave the Communal Award out owing to differences of opinion on it among different sections, the Nationalist newspapers were extremely scornful of the timidity of the Liberals. Those very papers are now applauding the decision of the Congress Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board to do the identical thing, as the wisest decision that could be made. But the most startling proof of the rifling of the liberal wardrobe by the Congress swarajists, is contained in the astonishing statement which Mr. Satyamurti published in the *Times of India* on Thursday. He was the first to hoist the flag of revolt against the boycott of Councils early last year. He was followed on this side by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. Then, suddenly Dr. Ansari and others brought matters to a head and announced the formation of a Swaraj Party. To Mr. Satyamurti, therefore, belongs the credit for the new development in the Congress and what he said may be regarded as representing the views generally held by the Congress Parliamentarians. Attention may be particularly called to his statement that Congressmen may have to work the White Paper scheme to the utmost limit of their capacity if it is adopted in spite of their protests. What has come of the "sanctions" which were vociferously demanded whenever any one spoke of having to work the new Constitution, unacceptable though it may be? The last paragraph expatiating on the greater value of a Conservative than a Labour Government for carrying through Indian reforms, is extremely suggestive. The tone of the statement, so obviously anxious to emphasise agreement with the *Times of India*, is also worth noting. The Parliamentarians are ready to outbid the Moderates for securing recognition at the hands of the powers-that-be as the political leaders of the country. The pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other. What next?

Apple of Discord:—Soon after the Parliamentary Board of the Congress was constituted, its President, Dr. Ansari, left for Europe. Before sailing he issued a statement which some of his colleagues thought might be interpreted to mean acquiescence tentatively in the Communal Award. The acting President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and the erstwhile acting President of the Congress, Mr. Aney, promptly corrected this misimpression and declared that they for their part would never be parties to accepting that ill-starred document. Their statements were welcomed by the Hindu Mahasabha which has consistently opposed the Award as anti-national. The situation was further complicated by the publication by Panditjee's son, Radhakant, of a compilation of opinions against the Award, with the imprimatur of the Liberal Leader, Mr. Chintamani. On Saturday last, the Working Committee endorsed Dr. Ansari's view. Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney at once sent their resignations. The defection of two such prominent members created something like consternation in the Swarajist ranks. At midnight on Monday and with many tears the aged Panditjee signed a "formula" declaring that, while adhering to his opposition to the Communal Award, he agreed in deference to the appeal of his colleagues to withdraw his resignation. Mr. Aney also signed it but without any show of emotion. Since then Panditjee has been indisposed and in the hands of doctors. The same day came the news that Vice-Chancellor von Papen of the Reich withdrew his resignation, on account of censoring of a speech of his by Goebbels, on a personal appeal by Chancellor Hitler. A nationalist newspaper in reporting the incident dubbed von Papen an opportunist.

Querulous Criticism:—It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The Bihar earthquake has had at least one re-deeming result. "Never before in my life," says Dr. N. S. Hardiker, "have I learnt as much of human nature, its salient features, and its dark sides as I did during the last eighteen weeks of my stay in Bihar." One need not go all the way to Bihar to learn this. One does not look for the ideally beautiful in the presence of one of the most devastating calamities that can befall mankind. People who do so have no call to volunteer for relief work as what they apparently want is relief from their own oppressed feelings. We have to say this, for the statements published in the press by this gentleman display a total lack of understanding of the difficulties of local organizations and are calculated to convey the impression that they were resentful of the intrusion of helpers from outside. If Dr. Hardiker expected that he and his party would be hailed as saviours of Bihar, it was his own fault. It was made quite clear by the Bihar leaders at the very outset, and, indeed, even without that one should have known, that the need of the moment was for materials and money. The influx of a number of persons from outside, strangers to local conditions, was sure to be more a hindrance than a help. The motive was good but motive is not everything. In striking contrast to the querulous comments of Dr. Hardiker, is the generous acknowledgment in the last Government review of relief operations of the valuable services of the Patna Central Relief Committee. Referring to the water scarcity due to the silting up of wells, it is observed: "The Central Relief Committee (generally known as Rajendra Babu's Committee) offered its service in an unstinted manner which proved very helpful in this de-silting work."

Note of Warning:—The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* writes:—"The Congress organisations are being revived all over the country. We think we ought to sound a note of warning to Congressmen....It will be a bad day for the country if such people are allowed to gain influence or importance in Congress circles. We cannot certainly demand that our leaders should be saints but we can neither afford to owe any allegiance to scoundrels.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, JUNE 23, 1934.

MYSORE AND FEDERATION.

In declaring open a Swadeshi Exhibition in Mysore on Monday, Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Charya warned the people of Mysore that the State would be lowered in status to a zemindari of it entered the proposed Indian Federation without further guarantees. He argued that the Federation would be the creation of the British Parliament which would have power to legislate for the whole Federation including Indian States which at present were amenable only to laws of their own making. Despite the denial of the Prime Minister of Mysore who was present at the function, Mr. Vijayaraghava insisted that the Princes had given unwilling consent to enter the Federation. The States, it is true, are outside the jurisdiction of Parliamentary legislation at present, but they are subject to the control of the British Cabinet which is a Committee of Parliament, and if the Secretary of State for India wishes, he can easily get any State to pass any law which he deems necessary in the interests either of the State itself or of British India. It is moreover the fact—we are not thinking of Mysore here—that the people of several Indian States want the Government of India, as the representative of the Paramount Power, to exercise more powers of control, including legislation, in the States as the only means of ensuring fairly good government. Such independence as the States now enjoy are entirely by sufferance. Under the Federation they will have clearly defined rights in resisting encroachments on which, well-governed States like Mysore will have the support of British Indian opinion. Mr. Vijayaraghava is a veteran in Indian politics and an authority on constitutional matters. Nevertheless, we think that the position and status of the States in a federal system will depend entirely on their standards of administration and the amount of support which they command from their own people and not as now on the disposition of a Government of India Department. Whether the States (rather Princes) have agreed to enter the Federation under "free persuasion" or pressure, is one of the issues in controversy between Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Winston Churchill. That some Princes do not view with favour the contact which Federation will establish between British Indian politicians and their own, is inevitable. If you place the two ideas of Democracy and Autocracy in juxtaposition, the result will be the same as placing gun-powder in contact with a lighted match. Not a few Princes would have reason to be thankful if they are left at least the status of a zemindar. On the other hand, a wise and sagacious ruler may rise under the Federation to the leadership of United India, if he has breadth of vision and strength of character.

So far as Mysore is concerned, it had from the first whole-heartedly espoused the idea of Federation so that there is no suspicion of persuasion or pressure in regard to that State. It has done more. It has anticipated Federation by agreeing, in response to the offer of the Government of India, to levy an excise duty on matches made in the State corresponding to that adopted in British India. The duty is expected to add to the State's revenue about a lakh and a half of rupees. But it will also bring in a further five lakhs from the Government of India as the estimated share of Mysore on the basis of consumption. On purely equitable grounds Mysore would be entitled to the latter amount as it is the amount of duty recovered in British India on makhs consumed in Mysore State. The principle of a countervailing duty has been discarded in British India and there is no reason why it should be insisted upon in the case of Mysore. When the Federation is an accomplished fact the Federal Government will have power to levy uniform federal taxation throughout India. Mysore by voluntarily agreeing to come into line with British India at once has given fresh proof of her faith in the Federal principle. As regards sugar also, the Mysore Government propose to avail themselves of the British Indian offer to exempt Mysore sugar from import duties if the State levies an excise duty corresponding to that introduced in British India. The Mysore Legislative Assembly threw out the Government proposal on the ground that it would raise the price of locally manufactured sugar to the Mysore consumer. This, as was pointed out by the official spokesman, was an erroneous assumption as the price of sugar, a world commodity, is regulated by world conditions. The Mysore consumer will have to pay the same price as the Bombay consumer irrespective of the proposed excise duty, unless Sir Mirza Ismail takes a leaf out of President Roosevelt's book, and decrees that sugar shall be sold at a certain price, neither more nor less, under severe penalties. But he does not seem inclined to imitate the President and for a very good reason. The States are a vast area, practically self-contained, with a highly developed industrial and administrative system and with incalculable resources and, above all, a Government responsible to none but its own citizens. There is nothing amazingormusing in the Roosevelt plan in these circumstances. It is bound to succeed and it has already succeeded to an extent which is not adequately reflected by the statistical results. The moral effect, which is the chief thing, has been tremendous, and even critical commentators admit that the position of the President was never so strong as it is now, notwithstanding some inevitable setbacks to some parts of his plan.

Sir Mirza Ismail concluded his lucid financial statement by a reference to the annual tribute which Mysore is a obliged to pay to the Government of India. This is a medicoal

anachronism which should have no place in a modern system. There are other weighty reasons why it should be forthwith abolished. Mysore by its wise and far-sighted administration has earned for itself the reputation of being the most progressive State in India. Even the most inveterate critic of Indian States, like Mr. Chudgar, pauses to pay a tribute to Mysore in the midst of his most impassioned denunciations. The Government of India will have the strong support of Indian opinion to the total repeal of this antiquated and offensive imposition on an enlightened State which has given conspicuous proof of its regard for the interests of the whole country.

HINDU PRINCIPLES OF COMPELLING NECESSITY.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar.)

The system governing a Hindu life in family or society has been immemorially a happy blend of law, religion, morality, and social principles. Unlike the Western system of law defining rights and punishing infringements thereof, ours deliberately ignores them for all practical purposes and emphasises the aspect of duties and their breach. It might be that specialisation in the field of law without due and simultaneous regard to other aspects of life has led the West on to such a singular development of the law. But our story is different, owing entirely to so balanced and harmonised a conception of life that, instead of necessity knowing no law, dire necessity simply excuses or justifies its breach either occasionally or even permanently. The present purpose on hand is only to illustrate this by recourse to various well-known examples that are drawn at random from legal, moral, religious, and social sides of life and may appeal themselves to the general reader and the special student or critic.

1. Now, let us take the relationship of a Hindu host and guest. The Sastras tell us that a guest must have full and unqualified attention and protection at the hands of his host. He must be shown all honour and preference due to his caste and status in life. The host is enjoined not to think of offending him or anywise wounding his susceptibilities so long as he remains under his necessary hospitality. The treatment meted out to the guest is regarded as the very worship of the Divine in Man, even as the bali rite is held as the worship of the divine in (the Elements of) Nature, and the Yagas and Sraddhas are the worship of the Divine in the heavenly gods and our ancestral manes respectively. There is no corresponding right vested in the host as against his guest. Even if the casual visitor or wayfarer should wilfully or imprudently go the length of bearding his host in his own den, the latter ought not to offend him in return, even as a true and noble warrior standing in a position of armed vantage may not pounce upon his unarmed or ill-armed or otherwise unprepared opponent, subject of course to the necessity of being driven to defend himself or others in imminent danger of life from the enemy, when he is excused or justified in slaying the unforeseen offender.

2. Let us then consider the so-called 'trespass' (of English law) upon our Hindu homes by strangers to the family. Every man's house in England or elsewhere may be a castle or fort. But in India a Hindu's house is so built, with a pial or two under the front verandah abutting the 'koradu' or platform leading into the street by a flight of steps, that any stranger or wayfarer may take shelter therein for the night or during hot sun or heavy rain without leave or licence of the owner. A 'bhikshu,' whether Brahmacharin or Sannyasin, may without fear or hesitation enter the main door-way, go up to the second door, look in for the inmates and ask for food for the day with absolute impunity. The notorious gipsy ever welcome for his ready though rough fortune-telling may also be seen freely entering the house to the same extent. Similar instances may be cited in numbers. And yet nobody thinks of prosecuting or otherwise taking them to task for the trespass. It is sheer necessity that sends them all there, a thing rather unique here.

3. Again, we know that a manager of a joint Hindu family has even now no manner of *right* to alienate or dispose of any interest in the originally impartible and inalienable family property except to the extent of family necessity or much-needed benefit. So too, a Hindu widow has none, and what she has by way of claim for residence and maintenance is only an extension of what she has when she necessarily steps into the shoes of her husband and looks after the estate in a way consistent with the status and reputation of the family. Again, a trustee of a Hindu endowment has to see to the necessity of the disbursements he is called upon to make and to the necessity of keeping the corpus of the trust-fund from deterioration in value or usefulness. Lastly, a Hindu son has to see if the debts of his deceased or retired father and head of the family were not 'avyavaharika' or illegal or immoral and were justified by necessity whether religious or spiritual or temporal.

4. Then again we see the driving force of necessity in discarding old and repugnant customs and usages and taking to new modes of life, not inconsistent with fundamental principles enunciated in our Srutis and Smritis. After the advent of Buddha with his uncompromising doctrine of Ahimsa, and that of the Transmigration of Soul as a result of Karma involving Himsa in thought, word and deed, we have clean thrown overboard the entire karma-kanda of the Vedas relating to torture and sacrifice of living beings in Yaga and Yajnya, and in anticipation of an equal if not higher reward of merit we have adapted the same into less offensive kinds of rites involving vegetable life or ghee only.

5. Then we have given up *Sati* or widow entering her husband's funeral pyre in favour of her more difficult and systematic self-abnegation for the rest of her life in view to meeting her lord again in a more blissful world to come. We have disapproved and discarded various kinds of inferior marriages in favour of the best type of marriage in Brahma form "where love gives and love takes the girl in marriage for the object (*viz.* issue) of an ocean of love." We have also eschewed and forgotten the dozen kinds of fictional or representative sonships and taken to adoption of a son given and received in all love and hope of heaven. We do not again to-day court the rigorous poverty to which the Brahmins of old were wedded, nor yet suffer the penalty paid by the son for deposing in court against his father, or *vice versa*, nor even observe the restriction of free association with offenders guilty of major sins or the once necessitated free admission into society after due repentance and prescribed prayaschittam of women lost to honour and shame before their wily abductors' fraud, force, or threat.

6. To-day we must honestly confess we have been estranged from our own ancestors as the North from the South Pole though we make bold to claim to respect their very Vedas and Sastras, and pretend to walk in their footsteps. For, do we among Brahmins

observe the very same Varna and Asrama Dharmas so punctiliously as of old? Where is the Brahmachari with his Vedic study at the feet of his rigorous disciplinarian Guru, or the Grihasta with his five daily yajnyas and devoted to the propagation of learning and ideal conduct except one in a million, and where is the Yati or Sannyasin shunning human company and ever meditating on God and maintaining inviolate silence? Where are the unpaid Sudras now that formed part and parcel of the old Dwija family who on death received the funeral and annual oblations at the hands of the Sraddha Karta in the family? (Vide Manu, 3. 246). Where are the old Kshatriyas wholly devoted to their subjects' welfare lavishing money like water in the cause? And where are the generous Vaisyas that made a mountain of money only to be returned to the people (from whom they got it) in private and public charities? There may be a few honourable exceptions here and there. But what about the generality? Unfortunate necessity has made us so.

7. We have still a childish fancy for shining silk-wear that is doubly cursed. It offends against the principle of Ahimsa of our religion and against the boycott of foreign goods as most silk is got from China, Japan and elsewhere. Does it strike anybody that they are purchasing the very life-blood of the poor silk-worms in myriads that are ruthlessly steamed and boiled to death while deeply sleeping inside their cocoons and dreaming of their regeneration for dancing as butterflies amid tender leaves and blossoming flowers? Does it strike anyone that for the same money he can buy ten to thirty times the quantity of Khadder which may feed so many sinless but half-starved souls with a second meal a day? Political economists and Mahatmas might move the masses from a thousand platforms with all the persuasion they could command but the people would not go in for the dull, course, and heavy Khadder goods. They refuse to be weaned away from their childish hunt after foreign goods and silks. Even the uncrowned king of India with all the earnest and enthusiastic support of the greatest organisation of India and of the innumerable volunteer in individual capacity but with a common purpose of the message of Khadder being carried to the remotest corners of India, has not touched beyond the very fringe of the problem. Hence the very great necessity for securing immediate Swaraj for India, when only the poor man's necessity will be made to yield the economic prosperity of the masses in India.

8. In all such and similar cases necessity has ever been the mainspring of Hindu life as, perhaps, of all life in general through the world. Dynamic necessity has been the mother of inventions and departures from the original state of things in every department of life. When dire necessity makes itself keenly felt by the society, family or individual, then a change in the tenor of the existing order of things soon follows. When such a necessity is felt in the entire constitution of the body-politic, then the law of the land automatically changes in its content towards rigour or relaxation, as the case may be, and then a new era begins. Herein lies the secret of the fact of the Hindus surviving as a race or a nation all these thousands of years. Our own sages anticipated this long, long ago and laid it down for us that such neccessary deviations determined on and settled by general agreement among the learned and the good should have also the force of the Vedic Law. But if the intelligent few happen to discover the signs of the impending change in advance of other people and move for an early or timely action before more mischief is done, then they begin to be styled 'social reformers' with all the odium of the name and have to undergo all the risks and misfortunes that fall to the lot of all pioneers in any field of activity. And if the fewer but bolder patricts of an energetic type want to have the thing done in an expeditious way then they suffer all the name, notoriety and penalty of blood-thirsty revolutionaries.

KARMA AND AHIMSA.

(By Scrutator.)

Two great thoughts of Hinduism are Karma and Ahimsa. Buddha took hold of the first and worked it out into a perfectly logical system, early Buddhism. Mahavira took hold of the second and Jainism is the inexorable application of the principle of Ahimsa to every nook and corner of life. Hinduism in which the two ideas were evolved never went so far. It taught that Karma was the root cause of conduct but it taught also how to break what would otherwise be a vicious circle. Anything done disinterestedly did not have the binding force of Karma. This important point is lost sight of by Christian critics of the doctrine. Neither in the case of Ahimsa did Hinduism go all the way with Jainism. The Gita which accepts Ahimsa as the supreme quality of satvic natures is the most powerful apologia for war ever composed. Death in the battlefield, it proclaims, is the open gateway to heaven to the soldier in a dharmic war. It has been sought to be explained that 'war" in the Gita is a subjective struggle. The Gita might mean also that but to insist that it means only that is to fly in the face of the consensus of Hindu belief for two milleniums. No. The real explanation of the advocacy of both Ahimsa and War in the Gita, is that War waged in a righteous cause, in defence of one's religion, hearth and home and country, is not Himsa and is perfectly compatible with Ahimsa. Hinduism has its head in the clouds but its feet are firmly planted on the earth. It is, in fact, a growth of the soil. That is why it has been able to absorb and assimilate every race and religion which found a home on Indian soil. That is also the reason why propagandist religions like Islam and Christianity have themselves become Hinduised in this country. I was listening the other day to a talk by the Anglican Bishop of Bombay on the radio. His subject was the opportunities open to the amateur botanist in Bombay Presidency. I was only an indifferent listener but I pricked up my ears when the Bishop, in an aside, confided to his invisible audience that he never killed an animal in his life. Ahimsa is not a Christian doctrine. Where did this good Bishop get it from? Where, except from India? What is perhaps more striking, is that in hundreds of Muslim families, the custom of animal sacrifice at certain holy days has been given up. Hinduism is the protector of animal life. Is it not a tragic irony that Hindus should resort to animal sacrifice when others are giving it up?

Religion lays down general principles and expects men to apply them to varying conditions in the light of commonsense. Sri Ramakrishna gave many homely illustrations of how this is to be done in his talks with his friends and followers. The Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, has published a handy and beautiful edition of his teachings, which should find a place between the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius and the Imitation of Thomas a Kempis in every middle class home. Marcus was an Emperor and Kempis was a monk but Ramakrishna belonged to the middle classes and always kept in mind the needs of these classes; he drew his similes from the everyday difficulties of these classes, and framed his teaching to suit them. Apropos of Ahimsa, the oft-repeated story of the Snake and the Sage, is fully

narrated in this little book. The Snake used to bite every person who walked on a particular road. A sage happened to pass that way and it rushed at him but he stopped it by a word and taught it the gospel of Ahimsa. The result was that every village urchin threw a stone at it whenever it came out of its hole and, at last, encouraged by immunity, they caught him by the tail and dashed him to the earth. From that day forward, the snake kept to its hole so that when the sage passed again that way he could find it only with difficulty. After much questioning the sage got out of the snake that its plight was due to its strictly following the principle of Ahimsa which he had taught it. "What a pity, my dear," thereupon observed the sage, "that you should not know how to save yourself from being thus handled by your enemy! I forbade you only to bite any creature of God. Why did you not hiss and raise your hood at those who wanted to kill you, so as to keep them at arm's length? So, raise the hood and hiss at evil—doers but bite them not. Keep them off by showing that you can deal an effective blow, if necessary that you have the *power* of resisting evil. Only one must take care not to pour out one's venom into the blood of one's enemy. Resist not evil by doing evil in return, but make a show of resistance with a view to self-defence. That is one of the dharmas of the householder." Romaine Roland who tells the story in his *Life* of Sri Ramakrishna, does so with a necessary reservation. All such stories should be taken with a pinch of the salt of commonsense in order to be properly digested. The point of it is, do not make a parade of your principles. Be wise as the snake but harmless as the dove, as Jesus put it. Which reminds one of another striking saying of Ramakrishna's regarding mystics of all faiths: "All jackals howl to he same tune."

"THIS MISSIONARY BUSINESS."

(By Arthur Young.)

Not long ago you gave me space for my views on "religious understanding." Perhaps it may help if I continue the previous theme by stating what I personally understand by the term religion. To me religion is a form of symbolism made up of beliefs, practices, prayers, pictures, idols, music, etc., used in some form or other to stimulate an inner spiritual consciousness. In relation to the spirit they bear the same connection as the mind does to the body. In the same way as the body can be made to react to totally different thoughts, I believe the consciousness of the spirit, or that part of us which is other than mind and body can be equally developed by various forms of religion and that results depend not on what we have been accustomed to call religious truth but on the type of mentality and physique of the individual in relation to such *truths*. To put it in another form; however successful a particular religion may be with a certain class of consciousness and culture it may be useless or even positively harmful to people of another mentality and environment.

Again we must consider that our life, our education, our surroundings, and our history all supply us with a definite set of symbols in which we think and feel. As an example we know that apart from a few exceptions like Rabindranath Tagore and, say, Aurobindo Ghose and Dhun Gopal Mukerjee, few Indians are only able to express themselves in well known idiomatic English. They may write grammatically good prose but the quality of their imagery is alien to India. That is the reason I maintained in my previous article that conversion was essentially a matter for the psychologist rather than the priest.

The first time I realised the value of this reasoning, and I may add my first step on the path to freedom, was when I heard a Sadhu teaching a pilgrim. The man was a learned philosopher and Vedantist but he was advising his pupil to practice and believe in the crudest form of *bhakti*.

Taking this preface as a background, how much of the missionary endeavour in India is a gross impertinence and an exploitation of the ignorance of the poorer masses. We all agree that there can be only one God. The idea of duality in Supremacy is absurd. But we can only reach out to an aspect of this Supremacy or Omnipotence according to the tools and impliments of consciousness and *being* we possess. Hence the various religions and sects.

What is the motive then behind missionary endeavour? If it is winning souls for Christ then surely "the hand of the Potter shook" during the Creation for God to become so dependent on man. I am not trying to prove every missionary is a fake. C. F. Andrews for instance fully believes that Christ came to fulfil the Law, not to destroy it; the result was that a Hindu meeting him became a better Hindu and a Muslim a better Mahomedan. There are many others and I have met some of them. I am fully convinced that many of those who join the mission field are misfits in the ordinary walks of life. Unable to come out like men and fight the battle of existence to satisfy their longings and ambitions, instead they take the negative course of preaching to others. A sympathetic and often gullible public at Home supply the necessary funds, little realising they are helping to alienate hundreds of ignorant Indians in their Mother-land. If the average Missionary was sincere he would be content to be Christlike. He would administer to the sick, extend a helping hand to the poor and educate the ignorant. More than this borders on hypocracy.

By this I do not mean that Indians should not be welcomed as Christians. I believe that this attitude would draw a different type of Indian into the Christian fold, a type and mind that would enrich what is now almost a decayed force, alien to the spirit of the Great Master and only existing by inveigling support by means we are accustomed to associate with the sale of patent medicines and charms.

Dr. Besant's Successor:—The return of nomination papers in connection with the presidential election of the Theosophical Society are complete. The result will be declared officially on June 21. The United Press understands that Doctor G. S. Arundale has been elected, having obtained 20,000 votes defeating Prof. Ernest Wood the other candidate, who obtained only 5,000 votes. About 10,000 Theosophists refrained from voting. Arrangements are in progress for the ceremonial accession to the Theosophical Gadi on June 21.

Good Business!:—In future we shall not go to war for dynastic reasons, but because it is good for business, said Cecil Rhodes, who had reasons for knowing. Speaking at the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies at Folkestone on Wednesday, Mr. John Epstein, a member of the British delegation, said that when the dispute was brewing between Bolivia and Paraguay, an agent of a well-known British armament firm was known to have secured within six months orders for over £1,500,000 worth of arms from Bolivia. At the same time his colleague was working with equal success in Paraguay. While the delegate of the British Government was seeking with his colleagues on the Council of the League to compose the conflict, licences were issued, according to information given in the House of Commons, for the export by British firms of over 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition to one belligerent and over 14,000,000 to the other.—*Commonweal.*

"RAMA-RAJYA"

(By S. D. Nadkarni.)

I am glad that my brochure "On Rama—rajya and the Slave mentality of Our Orthodox–An expostulatory letter to the greatest Hindu of the Age from a critical Co-religionist," published in 1932 by the Samaj Samata Sangh of Dadar (Bombay), has been noticed in the *Reformer*, late though it may be. Informing and valuable as the writer's criticism is, it will be permissible to point out a few facts in that connection.

1. My "Rama-rajya" does not deal with the 'historicali Rama. It does not go into the question of the historicity and origins of the hero or the themes of the Ramayana as Biblical criticism does with the characters and incidents of the Bible. It is concerned only with the Rama of tradition—with the character of Rama as he is portrayed in our literary heritage, *i.e.*, the accepted documents both sacred and secular, sanskrit and vernacular, as well as our oral tradition. It was wholly foreign to the purpose of the book to go into the question of how far (if at all) the story of Rama as these present it to us is historical. (That it is not wholly historical, the miraculous element in it is alone sufficient to cause the least sceptical to suspect.) The Rama of history (or pre-history) may be morally better, or he may be worse, for ought we know, than the Rama of tradition. But the book has nothing to do with him. In it I have confined myself to the ethical estimate, not of the 'historical' Rama, who can only be the subject of antiquarian speculation, but the Rama of tradition (miracle and all), the very thing which Mr. N. would exalt above recorded history. I have done so because it is this tradition, and not the 'history' of idealist 'historians,' which has been influencing Hindu social thought and conduct. It is the social effect and implications of the tradition itself that I have discussed in the book.

2. The book was primarily meant as a reply to the anti-reformers of the Varnasrama Swaraj Sangh, who, as stated in its preface, met in a conference in the Christmas of 1930 and declared that they wanted Swaraj as they had it "in the days of Ramachandra." They left you in no doubt as to what they meant by it, through their actions at the conference itself.

> "Sudras and Untouchables, as well as women of all castes, were excluded from near the scene while a 'Vishnu-yaga' ceremony was being performed. The Untouchables were prevented from attending any of the conference proceedings. But Mahomedan policemen were among those who were there to keep order. The resolutions passed, *inter alia*, condemned the Sarda Act in strong terms as interfering in religious matters, and stated that Sanatanists would be prepared to break it if necessary. Another resolution which dealt with the question of the remarriage of widows declared that a widow, however young she might be, was forbidden by the Sastras from remarrying, and condemned legislation permitting such marriage. A third resolution referred to the Untouchables as being within the pale of Sanatan Hindu religion, but qualified it by stating that they did not form apart of the Varnasrama or four-caste system."

These were the fruits of what we may call a 'Rama-rajya Conference,' the first conference of the Varnasrama Dharma Swaraj Sangh.

3. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, is not the man to agree with these suicidal fanatics. Why then my "Expostulatory Letter" to him on the "Rama-rajya" of the Varnasrama-Sanghites? The answer is: One would not have minded the use of the word "Rama-rajya" by Gandhiji as a proverbial or metaphorical word, meaning the best of conceivable governments, of course from a liberal point of view. But Gandhiji, presiding over a conference of subjects of the Kathiawar States early in 1925, advised our Princes to make Rama-rajya their ideal. One would not have minded it so much if he had stopped there, but he went on to mention King Rama's abandonment of his wife Sita to please the people as an example of what he expected of a popular ruler. That is certainly a matter on which Mahatmaji was expected to recant,—and that by critics including (I am glad to recall) the *Social Reformer* itself, which had an outspoken note on Mahatmaji's unfortunate utterance at the time. Mr. N. of the *Reformer*, however, now suggests that Mahatmaji's idea of Rama-rajya is far from countenancing the wife-deserting feature of it. I am sure, he would not have made such a suggestion if he had not forgotten or overlooked the above circumstances pointed out by me on p. 11 of the book as one of the reasons of my addressing the book to Mahatmaji.

4. The reviewer's advice that historical characters should be judged by the standards of their time and not by those of our own, is, it will now be clear, quite inapplicable to my "Rama-rajya" for the simple reason that it is not a historical disquisition. Even if it was such, the advice would not be a safe or a healthy one to follow. For one thing, it is itself a historical question, 'What are *the* standards of the time we are dealing with,' and also 'how do they compare with our own.' Secondly, would we not be false to our own times and to ourselves, if we totally ignored the standards of our day in judging the characters of the past, supposing it was possible so to ignore them? No man is his own ancestor, it is true; but it is equally true that no one is the same as his ancestor. He is himself, and he is also posterity in the making. As his article itself shows, the reviewer of my "Rama-rajya" is too good and practical a person to practice his own precept, which is as unethical as it is impractical.

5. We know how the orthodox sunnis of his time and our own did and do look upon Aurangzeb as an ideal ruler and saint. But an enlightened and conscientious Musalman of our time or any other time can only say that the ideas about an ideal ruler and saint of people who regard Aurangzeb (as he is known to us) as an ideal ruler and saint are far from being ideal or saintly. For one even to say that Aurangzeb was not the ideal ruler or saint the sunnis believe him to have been, will not be a very helpful thing. Not that Aurangzeb had no virtues which are not overlooked in my study of his character. But we Hindus of today will not be true to ourselves if we do not recognise that the ancient traditional idea of the ideal ruler as exemplified in Rama of Ayodhya, the alien—assassinating, wife-deserting, Sudra-lynching, and (as you would add) woman-mutilating King-God, is far from the true ideal. I am referring to the episodes of Vali's treacherous death, Sita's abandonment, and Sambuka's decapitation, at Rama's hands, and Surpanakha's mutilation at his instigation. Of these four, which constitute the blots on Rama's escutcheon, the first three are dealt with in my book, along with a number of other topics suggested by or arising out of these. The fourth is prominently brought out in a book entitled "Ravana the Great, King of Lanka" by Purnalingam Pillai, which was noticed in the *Reformer* in November 1928 and it has been justly, albeit tactfully, handled by Mr. N. in his notice of my book.

STATELESSNESS.

(By Suzanne Ferriere.)

The problem of statelessness, serious enough in the period immediately following the War, has grown even more serious with the advent of the economic crisis. The presence in a country of a person of such doubtful origin that he was entitled to the protection of no government, was in general tolerated by the authorities of the country of domicile, on condition, naturally, that he did nothing to bring himself into conflict with the police. To-day the position has completely changed: with the coming of unemployment and the general crisis, police measures have become draconian; and whilst in former years it was exceptional to refuse assistance, or a permit of residence, for the simple reason that nationality was doubtful, the opposite is now the exception. Private relief organisations are faced with cases that are really tragic, and the efforts that have to be made in the attempt to clear up even one case are out of all proportion to the results obtained.

What has been done to solve the problem? In 1921 a Conference was held at Rome of representatives of the countries succeeding the old Austria-Hungary, and drew up a Convention that was only ratified by a minimum of the countries interested. In 1927, at Geneva, the Third International Conference for Communications and Transit attempted the establishment of a Convention recognising the validity of a standardised Travel Certificate. In 1930, at the Hague, the Conference for the Codification of Private International Law tried to get rid of a number of cases of statelessness by eliminating certain points of variance in legislation. The Convention (not yet ratified) which this Conference drew up marks a certain progress, but in all probability this partial success represents the maximum that can be obtained at present by way of international agreement.

The private organisations which have sought a solution of the problem insist less on international understanding than on ultimate modification of national legislation within the framework of existing treaties, and on a large interpretation of the regulations admitting naturalisation and the choice of a fatherland.

It is astounding that up to the present all the efforts made in this direction have met, almost without exception, with complete unsuccess. It is true that progress in this sort of work is necessarily very slow; but in this matter of statelessness, failure to move is almost complete.

When we seek the reason for this stagnation, it would seem that the error has been the tackling of the problem as a whole. If international talks have led to nothing, this failure seems to be in great part due to the fact that certain governments are afraid of life being made too easy for their political refugees living in other countries. It would seem, therefore, that the only way of approach is to differentiate the various categories of stateless persons and to proceed by definite stages, beginning with the simplest category and leaving on one side for the moment, the question of political refugees; not that these do not merit attention, but their situation is a serious problem in itself, which there is every reason not to identify with that of stateless persons whose origin is merely doubtful. The principle categories of stateless persons may be set out as follows:

(1) The most important category comprises stateless persons who have become so through after-war frontier changes. These persons have lost their nationality either through their ignorance of treaties, and of the decrees or laws which completed these treaties; or through indifference, believing that things would right themselves; or through unwillingness to leave the country of their residence, where they were earning a livelihood and where they had put out roots; or, again, because they were the victims of the ill-will or the incompetence of certain badly-informed administrations. This category also includes children born stateless, because the offspring of stateless parents.

(2) A certain number of persons, especially children, are stateless because the birth-place of the father is unknown, or because the records of the father's native place have been destroyed.

(3) One group of stateless persons (whose situation might be adjusted without much difficulty) is composed of individuals who have no valid "papers" because of mistakes made by different public offices or consulates—mistakes due in great part to personal circumstances, such as constant change of domicile from one country to another. Such changes of domicile make it extremely difficult for the competent government offices to interpret aright the different systems of law in force. Many mistakes have also been committed through haste in drawing up documents during the period of after-war chaos.

With regard to cases of statelessness due to conflicting systems of law, these form a fourth category which must be dealt with, little by little, by the Conference of Private International Law.

We leave on one side, as we have already said a fifth category, that of political refugees and of all those persons who are in conflict with their government for political or other reasons. But why should we not now consider what it may be possible to do for the first three categories, whose situation does not raise, or only indirectly, any political question? This business of statelessness should be withdrawn completely not only from the sphere of politics, but also from that of law, and efforts should rather be directed to the solving of individual cases.

Another obstacle to the straightening out of this question is the economic situation: at the present moment, every State dreads increasing the number of persons who are a charge on public assistance funds; but that is an obstacle that can and must be got over. The public danger created by the persistence of a state of things in which individuals have no right to settle down and make a home anywhere is greater than would be any mere money sacrifice called for by the straightening out of the tangle. We use the phrase: "public danger"—and is it not creating a public danger to exasperate, against Society and its law, those persons condemned to statelessness for reasons for which they are in no wise—or only in small measure—responsible? But even more than on its aspect as a public danger, we would insist on the fact that the present state of things is profoundly revolting to the human conscience.

The League of Nations have not yet taken up the matter as here exposed. Perhaps the League might find fewer obstacles in its way were the matter taken up in the manner I suggest, that is to say, by dealing only with the three categories mentioned above.

The question of assistance to indigent stateless persons has been considered by the Committee of Experts appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to examine the problem of Assistance to Indigent Foreigners. This Committee met for the first time in December, 1933. Among the recommendations which it prepared for transmission to Governments, it included one which suggested the prohibition of the refusal of entry to, or the expulsion

of, indigent persons without nationality or of doubtful nationality, until such time as they should be in possession of the visas or other papers permitting them to enter another country. The recommendation contained the further proviso that necessary assistance should be assured to the persons mentioned so long as they remain in the country of residence.

This is not a great step forward—it is indeed a very little one—but while we may not be satisfied with it, we must look upon it as an encouragement not to be weary of calling attention to this burning question, or of battling for its solution.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR.*

(By Margaret E. Cousins.)

In paying respects to the Grand Old Man of Malabar, Sir Sankaran Nair, who passed away full of years and honours on April 24th, the public Press has failed to express the gratitude of one half of the Indian people, its womanhood, for his championship of their campaign for equal rights of citizenship when the Montford Reforms Bill was being hammered out, and for his invariable support of every movement for the advancement of woman.

Women have taken such an equal part in the public life of India during the last ten years that it is almost impossible to realise that it was only in December, 1917 that the first request was made by Indian women for citizenship by the extension to them of the suffrage on the same terms as to men in the Reforms then being envisaged. The favourable reception of this request by the late Hon. E. S. Montagu caused the Southborough Franchise Committee to examine the women's demand early in 1919. That historic Committee disposed of the claims of women in four short paragraphs out of their 400-page Report. They said, "We are satisfied that the social conditions of India make it premature to extend the franchise to Indian women at this juncture when so large a proportion of male electors require education in the use of a responsible vote." Following this priceless masculine logic that because some men are too ignorant to vote therefore it was too soon for any women to have a vote, they decided "not to recommend the extension of the suffrage to women," and the Government of India in its Dispatch on this Report agreed with the Committee's recommendation saying "in the present conditions of India it is not practical to open the franchise to women."

It is to the eternal glory of India that she had a son on that Committee, Sankaran Nair, who opposed this decision with might and main. It was significant that the one member of the then Indian government, who knew Indian conditions from the inside, and who was therefore most fitted to voice authentic Indian opinion, Sir Sankaran Nair, pressed for the removal of sex disqualification from the outset, wrote a Minute of Dissent to the Committee's decision on this subject, and fought to get women's claims granted at every opportunity during his visits to London in connection with the passing of the Reforms.

Later events proved how truly he gauged the capacities of his countrywomen, what a statesman-like vision was his, how loyal a representative of the matriarchal system he was. India today leads all Asia in the political equality it has conferred on womanhood.

It is very fitting that the Women's Indian Association has publicly appreciated Sir Sankaran Nair's services to womanhood, for he had constantly associated himself with the activities of the Association and helped it to gain its aims. He thought most highly of the work it has been doing for India during the past 17 years.

His public life was beautifully in accord with his private life as regards the equality he showed women. His charming wife and he were life-long comrades in the most real sense; and her death some years ago was an impoverishment of his life from which he never fully recovered. He saw that his handsome daughters got an education which has fitted them to be the intellectual companions of their husbands, most highly placed public officials. No child marriages, no child widows in his family! He knew by experience how safely inheritance rights and money can be placed in women's keeping. He knew also that no legal or religious bonds of marriage are comparable to the voluntary chains of free deep affection linked with mutual respect, true equality of the sexes and the economic independence of wife as well as husband. All these things are the essence of the matriarchal system, and he was a firm believer in its idealism and its practicality.

He had reached the fine age of 77 and none of us could wish to keep his ardent nature chained to a worn-out frame, but his death has removed one of woman's finest knights, *sans peur et sans reproche*. We greet his freed spirit with gratitude, and call on other young chevaliers to fill the space left void by his passing.

* From The *Stri-Dharma*.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN FRANCE—II.

(By Prof. Sylvain Levi.)

To confine India to Sanskrit and the allied languages is to reduce her arbitrarily. Sanskrit, the sacred language, is also a dead language, and India has used for a long time various other languages to convey her thoughts. France has evinced the same interest in India's present as in her past. Between the *Sakuntala* of Chezy and the *Bhágavata* of Burnouf, Garcin de Tassy published his admirable *Histoire de la litterature hindoui et hindoustani*. The recent work of Jules Bloch on the *Formation de la langue marathe* commemorates in a magnificent manner the entry of modern dialects into the domain of the rigorous science of linguistics.

A considerable portion of the Indian literature, almost the whole of the Sanskrit-Buddhist literature, has come down to us only through Chinese or Tibetan versions; the originals have perished in India with Buddhism. The science of Indology may, therefore, well take pride in such works as the *Rgya teh'er rol pa* of Foucaux, the Fragments extracted out of the *Kanjur* by Feer, the Index of the *Bstan-hygur* by P. Cordier, the *Sutralankara* by Huber and the *Cinq cents contes et apologues* by Chavannes. The part played by France in deciphering the languages of Central Asia in recent times should also be mentioned in this connection: Eastern Iranian (Gautiot, Pelliot) Kucheaa (Sylvain Levi, Meillet), Sogdian (Gauthiot).

From 1915 onwards Indological studies have flourished in France without any interruption or set-back. Even though French Indology has lost her revered leaders Barth (†1916) and Senart (†1928), even though the War has entailed on her untold losses, young recruits have always brought into it new and vigorous forces. M. Przyluski, who combines in his ingenious researches the knowledge both of India and Indo-China, has enriched the comparative study of Buddhistic traditions by means of two important works: *la Legende de l'empereur Acoka* (Acoka-Avadana) in Indian and Chinese versions and *le Concile de Rajagrha*, introduction into the history of the canons and the sects of Buddhism (1926). In the

same field Demieville has given *les versions chinoises du Milindapanha*, with notes and memoirs which has greatly enhanced the value of this translation, as useful as it is valuable. M. Renou has risen to the very highest rank of the scholars in the field of Indology even on his first appearance on account of his various productions as abundant as they are irreproachable: *la Valeur du parfait dans les hymnes vediques, les Maitres de la philogie vedique* (1928); translation of the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa; *Grammaire Sanskrite* in two volumes. In the meantime he has completed the edition and translation of the *Brhatkatha-Clokasamgraha* which was lying half-finished after the sudden death of Lacote (†1925). M. Masson-Oursel in the capacity of an Indologist as well as a philosopher has drawn the *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne*. M. Rene Grousset has proved himself to be a past master in the difficult art of presenting to the cultured public, in a form whose elegance does not interfere at all with scientific accuracy, the progress of knowledge scattered among the various technical publications of the specialists; Let us mention his *sur les traces du Buddha Histoire de l'extreme-Orient*, 2 vols; *les Philosophies indiennes*. M. Courtillier has condensed into one lucid and substantial volume *les Anciennes Civilisations de l'Inde* and given a tasteful summary of the Ramanaya: *la Legende de Rama et Sita*.

The vigorous growth of Indological studies has been gloriously manifested by the creation of an Institute of Indian Civilisation at the University of Paris. Founded at the beginning of 1929, this Institute has already initiated a series of publications both of original texts and translations, in the manner of the Collection Bude for the Classical languages. This collection, which is topped by the name of Emile Senartes, has started with one of the major Upanisads, *la Chandogya*,—a posthumous work of Senart, seen through the press by M. Foucher. Under the auspices of the Institute of Indian Civilisation M. Renou, assisted by Mme Stchoupak and Mlle Nitti, has undertaken to publish a *Dictionnaire Sunskrit-Francais*, the urgent need of which was felt by generations of students, and M. Courtbin has published a *Grammaire elementaire du Sanskrit classique* with texts and a lexicon.

The activity of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient of Hano is closely connected with the Paris School of Indology, which has given it most of its directors and research-workers. It has, moreover, trained up the first directors of the French archæologic delegation to Afghanistan; the beautiful work on *les Hntiquites bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, which is the result of collaboration between M. and Mme Godard and M. Hackin, and the results of the excavations executed by M. Barthou show how much new light can be thrown on Indian antiquities by this obscure region, so long closed to Occidental Science. It is the same Paris School of Indology which has given the Maison Franco-Japonaise, founded at Tokio in 1926, its first directors; it is the work of this school which is being continued in the *Dictionnaire encyclopedique du bouddhisme* according to Chinese and Japanese sources, published under the direction of M. Sylvain Levi and M. Takakusu, of which the chief editor is M. P. Demieville.

One of the most salient features of the modern period which begins with 1915 is the first appearance, and soon the rapid multiplication, of the thesis for doctorate of Indian scholars written in French. The value of these works, if an average is taken, is certainly above the level of mediocrity. A simple chronological list will suffice to indicate the diversity of interests evinced in these works: *Kalidasa* and *Art poetique de l' Inde*, by Hari Chand Sastri; *Vedanta*, study of the Brahma-sutras and their five commentaries, by V. S. Ghate; *Vartika de Katyayana*, study of style, vocabulary and philosophical postulates, by V. G. Paranjpe; *Etudes sur Aryadeva et le Catuccatuska*, by Vaidya; *les Theories diplomatiques de l' Inde ancienne et l' Arthacastra*, by Kalidas Nag; *le Rasa*, essay on Indian aesthetics, by S. C. Mukherjee; *le Canon bouddhique en Chine, les traducteurs et les traductions*, by P. C. Bagchi; *les Chants mystiques, de Kanha et de Saraha*, by Shahidullah; *l' Inde mystique au moyen age*, by Y. Husain; *les Fleurs de rhetorique dans l' Inde*, by H. R. Diwekar; *le Pensee de Rabindranath Tagore*, by S. C. Mitter; *les Sikhs*, by Miss Ramakrishna, the first thesis presented at Paris by an Indian lady-student. It would be unjust not to mention also the charming and valuable thesis of an English lady from India: *la Femme bengalie dans la litterature du moyen age*, by Miss J. H. Rowlands.

INDIAN MARRIAGES AND ENGLISH COURTS.*

(By M. K. Nambyar.)

The Imperial Conference is likely to meet in the coming year. In problems of Dominion Status, the Indian delegates may have neither part nor lot. But there are certain other matters of grave concern to their countrymen which they might usefully tackle.

Not a few Indians have settled down in England; quite a large number make sojourns there of limited duration. With the increasing facilities of travel and of communication, their numbers are likely to swell. Not infrequently therefore are questions of their status bound to come up for adjudication before English Courts.

In olden days, law was purely personal. That is to say, a person carried his laws wherever he went. The Christian traders in Turkey were permitted to administer their own laws. In Egypt and in China, 'extra territorial' jurisdiction in respect of certain foreigners still obtains. But the ambit of law has changed. It is no longer personal, but territorial. Except to the extent provided by treaty or by rules of international law, the laws of a nation bind both the subject and resident alien without distination. Obviously some injustice would be bound to result. Most of the civilized States therefore have developed their own systems of Private International Law. In matters of status and capacity, France, Italy and Germany apply the individual's national law to both subject and alien. But in England, a person's civil status is governed by the law of his domicile, namely the law of his permanent home.

The vast majority of Indians who are governed by Hindu or Mahomedan law, do not however have the benefit of this rule of English law in several respects. In matters of marriage, inheritance and succession, the law is highly invidous. Marriage, declared Lord Penzance in Hyde. Hyde (1866—L. P. & D.130), is "the volunary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others.' Applying this test, polygamous unions are no 'marriages.' Even if a Hindu or a Mahomedan should contract only a monogamous marriage, the union is still potentially polygamous, and English Courts refuse to recognize the same as a marriage in law.

Carried to its logical conclusion, this juridical concept of marriage in English law yields most difficult situations. An Indian couple of Hindu or Mahomedan religion, recognized as husband and wife by the Indian Courts, the courts of their domicile,

* Reprinted from the *Hindu*.

would cease to have any enforcible rights against each other, the moment they reached English shores. The English High Court would refuse to entertain an action for maintenance or for restitution of conjugal rights. The husband would be disabled from seeking any marital relief in respect of his wife, for his wife is no wife. If the wife contracts a second marriage there, it is highly doubtful whether she would be guilty of bigamy. Lord Penzance in the case quoted above 'did not profess to decide upon the rights of succession or legitimacy which it might be proper to accord to the issue of polygamous unions;' but his doctrine that a polygamous union is no marriage excludes the hypothesis that the offspring of Hindu or Mahomedan couple, or for that matter any Hindu or Mahomedan, can lay claim to legitimacy in any of the Courts in England. For, how could a person be considered legitimate unless born in lawful wedlock according to the concepts of English law?

Nor is this all. If a Hindu or Mahomedan dies intestate in England possessed of real and personal property, the Courts in England would be called upon to decide questions of succession to his estate. In English law, lands and titles of honour cannot be inherited save by the eldest legitimate son of his father. Issues of polygamous unions would be debarred therefore from succession. With regard to movables, the question is less settled. The general rule is that movables should be distributed according to the law of the deceased's domicile at the time of his death. If a Hindu or Mahomedan dies after acquiring an English domicile his assets obviously would not be inherited according to the principles of Hindu or Mahomedan law. Should it however be proved that there has been no change of domicile, it would still be difficult for an English court to hold that his wife or son according to the law of his domicile is a 'wife' or 'son' entitled to succeed. The decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa holding in one case that the children of a deceased Mahomedan of Indian domicile could succeed to the father's estate while excluding the wife as no 'wife' is neither consistent nor logical. The rigid application of the doctrine of English law therefore that a polygamous union is no marriage leads to the result that the assets of a Hindu or Mahomedan dying in England should go to the Crown as bona vacantia, a conclusion as startling as it is unjust. There has indeed been one case in which the English Court ignored this strict rule and allowed the issues of such unions to inherit the movables. But here the Crown had not cared to step in and lay its claim, and the decision can hardly be regarded as authority.

Now the assumption behind Lord Penzance's reasoning is tolerably plain that the law applicable to polygamous unions, and the incidents arising therefrom is the law of England as applicable to Christian marriages. That is to say, a Hindu or Mahomedan marriage is to be adjudged according to the concepts of English marriage and not of Hindu or Mahomedan marriage. But do English courts apply the local law of England in trying the validity of foreign marriages? Scottish marriages by bare acknowledgment, popularly know as Gretna Green marriages, have been recognised as valid marriages by English Courts, notwithstanding that such marriages do not conform to Christian notions of marriage ceremonies. The English Courts did not apply the territorial law of England but the law of Scotland. Lord Stowell laid down in an ancient case in 1811 that the validity of the marriage rights 'must be tried by reference to the law of the country, where if they exist at all, they had their origin.' That is a venerable principle still enshrined in English law, and Lord Dunedin stated the same in different language when he said in Berthiaume v Dastous (1930 A. C, 79) that 'if a marriage is good by the laws of the country where it is effected it is good all the world over...'

It is long since a Christian marriage has ceased to be 'a voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others'. But in England unions 'for life' are not rarely dissolved by courts, and subsequent marriages follow. In the United States divorce is much less difficult than in England, and Reno divorces are notoriously facile. Nevertheless marriages performed in the United States of in Reno have not on that account been held to be invalid. In Soviet Russia a man may dissolve his marriage by his own unilateral declaration, a form of divorce as simple as the 'talak' in Mahomedan Law. Yet the Court of Appeal in England unanimonsly upheld a Soviet Marriage. It was certainly not a union for life, because it could be dissolved at will. It was not a union to the exclusion of all others, for by the law of Russia a man may share his conjugal bliss with as many wives as he chose so long as he observed the golden rule of one thing at a time. The new law of divorce in Spain is very close to the law of Russia, for a divorce decree may now be obtained there by mutual consent. Between Soviet unions and polygamous unions the border line may be morally existent but is hardly visible. Both on principle and authority it would be the law of India that English Courts would be called on to apply. Hindu and Mahomedan Law is no longer a mystery, English Judges sitting on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have shown remarkable grasp in their expositions of intricate questions of Hindu and Mahomedan Law. The British Law Ascertainment Act is also available to English Courts to invoke the aid of Indian Courts to help them when necessary to unravel Indian Law. Surely no English Court has ever refused to adjudicate a cause on the ground there was no law it could apply.

The Ex-Kaiser and Japan :—Mr. Randolph Churchill, son of Mr. Winston Churchill, has been interviewing the Ex-Kaiser at Doorn for the "Daily Mail." The ex-German Emperor said according to Mr. Randolph Churchill: "Emphatically, Japan was as capable of restoring peace and order in China as the British were capable of giving the same to India. It is useless to think that the growth of Japanese power in China can be prevented. Japan, moreover, constitutes in the East a bulwark against Bolshevism as strong as Germany provides in the West." If the British leave India, said the ex-Kaiser, there is bound to cause a cleavage between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. The Muhammadans were not only the stronger race—they were also more highly organised. The Hindus were in circumstances bound to go under. India is incapable of governing herself, he affirmed. And in proof, he pointed out to the fact that all the great Moghals were foreigners.—*Bihar Herald.*

Gandhiji and the Socialist Party :—Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to a Bombay Congress socialist says "I welcome the rise of the socialist party in the Congress. But I can not say that I like the programme as it appears in the printed pamphlet. It seems to ignore Indian conditions and I do not like the assumption underlying many of its propositions which go to show that there is necessarily an antagonism between classes and masses or between labourers and capitalist, to an extent that they can never work for the mutual good. My own experience, covering a fairly long period, is to the contrary. What is necessary is that the labourers or workers should know their rights and should also know how to assert them, and since there has never been any right without corresponding duty, in my opinion, the manifesto is incomplete without emphasising the necessity of the performance of duty and showing what that duty is."

ENGLISH EDUCATION A CENTURY AGO.*

(By B. V. Roy.)

To the student of history it is a well-known fact that events frequently occur in "cycles," and even modes, manners and customs change and change back again in "cycles." This occurs not only in larger spheres, but in the smaller round of our daily lives also. For example, we speak apprehensively and with a doubting shake of the head, of our boys as "forging too rapidly ahead" in their ideas and ideals, but there is no doubt our parents and grandparents also said the same thing in their day with perhaps an indulgent shake of the head, though possibly there may have been a good deal of difference in what constituted this 'forging ahead" in their day as compared with ours. To continue the example further, we frequently hear it said now-a-days that the "godless" system of English education imparted to our boys has made them materialistic in their outlook, and we are in danger of losing the spiritualistic aspect of education which is truly Indian, that the great epics—"Ramayana" and "Mahabharata —are derided by our boys as Fairy tales—and so on.

Let us go back a century in time, and turn over the pages of the *Samachar Darpan*, *Samachar Chandrika* and other Bengali newspapers then published in Calcutta. These papers have been re-vivified, and extracts taken from the issues from about 1818 to 1840 compiled and presented to us in two neat volumes by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, the well-known Bengali historian, whose painstaking care and methodical compilation have laid all students history under deep obligation.

In the issue of the *Chandrika* dated the 6th November, 1830 appeared a very interesting letter from a parent bewailing the evil effects which had resulted from sending his son to the "Hindu College" for receiving "English" education. His complaints bear a curious similarity to those we are apt to make in the present day regarding the "evil' effects of such education. A free translation of the letter runs as follows:—

Sir,—I am a mofussilite, carrying on my avocation in this town of Calcutta. Hearing great things of the "Hindu College," where boys become very learned, where European *Sahibs* come and examine them, and also that boys who pass out from this College can secure good jobs, I was tempted, and, with great difficulty, out of my poor earnings, I had my son brought out from the mofussil and admitted into the College. But alas! such evil has resulted from this, that I must give my bitter experience to the public, so that they may be warned, and profit thereby.

I gave my son good dresses according to my means, and daily sent him early to school after his meals. The boy had been docile and obedient, and I may tell you, Sir, that whenever I used to call him to help in my domestic duties, he was always willing and helpful. But now things began to change, he gradually gave up our (country's) social modes and customs, and even dress. His fashion of haircut, his wearing shoes, throwing away the *Mala* (necklet of holy beads,) taking no baths, eating as soon as food is placed before him (*i. e.* without saying "grace"), no distinction between pure and impure,—all these things and more, have now become apparent. If I give him any advice, he is apt to retort "nonsense!" Well what can I do? However, I thought that I would, enquire about his studies and his proficiency in learning, and came to know that his subjects for study included English, Mathematics, Surveying History of ancient Kings of Britain, Geography etc., etc. I was also told that he has to attend "lectures" 3 days a week, that is to say, fire is made into water, water is converted to gas, the sun, moon and their eclipse is practically shown. Also I understood that on some days they study religious and philosophical works also, and have debating classes in the evening, and that they can write English with a facile pen, and can also translate into English. On learning all these things, I thought that at least the boy was learning many subjects, even if he had turned rather pert and disobedient. But when I actually saw his handwriting, I found it extremely ill-formed and illegible, and his translations unintelligible and without any sense. He cannot write a common letter of invitation, or do ordinary sums of 5 figures, or keep bazar accounts. If I take him to task, he says "nonsense!" and further says that bazar accounts, etc., are "drudgery" and that it is only low people who write neat hands, and that the handwriting of learned people is always illegible! . . . . . He does not like to mix with his own people, and even keeps at a distance from my society, because, forsooth! I am not proficient in English! When I told him to adopt our Bengali mode of dress, he refused saying that he was *neither a Kirtan-wala* (singer) nor a *Jaga-jhampa-wala* (*drummer*) and that he wanted pantaloons, stocking and walking shoes, etc.

The more I delved in to his attainments, the more was I surprised, for I found that he could reel off a list of all the rivers in Russia, but knew nothing about his own mother-country—he did not even know in which direction from Calcutta lies Burdwan, where is the Some river, or where the Rajmahal hills are situated.

* From an article in *'The Calcutta Municipal Gazette.'*

Miraben goes Home:—Miss Slade (Miraben), who is sailing for England, interviewed by the Associated Press, said:—"I am going to England to work quietly and persistently for a true understanding between India and England. Being by birth the daughter of an English Admiral and by choice also the daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, I feel the irresistible call at this juncture to go there and seek with all the strength of love which is in me for both the countries for living in harmony between them." Asked how she proposed to do this she replied, "By reaching the heart of the English people through Truth, and in this respect most especially by showing them what Mahatma Gandhi really is and what he stands for." Asked as to whose idea it was that she should go, she said: "It was entirely my own. It came to me in a flash and I first mentioned it to Miss Harrison, and then to another English friend before I mentioned it to Mahatma Gandhi." "Does Gandhiji approve?" was the last question." "He has given me his blessing" she replied.

The White Paper Scheme:—Sir John Thompson, who is one of the most energetic propagandists for the White Paper in England, recommended it to an audience at Bristol in the following terms.

"And what is the extent of the responsibility which the White Paper proposes to transfer at the centre? The die-hards will tell you that everything is being handed over, that is their copyright phrase; by a stroke of the pen the Government will establish full-fledged democracy. What do you think of this for full-fledged democracy? The Ministers will have the spending of 20 to 25 per cent of the central revenues. They will not control defence and foreign affairs, which will be under the Governor-General. They will not without the Governor-General's permission be able to touch those thorny subjects of currency and exchange. They will not have the control of payments on account of loans, the pay of the principal services or their pensions, and they will not have the administration of the railways. They will not be able to amend the constitution and if they menace the interests which are to be specially committed to the Governor-General's charge they will find that he has ample resources of persuasion and of power to protect them. Can you wonder that while the die-hards talk of complete surrender their Congress allies in India should exclaim that the concessions made by the White Paper are no worth having?"

We are indebted for this interesting excerpt to our vigilant contemporary, the *Servant of India*.

SWARAJISTS' RETREAT.

Here, says the *Times of India*, are the views of a front rank Swarajist, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, vice-president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and one of the Secretaries of the Congress Parliamentary Board. He belongs to the constitutional wing of Congressmen and has been a member of the Madras Legislative Council for six years and Deputy Leader of the Opposition. As a member of the Selection Board of the Parliamentary Board and a prospective candidate for the Assembly in the forthcoming elections, his views will be read with interest.

He said: "*The Times of India*" has every right to make this appeal, and Congress must consider it carefully. Congress agrees that self-sufficiency, economic or political, is no longer possible, and India must bind herself economically and politically with other nations. From past history and other relative considerations, India would certainly choose to have agreements with Britain rather than with any other country. India does not want to lose Britain as an economic ally; only she does not want to be exploited by Britain or, for that matter, any other country. India contemplates an economic and political alliance with Great Britain—under different conditions.

"We are asked not to use the language of warfare. Congress does not, and does not want to use the language of warfare. It merely wants the remaining civil disobedience prisoners to be released as an answer to its gesture in stopping civil disobedience, particularly Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan who have not been convicted of any offence and who are merely detained. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's release is asked for as a matter of policy. Although he has been convicted of sedition, it is well known that prosecutions for sedition are instituted at the instance of Government on grounds of State policy.

"I entirely agree with what *The Times of India* says under the heading "Patience" in this article. Congress takes the same view as *The Times of India* that 'communal differences will not be removed by pretending that they do not exist or by thinking that they will be abandoned by grandiloquent phrases or by staged ostentatious exhibition of concord.' This is proved by the resolution passed by the Working Committee on the advice of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

"On the question of tactics I agree that, when the White Paper Reforms are forced on the country in spite of the opposition of Congress, Congressmen will have seriously to consider the advice given by "*The Times of India.*" We may have to work the Reforms to the utmost limit of their capacity and ours—with this difference that our object will be to show that they fall far short of the National demand which must be conceded, the earlier the better.

"I cannot, however, agree with *The Times of India* when it says that a constituent assembly is a dream. From the time of Lord Birkenhead's Secretaryship of State for India this country has been asked to produce a constitution for itself. A constituent assembly is the nearest approach to an answer to that challenge.

"In the last paragraph of its article *The Times of India* suggests that some people are looking forward to a Labour Government. The history of political life in India has shown me that a Conservative Government in power are stronger to deal with India's claims than a Labour Government in office but not in power. Nor are we merely bargaining. The Joint Parliamentary Committee's report is bound to be disappointing, but Congress can take no responsibility for it. It is not yet too late for a settlement between the people of India and the people of Great Britain, and Congress wants to prevent its being too late."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Hindu Mahasabha :—A session of Bombay City and Suburban Hindu Mahasabha met in Bombay on Saturday and Sunday. Sir Govind Pradhan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech welcoming the delegates said that he could not understand why critics who saw nothing to object to in the Muslim communal political organisations, should profess to be horrified at similar organisations on behalf of Hindus. There is some misapprehension on this point. The disapproval of communal organisations of Hindus by eminent leaders in the past is due, not to their disregard of Hindu interests, but to their conviction of the responsibility of Hindus to care for the interests of all minorities, some of whom would not have sought asylum in this country but for the protection assured to them by immemorial Indian policy. If the minorities or any of them want to shift for themselves, they are of course, entitled to do so. But Hindus, if they are true to their tradition, are under an obligation for all time to look after the interests of minorities as their own and, as a corollary, to resist with all their strength encroachments on the principle of equal citizenship for all. Compromise in this matter is betrayal of the historic purpose of Hinduism. His observations were mostly directed to obviating occasions of friction between the two communities. He suggested, for instance, that places of worship should be located at suitable distances from each other so as not to interfere with their respective services. He instanced the case of a mosque which was built opposite a pre-existing Hindu temple in Bombay. The worshippers in the new mosque raised objections to the kirtans (exposition of the epics to the accompaniment of music) in the temple which, they said, were obnoxious to them, and Sir Govind said that trouble was averted by police vigilance. Dr. Moonje who presided at the Conference, made a vigorous speech calling upon Hindus to stand up for their rights and not to allow themselves to be pushed to the wall by the aggressive tactics of other communities. The Indian National Congress, in his opinion, was not able to hold the balance even and sacrificed the legitimate rights of Hindus in its anxiety to secure the adhesion of other communities. It has become necessary, therefore, for the Mahasabha to safeguard Hindu rights. Recent developments at Patna and Bombay, have strengthened this feeling even among Hindus who stand outside the Mahasabha. The *Leader* of Allahabad, quoting the *Hindustan Times*, asks : "Is it true that this time the great Hindu community is not going to allow itself to be treated in this manner and that already some activities are going on, the result of which will show that the community does not consider its interests to be safe in hands where full justice cannot be secured to its interest lest some other interests might get displeased ?" The Mahasabha proposes to run its own candidates at the forthcoming Assembly elections. We do not think that it has much prospect of success outside the Punjab. There, under the leadership of men like the venerable Raja Narendranath, it retains some trace of the great ideals with which it was started. One of its immediate objects, it is true, was to oppose the deviation from the policy of even-handed treatment of creeds and communities which was the corner-stone of British rule, but this was a subsidiary object. The spiritual and moral interests of Hinduism were to be the principal concern of the Mahasabha. It was not opposed to the Congress ; neither was it in any way directly or indirectly committed to keep step with that body as Dr. Moonje, ignoring the Chairman of the Reception Committee and other members present, made it out to be. The Hindu Mahasabha has little Hindu about it except the name. It is an imitation of the Muslim League and like all imitations it fails to evoke enthusiasm. It is inconceivable to us that any body professing to speak for Hindus, should fail, as the Mahasabha has done, to record its protest against the alarming revival of animal sacrifices which is degrading Hinduism.

The Ramakrishna Mission :—We should welcome more recognition by the public of the great service which the Ramakrishna Mission is quietly doing for the promotion of harmonious relations between different communities. Communal unity does not figure among its objects of

which the principal ones are the dissemination of the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna and the precepts of Swami Vivekananda regarding the important place of service to humanity in religion. The Mission, as is well-known, holds all religions in reverence as Ramakrishna did, though its own medium of thought and work is the Vedanta. A unique function was held on Tuesday the 19th instant at the School of the Mission in Madras. It was the opening of a new dormitory built in the name and at the cost of a Muslim donor. Mr. Abdul Hakim, when he paid a visit to the School, saw the names of Hindu Rajahs and Zamindars perpetuated. "The thought rose in my mind," he explained, "to perpetuate a Mahomedan name also so that posterity might see that Hindus and Muslims were living together in terms of peace, goodwill and amity." This is absolutely true of the relations between the two communities in Southern India. Even more interesting and illustrative of the harmonising influence of the Vedanta, was the presence on the platform of the two principal speakers of the evening, the two Ramaswami's, who count among the front bench politicians of the day. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar were, in the early days of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, regarded as the principal protagonists respectively of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin parties. Iyer was the best-hated man by non-Brahmin leaders and he, it is probable, repaid the compliment in full measure. Much water has flowed under the bridge since then. Both Mudaliar and Iyer have had frequent opportunities of viewing the Indian problem from above the clouds of caste predilections. We have heard the Dewan Bahadur spoken of by those who had excellent opportunities of observing his work at the Round Table Conference, as second, if at all, only to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Sir Ramaswami Iyer impressed the late Mr. Montagu as the ablest Indian he had met during his tour of enquiry, and he has since added to his laurels fresh ones as the constitutional adviser of Indian States. The participation of the two eminent men at the function shows that the rapprochement between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Madras has much deeper roots than political expediency. There was yet another incident which is of gratifying interest in the proceedings. The Madras non-Brahmin party had somehow acquired the reputation of being antagonistic to religion. Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar's remark in the course of his excellent little speech about the importance of religion is, therefore, of welcome significance. "I value," he said, "the religious atmosphere and the religious foundation given to the institution. Those of us, who have been in the midst of the bustle of the political, social or any other sphere, know that, after all, ultimate peace of mind lies only in the sphere of religion." He added that, because of their religious training, the students of the School, when they faced life's problems, would face them with courage and equanimity.

Obiter Dicta :—It is not clear why Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan-President of the Mysore Representative Assembly, felt obliged to warn that body in his speech at the close of the session, that there was no idea of introducing any further changes in the constitution or of altering the structure of the Government of Mysore. He explained rather superfluously that he was speaking only of the present and the immediate future—of today, perhaps of tomorrow but not of the day after. Even so the concluding remarks seem to be out of tune with Sir Mirza's enthusiastic support of the Federal scheme. The members of the Assembly might, as in the past, have asked for more constitutional reforms and, as the Dewan admitted that they had worked the present system "most satisfactorily," they were entitled to do so. Political evolution is not a matter of the volition of individual statesmen. It is a part of the process by which the dualism of subject and ruler gives place to the monism of subject-in-ruler. In the perfect State allegiance and authority are corollary to each other. It is true that Parliamentary Democracy, because it has fallen short of this identity, no longer commands the same implicit faith which it used to do until the third quarter of the last century when Bismark contemptuously rejected it in the constitution of the German Empire. But the Bismarckian system has also collapsed and Europe is now faced with the alternatives of Fascism and Communism. To bang and bolt the door on constitutional reform, unless associated with a new doctrine of political evolution, is likely to turn the popular mind to one or other of the two alternatives which have taken its place in Europe. Sir Mirza is not a hand-to-mouth statesman and these considerations must have presented themselves to him. Perhaps the declaration was meant to reassure outsiders who fear reform in Mysore might outstrip their calculations.

Islam and Caste :—On Monday evening, Bombay citizens of all creeds gathered at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed, when Moulana Pir Motamiya presided. The Moulana gave a sketch of the life and work of the Prophet and commended Islam as a religion to his non-Muslim brothers. "Some of our present day non-Muslim brother reformers," he said, "out of zeal for social uplift advocate the cause of widow remarriage, women's right of inheritance, total abstinence from alcohol, abolition of the caste system, removal of untouchability, intercommunal dining, etc. All these reforms are already embodied in Islam. Islam is therefore a brotherhood, comprising all the reforms they aspire to, and are best suited to all the present-day needs and requirements of the members of their (the non-Muslim reformers') society." The Pir Saheb is right but, of course, social reforms cover only

a small part of religion. Even as regard social reforms, there exists a broad gulf between precept and practice, as in other religions. Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, the English Muslim who attended the meeting, regretted that the ideal of brotherhood laid down by the Prophet and extolled by the Moulana was not practised among Indian Muslims and he asked them to live up to that principle. We publish this week an article by Mr. J. M. Datta on "Caste among Bengal Muslims" which shows that though theoretically the caste system conflicts with the democratic doctrine of Islam, yet Indian Mohamedans observe caste as much as, if not even more than, Indian Christians. Mr. E. A. H. Blunt in his "Caste System of Northern India" writes that in the United Provinces the caste system has an equally strong hold in Mohamedan society as in Hindu: "Many castes preserve more or less completely the Hindu wedding rights...the Bhat goes further still: he carries out first the Hindu wedding in the fullest form and then follows it up by a Mohamedan ceremony. Many castes still employ Brahmin pundits to fix an auspicious day for wedding and other ceremonies... Almost all of them are strictly endogamous." His Majesty Ibn Saud will disapprove of many things in Indian Islam, as contravening the puritan simplicity of the Prophet's life and teachings.

What is Truth?:—"As for the reformers' method of agitation, they have been scrupulously non-violent and based on persuasion." Thus the *Bombay Chronicle* in its leading article on Wednesday. What about the two men beaten to unconsciousness at Guruvayur? Headline in *Sun* of same date: "News of further Sanatanist violence comes from Ahmedabad where Sanatanist Black Flaggers used lathis and bamboos against unresisting Congress volunteers on Mahatmaji's arrival in that city." In the body of the message: "A scuffle ensued between Congressites and Sanatanists. Both parties entered into a hand to hand fight. Sadhus used lathis and bamboos freely. One Congress volunteer was bleeding and was sent to the hospital. Four Sadhus were severely beaten. One was bleeding." (He apparently was left to bleed where he was.) The "unresisting" Congressites would seem to have made four Sadhus suffer for every one of their men injured. And there were only three hundred Sadhus as against "ten thousand" on the other side.

Plea for Polygamy:—It is inevitable that the communal problem should eventually intrude into social life. Asutosh Bhattacharya who appends M. A. to his signature, in a letter to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, calls attention to the proportionate decrease in the Hindu population owing to its lower birthrate as compared to the Muslim in Bengal. Delayed marriages, absence of widow remarriages, antipathy of the "modern girls" to child-bearing in combination with various other causes, he says, have alarmingly arrested the growth of the Hindu population. He does not mention "birth-control" but it is also one of the causes in operation among the educated middle class. He suggests that unless the community is prepared to face the prospect of certain extinction, it has no alternative to reviving polygamy. He concludes by citing the instance of a Mahomedan tenant of his, as illustrating the urgency of the problem. He writes:—"I had a Mahomedan tenant of cultivator class, who approached me once for a small loan which he required to perform his third marriage. Both of his previous wives were living with him peacefully and he had issues of each. I was naturally surprised to know of his such intention when it involves him into debt. But he emphatically asserted that money could be made at times but men could not be made at the expiry of a particular age. He requires as many as eight sons to look after his agriculture but he had only four by his two wives. Hence this new endeavour. Have we, the so-called advanced Hindus, anything to learn from this rustic peasant? I pause for an answer." Mr. Justice Ramesam and Mr. P. K. Wattal should lose no time in answering Mr. Bhattacharya's pertinent question.

Jail Interviews:—We were surprised to read a spirited protest by a contemporary in North India against the presence of a jail official "within hearing distance" during an interview between Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Kamala Nehru in Dehra Dun jail. One of the rules in the Bombay Jail Manual—and we have no reason to believe that the rule differs in other provinces—expressly provides that "every interview with a convicted prisoner shall take place in the presence of a jail officer, who shall be responsible that no irregularity occurs and who shall be so placed as to be able to see and hear what passes and to prevent any article being passed between the parties. Conversations at the interview shall not be permited in any language not readily understood by the jail officer present." We can state from our personal knowledge that the rule is rigidly adhered to and it has not occurred to either the prisoners or the relatives of the prisoners to protest against it. We have criticised frequently the treatment of prisoners in Indian Jails but the procedure adopted at jail interviews does not seem a legitimate ground for grievance nor is it a matter of any importance. The paper greatly exaggerates when it remarks that "the whole object of an interview would in many cases be defeated if a jail official were within hearing distance." It proceeds to lay down that interviews should be allowed between prisoners and their relatives or friends within sight only of a jail official and that, while such a 'rule' should be observed in all cases, it should be all the more scrupulously observed in the case of a prisoner like Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, "both on account of his eminent position in the public life of the country and because he is the very soul of honour." The preoccupation of the public with the treatment received by incarcerated Congress leaders has been the despair of the Congress rank and file.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JUNE 30, 1934.

THE ATTEMPT ON GANDHIJI.

On Monday evening Gandhiji went to the Municipal Hall in Poona City to receive a civic address. He had with him Mrs. Gandhi and three girls, daughters of his friends. A few minutes before his arrival, another car containing a party of Councillors drove into the porch. It was mistaken for Gandhiji's car and the band of boy scouts, who furnished a guard of honour, blared out a welcome. Prominent members of the Municipal Council crowded at the door to greet the distinguished guest. Suddenly there was an explosion which was thought to be that of a cracker and passed unnoticed at the moment. The real nature of the incident, however, was soon revealed when several people were seen to have been injured. The injured men were at once sent to the hospital. Gandhiji and his party reached the scene and the programme was gone through in a somewhat abbreviated form. A public meeting was held soon after and Gandhiji issued a statement on the incident. He said that though he was not aching for martyrdom, he was not much concerned about the attempt on himself but he was pained to think what impression the world would have formed if any harm had befallen his wife and the children who were with him. Gandhiji addressed his remarks chiefly to orthodox Hindus who opposed his harijan propaganda. He assured them that he had not laid much stress on temple entry—which aroused their keenest apprehensions—during his present tour and that he would never agree to the admission of antyajas into temples by compulsion. He wanted this to be done by the goodwill of caste Hindus and his propaganda was mainly to enlist their goodwill. He repeated, what he had often said, that Hinduism stood to gain immensely by getting rid of the curse of untouchability, while neglect or failure in this vital reform would spell disaster to it. The nobility and grandeur of Gandhiji's personality never shone brighter than in his behaviour on an occasion like this which tears up the foundations of character. The attempt, providentially frustrated, to assassinate him, by whomsoever made, was a diabolical one and we trust that the criminal will be caught and punished, notwithstanding Gandhiji's magnanimous desire to let him go free.

There are, there can be, no two opinions as to the vileness of the deed and the sublimity of Gandhiji's behaviour. The attempt to fasten this deplorable incident on orthodox Hindus who are opposed to the Harijan movement, however, is the outcome of blind partisanship. Nothing is known so far to justify it. The Police arrested five persons after the incident and later released them as they were all invited guests and had cards of invitation. The injured men are being treated in hospital, one of them being a leader of orthodox Hindus. It is true that the proposal to give an address was opposed in the Poona Municipal Council by some orthodox Hindu representatives. But that by itself does not justify the conclusion that the bomb was thrown by them or at their instance. On just such reasoning persons who practised civil disobedience have been represented as accessories to anarchism. The social and religious reform movement has gone on for nearly a hundred years. The issues involved in the past came far more closely home to caste Hindus than the removal of untouchability which lies outside the daily routine of Hindu life. The remarriage of widows cut deeper into the convictions of Hindus than the admission of untouchables to temples can possibly do. As a matter of fact, hundreds of antyajas find their way into temples all over the country without questions asked about their castes. The fundamental difference between Gandhiji's school and the older school of reformers, is that while the former wish antyajas to be admitted as antyajas, the latter hold that, if untouchability is first removed, the bar against these classes automatically lapses. And this is the important point. Untouchability will be removed not by admitting them to temples but to the homes of caste Hindus on the same footing as members of other Hindu castes. How many of those who subscribe to the Harijan Fund will satisfy the test? The point was raised two years ago in the Bombay Hindus' Conference presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya but it met with a chill reception. That is by the way. What we wish to emphasise here is the fact that, in all these years, Sanatanists who bitterly opposed social reforms, never took to bombs or knives. It is not, was never, the Hindu way. And we should insist on very clear proof before it is assumed that the bomb thrown at the Municipal Hall was instigated by any organisation of orthodox Hindus.

Gandhiji said in his statement that he could not believe that any sane Sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated that evening. He however, went on, immediately to speak of the Harijan cause being advanced by the outrage and of the value of martyrdom to a cause. What evidently he meant was that the crime was the act of one or more insane Sanatanists who thought they were avenging thereby what they regarded as the outrage on Hinduism sought to be inflicted by getting antyajas admitted into temples. He is possibly right. There are, no doubt, among orthodox Hindus, as among other classes, criminals and blackguards. If some of these took it into their heads to murder Gandhiji, it is surely monstrous to lay the crime at the door of Sanatanists. But there are other possibilities also, including that of designing people utilising the Sanatanist antagonism to Gandhiji's propaganda as a smoke

screen from behind which to execute their own evil purpose. It is grossly unfair until the responsibility for the crime is indubitably established, to denounce the Sanatanists as is being done, as authors and instigators of the outrage. The opposition of the Sanatanists has been throughout open. While they resent the attempt to force them, as they think, to admit antyajas to temples, they regard a reformer as an ephemeral phantom strutting on the stage, and their religion as eternal and beyond injury by mortal man. They are not fools. They know well that if Gandhiji goes, some one less devoted to religion may step into his shoes. It is also right to remember that till the question of legislation about temple entry came to the front, the Sanatanists acquiesced in, if they did not whole-heartedly support, the movement for the uplift of the antyajas. It is easier to believe that the anarchist revolutionaries are seeking fresh fields for their activities, than to believe that orthodox Hindus, mostly elderly man and women, whose one desire is to be left alone, organised this attempt on the life of one who, until a few months ago, they revered as a saint and a sadhu. It is a novel role for the *Reformer* to espouse the side of the orthodox Hindu between whose point of view and ours there has always been a wide gulf fixed. He is obstinate, misguided, blind to the signs of the times. He is often callous, sometimes cruel, at all times apathetic except to what he believes to be the duties devolving on him as on account of his religion and his caste. But in the now nearly half a century of its conflict with orthodoxy the *Reformer* has never had once to think of it as a nursery of potential murderers. It may be, however, that a change has come over orthodox Hindus and that the attempt on Gaddhiji was really instigated by them. If and when that is proved, the *Reformer* will certainly not mince words in its condemnation. The position at present (Friday morning) is that the arrested men have been released. Government with praiseworthy promptness have offered a reward of Rs. five thousand for the apprehension and conviction of the person or persons concerned in this despicable crime. The only thing for responsible publicists to do just now is to suspend judgment.

SWADESHI IN THE MELTING POT.

One substantial result of the ten years of experimenting with national life, was the diffusion of the sense of duty to prefer goods manufactured in the country, particularly among the middle classes. Although 'swadeshi' came to be associated with politics, many people who had no political predilections, recognised the economic value of the principle and did their best to give effect to it in their own daily lives. This is due to the fact that Swadeshi did not originate with politics. Fifty years ago there were men who practised swadeshi and made efforts to promote indigenous industries. Ranade was one of the pioneers in this as in other directions. He thought that the economic domination of India by Britain had more serious effects than political domination. His idea of swadeshi was very broad. It included everything manufactured in the country and did not go minutely into the question of who owned the capital or provided the management. A political complexion was first given to the swadeshi movement during the agitation over the Bengal Partition. The National Congress began to hold Exhibitions during its sessions. After a time, the Industrial movement started the Industrial Conference as its own special organ. Government and British business men at first extended their support to the Conference. After a time the Industrial Conference threw off its association with the Congress and passed under the leadership of persons who, for want of a better word, may be called capitalists. The result was that the industrial problem thenceforward tended to assume more the aspect of a capitalist than of a national concern.

The Labour movement was the necessary concomitant of this development. An attempt to reconcile the two on the plea that the most urgent question was first to counter exploitation by foreign capitalist and that when that was done the Indian capitalist can be settled with, succeeded for a time. Under this compromise, politicians, workers and employers or capitalists joined hands and were able to get Government to adopt discriminating protection in place of Free Trade as its fiscal policy. This co-operation was broken when *The Times of India* fulminated on the condition of Bombay's slaves. The Factory Act was passed and made Labour self-conscious. Labour Unions grew up rapidly, which alarmed employers. Indian employers alarmed at the growing power of Labour in India and Britain and uncertain of the support of Indian politicians, turned to foreign capitalists for support. The depression in the fortunes of Labour in Britain and the advance of the idea of the Corporate State in Europe led to the degeneration of Swadeshi into salesmanship of commodities which, but for the accident of their production in this country, had no claim on the support of nationally-minded people. As *Swadeshi*, the weekly organ of the Swadeshi Sangh, observes: "The feeling is growing among large sections of the community that our industrialists are trading on Swadeshi sentiment without showing sufficient concern either for Labour or consumer." Wages are cut down and side by side by dint of agitation heavy protective duties are secured against foreign competitors. That is to say, the worker gets less in wages and the consumer is obliged to pay more in prices to keep up "the national industry."

The anomaly has struck Gandhiji, as it has every thinking man, and he, according to *Swadeshi*, is of the view that the Sangh and other bodies should confine

their efforts of propaganda henceforth to the resuscitation of cottage industries and the introduction of subsidiary occupation for agriculturists. This may constitute ideal objects of rural reconstruction but to call them swadeshi activities would be a misnomer. Gandhiji's view is that the organised large factory industries can take care of themselves by getting protection from the State and do not stand in need of help from the public. This leaves out of consideration the fact that the factory industries have to deal with Labour and the result of leaving them alone will be to deny that Swadeshi has a duty to see that home industries are built up on sound lines as regards their incidence on Labour. We want rather an expansion of the idea of Swadeshi than a contraction of it to village industries. We publish today the admirable address of M. Godart, the President of the Eighteenth Session of the International labour Organisation which opened at Geneva on the 4th of June. He has therein defined the problem before the industrial world in language as precise as it is eloquent. The problem of the Swadeshi movement is to embody in the national system the principles which the League of Nations Covenant has laid down for the International Labour Organisation.

IS IT JEWISH PROPAGANDA?

During the last few months three films have been shown in Bombay, the central figure in each of which was a Jew. About Easter week, "the Wandering Jew" made a great impression. It was a very powerful piece, both technically and topically. The trial and burning of the Jew in the presence and under the orders of ecclesiastics in their official robes, was a far more terrible exhibition of intolerance than the man with the drawn sword over the bent neck of a missionary which the local Catholic *Examiner* publishes on its front page. The behaviour of the Wandering Jew was courageous, calm, and dignified. It was calculated to impress those who saw the picture as typical of the superior moral and spiritual calibre of the Hebrew as compared with his European persecutors. To that extent, it may be regarded as a bit of subtle but effective pro-Jew propaganda.

Next came "Disraeli." George Arliss' personation of Disraeli is wonderful. You feel after seeing his Disraeli that you have been in the presence of the original. Disraeli was a great believer in race and in his own race in particular. In Arliss' Disraeli, the Governor of the Bank of England is browbeaten into endorsing the cheque of the bankrupt, Meyer, to whom Disraeli had applied for the advance of four million pounds to buy the Suez Canal shares of the Khedive. The Governor of the Bank of England who was first asked, not only refuses pointblank but insults Disraeli. Disraeli tells him that he will find it elsewhere. The Governor, surprised, asks to whom would he go. "To the same to whom all Christians go when they need money, the Jew." After Meyer had given the cheque and before it could be cashed the Russian Government buys up all his obligations, and he finds himself a bankrupt. It is at this stage, that Disraeli summons the Governor again and urges that he should honour the cheque. He indignantly refuses. He calls Disraeli an adventure. "And a Jew," prompts Disraeli. After the Governor had finished, Disraeli quietly reminds him that he is the Prime Minister of England. Waxing warm, he threatens to smash the Bank if the Governor did not then and there endorse the cheque. The scene is very tense but at the end the Governor walks sheepishly to the table and puts his name to the paper. Disraeli puts it in his pocket and triumphantly tells his wife of what had taken place. "But," she asks, "have you really power to smash his bank?" "I have not," is Disraeli's reply, "but he does not know it." In the closing scene, the Governor is the first to come and congratulate the Prime Minister on his patriotic action. With a twinkle in his eyes, Disraeli publicly thanks the Governor for his help and announces that the Queen was pleased to confer a peerage on him—and Meyer! When I walked out of the heatre I could not help thinking that the Englishman was a bit of a "chump" by the side of the Jew but, I recollected, he had the good sense to own it by making the Jew the Prime Minister of his country.

The "House of Rothschild" is another of these pro-Jewish pictures now shown in Bombay. The leading part in it is also taken by Arliss and it is one of his most successful roles. Here also the Jew appears as a clever competitor with English politicians and merchants. This has been criticised and it has been plainly said that the purpose of the production is propaganda. Prapaganda or no propaganda, Jews have certainly produced a higher proportion of men great in all branches of knowledge and activity, except War, and it is well that the public should be reminded of the fact now that there is so much intolerance and persecution of this gifted race. One would like to see Lessing's "Nathan the Wise" in the form of a good picture. It will be a most attractive theme with striking characters—Saladin, the Templar, Saladin's sister, Nathan, certainly one of the noblest Jewish characters, and his daughter.

INDIA HAS HER FASCISTS TOO.

(By V. A.)

India has long had the distinction of harbouring every type of religion. It will soon be in a position to boast that it possesses representatives of every school of political thought. An attempt to emulate Italian Fascism was made two years ago in Calcutta when an organisation was formed to counteract the activities of the Congress. Members wore distinctive clothes with a prominently displayed badge and concentrated at the outset on nullifying the work of Congress picketers. They helped Calcutta merchants to have their goods conveyed from godown to shop and generally encouraged them to disregard the dictates of Congress leaders. For a fortnight the doings of members of this organisation were reported with enthusiasm in the Anglo-Indian press. Then nothing more was heard of it. And now news comes of a revival of interest in Fascism in South India.

It was a surprise to me to read in a recent issue of the *Hindu* of Madras a letter inviting would-be Indian Fascists to write to Mr. K. Suryanarayana Rao, Beehive Foundry, Broadway, Madras, with a view to facilitating the early convening of a conference in Madras. The writer expressed alarm at the growth of socialism and the rapid increase of disloyalty. He, therefore, urged the creation of a Fascist organisation to "shatter the evil seeds of communism and educate national conscience against laxity in political, economical or social standards." Mr. Dorai who evidently acts as Mr. Suryanarayana Rao's recruiting officer, has apparently forgotten that the

British Government in India takes itself seriously as an opponent of communism and has 'educated' the Indian conscience against laxity in political standards. What the economic or social ideals of the proposed Fascist party are Mr. Dorai fails to inform his reader. A correspondent who writes a strong protest in a subsequent issue of the same newspaper is evidently perplexed by Mr. Dorai's reference to India as "the birth-place of Aryan Fascism." Mr. Dorai himself is vague on a number of issues, his only definite programme for the proposed Fascist party being the combating of communism and the infusing of moral tone into the political and economic fabric. That possibly is a necessary attitude to adopt in building up a new party. Mr. Dorai's letter reveals that his enthusiasm for Fascism is not the outcome of a mere passion for coloured shirts. His attempts at political and economic policy building are not likely to meet with much success, particularly since the British Government has already interested itself in both these subjects. The one sphere left to our budding Fascists is that of social work. A friend of mine who is too uneducated to appreciate the finer points of Hitler's political methods and economic ideals, expressed the highest admiration for the Nazi leader when he was told of his mass marriage programme. He remarked that the only hope of Indians shaking themselves free of social evils like the dowry system, unequal marriages, child marriages and the problem of widows, was for an Indian Hitler to set the people on the straight and narrow path. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao will, I am sure, not look down on work in the social sphere as worthy only of old women. The laxity in political and economical (*sic* in Mr. Dorai's letter) life has its origins in social laxity. If the Hindu father of to-day had acted after the manner of the old paterfamilies. much of our troubles would have been non-existent. Indian Fascism should, like charity, begin at home.

A MESSAGE TO YOUNG ASIA.

(By John Haynes Holmes.)

The problem of world unity involves many economic and political and social factors. But those factors can never be effectively handled, and the problem itself solved, until we see that in all and through all and over all is that one spirit in the life of God and in the soul of man, which can alone make us one upon this earth. Unless we recognize this spirit and celebrate it, and manifest it in our lives, all economic problems and political treaties and social arrangements, however wise and necessary, will prove in the end to be vain. The organism of men's common life must be a living organism, and this life can only come through the incarnation of the spirit which is religion.

You of the East can help us of the West more, perhaps, than you imagine, because it is from the genius of the East that all the religious idealism of man has sprung. You seem to have the secret of the spirit, as you have imparted it to humanity through the centuries gone by. In ancient times you had the immortal Buddha. Today you have the equally immortal Mahatma Gandhi. In those we see your supreme gifts to mankind, and with them, as with Jesus and Zoroaster and the Hebrew prophets, we must march to the great goal of brotherhood.

You young people of the East can also help us just because you are young, and thus hold in your hands the promise of the future. That future will be dark or bright, a thing of death or life, according as you, the youth of the would, are faithful to God's will and seek in his immortal name the building of his kingdom among men. Do not fail us, for we look to you to save the world which the present generation has all but lost.

Together we must clasp hands and touch hearts across the stretch of continents and over the vast gulf of encompassing seas. We must rocognize and acclaim our essential kinship and achieve the promises of our common life. As we are all children of God, so are we all members of the great family of God and thus brothers together. Frontiers must not divide us, nor creeds separate us. We must yield to no superstition of nationalism and fall victim to no prejudices of race. For as one of our greatest Christian prophets has said, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell together on the face of the earth."

A BUDDHIST UNIVERSITY IN INDIA.

Buddhists in Burma and throughout the Far East will learn with interest that the Government of India have sanctioned the establishment of a Buddhist University.

An International Buddhist Academy, which is preliminary to this University, will be opened on Full Moon Day in November next. The Academy will be developed into the proposed University, in the course of the next five years.

The ideal which the Academy has in view is the advancement of research in the various departments of Buddhistic studies on the basis of co-operation among Orientalists all over the world.

The proposed University, which will be known as the International Buddhist University, will promote not only Buddhistic studies but also studies in scientific subjects concerned with the advancement of man's welfare.

The ultimate ideal of this University is to benefit mankind through a correct and farsighted exposition of Buddhism.

The Buddhist University, which will be run on the lines of the Benares Hindu University, will have a governing body, including Buddhists and non-Buddhists interested in Buddhism from Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Cambodia, Tibet and India, and also Europe and America. The University will have a president, one or more vice-presidents, a general secretary, three secretaries and a treasurer. It will be administered by a working committee of twenty-five including office-bearers. Mr. M. N. Mukherjee, a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, has already been appointed President, with Anagarika B. Govinda (Mr. E. L. Hoffmann) of Ceylon as General Secretary.

The Academy will be housed in the Maha Bodhi Society Buildings at Sarnath, but later, it will be shifted to its own buildings, to be constructed at Deer Park, where Buddha preached his first sermon, the land for the purpose having been given by the Government of India. The Government have promised an annual grant for the upkeep of the University.

Justice-Liberal Rapprochement:—We welcome the following paragraph in the *Leader* as indicative of a possible combination between the Liberals and Justicites in Madras: "A little bird has whispered in my ear that correspondence (or conversations) has been in progress between the Liberal and Justice parties in Madras, as a result of which it is not impossible that Diwan Bahadur Ramchandra Kao and Mr. Venkatrama Sastri may seek election to the Assembly with the combined support of both parties. I shall heartily welcome this development and shall not go into mourning if a man of sterling worth like Mr. Venkatrama Sastri goes into the Assembly in preference to Mr. Satyamurti who has no intention of allowing a single non-Congressman to succeed in the elections."

ALL-FAITHS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK.

To take a leading part in New York City's fourteen supplementary sessions of the first World Fellowship of Faiths (the second Parliament of Religions), Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I, K.C.I.E., (famous British explorer, general, statesman, author) made a special journey from England, where he is Chairman for London of the "Threefold Movement"—Union of East and West, League of Neighbours, "Fellowship of Faiths"—which developed the World Fellowship of Faiths. Professor P. A. Wadia, distinguished political economist of Wilson College, Bombay, a follower of the Zoroastrian or Parsee religion, was also among the seventy-two speakers at the fourteen meetings held in the grand ballroom of Hotel New Yorker during the Peace and Goodwill Week, May 12 to 18 inclusive, 1934. These New York City meetings supplemented the sixty sessions held in Chicago, during Chicago's second World's Fair, June to November 1933, when the World Fellowship of Faiths continued and improved upon the Parliament of Religions originated at Chicago's first World's Fair in 1893.

Included among the seventy-two eminent speakers who, in the fourteen New York City Metings, represented many faiths, races and countries were Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Mr. Norman Hapgood, President Bernard S. Deutsch of the New York City Board of Aldermen, Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, economist of Columbia University; President Emeritus Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; President Arlo Ayres Brown of Drew University, Madison, New Jersey; Professor William A. Kilpatrick of Teachers' College; Professor H. Douglas Wild of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Miss Ruth St. Denis, internationally-known dancer; two national leaders of the Coloured race—Mrs. Mary Church Terrell of Washington, D. C. and President R. R. Wright, Jr. of Wilberforce University, Ohio; Rabbi H. Pereira Mendes of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue (who also took part prominently in the first Parliament of Religions in 1893); from other leading Jewish rabbis—Louis I. Newman, D. DeSola Pool, Israel Goldstein, Morton M. Berman; Benjamin C. Marsh of the People's Lobby, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Hereward Carrington of the Psychic Institute; Professor Ernest P. Horrwitz, Orientalist of Hunter College; Mrs. Alice A. Bailey, international lecturer; two College Christian Mystics—Dr. F. Homer Curtiss of Washington, D. C. and Rev. Rosalie A. Beatty; Mrs. Owen Neill Brown, Vice-chairman of the League of Nations Association; Mr. William H. Short, Director of the Motion Picture Research Council; Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan of the War Resisters League; Dr. C. M. Flumiani, editor of Foreign Affairs Confidential Advisory Service; Rev. Sydney Strong from the Geneva Disarmament Conference; two Ethical Culture Society leaders—Dr. John L. Elliott and Dr. Henry Neumann; Dr. Christian F. Reisner of Broadway Temple Methodist Episcopal Church: two representatives of the Baha'i faith—Mrs. Mary Hanford Ford and Mirza Ahmad Sohrab of Persia; four leaders of the New Thought movement—Dr. Edna Lister of Buffalo, President of the International New Thought Alliance; Mrs. Ada Cox Fisher, director of the New York Centre of Truth; Dr. Albert C. Grier and Miss Villa Faulkner Page; Dr. John Howland Lathrop, Unitarian; Rev. Eliot White, Episcopalian; Dr. John Curry Walker of the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims; Rev. Cameron Parker Hall of Christ Presbyterian Church; Rev. Walter Brooks Foley of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lake Ronkankoma, Long Island; Rev. Anthony Evans, Pastor of the West Park Presbyteran Church; Rev. Ahva J. C. Bond of the Seventh-Day Baptist Conference; Rev Sokei-ann Sasaki, Buddhist Priest of Japan; Ibrahim Sefa Bey, a Moslem from Turkey; Basil Alexander, President of the Sons of Roumania; and four representatives from India—Swami Bodhananda (the only personal disciple in America of Swami Vivekananda who was an outstanding leader in the 1893 Parliament of Religions), Gobind Behari Lal, Scientific Editor of the Hearst Publications; Vidya-Vibhushana Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar, Hindu, formerly foreign minister of the Indian State of Jhalawar, and Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, Jain, from the province in which Mahatma Gandhi was reared. Sri Balwant Singh Grewal, Sikh, of India and Arthur G. Hoover served as Time Monitors. Kedarnath Das Gupta of India opened the meetings with an ancient Sanskrit invocation and its English equivalent. The Prayers of Eleven Faiths were read aloud at each meeting by the audience. Soloists, choruses, orchestras and other musical numbers were provided for all the meetings by Dr. Archer Leslie Hood, director of the International Music Festival League. Charles Frederick Weller of Chicago presided at nine of the fourteen meetings.

A special feature of these supplementary sessions was a unique procession of people of all faiths, races and countries who marched in ceremonial robes and colourful dresses of many countries, on Sunday, May 13th from the Pennsylvania Railway Station to the Hotel New Yorker for a programme of characteristic songs and short speeches. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church, Miss Ruth St. Denis, international dancer, Kedarnath Das Gupta and Charles Frederick Weller, General Executives, headed the procession.

By request of the Committee of the World Fellowship of Faiths, many United States Governors proclaimed to observe May 18 as World Goodwill Day in churches, synagogues, schools and other public institutions.

The topics discussed in the round-table conferences of the afternoon sessions were, on May 12, "A New Spiritual Dynamic Needed." May 14, "How Prevent War?" May 15, "Overcoming Racial and Religious Prejudice." May 16, "How May Man Master Fear?" May 17, "Nationalism and Internationalism." May 18, "Needed; a New Spiritual World Code."

The subjects for the seven meetings were, on May 12, "Spiritual-Needs and Evils of Society." May 13, "Designs for Living in a Nobler World." May 14, "No More War." May 15, "How Faiths, in Fellowship, Can Save Civilization." May 16, "How May Man Manage His United World?" May 17, "Personal and World Spiritual Recovery." May 18, "For a New World Consciousness."

A banquet and reception to Sir Francis Younghusband was held on the evening of May 15th in the Grand Ballroom of Hotel New Yorker.

The following resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted on the last day of the Convention :—.

"Sir Francis Younghusband, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., Chairman for Great Britain of our Threefold Movement, invited us to hold in London, in 1936, the second international convention of the World Fellowship of Faiths—the third World's Parliament of Religions.

"In grateful response to the invitation given through Sir Francis Younghusband, we, assembled in the fourteen New York City meeting of the First World Fellowship of Faiths, the Second World's Parliament of Religions, unanimously vote to recommend to our International President, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, that he and the International Committee should soon decide upon and undertake

specific adequate preparations for our meetings in London in 1936."

"Assembled in the fourteen New York City meetings of the World Fellowship of Faiths, we are impressed with the value of this movement to every city in every country and we cordially recommend to the officers and members of the National Committee of Three Hundred and to the International President and Members of the International Committee that earnest efforts be made to develop local meetings and movements of the World Fellowship of Faiths in as many cities as possible throughout the world."

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

(By "Observer.")

What bids fair to be one of the most interesting and important sessions of the International Labour Conference is now sitting in Geneva.

Three major questions are being discussed, all of vital importance on account of the continuing world economic depression. They are: 1. the "40-hour week;" 2. unemployment insurance; and 3. national and international "public works."

As regards hours of work, the Workers Group are strongly in favour of a Convention that would make universally obligatory a shorter working week than at present prevails. They claim it would alleviate unemployment, and also give to the workers a legitimate share of the increased productivity of mechanised industry. The Employers Group oppose, and state that far from reducing unemployment, shorter hours would increase it. The Governments are divided; and at least two Governments (Japan and Great Britain) have declared in advance that they are not prepared to work such a Convention. How the Conference will meet this dilemma remains to be seen.

The question of large-scale public works, designed to give employment and revive economic activity, by putting into circulation capital at present inactive, is to be discussed in the light of experience gained by various countries. It will be remembered that the late Albert Thomas was an enthusiast for international public works including great continental road systems, etc. Also that a year ago the I. L. O. urged the World Economic Conference to take up this matter amongst others. In view of the failure of the Economic Conference, it now looks as if the I. L. O. would contemplate some initiative on its own account.

The general debate on the Director's Report will certainly give opportunity for a frank exchange of views on the present economic situation. Mr. Harold Butler (the Director) had this year directed special attention to the social and economic dislocation resulting from the chaos of the exchanges. He has had the courage, moreover, to bring right out into the open the burning question of Japanese competition, the severity of which, he claims, results chiefly from Japan's inflationist policy for which she cannot be held wholly responsible, and not, as is commonly thought, from bad working conditions in the Japanse export industries. He is obviously trying to forestall possible acrimonious charges of "social dumping" being brought against Japan. So far Japan remains in the International Labour Organisation despite its resignation from the League; but a serious attack upon Japan in the Conference might make the Japanese Government withdraw from the I. L. O. to preserve 'face.'

Yet another matter of special interest is President Roosevelt's decision to send a strong delegation to the Conference as 'observer.' In fact the co-operation expected goes a long way beyond mere observation, but the question of the adhesion of the U. S. A. to the I. L. O. though not impossible, is distinctly problematical for the present.

CASTE AMONG BENGAL MUSLIMS.*

(By J. M. Datta.)

If untouchability is an evil, and if it has to be eradicated, it must be removed both from amongst those who are Hindus, and those who are Muhammadans. I shall try to prove the existence of untouchability among the Muhammadans of Bengal by quotations chiefly from official publications, like the *District Gazetteers* and the *Census Reports*, and from European authors of the eminence of Sir Herbert Risley.

Sir Herbert Risley in his *Peoples of India* makes the following observations:—

"In the sight of the God, and of His Prophet all followers of Islam are equal. In India, however, caste is in the air, its contagion has spread over to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines."

In another place he says:—

"Just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower group, while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadans a Saiyad will marry a Sheikh's daughter, but will not give his daughter in return."

With reference to Bengal, Sir Edward Gait says:—

"In some places.....a class, called Arzal, or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halat-khor, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and who are forbidden to enter the Mosque, or to use the Public Burial Ground. [Bengal Census Report, 1901, p. 439.]

The Bengal Census Report of 1901,Chap. XI §813, etc., says:—

"A striking resemblance between the Muhammadan functional groups and Hindu castes is that they have the same system of caste management. The Jolahas, Kunjras, Kulus, Dais, Darzies, Dhunias, etc., all have the governing committees (*i. e., panchayets*).

"The *panchayet* takes cognizance of all breaches of caste customs in respect of trade, religion, or morality..... Among the social offences of which the panchayet takes cognizance may be mentioned the eating of forbidden food, divorce without due causes ....., marrying women of other castes (whether of higher or lower rank is immaterial), eating with, or smoking from the hukka of outcastes, etc. The result is that these groups are often as strictly endogamous as Hindu castes."

About the rules and practice of commensality among the Muhammadans, Sir Edward Gait says:—

"An Ashraf—a man of high position—will not sit down to eat from the same dish, or in the same place, with a man who is distinctly his inferior. In the case of Ajlaf castes, the usual rule appears to be that each caste should eat alone."

Mr. Muddiman (afterwards Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces) with reference to the Bengali Muhammadans makes the following very pertinent observations:—

"With regard to the question of eating with outsiders, I have, after conversation with many Muhammadans of all classes, come to this conclusion. All Muhammadans are in actual practice more or less infected with the Hindu prejudice as to eating with

* *India and the World.*

outsiders. Curiously enough, educated Muhammadans, while denying that they have any prejudices on this point, probably infringe their own pronouncement more frequently than others. On the other hand, uneducated men freely protest that they will not eat with certain classes (*e.g.*, Shekhs and Jolahas will not eat with the Muhammadan Teli or Dhobi), but in practice they often do so."

The Census Superintendent, Bengal, in his Report for 1921, observes at p. 439 :—

"There is no caste recognised by the Muhammadan religion as by the Hindu, and although there certainly are certain divisions among the Muhammadan community, they are by no means the clear divisions of the Hindu caste stytem.....Yet the fact remains that a Sheikh will not marry a Kulu and in some parts one class of Muhammadan will not feed with another. In Tippera there are Muhammadan Beharas, who carry palkis, with whom the ordinary Muhammadan cultivator with not sit down to a meal."

Sir Edward Gait mentions about 55 Muhammadan castes. [Bengal Census Report, 1901, pp 443 et, seq.]

"The Abdals or Doklas are found in North Bengal. Purnea and Mymensingh. They form a *true caste* whose occupations are much the same as those of the Hindu *Hari*.....They are regarded as degraded and other Muhammadans will not eat with them. They may enter the Mosque, but are not permitted to worship in company with the better classes, nor are they allowed to be buried in the public cemetry." [Census of India, Part V. § 819.]

"Bediya is a generic term for gipsy in Bengal..... They are, however, far from orthodox. They are not allowed the use of mosque, or burial ground and regarded by the Muhammadans in much the same light as the Chamars by the Hindus." [Ibid., § 826.]

"The Chik and Kasai are butchers, but the former deals only in the meat of sheep and goats, while the latter sells beef; he also sometimes trades in hides. Both communities are strictly endogamous. They rank very low, and the more respectable classes will not associate or eat with them." [*Ibid.*, § 837.]

"The Bansphors of Rajsahi.....can pledge their wives to other men ; any children born, while they are so pledged, are divided equally between the pledger and the pledgee."

The Rajsahi "Abdals serve tobacco prepared in chillums to the people attending *hats* or markets. They do not go through a regular form of marriage and divorce..... Other Muhammadans do not eat with them, nor do they drink water touched by them."

In Jessore "the Chaklai Mussalmans.....are practically ostracised by other Mussalmans.....Whatever may have been the cause, other Mussalmans will not eat or drink with them, nor smoke the same hookha or pipe." They "live in complete isolation. They marry among themselves, and attend only their tribal ziyapats or feasts." (*Jessore District Gazetter.*)

"The Chotabhagia Muchis are another small outcaste community. They remove night-soil and have been outcasted for so doing." [Ibid.]

In Bakarganj "there is a wandering gipsy tribe—Babajias—who profess Muhammadanism, but do not inter-mingle with other Muhammadans."

"The Defadar and Naliya are meat-making castes of Eastern Bengal. The Dafadar is considered the more respectable of the two and will not eat or inter-marry with the Naliya.....Both form regular castes of the Hindu pattern. [*Bengal Census Report*, 1901, § 839.]

The Census Superintendent, Bengal for 1931, says in his report:—"Some of the (Muslim) groups actually found on the present occasion are shown below with brief notes: some are of doubtful orthodoxy and in some cases it is reported that other Muslims 'refuse to acknowledge' them socially."

The names of the groups referred to above are:—

"Badiya or Abdal, Bajadars, Chunia, Dai, Dhawa, Duffadi, Karindi, Kathibara, Culu, Kutti, Mahifarash, Manjhi, Mirshikari, Naliya, Pirkhodali, Punjhra, Rasna, Sanaidar, Sandar." [P. 428.]

It would be tiresome to multiply quotations. If there was caste divisions or mutual exclusiveness before, conversion to Islam has not done away with it. Mr. J. D. Anderson, I. C. S., in his *Peoples of India* observes :—

"In Eastern Bengal, the bulk of the population is Mussalman. In this region, the Muhammadans are recent converts from the lower aboriginal or Mongoloid Castes, whose Muhammadanism sits very lightly on their habits and consciences, and so far as my own experience goes (he was a Bengal Civilian and as such spent a large part of his life over here), there is little difference between the speech of the lower Mussalmans and their friends and cousins, the Chandals (now called Namasudras) and other indigenous castes."

The *Bengal Provincial Gazetteer* makes the following relevant observation:—

"The Muhammadans of Bengal are mostly, in name at least, Sunnis. But the great majority are of Hindu origin, and their knowledge of the faith they now profess seldom extends beyond the three cardinal doctrines of the Unity of God, the Mission of Muhammad, and the Truth of the Koran."

From the above two quotations, we can infer the origin of caste and untouchability among the Muhammadans. The feeling is so strong that in actual practice conversion to Islam, which is mostly nominal, has not been able to do away with it.

The problem of untouchability among the Muhammadans is the more acute, in as much as it persists in spite of the democratic and caste-less religion of Islam; in as much as it is more or less neglected in the popular belief that there is no such problem; in as much as the Muhammadans are the more ignorant section of the population; in as much as where it exists among the Muhammadans it is more intense than among the Hindus; for example, no Hindu, whether 'touchable' or untouchable, is refused the use of the burning ghat, when dead.

Mahatma Gandhi, who is respected alike by the Hindus and the Muhammadans, should be asked to devote a part of his attention to the problem of untouchability among the Muhammadans of Bengal, when he comes over here.

A RAMAYANA EPISODE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your fascinating review of Mr. Nadkarni's book you say, in reference to the mutilation of Surpanakha, 'I cannot believe that a great soul like Rama was guilty of this cowardly assault on a woman." My remembrance of Ramayana is that Lakshmana (Rama's brother), not Rama himself, committed the assault, though Rama was responsible for it. For your readers' accurate understanding of the incident, I venture to quote the following from one of the books I have on the subject: "When Surpanakha made advances to Rama he referred her to Lakshmana, and Lakshmana in like manner sent her back to Rama. Enraged at this double rejection, she fell upon Sita, and Rama was obliged to interfere forcibly for the protection of his wife. He called out to Lakshmana to disfigure the violent Rakshasi, and Lakshmana cut off her nose and ears. She flew to her brother for revenge, and this brought on the war between Rama and Ravana."

Coonoor, June 20, 1934.

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

THAT "CARLISLE" SYSTEM.*

(By William E. Johnson.)

In July, 1916, as a "war measure," the British Government "took over" the liquor business in Carlisle, England, operating the entire traffic as a government project. Some small drink shops that did not "pay" were closed. One or two "temperance restaurants" that were taken over by the government were turned into liquor shops because they *did* "pay." The former owners of these "temperance" houses made loud protests at the action, but that is all the good they got out of their opposition.

In order to make the drink shops more attractive, the government spent nearly Rs. 50,00,000 in improvements. Special inducements were offered for the patronage of "ladies," and little children were invited to come and "play" while their mothers soused themselves in an adjoining room. Suet-faced barmaids were on hand to make everybody happy.

After the war, the government continued the same system, peddling booze in "the interest of temperance." It is still being continued because it "pays."

The British "Blue Book" for 1933, giving licensing statistics for 1932, has just recently been printed. The "Blue Book" for 1934 will not be ready till fall. Therein is a vivid glimpse into what the "Carlisle System" is doing for "temperance."

Of the eighty-five county boroughs of England and Wales, sixty-three show a lower rate of drink arrests per 10,000 than does Carlisle. The arrests for drunkenness per 10,000 are greater than in twenty-two of the most drunken boroughs of the country, including such great resorts as Blackpool.

According to the same record, only nine of the eighty-five county boroughs had a worse record of convictions of drunkenness among women. Apparently a whole lot of matrons accepted the invitation.

When the sales of any given government drink shop show a drop in sales, the manager thereof is called on for an "explanation." For it is agin' the government policy to operate any gin mill at a loss.

All this may explain the conduct of every temperance organization in the Carlisle area in opposing the system. These obtuse people appear to think that this government system which results in three times the arrests for drunkenness as private grog shops is not "promoting temperance" very much.

This dubious record of Carlisle covering a period of eighteen years may explain why Lord D'Abernon, who founded the system, turned about and denounced it after observing its dubious results.

It was this same uncanny record that led David Lloyd George, "one of the original Carlisle champions," to turn against the system.

Lord Snowden, former chancellor of the exchequer and one of the original members of the Carlisle liquor control board, viewed the record of the institution with dismay and turned against it.

Because of this miserable Carlisle record, thirty-two Carlisle clergymen and ministers plus 170 local preachers of the locality signed a petition addressed to the Home Office, declaring the system to be a "failure."

Some years ago, the Temperance committee of the Church of Scotland made a personal investigation of the Carlisle System on the spot. The report was of the most damming character. Speaking of one of these Carlisle government drink establishments, the committee reported:

"On Saturday night at closing time 50 per cent of the men issuing from a house in a rough locality were drunk, and 75 per cent of the women from the women's bar. These figures were acquiesced in by constables on duty outside the house.....We cannot get behind the almost unanimous testimony of the clergy and business men that there has been an increase in drinking, especially among women and young people, and that it is due to this 'constructive temperance reform'."

Recently, the Carlisle Temperance League, with which are affiliated twenty-three churches and temperance bodies, unanimously passed the following resolution:

".....The Carlisle Scheme.....has proved a failure as a measure of temperance reform, and has in no way provided a solution for the drink problem. The League views with alarm.....the special women's drinking bars, and the familiarizing of children and young people with the common sale of drink."

The greatest industrial magnate of the Carlisle area is Sir George B. Hunter, K. B. E., D. Sc., the ship-builder at Newcastle on Tyne. In an interview that he had in the *Daily Chronicle* (London) May 4, 1925, after personally studying the Carlisle System, he said:

"There is more excessive drinking in Carlisle, under the system of state sale of liquor, than there is in similar towns under private sale. There is more drunkenness among women in Carlisle than in other towns. The reduction of drunkenness in Carlisle since the armistice has not been greater but less than in most other towns."

* *The American Issue.*

THE DRINK AND DRUG HABIT IN BIHAR.

In his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Indian Miners' Association, Jharia, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose said:

"The Royal Commission on Labour, speaking about the condition in 1928, said that the Dhanbad Sub-Division collieries, which employed 55,000 male workers, were responsible for the consumption of country spirit to the value of six lacs and seventy thousand. The licence fees on the consumption of country rice beer brought a revenue of Rs. 1,20,000. Besides there were ganja and other intoxicating drugs. The Commission estimated that the total expenditure incurred by these miserable colliery workers in drink and drug in 1928-29 was ten lacs of rupees. The Commission recommended that the drink and drug shops should be gradually closed in the interests of the industry and of the workers. But we find today that far from giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission, the Government has reduced the price of country spirits, so much so that one bottle of country liquor which was formerly sold at annas eight or annas ten, is being sold at annas two now. The result is that the drink evil has become more widespread. It is idle to say that the illicit distillation would supply the want, if the Government stopped or reduced the sale of liquor. In 1930, due to picketting for six months, the liquor and drug shops were closed but illict distillation did not supply the demand. You may punish illicit distillation, but why pander to a vice by making the satisfaction of it incredibly cheap? Mahatma Gandhi could not stop the practice, the labour unions cannot. The evil could be brought under control only by State action—absolute prohibition.

"The large majority of the workers do not turn up on Monday for the effect of intoxication begun from Sunday. The collieries have, therefore, been forced to close on Monday. Even on Tuesday the attendance is poor. The effect continues till Wednesday. If anybody wants to see how human beings are systematically brutalized, let him come to coal areas. The workers cannot find the bare necessaries of life, but drink and drug have been made cheap for them so that they may maintain an existence of forgetfulness. Can anybody expect the workers to be efficient in such condition? Can industry prosper with workers so debased?"

INDUSTRY AND THE WORKER.

The Eighteenth Session of the International Labour Organisation opened in Geneva on June 4, 1934. M. Justin Godart, French Government Delegate, was elected President.

The President, in expressing his thanks for the honour conferred on him, said he came to the Chair as the bearer of a French national and international tradition that Arthur Fontaine and Albert Thomas had carried on, and to their cherished memory he gladly paid the homage implicit in the choice just made by the Conference.

The increase of ratifications, he continued, showed that, in spite of all obstacles, and in however fragmentary and amorphous a fashion, there was being built up a real international labour code. Steadily and persistently, if not rapidly, the International Labour Organisation had made a contribution the value of which was incontestable to the pacific work of the League of Nations. Further, the system of supervision of the application of the 29 Conventions now in force was steadily being made more effective.

It may be said (the speaker went on) that these are matters of detail and that other considerations are more important at the present time. On the one hand, there is material progress constantly increased by the ingenuity of mankind but applied inconsiderately in the pursuit of gain, multiplied without a real basis by means of credit and perverted by speculation. On the other hand, the political authorities in many parts of the world have introduced sudden changes into the economic order and have substituted new forms of organisation. All this brings into being revolutions which are the more alarming since they do not resemble ordinary revolutions. Economic revolutions are entirely different from political revolutions. They are not set in motion by ideas and ideals but by material considerations.

Although, however, the material element can cause ruin and starvation and degradation, its scope of action is fortunately limited. The domain of ideas is infinite but that of matter has its limits. Whenever those limits are passed industry suffers from crises which should serve as a warning. If those warnings are disregarded, a sudden stoppage results. This is amply proved by the events of recent years. Where are we to find a means of establishing an equilibrium, or at any rate some of the main features of such an equilibrium, which is necessarily a complicated matter? To a large extent they can be found in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which it is the privilege of the International Labour Organisation to translate into terms of international life.

Labour legislation was originally conceived as a system of protective measures. It provided an immediate remedy necessitated by the abuses to which Part XIII refers with justifiable severity. Part XIII affirms that the worker is not a mere economic unit, but first and foremost a human being. It inaugurated a new phase of civilisation, by subordinating the unbridled search for profit to the moral law.

But can it be said that all that is necessary will have been done when the system of labour legislation is complete, when really humane conditions of labour, in the narrow sense of conditions which safeguard the physical and mental well-being of the individual, are established and applied throughout the world? That is by no means the object of Part XIII. Neither its letter nor its spirit implies any such restriction. Its intention is that labour should enjoy full social justice. Social justice is of course established by protective measures, and by the intervention of the law in relations between employers and employed. But both employers and employed are dominated by other powers—those of finance and of the machine—whose unrestricted liberty impedes the rule of social justice. And in this sphere, even more than in that of protective legislation, it will be found that what benefits labour also benefits the employer, who suffers severely from the lack of organisation in industry and from the excessive keenness of competition.

Last year the Conference showed that it realised this aspect of its work, since it concerned itself with the 40-hour week, regarded not merely as a temporary remedy for the temporary evil of unemployment, but as a permanent method of allowing the workers to share in the benefit of technical progress. It is neither fair nor reasonable that technical progress, which was devised to increase production, should result in eliminating the human being as worker, and as a consequence eliminating him as a consumer too, though it was for the consumer that technical progress was originally introduced. Here again, salvation is to be found in humanitarian and moral considerations. It is to be found in progressively setting human beings free for their family, social and personal life; and that liberation, which is a matter of justice, will provide a necessary limit for production which, left to itself, uses the accumulated labour power of man and machines, and gives rise to the grave evils of unemployment and over-production.

The programme laid down by Part XIII is thus one of constructive development. By carrying out that programme, the International Labour Organisation will do increasingly good service to the organisation of production; and by endowing labour with an international system of law, which will safeguard national systems, it will continue its contribution towards establishing the reign of justice and of peace, which are the necessary conditions for the creation of wealth and general prosperity.

RURAL PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The *Associated Press* understands that the Rural Primary Education Act has been enforced in seven large districts of Bengal and that over 22,000 schools have been brought under the scheme recently introduced in those places.

According to the provisions of the Act, District School Boards have been set up in Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali, Pabna, Dinajpur and Birbhum. For the first two terms of four years the District Magistrate will be the President of the Board and at the conclusion of this period a *non*-official will be elected. The Board will consist of District Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers, District Inspectors of Schools, Chairmen of District Boards. Vice-Chairmen of District Boards and Chairmen of Local Boards and as many members as there are sub-divisions will be elected by Members of District Boards and one member for each sub-division by members of Union Committees or *panchayets*. Teachers will he nominated and in some cases elected by primary schools. Besides, there will be several nominations by the Government.

The Board will first follow the policy of consolidation in regard to primary schools in the district concerned and then draw up a programme of expansion. The necessary provisions have been made in the budget. The cost of the scheme in the eight districts will exceed eight lakhs of rupees.

It is further understood that the Board for Bogra will soon be constituted.

The proposal for the extension of the scheme to Dacca is being considered by the Government. The magnitude of the undertaking will be realised from the fact that in Mymensingh alone, which is the largest district in the Province there are over 5,000 primary schools and Chittagong has almost a similar number.

THE POONA BOMB INCIDENT.

On the occasion of the presentation of the Municipal address at Poona to Mahatma Gandhi, a bomb was thrown at the car which, it is believed, the assailant thought carried Gandhiji. Gandhiji was not in the car. Seven persons were injured.

Gandhiji was due on Monday at the Municipal building at 7-30 p.m. At 7-23 p.m. a car drew up in front of the building and the boy scouts, thinking that it was Gandhiji's car, started playing the band. Almost simultaneously there was a loud explosion. People who had gathered there thought it was a cracker. They however realised their mistake when it became known that seven persons including Mr. Bhagavat, the Chief Officer of the Municipality, were injured. The injured people were immediately sent to hospital.

At 7-30 p.m. Gandhiji arrived. He was then informed of the incident. He however agreed to the suggestion that the programme should be carried out. Accordingly the address was presented and Gandhiji left the Municipal Hall at 8-30 p.m.

The police had arrested five persons who were later released on their producing invitation cards to the function. An offer of Rs. 1,000 has been made by the police for information leading to the arrest of the culprit.

In a statement about the incident Gandhiji says:

"I have had so many narrow escapes in my life that this newest one does not surprise me. God be thanked that no one was fatally injured by the bomb and I hope that those who were more or less seriously injured will be soon discharged from the nospital.

"I cannot believe that any sane Sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated this evening; but I would like Sanatanist friends to control the language that is being used by speakers and writers claiming to speak on their behalf. The sorrowful incident has undoubtedly advanced the Harijan cause.

"It is easy to see that causes prosper by the martyrdom of those who stand for them. I am not aching for martyrdom, but if it comes my way in the persecution of what I consider to be a supreme duty in defence of the faith that I hold in common with millions of Hindus, I shall have well earned it and it will be possible for the historian of the future to say that the vow I had taken before the Harijans that I would, if need be, die in the attempt to remove untouchability was literally fulfilled.

"Let those who grudge me what yet remains to me of this earthly existence know that it is the easiest thing to do away with my body. Why then put in jeopardy many innocent lives in order to take mine which they hold to be sinful?

"What would the world have said of us if the bomb had dropped on me and my party, which included my wife and three girls who are as dear to me as daughters and have been entrusted to me by their parents? I am sure that no harm to them could have been intended by the bomb thrower.

"I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb thrower was known I should certainly ask for his discharge even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who had successfully assaulted me.

"Let the reformers not be incensed against the bomb thrower or those who may be behind him. What I should like them to do is to redouble their effort to rid the country of the deadly evil of untouchability."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

A Silly Forecast :—Some one who professes to know what is passing behind the scenes has made a discovery. It is that the British Government, faced with opposition in India and in England to the White Paper Scheme and, doubtful of their ability to get it accepted by Parliament without modifications which will deprive it of the support which it has received from Muslims and the Depressed classes intend, on the advice of Lord Willingdon who is now in London, to seek to mollify Indian sentiment by appointing some Indians as Governors of Provinces, one of them, being—of all persons—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru! Apart from the affront to the intelligence of Indians and the integrity of the British Government, which this implies, Indian Governorships form an important part of the vested interests of the Indian Civil Service whose spokesmen here and in London are not likely to let such a transaction go unchallenged. So far as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is concerned, he is the most fiercely independent of our ex-politicians. The circumstances in which he left the Joint Parliamentary Committee, should have prevented an imputation of this sort being made about him. As the chief supporters among Indians of the White Paper scheme are Muslims, the Depressed Classes and Madras Justicites, the appointment of a Hindu and Brahmin will not conciliate any of the three classes. If political correspondents must invent—they ought to invent intelligently. And where is the vacancy?

No Province for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces have been pre-empted for the next five years. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan is obviously the Indian who has the best claims to the Governorship of the Punjab. The European interest in Bengal will not allow an Indian to be nominated to the Governorship and no sensible Indian will be anxious to have the task of clearing up the mess which his predecessor will have left behind him in Bengal. The conditions which made it difficult for the first Indian Governor, Lord Sinha, to hold his own in Bihar, still exist and have been aggravated by the earthquake disaster. Assam is the land of tea planters most of whom are White men whose contact with India is through their coolies. Orissa and Sind as deficit provinces will be under the control of the Federal Government, and these, perhaps, are available for the purpose imagined by the forecaster. Sir Parsuram Patro for Orissa will be the Justicites' candidate. Sir Gulamhussein Hidayatulla has vacated the membership of the Government of Bombay but has accepted a nomination to the Council of State, so that though out of sight he will not be out of mind for the Sind Governorship, to which rumour designated him long ago. In his speeches at farewell parties he has been preaching against communal politics. Only a fool or a fanatic clings to a ladder after it has served its purpose. Sir K. V. Reddi read the burial service on the movement for an Andhra province in a recent speech at Ellore. Burma is as good as separated and no Indian has a chance of becoming its Governor.

Harijan Sevak Sangh Scholarships :—We print in another column the list of scholarships awarded by the Harijan Sevak Sangh in the current year. They are well selected and distributed and do not overlap the Government scheme, as Dr. Ambedkar is reported in the current *Harijan* to have told Gandhiji that they might. There is only one scholarship, though it is the largest in amount, for a girl. The Sangh may consider the desirability of increasing the number of scholarships for girls. There is something in Dr. Ambedkar's view that education benefits only individuals, so long as it is confined largely to men. Education of women, however, benefits not only the individual but her family and the whole community through the family. The Thiya community of Malabar, which falls in the category of untouchables, has rapidly raised itself in the social scale by devoting attention to the education of girls. An educated self-respecting womanhood is the hall-mark of social competence and compels respect for the community.

The German Crisis:—When the news of the arrests and shootings of prominent Nazi leaders first came in, the first thought was that some

one in high authority had gone mad and that his pranks would be over as soon as the Chancellor or the President of the Reich was appraised of the fact. Later news made it clear that Herr Hitler himself was directing these measures and that they had the approval of the venerated octogenarian President. Several of those shot were Hitler's closest comrades and had helped him to power. The reason given for their fate is hardly convincing. It seems that a confidential emissary of the Chancellor had been in Paris negotiating for French support to German rearmament in violation of the Treaty of Versailles; and that he had undertaken that the Nazi Storm Troops would be disbanded as the fee of French acceptance of Germany's scheme for raising her defensive equipment. France does not seem to have agreed. Nevertheless, the news of the conversations leaked out and the leaders of the Storm Troops prepared to resist their disbandment. Hitler got to know of their intention through his secret Police and forestalled them by taking action at once. So runs the history. Dolfuss started his campaign against Austrian Socialists in Vienna on his return from a visit to Mussolini. Hitler also had just returned from Venice where he had very cordial conversations with the Italian Dictator. Mussolini is a man of brains as well as action. Hitler has more brawn than brains. The drastic purging of his own party would seem to be connected with the visit to Venice rather than the conversations in Paris. Anyhow, the belief that was beginning to grow that Germany had at last found her true political centure of gravity, has been dispelled. It is difficult to think that the Hitler regime has strengthened itself by- these arrests and shootings.

Debt Redemption in Bhavnagar:—The two greatest menaces to the well-being of the masses, the vast majority of whom are cultivators, in present-day India, are Drink and Debt. Of the two, Drink is the worst evil. It degrades man to the level of the brute. It is also a direct cause of Debt. Alone among the Provinces and States of India, Bhavnagar put into force several years ago the policy of total Prohibition and has stuck to it. The foreign liquor problem which has foiled some other attempts at Prohibition, was overcome by the persuasive tact of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, the Prime Minister. This grave menace to the moral and material welfare of the people, has thus been removed in Bhavnagar. The veteran Minister has now set himself to grapple with the other great evil, Debt. For many years past Bhavnagar has allowed arrears of land revenue to run on. Sir Prabhashankar defended this policy against the criticism that, by not writing off arrears of considerable standing, the cultivator was kept in a constant state of dependence on government, on grounds which in normal times seemed valid for a state in the position of Bhavnagar. In addition to arrears due to the State, Bhavnagar cultivators, a recent enquiry showed, owed a much larger amount to the village money-lenders. Evidently they had been paying whatever they paid as land revenue by borrowing from sowcars. Between the arrears due to the State and the debt due to the sowcar, the cultivator could have little incentive to exert himself to improve his conditions. The prevalent agricultural depression brought into high relief the intolerable position of the peasantry. A scheme for relieving the double burden on the cultivator has been started. The State has paid off the ryots' debts to the sowcars (much reduced in amount), and has also written of the arrears due to itself. It is not clear what measures are proposed to check the tendency of the peasant who finds himself suddenly relieved, by a windfall, of his burden, to get into debt again. People accustomed all their lives to carry burdens on their backs do not enjoy being straight-backed for any length of time. Cultivation is a seasonal occupation and also a precarious one. The cultivator requires some individual or institution to help him to tide over periodical depressions whether arising from failure of crops or fall of prices. The State can be this easily in Bhavnagar, and the idea perhaps is that it should.

A Helpful Suggestion:—The Organising Secreary of the Indian Red Cross Society, in an illuminating review of the earthquake relief operations in Bihar makes among others a suggestion which deserves attention of Government and other relief organisations. She writes: "We learnt that women doctors, nurses and social workers should accompany such units. There is a tendency in India, when a crisis arises to shove the women behind closed doors and send men only for relief work. Such an idea is no doubt born of chivalry but let us face the issue practically. Most Indian women object to being ministered to by men in hospital or, for that matter, in their own homes. In Monghyr many women never came out and revealed their injuries until they heard that women had accompanied the St John Ambulance unit from Calcutta. Only when a women's ward was opened by these ladies could they be persuaded to enter the hospital for treatment."

Hindus and India:—Sir Govind Pradhan and others of his way of thinking do not seem to realise that their argument for the Hindu Mahasabha on the analogy of other communal bodies, rests on a complete misconception of and is derogatory to the position of Hindus in India. The Hindus are not a community settled in India. They are India. Without Hindus, India might be Arabia, Persia or Palestine but it will not certainly be India, Hindusthan. India is the motherland of Hindus in a unique sense. Indian tradition lends no countenance to the Occidental theory of an Aryan immigration through the North Western passes. From Vedic times India is the holy land of the Hindus. Benares was their sacred city when the remote ancestors of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf which suckled them, were roaming the malarial swamp which centuries

later blossomed into Rome. There are Muslim, Christian and Parsi patriots every whit as fervent and devoted as any Hindu. But there is a subtle difference between their feeling for India and that of the Hindu. The allegiance of the Hindu, spiritual and temporal, body and soul, are centred in this land. Maulana Mahomed Ali was a great patriot but when he died he wished his body to be buried in Jerusalem. Vithalbhai Patel was not much given to sentiment but when he died he wanted his dust to mix with India's dust. The official classification of Hindu electorates as General and that of special and separate electorals by distinctive names, accurately represents the historical position; and Hindus should be grateful for it. The interests of Hindus are co-extensive with India and cannot be circumscribed by communal limitations. The Hindu Mahasabha has plenty of opportunities of useful service. The earnestness, sincerity and patriotism of its leaders are not in question. But they should guard themselves against undermining the sense of identity of land and race, which permeates Hindu culture. Our learned contributor, Tatacharya, also refers to the religious basis of Hindu patriotism in his article which we publish today.

Miracle of Goodwill:—The Mody-Lees Pact is now ancient history but how it came about is related in some cryptic sentences in the report of the Privileges Committee the full text of which reached India last week. Mr. Mody went to London a *deus ex machina* at the psychological moment when the correspondence between Sir Samuel Hoare and a representative of the Lancashire industry had ended in stalemate, "A new chapter opens with a visit paid to England by Mr. H. P. Mody, Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association. Conversations had taken place in London between him and representatives of Lancashire during the last week of June. These conversations were resumed in July and continued at intervals down to July 21 in Lancashire. The keynote of the conversations and of the speeches that were delivered at a meeting in Manchester on July 21 was the desirability of improving relations between India and Lancashire by co-operation and goodwill. It was felt by the Lancashire representatives that Mr. Mody had put his case in such a way as to create an entirely new situation. The "policy of goodwill" began to make converts. Mr. Mody had, to use the words of the secretary to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, held out an olive branch—the first olive branch for many years from Indian opinion." The "policy of goodwill" is the great need of the hour all the world over, and the way in which Mr. Mody preached the gospel with such instantaneous effect to the hard-headed business men of Manchester, is well worth learning. The first olive branch for many years was held out by Mr. Mody, we are told. As Lancashire had all along been the aggressor, there is some discrepancy in describing an Indian as having held out an olive branch and that too when his country was in the throes of acute political unrest. An assured share of the Indian market is what Mr. Mody probably held out, which, of course, no one had done before. To call it an olive branch is a highly imaginative description.

The "Hindu":—Sir Frank Noyce, Member of the Government of India for Industry and Labour, opened the Calcutta Office of the *Hindu* on Monday, The growth and expansion of the *Hindu* in recent years has been very remarkable. "The Hindu" has a fully-equipped London Office in Fleet Street. In important European capitals too, like Berlin, Paris, Geneva and Prague, it has its own correspondents. In the capitals of the African Continent, in the Federated Malay States and in the United States of America, it has its own representatives. "The Hindu" has its own staffmen in most of the Provincial capitals and in Indian States. Mr. Sadanand of the *Free Press Journal* had conceived the idea of the Indian newspaper with a news and cable service of its own and editions published in several important centres. The *Hindu* has proceeded more cautiously. India is on the eve of further important developments in journalism.

Mysore and Prohibition:—We cannot help thinking that the unnecessarily and aggressively pragmatic declarations of Mysore Ministers in the Representative Assembly have more to do with the negotiations now going on for the retrocession of Bangalore than to the merits of the important questions to which they refer. We commented last week on the Prime Minister's *obiter dicta* about parliamentary democracy as he termed it. An even more glaring instance is the statement of the Excise Minister on the subject of Prohibition. In reply to an observation from a non-official member in favour of Prohibition, the Minister declared: "If the mover of the cut motion wanted that the Government should adopt a policy of total prohibition, all that I can say is that Government do not accept it. Total prohibition is a dead issue. We have absolutely no sympathy with such a policy of total prohibition as an immediate measure. I will be a little stronger and say that it would be a real social crime for Government to abolish this excise on liquor, without taking proper steps to see that drunkenness in the State does not increase."

(Concluded from Page 708.)

idea a Committee was appointed to explore the possibility of finding a suitable country to which Indians may be expatriated. The majority of Indians, led by the redoubtable Manilal Gandhi, refused to co-operate with the Committee as they objected on principle to the very notion of expatriating South African born Indians. A minority followed the advice of the Agent General, Sir Maharaj Singh, in the hope that the Committee would find that there was no suitable country to which Indians can go. This hope has proved illusory like all other hopes entertained by Indian leaders in that country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JULY 7, 1934.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Second Round Table Conference held at Cape Town two years ago was a dismal failure. This was clear to those who had followed the history of Indians in South Africa in their struggle to retain the rights solemnly guaranteed to them when their fathers and grandfathers were taken under indenture to work in the plantations of Natal. In order to mitigate the conditions of semi-slavery of the detestable indenture system, solemn assurances were given by the then British Government that, on the expiry of their indentures, Indians would be free citizens like the British who formed the bulk of the whites in Natal. One of the causes assigned for waging war with the Boers in the beginning of this century was their discrimination against Indians. Krueger had not taken Indians to South Africa. Neither had he given any undertaking regarding their treatment in his Republic. As a fact, though there was discrimination against Indians in the Transvaal, they were neither so serious nor so harshly administered as the policy adopted since South Africa came under the British Crown. Though Indian troops did not participate in the Boer War, Indians helped in non-combatant capacities. Gandhiji personally captained a company of Indian stretcher bearers, and he was thanked by Lord Roberts for having borne the General's mortally wounded son from the field of battle in circumstances of grave risk to life and limb. Almost, however, from the day South Africa came under the British flag, a policy of gradual attrition of Indians began. Gandhiji went to South Africa on a professional visit and remained there to help Indians to defend themselves against the deadset that was being made against them by the White people and the Government controlled by them. The battle then begun has not yet ceased. Gandhiji with the help of Gokhale who went to South Africa in the hope of persuading the Government to deal justly by its Indian citizens, was able to get a few minor grievances redressed but at a great price. As the price for removing the iniquitous three pound tax and for sparing Indians the indignity of having to affix their thumb marks to their licences, Gandhiji surrendered the right which Indians had enjoyed as British subjects to enter South Africa as freely as Englishmen. The South African Government grabbed at the concession instantly and put it on the statute book without protest from Indians in South Africa. The Indian people were committed by the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement and the Government of India merely looked on without lifting a little finger to save the indefeasible rights of the Indian people. One far-seeing Indian statesman alone raised his voice in vehement protest. When the news came of the Agreement, Sir Phirozshah Mehta bitterly remarked that they had "sold the pass". He refused to preside over the public meeting held in the Town Hall to welcome Gokhale on his return from South Africa.

The hope that by allaying the fear of being swamped by Indians, South African whites could be persuaded to treat the Indian community domiciled in the Union with fairness and justice, has proved to be illusory. To come to a definite settlement with the Union Government, the first Cape Town Conference was held. The Indian delegation was led by Sir Mahomed Habibullah and the agreement they secured seemed to ensure permanently the status of Indians in South Africa as an integral part of the population to which the Union Government was bound by the same obligations as to the White population. It was agreed that the standard of life to be maintained in South Africa was that of Europeans, and Indians should be helped to conform to it. Those Indians who could not do this were to be assisted by an assisted scheme of volentary repatriation to return to this country. There was one word in this clause which passed unnoticed by the Public but which did not escape the eagle eye of Gandhiji. It was the word "other." The Indians who could not conform to western standards were to be assisted to go to India or "other" countries where that standard was not obligatory. As the scheme was one of "repatriation" the significance of this little word passed unnoticed, but Gandhiji instantly point out the absurdity of "repatriating" Indians to foreign lands. Well, the assisted scheme was worked for all it was worth, and several thousands of Indians found their way back to this country, only to find that they could not fit into the social and economic life from which they had become estranged by their long absence from their native villages. The South African Government sent its own emissary to India and he reported that India could not absorb any more repatriates. At the Second Round Table Conference held at Cape Town, in conformity with the terms of the first Agreement to review its working, the Indian delegation was led by Sir Fazli Hussain. Unfortunately, Sir Fazli was ill during the greater of his sojourn in South Africa and the delegation was greatly handicapped by his beforced absence from the deliberations. The Union Government too went back on the assurance given at the first Conference that Indians who adopted the western standard of life would be an integral part of the population entitled to the help of the State to raise themselves in life in the same way as White citizens. The Union Government took advantage of the little word "other" in the first Agreement and the Indian delegation, we are sorry to have to say, weakly acquiesced in the proposal to find new avenues for the settlement of South African Indians, 80 per cent of whom were born in that country and have adopted the Western standard of life as far as their circumstances permitted. In pursuance of this

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WAS THE BOMB MEANT FOR GANDHIJI ?

The *Subodh Patrika*, in commenting on the bomb incident, doubted whether the person who threw it intended it for Gandhiji. Gandhiji is, perhaps, the most photographed male person in India and he is particularly well known in Poona. The *Patrika* suggested that, if the bomb thrower wished to harm Gandhiji, he could not have mistaken any one else for him. The *Evening News* published on Monday a message from Poona reporting a speech made by the local Congress leader, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar at a public meeting called to congratulate him on his escape with slight injuries from the explosion. He said that the bomb exploded a foot away from his car and he was temporarily dazed. "Continuing he said that the reports published in the papers were not totally correct. The explosion took place at 7·17 p. m. and Mr. Gandhi arrived at 7·30. Owing to this lapse of time, Mr. Bhopatkar was of opinion that the bomb was neither thrown at nor intended for Mr. Gandhi." Neither the *Patrika's* argument nor Mr. Bhopatkar's, is conclusive in an incident of this kind. The persons to whom the shooting or bomb throwing is assigned (often immature lads with enthusiasm as their sole qualification) are apt to get flurried and to let go at the first opportunity without regard to time or person. That is how similar attempts have miscarried in several instances. We attach more importance to the mention, in the proclamation by the Inspector General of Police, of a reward for the detection of the offender to two other explosions which occurred. The *Mahratta* quotes the proclamation, thus: "A reward of Rs. 1,000 is offered for information leading to the detection and conviction of the person or persons responsible for throwing a bomb at Vishram Bagh at 19-15 hours on Monday 25th June 1934. This offer holds good for six months from date. This amount will be distributed at the discretion of the Police authorities. As this is the third such case recently, the assistance of Poona citizens is sought in detecting this and the previous cases for which also this reward holds goods on the same conditions." It would appear from the Proclamation that the Police regard the incident as one of a series.

The opinion is gaining ground that the act was not inspired by Sanatanists. Herr Kurt Butow, a German admirer of Gandhiji, who accompanied him in his recent Harijan tours, questiond by a representative of *Hindustan Times*, observed: "How am I to believe that the Sanatanists whom I saw in all my tours with Mahatma Gandhi could be bold and strong enough to throw a bomb at him ? I have seen their little black flags. They made no impression on me. The little boys whom they hired, generally threw down the flags as Gandhiji approached, and shouted 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai.' These people could not have thrown the bomb. I see everybody condemning the Sanatanists for this business and giving them importance, but why don't you think that there may be other interested parties at work who want to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Sanatanist demonstrations ?" While the responsibility for the offence is still very much in doubt, a high Police official in Karachi informed the Associated Press that, in view of the expected visit of Gandhiji, the movement of suspicious-looking Sanatanist there was being subject to strict surveillance.

A SOUL'S AGONY.

"My Life as German and Jew" by Jacob Wassermann* is the story of a soul's agony. The anti-semitic feeling in Germany has assumed the form of open hostility under the Hitler regime. But it has existed not only in Germany but in most of Europe ever since the Jews found their way to that continent. In Germany it seems to have been specially acute, perhaps because German environment proved most favourable to the development, among Jews settled in that country, of qualities in which the native German was conspicuously lacking. England has been most tolerant. but except for Disraeli, who was after all nothing more than a successful politician, no English Jew has attained the world position of Einstein or Bergson. The English atmosphere seems to sterilise the Hebrew genius. Nearly all the most distinguished names among European Jews ware German. There have been some French, Bergson being the best-known. All great European Jews must have experienced the inward agonies which Wassermann did. But they did not think it worth while to brood on them, much less to leave a record of them for posterity. They took it all as part of the environment in which they had to live and found an escape in devoting themselves to philosophy, science, literature, art, or even finance. Wassermann too did the same. "I should have been lost," he writes, "I should ultimately have had to give up all hope, had not two saving phenomena entered into my life: the landscape and the written word." From the agony of soul, he found relief, and even happiness, in the contemplation of landscape and the delight of pouring out his soul in his books.

The Jew who believes in his faith, feels an exaltation in suffering on account of it. When he ceased to believe in it, he often became a convert to Christianity as many German Jews did from worldly motives. Wassermann's trouble was that he had ceased to believe in his ancestral religion, but his racial pride revolted at the thought of perverting to another faith. He was out of sympathy with his fellow Jews whom, indeed, he despised as much as Germans did. He longed to be a German, to be recognised by his countrymen as one of themselves. So far as he was concerned, he had none of the physical or behaviour peculiarities associated in the popular mind with his race. "My nose was straight, my demeanour quiet and unassuming," he says. He was not harrassed by the discriminations made against Jews in places where he was not known. He easily passed for a German. But the moment it became known that he was a Jew, he found a sudden chillness in the social atmosphere. He obtained a post in another town for which he had applied in response to an advertisement, enclosing his photograph. His employer appreciated his work and one Sunday he invited him in a friendly way to go to church with him. Wassermann had to tell him that

*Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London: Price 7sh. 6d.

he was a Jew. His employer reproached him for not having stated his creed in his application and in a few days dismissed him. Several other incidents are described in painful detail of the anti-Jewish feeling which confronted him at every turn. His experience during his year of military training was no exception. Life in the army is supposed to promote comradeship. Wassermann found that this was not the case. The officers were indifferent and inappreciative. To his surprise the attitude of the men was even more distressing. "For the first time I encountered that dull, rigid, almost inarticulate hatred that has permeated the national organism."

Wassermann says more than once that the Jews by their behaviour largely merited the contempt and hatred in which they were held but that only added to his distress. Except for his birth, he was as far apart from his fellow Jews as any one can be. Even his home life under the parental roof was intensely unhappy. Has father wanted him to become a prosperous business man and to redeem the family fortunes but he had no ambition that way. A stepmother aggravated the domestic incompatibilities. The boy had often to go without food and to endure personal humiliation. The position was a terrible one for a sensitive mind vaguely conscious of its power of literary creation. Disraeli faced the prejudice against his race in England with a studied insolence which he cultivated from his early years and which became a part of his nature. Karl Marx in Germany reacted against it with volcanic energy and in his fury planned to uproot the system which had anti-Semitism as one of its organic elements. Wassermann had neither the ambition of Disraeli nor the capacity of meeting hatred by hatred of Karl Marx. "I needed fellowship, human influence, social experience, a foothold, an encircling bond. Instead I found myself rejected and isolated in a trebly difficult position: as a man of letters, as a German without social standing, as a Jew detached from my community." Even his books, now recognised as among the best written in the German tongue, had to bear the stigma of his race. Many Germans wrote to him in high praise of his books, but did nothing more.

In his epilogue, in which he looks back with some detachment on his experiences (he was deported by the Nazis and died in a foreign land) he catches a glimpse of the philosophy which would have saved him from his agony. But he deliberately rejects it as alien to him even as the European rejects the Jew as an alien. "At the time of the first Crusades," he writes, "a single monk succeeded in bringing about the massacre or suicide of sixteen thousand Jews in the Rhenish provinces. Why can a single individual work so much evil, while one man alone can accomplish so little good? This is true in great things and in small alike; it destroys our courage. Evil is much more active by nature; this may be the reason; indeed, most of what we call action stands on the border line between good and evil. Perhaps that explains why the wisdom of Buddha is so profound and the Buddhist ideal the farthest removed from action." This is a conventional European idea like anti-Semitism and as unreasoning. Buddha's own life repudiates it. The activities of his missionaries during the next thousand years were as great as those of the Crusaders but never destructive and ever peaceful. What Wassermann attributes to Buddha, is not Buddhism but how Europe has understood Buddhism. But he will not even look at it. He dismisses it as of no use to him. "But I am not an Indian," he writes, "I am a European, full to the brim with my European destiny, moulded by the European spirit." Anti-Semitism is part of that spirit and it must be accepted as the climate, landscape, language and environment have to be accepted. Wassermann groans in spirit. But he rejects the specific which will bring balm to his wounded soul because he is European though he and his kind are rejected of Europe, and notwithstanding their existence in Europe for two thousand years, they are regarded as alien to that continent. And what is "European destiny" and what is "the European spirit"?

The position of the Jew in Germany even before the Nazi revolution has a superficial resemblance to that of the untouchables in this country. But it is only on the surface. The Jew was not untouchable. He had money power. At the worst, he could emigrate to the United States or South Africa which are closed to Indians. In these respects he was better off than the antyajas in our country. But in other respects he was worse. The most frequent gibe against the Jew is that he is a man without a country. The Harijan has a country. The Jew is liable to be expelled, or even massacred, his home life broken up whenever a national misfortune demands a scapegoat. The aversion from antyajas is not racial or religious but social. Panchamas have become saints and are revered as such by caste Hindus. Every intelligent Hindu admits that the antyajas should be raised in the social and economic scale, though he may not admit that their present condition is the result of deliberate lapses on his part. On the balance, the position of antyajas in this country can not be said to compare unfavourably with that of the Jews in Germany as described by Wassermann. The real analogue of Wassermann among us is the Indian who has completely divested himself of all vestiges of his birth and upbringing in order to pass for an Englishman, and finds himself rejected by the latter. Anglo-Indians are perhaps the nearest approach to the Wassermanns.

SNAKE IN PRISON.

Last year Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, the Poona Congress leader who was wounded by the bomb thrown at the Municipal Hall reception was a prisoner in Yerravda Jail. One evening when he raised his eyes from the book he was reading in his cell, he beheld a cobra with hood outspread at the foot of his trundle bed. Snakes not only see but also hear with their eyes. The slightest movement or sound would have alarmed the reptile into striking at him. With great presence of mind the Congress leader sat still for about twenty minutes when a warder happening to look in, called for help and killed the snake. Last week in Dehra Dun jail Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had a similar experience. The Associated Press account says that, while sitting on a chair in the verandah of his cell during the day, he saw a snake lying close to his feet. The Allahabad correspondent of *Tribune* reports that the snake was found while the Pandit was resting in his cell at night. The report continues: "The snake began to move on seeing the Pandit and meanwhile a warder came to the spot and delivered a lathi blow on the snake. Pandit Jawharlal, however, had the snake captured and put in a bottle, but it died soon after." Indian prisons should be made snake-proof without delay.

Sanatanists and the Poona Outrage:— A public meeting of Orthodox Sanatanists held at Benares last night under the presidency of Swami Dayanand passed resolutions expressing strong condemnation of the attempted bomb outrage on Mr. Gandhi and characterising the deed as against the teaching of Sanatan Dharma. Similar meetings have been held in all parts of the country by Orthodox Hindus and resolutions adopted condemning the attempt on Gandhiji's life as an outrage on Hinduism.

ADAPTABILITY OF HINDU SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar.)

In this short essay it is attempted to show how the Vedic Hindu society was with three classes triangular at its start, became with an additional one quadrangular later and is bound to take a pentagular shape in the near future, and lastly to go on increasing its sides as other races and creeds attempt to get in notwithstanding that Manu (10·4) and others in his wake told us that there was no fifth caste. For under the benign auspices of the Mahatma, his 'Harijans' have bid fair to become the fifth caste now, with all the duties and dharmas of the graded castes. But originally we knew only three castes and three asramas as we left the arctic home and moved on towards the heart of India. We knew only three Vedas, Rik, Yajur, and Sama. We took notice of three worlds only the Bhu (earth), Bhuvar, (moon) and Swar (sun); and men passed from this to our ancestors' world en route to the heavenly abode of the gods ever greeting the warm sun-god. And the mystic syllable 'aum' or pranava resolved into corresponding three sound-elements only. Purusharthas also were reckoned as three, in Dharma, Artha, and Kama. When the fourth caste of Sudras, born of the holy feet of Vishnu even as the holy Ganges, was added, it came in with its Dravidian (or Buddhist?) principle of (Nirvana? or) Moksha, the fourth Purushartha sung high by the fourth Veda in the Upanishads for the realisation in the fourth asrama of the exalted world of Vaikuntha or Kaivalya by fixing the mind on the Sardha-tri-matra or resonant elongation of the nasal termination of the mystic syllable. The Panchamas or Harijans will hereafter represent the Atharva Veda as the fifth caste, with its goal or fifth Purushartha of human happiness here below, the greatest happiness of the greatest number of Souls, hailing with the humming sound of the turning Charka and remind the higher castes including the Brahmans that they are *no inferior* to them in name or end and aim of life.

Now, what is it that has been so charming about the Hindus and their ages-old yet youthful vigour of life as a corporate community, as to invite all else to admire and enter it? It is its highly elastic and accommodating nature and character, with the visible shape as of a pyramid, with a broad bottom and sloping to a lofty pinnacle of the Vedas. From its summit the Vedic light sheds its unique and unaffected lustre, as it from a powerful searchlight, throughout its whole broad-bottomed body. The principles that keep up the light ever burning are now to engage our attention. We know that peoples and nations from the Egyptians down to the Greeks and Romans have perished, leaving the imprint of their name and glory on their dead language and literature or art or history in eloquent or captivating stones and metals. But our story that began at the region of the Aurora Borealis and expanded into a world-wide cultural dominion over which the sun never set, continues to this day to relate itself to the wondering, stalwart though bickering nations of the globe from within the snow-walls and sea-trenches of Bharata Varsha. The reason for this unique phenomenon is to be found again in the fact or fiction rigorously maintained to this day that the Hindu society is ever governed by the pyramidal body of laws found in the Vedas, Sastras, Acharas (or good and valid customs) and conscientious election or satisfaction of the soul (Manu 2·6). Though the Vedas may be said to be Infinite and man infinitesimal to a pin-point in the scheme of Creation, yet for the present purpose on hand, we see the Vedic pinnacle shedding its guiding rays of light of Dharma through the Smritis and Sishtacharas down to the vast field of freedom of thought, word and deed constituting our daily karmas. The Acharas or customs themselves are also pyramidal in shape and consist of Desachara, Jatiachara, Kulachara, and Kutumbhachara, that is, the customs of the Locality, Caste, calling and family, in other words. And we have had our individual freedom so regulated for good in social, religious, legal and spiritual fields at once, all these four yugas of converging duration of time, by the four divisions of Smriti-writers. They added to the originally three Asramas a fourth one called the Sannyasa or Mokshasrama for the attainment of the new Purushartha. The Brahmacharis minded the Dharma of Vedic study, the married Grihastas cared for the acquisition of Artha or wealth for yajnyas and support of the rest of the people, and the Vanaprasthas or anchorites in forests longed after the Kamya-loka or Swarga by penances of various kinds. To aim at and attain the Nishkamya-loka of Vaikuntha the new order of Yatis and Sannyasins wholly devoted their attention. But now we already see the strange spectacle of this order of men, not content with their specified duty of shunning human company and silently meditating God, boldly or in ambition entering on *a new fifth asrama* or field of public service (once exclusively confined to Grihastas) of acquiring a large clientele of Vedantic chelas and as kings of old eagerly directing the erring people at large toward the path of Dharma. So that our society is now pentangular in every way and the Harijans form the fifth or bottom stratum of the pyramid, which, when definitely solidified and crystalised, would present a five-sided appearance.

Time was when intermarriage among all classes of Hindu society, at least in the anuloma form, made of it a homogeneous people with a tendency on the part of the lower classes *to aspire to fusion* with the higher by sheer effort on Dharmic lines or by marriage of their girls or adoption of their boys into the higher castes. After the advent of Buddhism at any rate, large classes of the lower strata had to be perforce ranked as *a-sat* or unfit to be mixed with and a whole body of new rules and regulations came into existence that accounts for the rigorous exclusion of those people, even after reconversion to Hinduism, from all association with the higher castes. For who could say that a Buddhist who recognised no caste belonged to the higher or lower caste? So purity was attempted to be maintained at the enormous cost of homogeneity and consolidation of the nation. Now the same story is to be repeated once over again in the case of the Harijans. Hence arises the necessity for the hide-bound compartment for the fifth caste. The fourth caste would be the last to freely mix and fuse with the new aspirants. And homogenieity is further away from our vision and on this account we have to look for other living and binding principles of consolidation of our society that have stood the test of time and time-worn service. For, such service has been the label of persistent life with all institutions of the world. Careless or popular handling may often make them deteriorate or assume a new or unforeseen form or figure, but conscious attempt at reform or slow and unnoticed process of perfection may effect the desired end. Some of the processes and principles at work all these ages we shall now proceed to enumerate and detail, rather in a general outline, showing old ideas and institutions living side by side with new ones, though not in the same spheres as before.

Marriage in Brahma form having gained ground tolerates Asura form among the lowest classes and finds Gandharva among romantic intercaste or inter-

racial alliances and Rakshasa and Paisacha forms among criminal offenders charged with abduction and kidnapping by force, fraud or drug or doping. Post-puberty marriage once universal was latterly driven to the corner of Swayamvaras and thanks to the Sarda Act is now brought back even as the Ganges by Bhagiratha to all people in general. Impartibility of ancestral property fled after partition was allowed and finds its home among large estates, zamindaris, and native states or kingdoms. Gift of entire property originally valid was next condemned and confined to royal Aswamedha or Viswajit sacrifices. The arbitrary disposal of property and unequal division of ancestral estate among sons by the father is now to be found in the modern wills in respect of his separate property. In fact partition was originally unknown and next forbidden; but later on we find it allowed, regulated and even extolled. So, too, gift or sale of boys and girls was looked upon with horror by Apastamba but the sale of girls in marriage was, in Arsha form, regarded as but a fiction or innocent form to be gone through for giving legal validity to the marriage of the bridal pair; and the gift in adoption of a boy has now come to stay notwithstanding the prohibition which has now been held to apply to the adoption of an only son. We know also, conversely, that customs orginally respected or suffered to live were gradually disapproved, condemned and finally abolished, such as Niyoga, widow-marriage, son by a Sudra-wife, etc. Unyielding customs were marked out for social ostracism, even as recalcitrant individuals were. We know how the share of the Sudra-wife's son, step by step, decreased among all the regenerate classes until it disappeared leaving only a faint trace in a pittance of maintenance to him. Again life-long virginhood, that we note as history opened, has now travelled through various stages on to our modern perpetual widowhood. Various prayaschittams or purifying ceremonies for erring women were made easier in days and places of Moslem and other degradations until they were abolished so that fallen women are now tabooed and discarded for good. There is evidence to show that marriage ceremonies in certain cases lasted for days, weeks, months and even a whole year for the purpose of getting specially gifted sons by the marriage, whereas owing mainly to financial stringency (which, by the way, may also have partly contributed to widow-marriage disappearing) we see marriages celebrated before our eyes in one day or less than half an hour in out-of-the-way places away from our homes. "Ghataprahara" has disappeared and social boycott has mildly taken its place and that only in rare cases. Foreign travel held in horror, except among certain classes in North India, has now become so common throughout India that reception with Poornakumbham and Vedic chant and music is given to a distinguished England-returned person. Jail-life that was ever dreaded for its consequences in social circles is now courted by the politically-minded, knowing full well that there is no more the sort of stigma attached to it. The minimum ten Samskaras for the twice-born are now but a farce and denied to women and Sudras except in mere form without mantras. The computation of age for religious purposes started from the time of conception in the womb, while that for legal purposes ran from the time of birth. Where two or more different observances prevailed all were held valid provided they were not contrary to the Vedas. Family yajnyas are now practically replaced by temple-worship which replaced occasional open-air communal or group sacrifices of yore. Flesh-dishes once regulated for the Sraddhas have now disappeared from them. Cleaning of teeth as an institution came within historical times and is put in abeyance even now on Sraddha days. Guests could hardly claim attention at nights originally, perhaps due to some curfew order of those days on account of the uncertain, dangerous and chaotic conditions then prevailing. And Varna-sankarya, which kept down with great effort, was at the same time predicted to re-appear in this Kaliyuga. Along with it the promiscuous inter-dining, that is, eating and drinking in promiscuous company that was never countenanced all these ages, has rapidly come to us in all At Homes and tea-parties, in the wake of the present *national* awakening. Finally "Darma-desa" that was defined to comprise the land encircled by the Yamuna and the Ganges now includes the whole of India, by a process of slow and gradual amendment of the definition. With the world-awakening of mankind being a world-community, the whole globe will be well termed a 'Darma-desa,' or "Karma-bumi," over which Hindu culture will again spread its wings and sing the Mahatma's favourite song of "Vishnujanake," to his lofty tune of non-violence, universal uplift of the down-trodden, and a common hobby for all in their own domestic charka.

From the fairly long list of instances quoted above, one may be able to see through various living principles and fundamentals that have ceaselessly governed the Hindu Society all those thousands of years. If some of them met with a deadly blow in some quarter they did so only to lift the head phoenix-like in certain other fields. Time and necessity changed the tenor of their application, or the rigour thereof, so as to allow the society to have an even career along difficult roads of development and progress as unexpected situations arose in the country. But the principles were there all the same and all the time. Like the tortoise in its shell, the Hindus came out and walked about though, snail-like, slowly and cautiously when there was all peace and safety around but retired into the shell otherwise in self-protection. When it comes out again it may proceed in the same line of path or change its course from its original stand. But the process of development is clearly visible all through, so that he who runs may read. Nothing is new to Hinduism and nothing old or worn-out. It is self-sufficient, self-contained. And therefore it has lived to this day and it will live for ages to come. Its peculiar vitality serves to bear all the onslaughts coolly and patiently only to rise again with redoubled vigour. It was so when Buddhism ruled and left the land for good, and it will be so when Gandhism leaves a purer, nobler and stronger country in Mother India, for whom the Mahatma works so devotedly hard and spends himself out in the task.

A JAPANESE MYSTIC.

(By N. Lakshmanan.)

Victor Hugo, in his *Les Miserables*, depicts the character of an ever hospitable Bishop, justly named Welcome. A convict guest robbed the noble divine of all his silver vessels. "I was wrong to keep that silver," said the Bishop. "It was not mine; it belonged the poor. Now we will have wooden spoons and forks." All through the history of human race is replete with such instances of voluntary poverty. Men and women of such a type, even though unknown to newspaper fame, are the very salt of the earth. These musings arise from a perusal of Mr. William Axling's interesting narrative of the life-story of a Japanese Mystic.*

*Kagawa: Y. M. C. A Publishing House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/4/—.

The humble origin of this social martyr is soon told. Toyohiko Kagawa was born in Kobe, July 10, 1888. Son of an unregenerate father, born out of wedlock, the unsought offspring of a dancing girl, Kagawa's soul in the earliest dawn of its conscious life developed a passion for purity. We are told that Kagawa took his friends by sudden surprise when at the age of twenty-one he took a straight leader into the depths of the Shinkawa slums. The picture (facing page 41) of the six-by-six hut where for fifteen years Kagawa laid siege to the slums and won is full of human interest; is indeed a romance of social service. In his *Meditations*, Kagawa says, "I am fond of men. The worst, most fear-inspiring, demonized murderer, somewhere in his make-up has that which is irresistible. Plagued by them, I flee often. I left the slums of Shinkawa for a season because bullies made life a torture for me. Yet I did not abandon those rogues of the slums."

Reading of Canon Barnett, an Oxford graduate, living in the slums, Kagawa eagerly dedicated himself to a life of poverty and in 1914 he set sail for America. During the more than two years that he was absent from Japan, studying at Princeton University and investigating social service institutions in America, three of the girls in his Sunday school, whom he had baptized, were sold to houses of prostitution. Kagawa turned the slum into a great laboratory for social research. "Out of this study was born Kagawa the Christian Socialist, the champion of the under-privileged classes, the daring labour leader and the consistent and persistent critic and foe of the present capitalistic acquisitive social and economic order." He soon discovered that poverty was the handmaid of the prostitution that polluted the slum. He traced the source of prostitution, both public and private, back to the villages of Japan. A contemporary says that if Mr. Bunji Suzuki is the father of the labour movement in Japan, Kagawa is the mother—a wise mother. "Social and labour movements tend to be rough and turbulent, lacking in delicacy, and eliminating the finer side of life. This labour leader, however, was first of all an idealist. He was an artist and a poet, both in spirit and in temperament. He opposed class conflict, direct action and violence.....He strove not only for the betterment of the labourer's lot but of the labourer himself" (pp 68–69).

In 1921 a group of peasants met in Kagawa's hut in Shinkawa and organized the first peasant union in Japan. Kagawa felt that there was no hope for the nation if its rural life went on the rocks. (p. 79) Thus the early days which he spent in building castles on the sand dunes of the Yoshino river at Awa were not spent in vain. He is aware of man's affinity for the soil and says: "I want to live close to the soil; the scent of the soil heals me." A magazine was started, entitled *The Soil and Freedom*.

In the great earthquake of 1923, one hundred thousand lives were lost and property destroyed to the value of £ 1,100,000,000,000. The cabinet, feeling that it could not cope with the situation alone, set up an Imperial Economic Commission to assist the Government in the titanic work of reconstruction. One hundred and eighty of the nation's ablest men in official life were invited to serve on this commission. The Premier himself acted as its chairman. Kagawa alone was chosen from the ranks.

Kagawa is not only a social engineer, but also a "fighting pacifist." As a result of reading Tolstoy he became an ardent believer in non-violence, when the Russo-Japanese war was at its most critical stage. His was the only Japanese name which appeared on the manifesto against military conscriptions presented to the League of Nations, which bore the signatures of Tagore, Gandhi, Einstein, Romain Rolland, and other eminent leaders in the war on war. Kagawa has discovered the moral equivalent of war. He makes frontal attacks on disease, drinking, smoking, and sexual vice because he yearns "that the young shall be morally and physically virile and valiant."

Kagawa owns himself to be a scientific mystic. "The more scientific I am, the more I feel that I am penetrating deeply into God's world...Through life I discover a purpose even in a mechanical world. Science is the mystery of mysteries. It is the divine revelation of revelations." Mr. William Axling of Tokyo well says that out of the mystic, mature East with its awakening consciousness of social solidarity, there flames a light which the West sorely needs. Even so, the sage of Shinkawa is the messenger of light to East and West alike.

A JOURNALISTIC SCARE.

The Evening News of India of Friday the 29th June bore on its front page in block letters the five column heading "Fresh Attempt on Gandhi." Below was printed the following :—

Following closely on the heels of the unsuccessful attempt on Mr. Gandhi's life at the Poona City Municipal Hall on June 25, comes the news of still another unsuccessful attempt to derail his train at the Kamshet station.

From an authentic source, it is learnt that two iron chairs, (a sort of bracket) used for keeping the rails in position, were, placed at the "diamond" cross lines on both the up and down lines just outside the yard. Fortunately, the patrolman detected the obstruction, and thus a serious derailment, which would have caused considerable damage to the railing stock, in addition to terrible less of life, was averted in the nick of time.

Mr. Gandhi was on the train. The 24 up-train from Bombay was also due at the same time and narrowly escaped derailment, as both the lines were tampered with.

The river Indrani runs very close to the railway line at Kamshet and if a derailment had occurred, the consequences would have been extremely tragic.

The Railway police are making inquiries.

This was repeated in the *Times of India* next morning as from its own correspondent with the heading "Attempt to derail Gandhi's Train" in ordinary heading type. The morning paper affects a sober manner while the evening paper is allowed to indulge in sensational journalism.

The same day the Railway authorities issued the following contradiction which was published in the *Sunday Chronicle* and *Free Press Journal* but we have searched Monday's *Times of India* for it with either a justification of, or expression of regret for, making out that it was another attempt on Gandhiji. The Associated Press was informed by the G. I. P. Railway the next day that they do not attach any significance to the incident. It appears that a patrol trolley passing the crossing did not discover anything but later a patrolman discovered the obstruction and removed it. The authorities point out that the obstruction would have been seen by the engine driver as flash lights extend over 800 yards and there was enough time to pull up the train. It is further pointed out that it is a common occurrence. It may be mentioned that the train by which Gandhiji travelled was one of the ordinary trains and not a special train chartered for him.

THE "SUBODH PATRIKA" ON THE ATTEMPT ON GANDHIJI.

The *Subodh Patrika*, the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, while condemning in severe terms the attempt on Gandhiji's life, says that it is not sure that the missile was thrown by a sanatanist at all. "The sanatanist may abuse, curse, show black flags, hate from the bottom of his heart and misrepresent, but he will not, we still feel it, murder or kill by bomb throwing," it observes. The Prarthana Samaj, which is the Bombay branch of the Brahmo Samaj, is no apologist for sanatanists with whom it has had bitter controversies. "Until the whole matter is thoroughly sifted by the Police and the culprit is discovered and the charge is brought home completely, let us refrain from running down and swearing at the sanatanist as guilty of the act." It thinks that, whoever did the act, was a terrorist and "he must have thought that doing the thing on such an occasion will naturally lead to fathering the crime on the sanatanist." The Depressed Classes Mission Society was started in Bombay twenty-five years ago under the auspices of the Prarthana Samaj by Mr. Shinde who was then its Missionary. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was its President and took a close interest in its development. Referring to the exhortation to refrain from violent language, the *Subodh Patrika* suggests that it is needed by both sides. "The failure of satyagraha," it writes, "is due as much to this lack of discipline in thought, speech and action as to the inherent impossibility of using it as a political weapon." It is highly creditable to this organ of Protestant Hinduism when some nationalist papers completely lost their bearings in commenting on this deplorable incident that it should come forward to demand fairplay to orthodox Hinduism which has sometimes regarded it as its bitter enemy. The Samaj from the first set its face against untouchability, and antyajas sit along with people of other castes at its services.

A MODERN ABRAHAM.

The Evening News of India of 30th June published a message from Bhagalpur stating that Sheikh Hanib, who sacrificed his four-year-old son in a Mosque, has been sentenced to transportation for life on a charge of murder. Bhagalpur is the headquarters of the district of that name in Bihar and Orissa. It is a growing town with a population at the last census of over 83,000 inhabitants of whom over 24,000 are Muslims. The *Searchlight*, Patna, (June 29, 1934) gives the following particulars:—The trial of a sensational sessions case has just been concluded by Mr. Beevor, District and Sessions Judge, in which one Sheikh Hanif, resident of village Shaharsa, P. S. Bangaon is charged under Section 302 I. P. C. for killing his 6 years' old son. The facts of the case are as follows:—The prosecution case is that on February 23, 1934 at about 8 a. m. the accused, Hanif, took his son aged 6 years to the mosque of village Shaharsa, Sub-Division Madhipura, and cut his neck with a butcher's knife, saying, that he was giving "Kurbani" of his son in the name of 'Allah.' As a result of this the child died then and there. The accused came out of the mosque, besmeared with blood in his hands and clothes, and shouted to the passersby proclaiming that he had murdered his son and asking them to bury the dead body. Some of the villagers assembled there and the accused was secured and information was sent to the village Chowkidar who came to the spot at once. The Chowkidar, after seeing the slaughtered child, went to the Daſadar and informed him and then went to the Thana and lodged information. The accused confessed having murdered his son. The accused was committed to sessions by Rai Hardatta Prasad, S. D. O., Madhipura. In the sessions trial, the accused said in his statement: "Beta ko kurbani kia, kurbani dia malik ke rah men, malik jab lene ko taiyar hua to ham dene ko taiyar hua."

The defence case was that the accused was insane.

The two assessors out of 3 have given the verdict of guilty.

THE NEED FOR TEMPLE-ENTRY AGITATION.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The following sentence appears in the leading article in the *Indian Social Reformer* of June 30th 1934: "Untouchability will be removed not by admitting them (Harijans) into temples but to the homes of caste Hindus on the same footing as members of other Hindu castes."

This reminds me of a short interview we had with Mahatmaji on March 9th when he was in Hyderabad, Deccan. A Christian friend in our company put to him exactly the same question.

Mahatmaji's reply was, if I remember it exactly, "My friend, you do not seem to understand the significance of a temple to a Hindu. He would most willingly vacate his house at a moment's notice, but he would not for his life relinquish a temple which he uses for worship."

No doubt a temple is a more sacred place than a house to a Hindu, but by admitting Harijans into temples the personal interests of any one individual are not at stake and Society cannot take steps against any individual, and the confidence that Society may be with him in suffering, if there is any, is there. Allowing Harijans into homes may or may not be very difficult at present. But as with a public place and a private house, it is easier for such a reform to start with temples, where a Harijan goes with the definite purpose of worshipping, than with homes where there may not present an occasion to bring Harijans in and even if they are brought in it may look like a show. And people may have personal scruples too, specially where personal interests prevail and fear of Society yawns. In gaining entry into temples lies the attainment of a higher step by easier means.

Starting with the temples the reform may easily find its way into homes which have got to be penetrated for the attainment of real social equality. Once temple entry is an accomplished fact personal interest and fear of Society gradually wane and quick follows their admission into homes whenever occasion arises. To start with temple entry certainly looks like one of the easiest and surest first steps to reform untouchability.

Dichpali, Nizam's Dominions, July 1, 1934. } Yours etc., B. S. JOSYULU.

"RAMA-RAJYA."

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In my article in your issue of the 23rd inst., in the last paragraph, two sentences in the middle are mutilated in the printing. They should read as follows:—

'Not that Aurangzeb had no virtues of any sort: he had some. Rama too had his virtues, which are not overlooked in my study of his character.'

Also in the same paragraph, for 'the ancient traditional' read 'the ancient tradition's.'

Karwar, June 25, 1934. } Yours etc., S. D. NADKARNI

RAMAKRISHNA ASHRAM IN KARACHI.

The opening ceremony of the Ramakrishna Ashram took place yesterday in presence of about 75 earnest admirers of the Ramakrishna Mission, in a rented bungalow behind the Sind Tile Factory in the Garden Quarter, reports the *Sind Observer*.

The programme of the day was divided into two parts *viz.*, the religious observances in the morning from 8 a. m. to 9 a. m. accompanied by Bhajan and Pujah, etc., and public lectures by leading citizens of Karachi in the evening at the Theosophical Hall.

After devotional songs sung by one of the monks of the Ashram, proceedings were opened by Mr. F. J. Ginwalla of Bombay in a short speech, in which he recounted how within the space of 11 years the Ramakrishna Ashram started in Bombay had grown with fine buildings of their own for a library, dispensary, guest house, etc. He also stated that his wish of establishing a branch of the Ashram in Karachi had been fulfilled owing to the generosity of a few philanthropic citizens of the City.

He was followed by Principal Gokhale who in welcoming the Swamis of the Mission, said that the Mission had spread far and wide and the very fact that Miss Mayo deemed it necessary to vilify Hindu culture went to indicate the strength of the movement for the spread of Hindu culture in America, credit for which was in no small measure due to the efforts of the Ramakrishna Mission. He appealed to the citizens of Karachi, especially the younger generation, to take full advantage of the presence of the Swamis in our midst.

Principal Butani was the next speaker of the evening. He said that he first made acquaintance of the Mission in Brindaban and Rishikesh when he found a few stalwart and tall Swamis engaged in the work of affording relief to the cholera and flood stricken people in those parts. The fact that he found the Swamis beaming with smiles while occupied in that serious work indicated that they were not only successful in their mission but that they were spreading happiness and peace wherever they went. Referring to the universality of Ramakrishna Paramhansa's religion and his love of God he felt that an Ashram started under such auspices would not fail to radiate love, happiness and bliss in this city.

Professor Junnarkar in a telling and nice little speech referred to an incident in the life of Sadhu Hiranand in which the Sadhu while still a young man ran to Calcutta when he heard that Shri Ramakrishna was lying ill on his death-bed. Sadhu Hiranand had two interviews with the Paramhansa in one of which, as an unsophisticated child that he was, he desired to visit the country of Sadhu Hiranand. Although it was not possible for the Paramhansa to visit Sind when on this earth, he was glad that it had been possible after the lapse of about 50 years to have amongst us his emissaries to fulfill the great wish of the Master before he passed into Samadhi.

Swami Sharvanand on rising to speak seemed to have been touched by the various references made to his Mission. He said: To the Mission Shri Ramakrishna Paramhansa is not merely a personality but a principle. In this land God has from time to time sent Teachers who not only preached the eternal verietis but showed by their example how to realise them in their lives. The fact that such Teachers have taken birth in India from time to time shows that our country is not dead as an entity although it has become a subject nation for centuries. India has still a mission to give to the world. The West has no doubt conquered the East by brute force and has sought to master and domineer it but India has also her conquests to make but her conquests are those of the brute in man. To-day the world needs the teachings of India and that is why great minds of the West like Max Muller, Romain Rolland and others have not failed to appreciate our spiritual heritage. In this task of spreading India's cultural and spiritual mission over the world the Brotherhood associated with the name of Shri Ramakrishna has played a part and at present the Brotherhood is 600 strong with about 120 centres in almost all parts of the world. The great ideal which the Mission has placed before itself is the upliftment of the brute in man to the divine in man.

Proceeding, the Swami said that when last time he came to Karachi, certain gentlemen impressed upon him the necessity of establishing a branch of the Mission. Realising therefore, that it was as much important to look after the work outside India as it was to meet the call from the country itself, he undertook to start an Ashram in Karachi and in his efforts he was very much assisted by the co-operation and self-sacrifice of a few friends who were good enough to contribute financially for the upkeep of the Ashram. He assured the citizens of Karachi and of the province that the Ashram would be only too glad to render any assistance and service to them whenever called upon to do so.

HINDU MAHASABHA AND RESCUE WORK.

Dr. M. B. Velkar was 'At Home' on Thursday 21st to Dr. Moonje, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha Sessions, just closed in Bombay. Nearly all the leading Mahasabhites, including Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. M. S. Aney, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Pundit Jagat Narain graced the occasion with their presence, in the Hall of Dr. Velkar, which was tastefully decorated, says *Sun*.

Two little girls, Miss Usha Velkar and Miss Shrinanda Pradhan, sang the prayer-song and the welcome-song respectively.

Dr. Velkar introduced Dr. Moonje to the assembly as a patriot, serving his country and his religion incessantly for the last 35 years, and added that he had become first acquainted with him, when he was a student, at the Surat sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Dr. Moonje, stoutly disclaimed the charge made in certain quarters against some Nagpur people that they were instrumental in the throwing of the shoe at the President of the Congress. With regard to the Hindu Mahasabha, he repeated the verse of Ramdas that all the Hindus should be collected to form their unity. He said with emphasis that he declined to recite on the occasion the next line of Ramdas, *viz*, "even death should be welcomed in the pursuit of one's religion."

Dr. Savarkar said the Hindu Mahasabha should do its duty for the country as heretofore. He said nearly 70,000 were Hindus out of the 80,000 in all who went to jail in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement, which, he added, showed the numerical superiority of the Hindus in suffering for their country's cause.

Mr. Navre and Pundit Jagat Narain also addressed the meeting.

Mr. Aney said that the Hindu Mahasabha should concentrate its attention on securing the solidarity and unity in the Hindu fold itself, keeping the Moslem question out of the picture. He argued that the Moslems were so few in numbers that they must needs be appealing to the Hindus for succour, once they were disillusioned about Government favours. He held that the Mahomedans would automatically

came to the Hindus when they would see that on account of their own weakness in point of the numerical strength they were not able to fight alone their country's fight in politics.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in a stirring speech said: "One of the best activities of the Hindu Mahasabha which was being carried on in the City of Bombay is the maintenance of the Matunga Rescue Home for the Hindu Women and Children. Such a Home is necessary every-where throughout the country, as the Moslems have been chiefly converting Hindu women. According to figures in my possession, I can say that on an average nearly 30 Hindu women are daily converted to Islam throughout the year. Only during the last fortnight, about 11 cases have occurred of Hindu women being kidnapped. Hindu widows easily become converted to Islam for various reasons. It is the duty of the Hindus to take them back. There is testimony available that a number of Hindu women frequently appear before the Bombay Magistrate to admit that they have become Mahomedans of their free will. Under these circumstances, Rescue Homes are absolutely necessary. Our Rescue Home is carried on in a quiet way. Therefore, it is not receiving the attention and the pecuniary support of the Hindus to the extent it deserves.

"The Hindu Mahasabha cannot help being interested in promoting the cause of India from the communal point of view, as the Moslem brothers are working on that very basis. At this moment, when the White Paper is being considered by British statesmen, so far as the question of the 'Communal Award' is concerned, some very influential Mahomedan gentlemen, both nationalist and others, have made their residence in London in order to be handy for consultation by British statesmen on that point, and, therefore, we hear so much of the pressure, being brought to bear on British statesmen to retain the 'Communal Award' in the new administrative scheme of Indian Reforms. I am quite sure, if there were some Hindu exponents of India's political cause present there, they would have placed their own case before those British statesmen, and would never have allowed the pleadings of the Moslem brethren to make any headway."

German Jewish Settlement in Palestine:—Dr. Weizmann has made public the first report on the activities of the Commission for the settlement of German Jewish refugees in Palestine during 1933. The refugees are distributed as follows: 1,000 in Jerusalem, 1,000 in Haifa, 5,000 in Tel Aviv, 2,000 in the smaller towns and villages. Together with German Jews who settled in Palestine before the advent of Hitler, there are today 11,000 German Jews in Palestine. D. Weizmann's commission declares that from the outset it was fully realized that Palestine cannot provide a solution for the entire German-Jewish problem. Referring to Dr. Ruppin's calculation that 250,000 refugees will leave Germany within the next decade the report said that one-third, 80,000 to 90,000, should be absorbed in countries other than Palestine.—*Jewish Era.*

A Tiger Incident:—Accounts of the floods in Assam, show that several whole villages have been carried away. The following incident is reported from Nowgong: The terrible experience of a distressed family, floating in the river on a raft in company with a tiger is reported from Singmari. It is stated that the tiger, apparently caught in the flood, made a dash for the raft as it drifted with the current. The people who were on it were too terrified to make any attempt to drive it away and the animal made itself comfortable for some time and later leapt on to a tree trunk.

DAVID EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS.

The following Harijan students have been granted scholarships of the total value of Rs. 812 per month, from the David Educational Fund:—

No.	Name of Students.	Course of Study.	Value p. m.
	ASSAM.		Rs.
1.	Jugal Kumar Das ...	M. Sc.	20.
2.	Hari Das Hazarika ...	I. A.	15.
3.	Nagendra Nath Bhuyan.	I. A.	15.
4.	Dhirendra Nath Das ...	I. A.	15.
5.	Ramesh Chandra Das ...	I. A.	15.
6.	Ramapada Das	B. L.	15.
	ANDHRA.		
7.	P. J. Manoharam ...	Veterinary	15.
8.	Boddupalli Rangamaykulu.	B. A.	10.
9.	Sundru Venkayya ...	B. A.	10.
10.	Kolakaluri Venkiah ...	I. A.	15.
	BENGAL.		
11.	Satish Chandra	I. A.	15.
12.	Devakumar Bishwas ...	Medical Course	15.
	C. P. HINDI.		
13.	Baboo Lal Rohitas ...	I. A.	15.
14.	Madarilal Garhwal ...	I. A.	15.
	C. P. MARATHI.		
15.	Tukkaram Domaji Bodhale	Mechanical Engineering	10.
16.	Harishchandra Rangare.	Medical Course	15.
17.	Madhoo Baliram Sontake ...	B. A.	10.
18.	Kishan Narayan Mandale.	B. A.	10.
19.	Kashi Nath Tukaram Damle.	I. A.	10.
20.	Ram Chand Pandurang Kamre	I. A.	10.
	BERAR.		
21.	Pundlik Rangu Tayade ...	B. A.	10.
22.	Ganpat Gangaram Pinjarker.	B. A.	10.
23.	Puran Surya Chanji Dhamare.	I. A.	10.
24.	Ganpat Ambadar Kantute ...	I. A.	10.
	COCHIN & TRAVANCORE.		
25.	Kossari Ramankuttu Vishwanbhram	B. L.	15.
26.	P. T. Damodaram	B. A.	17.
	GUJERAT.		
27.	Vanker Balabhai Kuberdas.	I. A.	15.
	KARNATAK.		
28.	Lakshmana Ullah	I. A.	10.
29.	Prebhu Mallappa Dhor ...	I. A.	15.
30.	Peerappa Krishna Bhogle ...	I. A.	15.
31.	T. Krishna	L. T.	15.
	MAHARASHTRA.		
32.	Ganpat Tukaram Pote ...	Commerce	20.
33.	Kamade Ramchandra Makkaji.	I. A.	15.
34.	Daulat Galaji Jadhava ...	B. L.	15.
35.	Pandurang Gangaram Patake.	B. L.	15.
36.	Aiwale Shiv Rawji	I. A.	15.
	BRITISH MALABAR.		
37.	Miss K. G. Janki Bai. ...	M.B., B.S.	80.
	MYSORE.		
38.	N. Maduraimuthoo	LL. B.	15.
39.	E. Lingaiya ...	Medical Compoundership	10.
	PUNJAB.		
40.	Ishwar Chand Nanakchand ...	I. A.	15.
41.	Gagan Ram	I. A.	10.
42.	Milkhiram Gadgala	B. A.	15.
43.	Ram Singh Kapil	B. A.	15.
44.	Narain Singh Kalota	I. A.	15.
	SIND.		
45.	Gohel Jivaraj Vishram ...	Engineering	15.

	TAMIL NAD.		
46.	T. K. Subramanian ...	I. A.	15.
47.	R. Krishna Pandoram ...	L. T.	15.
48.	N. Kandaswami ...	Sanitary Inspector	15.
49.	C. Dharamlingam ...	Veterinary.	15.
	MADRAS.		
50.	Thunbuswami Dorairaj ...	I. A.	15.
51.	Chidambram Balsundram ...	Sanitary Inspector ...	12.
	U. P.		
52.	Man Singh	C. T.	10.
53.	Shiv Singh Kain ...	Arts & Crafts.	15.
54.	Shiv Bodhnarain	I. A.	15.
55.	Gauri Shankar Ahrewar ...	B. A.	15.
56.	Kanal Prasad	I. A.	15.
	INDORE.		
57.	Chintaram Tukaram Kanoude.	I. A.	15.
58.	Parasram Ganpat Nitnaware.	B. A.	15.

Scholarship money will be remitted before the 10th of each month, on receipt of a progress Report signed by the Principal. Blank forms will be supplied free of cost by this office. The payment for July will be made in the beginning of August 1934.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

A Cobra Incident:—The Hyderabad correspondent of *The Times of India* writes:—A cobra was found to be inhabiting a club house occupied by tapedars at Khairpur Nathan Shah, the taluka headquarters station in Dadu district, a few miles from Sita Road Railway Station, on the right bank of the Indus. The snake was a huge creature and was a source of great danger to the inmates of the club. All attempts to turn it out proved unsuccessful, it even ignored guns. So a Brahmin, who was reputed to be a great snake-charmer in the neighbourhood, was called to drive away the cobra. The Brahmin succeeded in bringing the cobra out of its lair and capturing it. Elated at his success, he commenced to make a display of his power over snakes, and went about from place to place with the cobra, a close prisoner in his hands, and soon got it, as he thought, tame. The Brahmin then took the cobra to another village a few miles away, where there was a Siva temple, and there, coiling that cobra around his neck, commenced a Siva dance before the deity's shrine. The loud blowing of the conch, and the liberty taken with the cobra in the course of the dance, appear to have injured the reptile's dignity for it turned round furiously on the Brahmin, giving him several sharp bites. He had to be taken, in a precarious condition, to Larkana, where he is now being treated in hospital.

Indian Fascist Party:—'Socialism does not recognise the limitations of a country and in its highest form preaches class-war. Both of these things are utterly unsuited for India in its present condition,' states Babu Narain Prasad Arora, president of the so-called Fascist party, in a statement to the press. He continues:—'Hence, to counteract these two harmful items of socialism the necessity of forming a party on purely nationalist lines, has arisen, call it Fascism or anything else. Its object is "Nation first and above all." Indian Fascisn will be free from all the hideousness it connotes in its Italian or German garb. It will preach spiritual interpretation of history, respect for tradition, social solidarity and individual personality. Our Fascism will not be a tool either in the hands of capitalist or pseudo-labourites. It will guard the interests of both and will try to produce the greatest good of the nation by their mutual co-operation and goodwill.'

Mr. Kodandarao to Study Race Relations in U. S. A:—Mr. P. Kodandarao, Secretary of the Servants of India Society, is shortly leaving for America *via* Italy, Geneva and London to spend a year in Yale University for studying Race Relations. He will join a post-graduate school of the University which specialises in the study of cultural contacts of different races.

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NOTES

Mysore in Mourning:—The Maharani-Dowager of Mysore died last Saturday after a prolonged ilness. She had been living in complete retirement since she handed over the administration to her son, the present Maharajah, thirty years ago. During her regency of eight years the State undertook several progressive measures and it was recognised that she had proved herself to be a capable and strong minded ruler. John Stuart Mill who was for many years in charge of the department of Indian States in the India Office in London, wrote in one of his letters that from his personal knowledge the best administered states in India were those governed by Indian Princesses. Her Highness the late Maharani should be counted among these rulers. Lord Curzon, speaking at the time of the Maharajah's succession, paid a warm tribute to her wise and beneficient administration. "As the head of the Government of India," said Lord Curzon, "I have pleasure in stating that the smooth progress of events during the minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. If I may be allowed to say so, she has set an example of public and domestic virtue which has been of equal value to her people and to her family and which has earned for her the admiration and respect of all." Her Highness was seventy years old when she died. Her body was taken in a gold palanquin to the cremation ground escorted by the useful paraphernalia of state processions. Their Highnesses the Maharajah and Yuvaraj walked at the head of the procession with faces covered. The late Maharani was a strictly orthodox Hindu lady and the last rites were conducted by the Palace priests in the traditional manner.

The Problem of the States :—We publish elsewhere the correspondence which has passed between Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of the Congress actively interesting itself in securing the recognition of popular rights in the proposed Federation. Mr. Kelkar points out that the Congress has already committed itself in general terms to the support of Indian States' subjects in their claims for constitutional reform. He now asks that these general assurances should be implemented in respect of the representation of the States in the Federation and other matters of current importance. From our limited knowledge of the States' people's desires we may say that they are most of them ardent Congressmen and Gandhiites though their immediate ends may not, many of them, tally with the principles of the Congress. For instance, they or many of them want the Government of India to interfere and exercise closer control over the States' administration even in what would be normally domestic affairs. Some of them even want British officers to replace Indian Ministers. A few others would even like to be annexed to British India. Congress policy is to become independent : the States' people, while sympathising with this policy and even subscribing to the creed, have for their immediate objective the strengthening of British control over their States. They would view with alarm the withdrawal of the existing control, capricious as it often is. They contemplate independence only after the level of administration in their States has been brought up to that of British India, and not before. They want the help of British Indian politicians to get this done. Co-operationists can quite consistently help in this direction. But non-co-operators may find some difficulty in doing so. But we are all co-operators now, some willingly and by conviction, others unwillingly and by force of circumstance. There was good reason for the Congress and other political bodies in British India observing an attitude of neutrality before Federation was thought of. But it is upon us now, and the old aloofness has become impossible. The situation demands that, if need be, the pace of constitutional progress should rather be moderated in order to give the States time to come up with British India. British Indians are under the

same necessity with regard to the grievances of Indians Overseas. It is only as British subjects and citizens that we are demanding British intervention to protect Indian interests. We can support Federation because if the States are not with us they will be obliged to be against British India. Their being with us, however, will have no meaning if their people who are one in blood and race and religion with us continue to enjoy an inferior status even after they have joined their political fortunes to ours.

The Services and Religion :—The Government of India have issued a resolution laying down certain proportions for the distribution of jobs in the Public Services. One third of the total number is reserved for minority communities. Muslims are assured of 22 per cent. of this ratio. The remaining nine per cent is earmarked for other minorities. These also are to be assigned to Muslims if candidates from other minorities are not forthcoming. In addition to this, all minorities, including Muslims, are entitled to compete for the unallotted proportion of jobs. Here, of course, they will have to stand on their merits. In the case of the assigned posts, demerits will be no disqualification : a knowledge of two R's with a fair speed in typewriting, will be sufficient, particularly if the candidate can claim some relationship or friendship with influential political leaders of their own or other communities. In addition to the one-third thus allotted, 9 per cent of posts in Railways, Telegraphs and Postal Services are reserved for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans on the ground that they are now holding that proportion of those services and it would dislocate their economic condition if pure Indians are allowed the opportunity of competing with them for it. It would appear from an advertisement for the Assistant Auditor for the South Indian Railway that Indian Christians are for Railway appointment purposes classed with Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans. The advertisement calls for applications from Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and persons of non-Asiatic origin. The last is intended to mean not Africans, Australians, or Americans, but persons born and domiciled in India, both of whose parents and grandparents were White persons, as distinguished from Anglo-Indians who are sons of mixed parentage. In the natural course, men and women of mixed parentage will, under the operation of Mendel's law, become absorbed in the white and brown populations but Government evidently do not like the prospect of a single one of India's problem minorities ceasing to exist. The common factor for all the three railway communities, is Christianity. To think that Christ died upon the cross to enable his Indian followers to become candidates for an Assistant Auditorship in the South Indian Railway !

Bombay Y. M. C. A :—At the meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on Monday a motion to renew the annual grant to the Bombay Young Men's Christian Association was rejected at the instance of Mr. K. F. Nariman, the nationalist leader, who urged that some of the Association officials had been proselytising and that the Corporation should not, therefore, continue its grant. Those who supported the motion including the Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Taunton, did not deny Mr. Nariman's allegation which was supported by other members including the representative of the Depressed Classes, Dr. Solanki. We had been under the impression that the Y. M. C. A. was opposed to proselytism and was intended to work on different lines from the generality of Christian Missions to make Christianity understood in this country. The principle for which Mr. Nariman and his friends opposed the grant was perfectly sound. There is no sense in spending money collected largely from Hindus, Mussulmans and Parsis on an agency which seeks to wean away young men from their ancestral faiths. But in view of the fact that this principle had been ignored by previous Corporations it would have been fair to have postponed consideration of the motion in order to give an opportunity to the officials of the Association to explain their exact position. While on the subject, we may refer to a matter which has been in our mind for many years. The Bombay Y. M. C. A., unlike every other of its kind in the country, maintains separate branches for Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, which has always seemed to us to contravene one of the fundamental purposes of the institution. As there are various communal organisations doing similar work in Bombay, this feature of the local Y. M. C. A., detracts from its necessity here.

Parodying the Gita :—The suspicion that Congress leaders feel that, they have swallowed more than they can chew, is strengthened by the extravagant claims with they put forward for the miraculous effects of Congress candidature. "Give me your worst man," cried Rajagopalacharya at a Gujarati social gathering in Madras, "make him a member of the Congress; let him work with us; he will become as good as Mahatma or any one of us." The tinted glasses which he affects would have prevented his audience from seeing the twinkle in his eye as he paraphrased in these staccato sentences the declaration of Sri Krishna in the Gita: "Api chet sudhuracharo bhajate mam ananya bhak, sadhureva cha mantavyah samyak vyavasitohi saha; kshipram bhavati dharmatma." Even if the very wicked worship Me, with devotion to none else, he should be regarded as good, for he has rightly resolved, translates Swami Swarupananda. Audacity is the soul of politics. "Be bold; be bold; ever more be old." But the circumspect politician should not overlook the motto on the last entrance to the ancient academy: "Be not too bold." Parodying the *Gita* on the hustings is carrying audacity a bit too far. China Bazar Road is not Kurukshetra; Lalita Bhavan is not exactly a chariot; nor Rajagopala, the incarnate

Supreme. Mr. Satyamurthi was certainly no Arjun who had flung his Gandiva on the ground when the embattled hosts of Congressites and Justicites were on the point of closing in a death-grapple with Samuel Hoare and Gandhiji inscribed on their banners.

Indians in Zanzibar:—Our leading article today relates to the Report of the Committee appointed by the South African Government to investigate the possibilities of settling South African Indians in some derelict territory remote from that country. In another part of Africa measures have been passed which, it is feared, are likely to be detrimental to the interests of Indian merchants. When Vasco De Gama visited Zanzibar Indians were established as the principal trading community in the Island. At a public meeting convened by the Indian Merchants' Chamber on Tuesday to protest against these measures, it was stated that Indians were in Zanzibar even before the Arabs. The trading connections of India with Zanzibar are thus of great antiquity. When the British came on the scene in the last century Indians helped them greatly. Mr. Winston Churchill in his book on his travels in East Africa made a handsome acknowledgment of their services and declared that it would be iniquitous to seek to oust them from their position of advantage in Africa. Zanzibar is the principle clove growing area, 85 per cent of the world's supply being exported from that island and Pemba both of which constitute the present Sultanate. The Sultan, however, is a fugure-head and the actual head of the Government is the British Resident who is also President of the Administrative Council. The Zanzibar Government has issued five decrees recently, two of which at least are obviously injurious to Indians. One of them prohibits the transfer of land to non-Arabs and non-Africans. As Indians are the only other resident community the decree is clearly directed against them. Another decree levies a license fee for the export of cloves which is almost entirely in Indian hands. The amount of the fee is Rs. 5,000 and apparently it will have to be paid every year when the license is renewed. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has been in communication with the Government of India who, strange to say, are absolutely in the dark about the happenings in Zanzibar. There has been for some time a proposal to have a special Department to deal with questions affecting Indians Overseas, and the Zanzibar incident emphasis the need for it. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has requested the Government of India to depute one of their officials to make enquiries in Zanzibar and help the Indians to place their case before the Resident and the British Colonial Office which is the final authority in the matter.

The Hindusthan Review:—We are glad that the *Hindusthan Review* will be reappearing as a monthly from this month. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in an interesting retrospect remarks that "it falls to the lot of few publicists to survey after a lapse of thirty-five years the record of periodicals founded by them." In the case of Mr. Sinha, however, the record is a continuous one. There have been no breaks of any importance, except one of five years when he was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa. The *Hindusthan Review*, it is understood, still enjoyed the benefit of his direction though he had officially ceased to be its editor. The periodical press has a distinct position of its own which is not sometimes sufficiently appreciated. Two such eminent Indian publicists as Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Kelkar have stated that the periodical press has no place in Indian journalism. As a matter of fact, however, several well-conducted weekly newspapers have come into existence during the last few years. The daily newspaper all over the world, though to a somewhat less extent in India, have become exclusively news-papers while the public have come to rely on weekly journals and monthly reviews for carefully considered opinions on topics of the day. One who has experience of writing for the daily and the weekly press knows that it is a comparatively lighter task to write for the former than for the latter. Articles which would pass as brilliant in a daily paper would cut a poor appearance in a weekly or monthly journal. The *Hindusthan Review* is one of the very few Indian monthlies of standing and we are sure it has a long career of usefulness before it under the guidance of Mr. Sinha. We hope Mr Sinha will not take it amiss if we suggest that the yellow cover may be replaced by a more sober-tinted one. The volume is numbered LVXI, perhaps it should be LXVI.

Rowdyism at a Liberal Meeting:—On Wednesday a public meeting convened by the Liberal Party to inaugurate their election campaign was broken up by some unruly individuals who shouted Congress slogans. We are sure that responsible Congress leaders would severely disapprove of the repetition of the scenes which disgraced Bombay several years ago when Dr. Besant and Srinivasa Sastry were prevented from speaking. The Liberal Party will not in the least suffer in the estimation of the public owing to the misbehaviour of a few hooligans. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who was the principal speaker at the meeting, represents Bombay in the Legislative Assembly and, perhaps, the demonstrators intended to show that they disapproved of him. They might have said so in a dignified way at the close of his address instead of resorting to noisy and obstructive interruptions. Sir Cowasji is the last man to resent opposition.

Gandhiji's Fast:—We publish in another column the statement of Gandhiji announcing his resolve to fast for seven days from the 7th August in expiation of the violence offered to a Sanatanist leader who had attended the reception given at Ajmere to Gandhiji in order to oppose the Harijan movement. We trust that the objects with which he has made this resolve will be fulfilled.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, JULY 14, 1934.

THE INDIAN COLONIZATION INQUIRY.

The South African Indian Colonization Committee have in their Report neatly turned the tables on the Government of India. According to the terms of the second Cape Town Conference, the Government of India, it was stated, "will co-operate with the Union Government in exploring the possibilities of a colonization scheme for settling Indians, both from India and South Africa, in other countries." The South African Indian Congress, in a resolution offering its co-operation to the two Governments added that it did so to "ascertain whether there exist any good opportunities for South African Indians in the countries explored," totally repudiating the idea that Indians were to be reduced to a minimum population in South Africa. The Colonization Committee conclude from this that the scheme was to be primarily an Indian one undertaken for the benefit of India's surplus millions, in which South African Indians could take part, and they are particularly anxious to make it clear that the initiative was with the Government of India. The reason for this emerges from Mr. Heaton Nicholls' cross-examination of Sir Maharaj Singh, Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa:

Mr. H. Nicholls.—We are considering a scheme proposed by the Indian Government itself for the purpose of settling the surplus population?

Sir Maharaj Singh.—I do not know of any attempt made by the Government of India to further a scheme at the present moment.

Mr. H. Nicholls.—You know that it is embodied in the Round Table Conference Agreement?

Sir Maharaj Singh.—Yes.

Mr. H. Nicholls.—The Government of India would co-operate with the Union Government in exploring colonization both from India and South Africa in other countries?

Sir Maharaj Singh.—Yes.

Mr. H. Nicholls.—Now if Indians are settled from India in other countries, surely that would be the financial responsibility of India?

Apparently the Union Government desire to limit their financial commitment in any joint colonization scheme with the Government of India to their liability under the old repatriation system. That, however, is a matter for congratulation to the South African Indian. The Government of India is not financially in a position to start on any large colonization enterprise and, even if it were, it is scarcely likely to spend its money in that manner. If the Union waits for India to act, matters will rest where they are today. It is suprising, nevertheless, that the Union Colonization Committee should have seized on the words, "from India" which most Indians regarded as a sop to our South African countrymen, and sought to fix the responsibility on the Government of India. We trust that representatives of that Government will profit by this second instance of South African astuteness and weigh their words more carefully, in framing future agreements.

With the reassuring feeling that the colonization scheme will not be put into operation on financial grounds, it is possible to read the rest of the Report dispassionately. The Committee describes four types of colonization—assisted emigration, labour colonization, the settlement on land of a large number of people under an organization specially set up by the Governments of India and South Africa, and the creation of an Indian colony overseas which would be chiefly developed by Indian enterprise. Under the first two schemes the Indian colonists will lay themselves open to the same dangers they are now facing in South Africa as soon as the purpose of the earlier colonists in the new country is served. The last type, a colony based on individual enterprise, requires a certain measure of active Government support which exists today in Japan but not in India. The third, therefore, is the only colonization contemplated under the Agreement. The words, "land colonization," in the Cape Town Agreement, as the Committee point out, does not mean that only agriculturists would be acceptable as colonists. They are used there in opposition to the hateful labour colonization.

We now come to the most interesting part of the Report. Chapter III deals with 'Possible Spheres of Colonization.' The Committee in their chapter of recommendations suggest three places for "further investigation," British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana. The second of these belongs to Australia which has acquired it for "strategic reasons" and it is closed to Asiatic colonization. "Consequently it cannot under existing circumstances be considered in connection with any scheme of Indian colonization." Of the last the Committee observe, "Before any settlement on the unoccupied coastal lands or in the interior can be effected, it will be necessary to take measures to institute adequate medical facilities and sanitary control and in the coastal belt to provide a supply of pure drinking water.....The land in the coastal belt has to be previously prepared for cultivation by drainage, empoldering and irrigation." British North Borneo, the only place left, is hailed as an excellent opportunity for the "larger type of Indian colonization." The territory is governed by the British North Borneo Chartered Company whose £1 shares are quoted, as the Committee frankly observe, at 3s. 6d. on the Exchange. The Company has failed to pay dividend for years and has sought to hand over administration of the territory to the Crown or the Raja of Sarawak. Main drawbacks, malaria and head-hunters. If the Raja of Sarawak has hesitated to take over the territory, it should be a warning to the Government of India not to step in. The South African Indian, so far as the Colonization Report goes, has no place to move to. In the circumstances it is merely a vast of valuable time and money for a Joint Commission to consider the question further.

POLITICS IN TAMIL LAND.

That an eminent lawyer like Mr. Bhulabhai Desai would receive an uproarious welcome in Tamil Nadu was certain. And he did. He spoke in Madras, Trichinopoly, Madura and Coimbatore, great centres of civic life. Unlike this Presidency where Bombay is everything and the district towns nothing, in the South, the moffusil has a well-developed public life of its own. Most of the leaders of Madras are men from the districts where their homes are. These four towns are four of the most important centres of public life in the Tamil country. Trichinopoly is Raja Bahadur Krishnama Charya's home constituency. The Tanjore and Trichinoply area contains some of the most famous and wealthiest temples in South India including Srirangam from whose hoary towers Ramanuja proclaimed his gospel of qualified Monism. The Temple entry question is a burning one here. A Congress candidate who made Temple entry, his principal electoral issue, would have small chance of success. The eminent Bombay lawyer sensed the danger. Temple entry was adroitly flung overboard. "This item of work," Mr. Desai declared, "is an integral part of the Congress programme; but this and other constructive items of work have not been brought under the Congress election campaign because it is considered right and proper to concentrate on the two main issues in order to prevent any misinterpretation of the result of the elections." This is Counsel speaking to a brief not a statesman leading his party. What would the Congress member do in the Assembly if a Temple Entry Bill is reintroduced? Would the Party whip be put on it or not? Would a Congress member be free to vote against it and would he not be told that as Temple entry is an integral part of the Congress, he should support it, although it had been deliberately kept out of sight during the elections? Raja Krishnamacharya is dead against legislation for this reform. So is the Justice Party judging from the declaration of the Development Minister of the Madras Government on a recent occasion. Liberals like Mr. Venkatrama Sastry are against legislation. So is the Congress leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is opposed to the Harijans' cause being isolated from the general good. The Congress Parliamentary Party cannot run away from the issue. It cannot hoodwink the electorate by saying that Temple entry is not included in the electoral issue. The issue is there. It is not for this or that party to select what suits it best. After all that Gandhiji is doing to make Temple entry a vital issue it is rather cool of Mr. Desai to waive it aside. The South Indian is not easily carried away by claptrap. He will insist on the Congress candidate, telling him whether he is for or against Temple entry by legislation: Yes or no? And there is Dr. Ambedkar. In passing, Mr. Satyamurthi should brush up his knowledge of Indian geography. Sri Krishna was born in Muttra which is not Gujarat. He cannot, therefore, be described as a fellow Gujarati with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. Mr. Satyamurti may as well claim to be a compatriot of his ancient fellow Saiva Saint, Ravana.

But Temple entry is not the only question on which the Congress Parliamentist—to use a term which a modern German writer finds more concise and convenient—will have to satisfy the Tamil Nadu electors. Mr. Desai went on to define the two main political issues on which the country will be asked by his Board to give its verdict. "As I have been emphasising in my speeches," he said "the only question before the people in this contest is the disapproval of the policy of the Government as to the future Government and of their policy and measures in suppressing the Congress." The policy of suppressing the Congress was from the Government point of view the direct outcome of the policy of Civil Disobedience on the part of the Congress. The two therefore hang together. To condemn the one without saying anything about the other, would be inconsistent with the present policy of the Congress itself abjuring Civil Disobedience. Does Mr. Desai think that the suspension of Civil Disobedience was a mistake? Is Mr. Desai prepared to take the verdict of the country on Civil Disobedience along with its verdict on Government's measures for repressing it? The Tamil Nadu man does not understand how Congress which formally banned Civil Disobedience (the exception in Gandhiji's case may be left out of consideration for the moment) in order to enable Government to lift the ban on itself, and even grumbled when there was some delay in the response from Government, can with decency utilise the hard purchased freedom to condemn the Government policy which it admitted to be justified when it formally relinquished Civil Disobedience which called it forth. If the Congress had not made its submission, it would have the clearest right to appeal to the country against the repressive policy of Government. Gandhiji liberated from prison before the expiry of his sentence considers himself a prisoner until the actual date when his sentence would expire. The Congress liberated from the ban on it, talks of fighting Government which liberated it. The Tamil man wonders if it can be serious.

There is little space left to comment on the first electoral issue as enunciated by Mr. Bhulabhai, namely, the future Government of India. Whether one likes it or not there is the White Paper Scheme. Holding the Round Table Conference in London was a great mistake. The *Reformer* protested against it as it deprecated Gandhiji's acquiescing in it by attending the Second R. T. C. It is too late now to wish it had not been held. Congress, the Muslims, the non-Brahmins, the Depressed Classes (Harijan sounds satirical as a name for a people whom God would seem to have forgotten), Princes, were all there. They were all participants in the proceedings. Gandhiji made several suggestions some of which have been embodied in the White Paper. The Communal Award was invited by all the delegates including the Congress leader. It was modified at the request and suggestion of Gandhiji, Malaviyaji and other Congress leaders who were not then in prison as also by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru on behalf of the co-operationists. If you want to make the Scheme an issue in the elections, you must place your alternative plan before the electors. You can not ask for a blank cheque and the Tamil Nadu at least will not give you one seeing that your experiments with the political fortunes of the country, have totally failed as you yourselves have been obliged to acknowledge. Once bit, twice shy. You had a good scheme—the Nehru scheme. You scrapped it at the first show of opposition from Sikhs and Muslims. What have you got now? The resolutions of Lahore and Karachi Congresses which have been modified beyond recognition by Gandhiji's inspired oracles from time to time and the Working and All-India Committees? The country does not wish to be made the victim of another experiment. Congress men may be angels without wings but, for God's sake, let us follow men who, if they had not made Himalayan pretensions, have not made Himalayan failures either.

THE CHASTENING ROLE OF HINDU PRINCIPLE OF GIFT.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar.)

The much-maligned Brahmin has not escaped the scathing remarks of eminent scholars and legal luminaries like Mayne, who have been chiefly responsible for lesser men slinging mud at the poor fellow. One feels certain that they must have taken their cue from the low and pitiable depths of his present fall. Mayne says in Article 434 of his valuable book on Hindu Law and Usage, "Gifts for religious and charitable purposes were naturally favoured by the Brahmins, as they are everywhere by the priestly class." In Article 435 "It is probable that as Brahmanical acuteness favoured family partition as a means of multiplying family ceremonies, so it fostered the testamentary power as a mode of directing property to religious uses, at a time when the owner was becoming indifferent to its secular application." Again in article 376, "Gifts have been always favoured by the Brahmin lawyers, for the obvious reason that they were generally made to Brahmins." This is typical enough. We shall presently see how grievously they have all gone wrong in their estimate of the part played by the Brahmin in his services to the society in which he moved and had his being ever since the body of laws governing us to-day first came into existence.

To go straight to the matter at once, it was the unique conception of the principle of gift that is, gift for gift's sake, that has been responsible, more than any other legal conception or idea, for the chastened and perfected system of Hindu Jurisprudence. Let us take the field of Marriage and note how chaotic the condition was when eight forms of marriage were prevalent somewhere or other in the body-politic before an attempt at reform comes to be thought of and uniformity viewed on the highest and soundest line of Kanya-dana, most agreeable to the genius of the people. The Paisacha and Rakshasa forms were first penalised, Asura condemned, and Gandharva discouraged, while Arsha, Prajapatya, and Daiva gave in before the advancing Brahma type. All the kinds of marriage ultimately ended in a formal samskara with homa, etc., if only for the purpose of legitimising the issue to be born, but they differed from one another in the contractual or other origin of the relationship between the bridegroom and bride's party involving different degrees of consent. Paisacha that began by silent rape on a sleeping or doped girl was the worst and ended in wedlock at the point of social compulsion if only in defence of her honour and future. It was the worst kind as involving no consent and no knowledge at the first act. Rakshasa started by kidnapping or abduction under force or duress and ended in forced marriage. Here we see knowledge but no consent. Asura was nothing short of a purchase of the bride by the highest bidder in bribing off her parents' consent. Gandharva usually originates when the girl in her blind or overpowering love elopes with her lover and thinks of her parents' formal consent for the marriage, as Sakuntala did, for legalising the possible issue. The Asura was attempted to be reformed by the introduction of the Arsha wherein the *mere form* of sale was gone through by passing a couple of cows or cloths of nominal value to the bride's party as in the Roman Mancipio, when the Sudra bride married into the higher caste. The Prajapatya was the form of marriage with a condition tacked on that man and wife should ever invariably join in all acts of Dharma, temporal and spiritual, a condition which was very irksome but secured the parents' consent and satisfaction. Daiva was practically in token of gratitude for or consideration of the bridegroom's services at the sacrifice, as a part of the dakshina or fees due for his pains of officiating at which he received the bride. But the Brahma form involves all love and no consideration inferior to love pure and simple. It is a gift for gift's sake of a beloved daughter in marriage to a worthy lover for living in the midst of an ocean (*viz.*, children) of love. The latter four kinds of approved forms were offered in the place of the other lower and condemned types for the purpose of redeeming the people to a higher social level of civilization. Should the Brahmin be damned for this herculean effort? One easily sees how the principle of gift was implemented in the sacred cause.

Let us next take the field of adoption or representative sonship for our survey. There were a dozen ways in which a sonless man or a man who wanted more sons than any born of his loins could think of getting secondary sons. For our present purpose the son bought and the son given in love in adoption will do. The one stood very high in the list and the other very low. Apastamba's cry against both was in wilderness, as was his cry in favour of re-admission of Patitas' and Panchamas' children soon after they could be separated from their parents. No doubt the son bought slowly went down the list of preferable heirs. But he did not apparently disappear except along with the rest before the onward and upward march of the son given, who today stands in the shoes of the son born in lawful wedlock practically all alone. But it must be admitted that the principle of the redeeming and chastening gift has had in rigorous application both an intended and an unforeseen result. Both the girl "given" in marriage and the boy "given" in adoption, after undergoing the respective and necessary samskara with homa etc., and taking the new gotra of the family entered by the marriage or adoption, once for all ceases to be subject to the original dominion of their (natural) parents who cannot again give them in a second adoption, or marriage. And Manu (9·47) says that partition, gift in marriage, and all promises are with the ideally good people done only once and are not backed out of. Moreover the samskara homa creates an irrevocable *status* out of the previously existing contractual relationship which becomes merged and extinguished in the birth of the new status. Hence widow-marriage or remarriage has been an unforeseen impossibility. And Yagnyavalkya (2·178) and Vasishtha (15·3 & 4) condemn the gift of son and wife, especially eldest or only son. And this applies to born and adopted sons as well. Hence the married girl's and the adopted boy's position in the family is unalterable after the event, unless there be law or custom to the contrary. Subject to this aspect, the principle of gift in the field of secondary sonship has worked marvellously well, at the hands of the penniless and ever-needy Brahmin. What had he to gain in such gifts?

Then let us examine the Charitable Endowments, that are, along with most of the Religious Endowments, termed with the technical expression "Poorta" or leading to moksha as opposed to "Ishta" or purely religious and leading to Swarga and comprising Yagas and Yajnyas. The former class includes gifts for public use of tanks, wells, hostels, hospitals, dispensaries, gardens, rest-houses, choultries, libraries, playgrounds, etc. This includes also funds for the periodical repairs, replenishments, and sustained upkeep of the same charities. This includes again secular trusts for schools, and religious trusts for temples or mutts. It is clear that in all 'Poortas' not the Brahmin alone but all castes and in fact all humanity is entitled to share the benefit. Even in temples it is common knowledge that all

classes of Hindus including the Harijans participate in the benefits and in (running them for) the stipulated or established or usual emoluments for various services rendered in and out of the temples, in which emoluments and wages the lions' share of the annual income is consumed. What is left for the Brahmin archakas, and Veda-patakas and 'naivedyam' or food offered to the deity and distributed among Brahmins and the rest in Goshti or audience is practically insignificant and may not amount to four or five per cent of the annual expenditure. Again, gifts for renovation of the above religious and charitable endowments, called Jirnoddhara, share the character of the endowments renovated. But if Veda-pathasalas were endowed, Brahmins alone no doubt benefit by prescription of the Sastras. How are they otherwise benefited by the innumerable endowments to the exclusion of other classes of people ?

Lastly we come to the class of Gifts that again fall into two groups, *Brahmic* and *Yownic*, that is to say, higher and lower. The lower are various private or petty charities to the poor, blind, sick, distressed, incapacitated, destitute, hungry and thirsty people, comprising all classes and kinds relating to the relief of the lower self or natural defects, and needs. The higher or Brahmic kinds relate to the promotion of actual devotion to spiritual advancement and religious worship of Brahmins in their own independent or individual capacity; such as gift of Saligrams and idols, pilgrim's fare, samskara expenses, including upanayana and marriage expenses, sradda and funeral expense, yaga and yajnya expenses, in fact such as would be inevitably incurred in preparing the Brahmin for his prescribed duties in life and in society. This Brahmic gift alone of all others is extolled to the skies as being most disinterested and conducive to special and general welfare. Even here the Brahmin does not materially benefit but only spiritually as does the society too through him, because the money for the expenses is consumed in the samskara of other actual purpose concerned. At best the Brahmin can be understood to gain materially when he is given land, or house, and cows and gold or other money, but this is a tithe of one per cent or two of the donor's estate, which he donates not under pressure or wily or dishonest suggestion of the Brahmin but mostly out of his own innate faith in the efficacy of the gift, or inward satisfaction of his soul.

There is a class of gift standing alone by themselves for which the heart of Hinduism ever throbs with unique strength and partiality. They are refuge or protection of life offered to a man in instant danger from his enemy and release from bondage or slavery or constraint of debts on the one hand; and on the other the offer of means of instant or ultimate Moksha or realisation of Godhead or 'Bhara-nyasa' or 'Prapatti' as it is commonly known, and offer of all fruit of Karma, good, bad, and indifferent to God himself or to one's own foe or friend through God.

Gifts were divided into three groups, Satvic, Rajasic, and Tamasic according to prescribed quality and effect in the next birth; or superior, medium, and inferior according to the subject-matter of the gift; or permanent, recurring, occasional, and specifically prescribed according as gifts are dedicated to public use, disinterested or dependants' use, auspicious or rare occasions, and desired or courted objects. There is also an essentially Hindu classification into four groups according as the donee is sought after, invited, expected to beg, or rewarded for some service in return before gift is actually made, as being characteristic of the four yugas.

A gift implies six things :—donor, donee, intention, subject-matter of gift, time and place of gift. A donor should not be a minor, insane, intoxicated, mistaken or defrauded, or incompetent to alienate. If given in anger, fear, hate, anguish, extreme illness, or under the influence of any vice or distress, old age or dotage, joke or sport, or under pressure of bribes, duress, force, fraud or deceit, or an irrelevant gift, all these are *ab initio* null and void (Narada, Chapter 7-9–10; Manu, 8·163-165, & 168). How is, then, Mayne justified in his charge of unscrupulousness against Brahmin donees and Brahmin lawyers when they have to steer clear of so many vitiating circumstances ?

A donee in a Brahmic gift is required to be well-versed in Vedic lore, and bent on doing penance and other austerities of religious and spiritual nature and taking his firm stand on high character and conduct. This rule we find on every page of all Rishis who have anything to say on gift to Brahmins, who are also at the same time forbidden to receive any gifts lest their Brahmic storage should wane away and asked to do prayaschittam or rigorous penance for receiving anything of the nature of gifts, and in one place they are asked to preferably starve for three days together before thinking of receiving any gifts to the extent of sustaining them for more than the day only. They finally lay it down that poverty and non-receipt of gifts weigh more with good Brahmins than the whole empire's resources as and for gift, as the former generates contentment and happiness, and the latter only mixed feelings of care, worry, discontent, and what not.

Intention for gift may be pure and simple and may be to benefit oneself, or the donee, or disinterested and in simple obedience to Sastras, and to please God and none else. This is the highest type of sentiment associated with gift which is unique in Hindu society. And the subject-matter again should never be entire property while family to support exists, and wife or son could not be gifted away, nor property over which there is no ownership or power of disposition. (Nar. 7.4–5).

Certain places of pilgrimage or holy shrines are supposed to enhance the merit of gifts and certain days of the year or occasions are ear-marked for such gifts such as solar or lunar eclipses, New year days, etc., as being holy with the gods or ancestral manes. Here it is a question of faith, means, and circumstances that determine the gift and not the wily persuasion or unscrupulousness of the Brahmin that is responsible for the same.

Now then, on a full clear consideration of the whole matter one may see how undeserved the reproach of the Brahmin is when there are ample grounds to believe that they are eminently to be thanked for the restraint upon themselves and for the real and outstanding services by precept and example to the society in which they moved and for the spirit in which they worked for the general uplift of the masses at an eminent sacrifice and in all sincerity of higher purpose in this life and life to come. We also see how this institution of gift even when ear-marked as mainstay of life for Brahmins, was the mother of reform and cradle of progress all these two or three thousands of years in the history of India. If there was a tendency on the part of joint Hindu families to disintegrate in the wake of a universal evolution towards individualistic citizenship in the place of family-corporations as units of a political state, why of all places in the world it should in India be laid at the door of the priestly class of Brahmins that they were responsible for multiplying family partitions, passes the comprehension of an ordinary student of

social and political institutions of the world, with special reference to India. It is nothing but deep prejudice or contagion thereof that blinds the true eye for real facts, however eminent one may be for learning and other attainments. An original and independent study and anxious research at the original sources of knowledge will help a great deal in the dispassionate weighing of all available materials on hand and lead to a balanced and correct estimate and conclusions. Scholars are after all human beings with human failings and no useful purposes is served by passing current their own prejudice and coloured visions or versions as true history. We have much to learn from Europeans, no doubt, but we have also much to unlearn in our own eternal interests. Or else we shall soon cease to be true to our forefathers and lose our own independent identity as a race or a nation.

PROHIBITION REPEAL A FAILURE.

What has Repeal accomplished to date? Has it destroyed the bootleggers, as the "wets" promised? asks "Unity" (Chicago). Not if the United States Government knows anything about it, for Washington has recently announced "a nationwide campaign" for the elimination of bootleggers and illicit distillers, and Joseph H. Choate, Jr., Federal Alcohol Control Director, confessed his horror at the "enormous growth" of the lawless traffic. Has it wiped out the speak-easies and night clubs? Not according to Police Commissioner O'Ryan, of New York City, who has declared that he proposes to make war on the speak-easies just as soon as the licensing business is straightened out. Has it kept the saloon closed, as was agreed by everybody, "wet" and "dry" alike? Not if the newspaper reporters can be trusted, for they join in testifying "how enthusiastically the old time open saloon has come back in New York," and similarly in other places. Has it cut down drunkenness and fostered temperance? It is the report of every honest observer, and especially of a rapidly increasing number of frightened city and town officials, that drunkenness is increasing by leaps and bounds. We can testify that we have seen more "drunks" in the last six months than in the preceding twelve years. Has it achieved that most disgusting and disgraceful boon, the filling of the government tills with revenue from the liquor traffic? In New York State it has just been announced that the revenue from this poisoned source is less than one-half of what was estimated; and the result is attributed to the continuing consumption of lawless booze. In a few swift months, Repeal has proved itself to be a complete and perfect failure, as everybody who remembered the old days well knew in advance. Compared with what is going on today, Prohibition was never "a noble experiment" at all, but a triumphant demonstration. Already local voters are voting their territories "dry." Thus shall we live over again our history, until Prohibition is once more re-enacted.

Caste Leaders and the Sarda Act:—At a meeting of the barbers of Mohiri Taluk, the caste-heads of four Muthas have resigned their Beharaship on the ground that they cannot be heads of a community that indulges in violation of the Sarda Act. So far, none has dared to come forward to accept the posts now lying vacant. "Sundies," a toddy-sellers' community, held a conference at Ichapur and passed a resolution opposing the performance of child marriages and requesting their caste-heads not to accord sanction to such marriages.

INDIAN COLONISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I.

(By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.)

The Committee whose report has just been published, included an Indian of undoubted public spirit and patriotism, Mr. S. R. Naidu, and he has signed it along with others. We may therefore expect the report to state the facts fairly and to make recommendations favourable to the Indian community. This expectation is fulfilled in a great measure. The Committee state expressly what is commonly ignored, namely, that investigation of (likely) countries is to be jointly by the Government of India and the Union Government and that the resulting scheme, if any, should be for the benefit of Indians alike from this country and from South Africa. To put it in another and perhaps clearer way, the scheme as conceived by the Round Table Conference of 1932 is for the two countries together and not for South Africa only.

The Committee likewise admit that the Indian community are in acute economic distress accentuated by the White Labour policy now in vogue in the Union. Are the Government of India now in a position to join in a large inquiry into the conditions obtaining in North Borneo, New Guinea and other countries mentioned in the report? Is it possible for them to encourage and foster the large colonisation scheme for their nationals? Is public opinion likely to favour a novel project of this nature? Is the financial condition of the country such as to justify any considerable outlay in this direction? None of these vital questions can be answered in the affirmative. I cannot think that the Government of India is likely to take their part in the issue of a Joint Committee of Inquiry. If so, the inquiry and the resulting scheme could be undertaken only by the Union Government acting on their own.

If they decide to pursue the matter by themselves what should the Indian community do? It is a tremendous responsibility to give advice in hypothetical conditions. It must be remembered that when the Preliminary Committee that has just reported was first appointed, the South African Indian Congress gave its co-operation only because in decisive stages of the matter the India Government were also to take their full share. If, owing to the peculiar conjunction of circumstances in this country, our Government find themselves unable to fulfil their original undertaking, our countrymen there will be fully justified in completely revising their attitude. Above all, they must consider the nature of the colonisation scheme and the irreducible requirements thereof. These are adequate financial assistance to intending imigrants and the ability and willingness of their Government to look after them and their welfare in new lands which they colonised. The position is accepted in this report that the present Indian popultion is eighty per cent colonial born. If the Union Government having the interests of this community at heart promote the scheme of colonisation abroad for them, they must be prepared not only to provide intending emigrants with initial capital but to watch their progress anxiously and step in at every stage to solve their difficulties and relieve their suffering by advice, exercise of diplomatic influence and other such steps. Is it conceivable that the Union Government would take up this attitude of fatherly protection? If they were likely to do so in the least, they would not be anxious to get rid of them, and we should not have heard of this Committee or of its report. It does not seem to me to be probable that even if the Union Government seriously contemplated the scheme of colonisation, the Indian community would look upon it with any favour. In the result, the Union Government,

baulked in this attempt, may fall back on their old policy, which has kept alive for so many years the feeling of animosity between the races. The two Governments will once more have to consult together and explore afresh whatever avenues there may be of reconciliation. The prospects are by no means bright.

Two circumstances, somewhat germane to the subject, may finally be mentioned, one favourable and the other unfavourable. Mr. Hoffmeyer, the present Minister of the Interior in the Union Government, has given proof of courage and magnanimity in his treatment of the Indian question and his influence is likely to be exerted on the side of fair play. On the other hand, the present India Office, which seems to be tightening its hold on the Government of India, has not shown itself over-friendly to the Indian cause. We have not had time to forget that it has seriously proposed to deny in the new Constitution the right of retaliation to the Government of India when they find their nationals not well-treated in other parts of the Empire.

II.

(By Sir Kurma Reddi.)

The possibility of land settlement for South African Indians in foreign lands was contemplated even in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Nothing, however, materialised during the next five years. The question naturally cropped up at the Conference of 1932 and representatives of the two Governments agreed to a joint investigation of the possibilities of a colonisation scheme. A perusal of the present report leaves the impression that its authors are of opinion that the said investigation was primarily intended for settling Indians from India. This is a mistake. It was intended equally, for the benefit of South African Indians; secondly what was intended was an investigation, jointly by both Governments. The present report is the result of what is called a preliminary investigation by the nominees of the Union Government only. It is a matter for gratification that one of the members of the Committee is an Indian gentleman of high character of Peter Maritsburg in Natal. The Committee, no doubt, took great pains and did their best but, here, in India, our countrymen naturally feel that if they are to accept any colonisation scheme, it must be the result of an investigation made by the Government of India. The time when such an investigation is to be made will have to be determined by that Government, in view of their financial condition and pressure of other and more important calls on their time and energies. They alone can judge as to when this country can take advantage of any colonisation scheme that may be decided upon their own enquiries. They will, I am sure, co-operate with the Union Government, if the latter insists upon India joining them in such an enquiry, but the present is undoubtedly not the time for that enquiry considering that great constitutional changes are impending and the depression, which has been passing over the country, shows yet no signs of lifting. If, however, a joint investigation is decided upon and a scheme results therefrom, which might be agreeable to both the Governments, one would honestly advise our people in South Africa not to view the scheme with any suspicion but to consider it on its merits.

I think I can make bold to assure them that India will never consent to any scheme which has any implication that South African Indians are undesirables. We, at this end, feel on that point as strongly as they at the other but our people in South Africa ought not to ignore their economic conditions. It is a fact that hundreds of Indians are turned out of Government, Railway and municipal employments in order to give effect to the Poor White policy and it is a fact too that Indians are sent out of sugar and otheir plantations and coal mines and that Bantus are taking their place and consequent unemployment of Indians will have to be faced. These measures are unjust and every endeavour will be made by the Government of India and the Indian public to reduce if not remove these economic disabilities of Indians in South Africa Even if we met with some success in these endeavours, the problem of providing opportunities for their talents and ambitions will not have been solved. If they want a fuller life and room for their activities and scope for exercising their abilities, fresh fields and pastures green must be found. It is with this idea in our minds that we agreed in Cape Town to a joint investigation. We also prescribed that any emigration to those "fresh fields" should be absolutely voluntary and that there should be no coercion of any kind.

I must say that India will not accept as an eternal truth the dictum of the Committee that "it is too late in the day for India to become a competitor in colonisation with western powers in more settled parts of the world and therefore the appropriate field for Indian colonisation must be sought in countries which to a great extent, are still in a primitive stage." The old theory of "first come, first served" is fast giving place to the new policy "to each nation according to its needs." There are many countries whose people have no breathing space and, on the other hand, there are vast expanses in other countries which required development and which cannot be developed except with cheap labour from other countries. It will be the endeavour of mankind to eradicate racial frontiers and make them realise that there can be only one race, the human race, on the surface of this earth of ours.

Nor can India consent to allow the lot of her people to be cast amidst savages. India claims, and the claim cannot be disputed, a very high standard of culture and civilisation. Granting that the labouring classes are below the standard of western civilisation, the contact with civilised nations will not bring down the latter but will lift the former. The aim of humanity will be to lift the whole human race and the process of evolution will always help in achieving that aim.

INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION.

The Working Committee of the University Association met for the first time on June 6, 1934. Mr. Justice M. N. Mukerji presided. Lists of members of the Governing Body, numbering 108, and of Fellows of the International Buddhist Academy attached to the Association, numbering 75, were drawn up and adopted. Particular care was taken in making these lists as comprehensive as possible, the object of the Association being the consolidation of all available resources for the purpose of building up an International University. The Association also drew up a list of Patrons. Letters will now be officially sent to these persons, requesting them to co-operate with the University Association. The General Secretary, Anagarika Govinda (Ernst L. Hoffmann) having gone to Ceylon it was decided that Mr. Sri C. Sen, M.A., be requested to officiate as a Secretary in place of Mr. Devapriya till his return from Japan. Two Sub-Committees were appointed for considering the ways and means of raising funds, and for preparing a questionnaire—*Maha-Bodhi.*

WHAT THE INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE WANT.

A deputation of workers in the Indian States' People's movement, headed by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, President of the All-India States' People's Conference, waited upon Mahatma Gandhi at Poona on 19th June, placing him in possession of the views which the States' people hold both in regard to their movement in general and the constitutional reforms proposals in particular. In the course of the conversation the Mahatma promised to communicate in writing his individual views on any questions that the deputation may refer to him. Thereupon Mr. N. C. Kelkar and the other members wrote the following letter to Gandhiji on June 22, 1934:—

Mr. Kelkar's Letter.

The people in the Indian States desire to ascertain your individual opinion on certain matters affecting themselves, so that we may move the Congress to consider, in the light of your opinion, the desirability of defining its policy on certain questions more precisely than at present and modifying it somewhat on certain others.

The first question that we would bring to your notice in this connexion is the necessity of the Congress taking up for solution problems pertaining to the States. The Congress has now given up its traditional policy of "keeping itself unspotted" from the States. It recruits members in the States and brings them under the control of its district and provincial committees. The accession of strength that it has thus received from the States is by no means negligible; nor are these members sleeping partners in the Congress activities, although these activities concern mostly British India alone. On the other hand, even in such movements as civil disobedience, they have proved good comrades-in-arms and have cheerfully borne their share of the burden, realising that British India and Indian India are essentially one and indivisible and that the concerns of one are necessarily the concerns of the other also.

We think that time has now arrived for the Congress to respond to this spirit of good comradeship exhibited by the States' people by putting all its weight and prestige behind their efforts at self-emancipation. At the Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928) sessions the Congress no doubt pleaded for the establishment of democratic Swaraj in the Indian States and extended its sympathy to the inhabitants thereof. The Calcutta resolution is well worth quoting here *in extenso*:

"This Congress urges on the ruling princes of the Indian States to introduce responsible government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free press and security of person and property.

"This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States."

We make no doubt that a similar resolution will be reiterated at the sessions that will be held hereafter, but may we not hope that the Congressmen in British India will lend active help to the people in the Indian States in achieving political freedom even as the Congressmen in Indian India gave a measure of help to British Indians in their attempts to realise their destiny? Of the two, British Indians are much the more advanced, but in fact help has flown far more from the States' people to British Indians than from British Indians to the States' people. Do you not think it desirable to advise British Indians, in the name of the Congress, to support actively, even by undergoing suffering if necessary, all legitimate movements for the establishment of popular government in the Indian States under the aegis of their rulers? Such comradeship shown on both sides, it appears to us, will cement the two Indias far more firmly than any formal federation can.

Another question, of even greater urgency, on which the Congress must determine its policy is its attitude towards those parts of the White Paper scheme which relate to the Indian States. The authorities of the Congress have declared the scheme to be unacceptable because it does not satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people. May we say that the provisions concerning the States are far from acceptable to the States' people and may we hope that the actual acceptance or otherwise of these provisions will be made to depend upon their wishes? The future constitution of India which, according to the Congress intentions, is to take the place of the White Paper constitution, will be based upon the principle of self-determination given effect to by a Constituent Assembly. Is it implied that the federal scheme that will be evolved by this Assembly will be the result of an agreement between the people in British India on the one hand and those in the Indian States on the other?

While on this subject it would be well to refer to the apprehensions that have arisen in the mind of the Indian States' people by some passages in your speeches at the Round Table Conference. You pleaded earnestly in this Conference with the rulers of the Indian States for allowing the States' representatives in the federal legislature to be chosen by election and for allowing the fundamental rights of the States' people to be written into the federal constitution and placed under the protection of the federal court. But your pleadings on this occasion have given rise to an impression that if the Princes did not agree, as they did not and they do not agree, you would accept a constitution in which provisions of the kind that you suggested did not find a place. If this impression is well-founded, we cannot help saying, and saying it straight out, that you have done a grave wrong to the States' people. If you think that nomination by the Princes, for instance, must be acquiesced in, if necessary, in the existing circumstances, we will only beg you to refer the matter to the States' people themselves in order to ascertain what their wishes are in this respect. The right of self-determination of the Indian States' people is no less sacred than that of British Indians.

But it has been explained to us that in expressing your views in favour of the election of the States' representatives and the protection of the fundemental rights of the States' people in the way you did, you wished it to be understood by the rulers of the States that if they did not agree to do what you urged upon them you would not admit them into the federation. You meant these to be essential conditions of federation, but you did not express yourself in this categorical manner only because, at the time you spoke, federation was still shrouded in uncertainty. If this be your meaning, we would entreat you to make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt, for we know that the rulers of the States are putting a different interpretation upon what you said. They are representing that you are ready to put up with nomination by the Princes, for

instance, for an indefinite length of time. It is necessary that your meaning should be made plain, for the Swarajist Conference at Ranchi made it known that their party (which is now only a wing of the Congress) would follow the lines of your speeches in framing the future constitution. Since, in the final determination of the Congress policy on these points your personal view plays such a decisive part, we are anxious to know whether election of the States' people and a Declaration of Rights in their interest are, in your opinion, merely desirable features of a federation or essential conditions thereof. There are various other matters connected with the federal constitution which require careful consideration on the part of the Congress, but we do not wish to trouble you with them at the present moment. We would only beg you to give us an unequivocal statement of your views on the point raised in this letter.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY.

Gandhiji sent the following reply to the deputationists :—

The unusual demand upon my time is my excuse for delay in replying to your letter of 22nd June last.

Instead of dealing directly with the points raised by you I propose to define my own policy regarding the Indian States.

The policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States that the Congress has followed is wise and sound.

The States are independent entities under the British law. That part of India which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has (say) that of Afghanistan or Ceylon.

I wish it were otherwise, but I recognise my impotence in the matter. India of the States is undoubtedly an integral part of geographical India. But that carries us no further than where we stand today. Portuguese and French India are also an integral part of geographical India, but we are powerless to shape the course of events there.

We enrol members from the States in the Congress. We receive considerable assistance from them. It is not want of appreciation or will that compels our non-interference. It is our helplessness.

It is my conviction that any attempt on the part of the Congress at interference can only damage the cause of the people in the States.

But there is nothing to prevent us from urging the States to adopt a certain policy.

I am of opinion that whatever we are able to accomplish in British India is bound to affect the States. I would like the States to grant autonomy to their subjects and would like the Princes to regard themselves and be in fact trustees for the people over whom they rule, drawing for themselves only a small and definite percentage of the income. I have certainly not lost hope that the princes will deem it a pride to become real trustees of their people. I do not seek to destroy their status. I believe in the conversion of individuals and societies.

What I said at the Round Table was in the nature of an appeal made to the Princes. It certainly did not imply that whether they listened to the appeal or not, the Congress would enter the federation. I had no authority to bind the Congress to any such thing. The Congress entering the federation had to depend upon many other circumstances beyond the attitude of the Princes. If ever federation comes it will surely depend upon mutual adjustment.

I hope I have answered all the points you have raised. If I have not, please write to me again. I have written this under great pressure of work.

SOME NOTABLE PRONOUNCEMENTS.

The Sermon on the Mount:—The "Ashram Quarterly" (which was till last month the Christa Seva Sangh Review) opens with an article on "Living the Cross" by the Rev. Ronald Freeman. Mr. Freeman begins by maintaining that the "Sermon on the Mount" is not the central teaching of Christianity. He writes: "In these days when so much is said and written by popular writers and social teachers and others about the "Sermon on the Mount" it is as well to remember that St. Paul in his letters never once mentions it directly or indirectly, nor is it specifically referred to by St. John or any other New Testament writer outside the Gospels. The early Church was not interested in the ethics or the social teaching of Jesus, but rather in the sacrifice of Calvary; thus St. Paul is always referring to "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified." The redemptive death of the Christ followed by his glorious resurrection, is the central fact on which early Christian experience was based, and this was prior to that theologising, rationalising tendency which brought "the Faith" into being as a dogmatic system."

* * * *

The Harijan Movement:—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu speaking at a public meeting last week end, revealed that she did not approve of the Harijan movement as at present conducted. She said, according to report in *Bombay Chronicle*, that she did not believe in sectional service because she believed the more universal the treatment the more easier the service. That was why, she said, she was opposed to Gandhiji wishing to isolate and label Harijans as a class by themselves, needing special protection. In her opinion the Harijans should be included in a general economic regeneration, because after all the problem of the Harijans was an economic problem. Service, she said, could have no preferences, no exclusions Harijans were an integral part of the Indian problem.

* * * *

Hindi and the Vernaculars:—Jay Chandra Vidyasankar writes in the *Tribune*: "There is no responsible person amongst the promoters of the Hindi movement either in the Punjab or elsewhere, who expects Hindi to supplant the provincial languages of India even in the distant future. The development of Hindi literature is indissolubly bound up with the growth of the other vernacular literatures of India: Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, etc. We want Hindi to blossom as the sole literary language only in the provinces in which it is the language of the people, while in the provinces with other languages we want it to be studied and understood as the Rashtra Bhasha or the national language of India. By Rashtra Bhasha here is meant something more than a mere *lingna franva*. As Sir George Grierson has explained, a *lingua franca* is an hybrid speech used as an international language, while Hindi, though used as an interprovincial language, is not an hybrid."

Education of Depressed Classes:—It is understood that the U. P. Government have appointed Mr. M. L. Agrawala, Inspector of Schools U. P. educational service, on special duty in the office of the Director of Public Instruction to report on the education of depressed classes and recommend means by the which their education can more speedily and economically be advanced. It is further learnt with particular reference that the officer will make recommendations on the resolutions of the depressed classes conference held at Bareilly in September 1933 and suggest the best means of utilising funds placed at the disposal of the Government to give effect to these resolutions.

A PENITENTIAL FAST.

While an enthusiastic crowd of nearly 30,000 men and women gathered at Anasagar Bund in Ajmer on the evening of July 5, despite heavy rains, to hear Gandhiji, an unfortunate clash between Sanatanists and Reformists marred the pleasantness of the function. Some Sanatanists led by Pandit Lalnath made a black flag demonstration and ultimately clashed with the Reformists with the result that Pandit Lalnath received a nasty cut on his head. Gandhiji arrived later and when informed about the clash, he directed that Pandit Lalnath be brought before him. Introducing the Pandit to the audience, Gandhiji expressed profound sorrow for what had happened. Gandhiji condemned the behaviour of the public and the volunteers who by using violence had injured the cause of Harijans. Gandhiji then announced that he would have to do penance on account of this use of violence, but did not know what form it would take.

In a statement to the press, Gandhi says:—

"An inquiry made by me into the unfortunate incident at Ajmer, resulting in a cut received by Pandit Lalnath on the head, shows that the blackflag demonstration enraged those who saw the processionists and, according to Pandit Lalnath, the public, which included the volunteers, seized the flags and trampled them underfoot. A scuffle ensued, in which Pandit Lalnath received the injury mentioned. Happily none of the other demonstrators received injuries worth the name. But the guilt is enhanced by the fact that those in charge of the volunteers had specific instructions to see that the blackflag demonstrators were fully protected from molestation by the public.

"It is no defence to say that Pandit Lalnath and his party came in advance of the time appointed. In my opinion, responsible men should have been posted at all points to afford protection to the demonstrators, and notices should have been put up all over the meeting ground warning the public against interfering with them in any shape or form.

"That precaution was not taken, and the pledge given to Pandit Lalnath that he and his party would be free from molestation when they made a demonstration was broken. The pledge was given by me in full faith that the captain of the volunteers was willing and able to carry it out. I have no doubt that he was a willing partner to the pledge. That he was unable to redeem the pledge is quite clear. But there can be no doubt that the final responsibility rests with me.

"Indeed, no pledge was necessary. In a movement claimed to be purely religious, non-violence on the part of the public sympathising with the movement must be presumed. If I mentioned the pledge I have done so to enhance the magnitude of the guilt and to demonstrate the greater necessity for public penance on my part.

"Pandit Lalnath always warned me that my persistence in the movement must result in widespread violence on the part of the sympathising public. I did not share his fear, nor do I share it now, in spite of his ability to show stray cases of violence done to black flag demonstrators. But it is necessary for me to emphasise the fact that a movement purely religious admits of no violence on the part of reformers, even in spite of provocation. The movement can succeed only by appealing to reason and by touching the hearts of opponents. This is possible only through the purity and penance of reformers.

"After much searching of heart, therefore, I have decided to impose upon myself a fast for seven days, to commence on Tuesday noon, August 7, that is two days after my reaching Wardha, which I expect to do on August 5, next. This is the least penance that I owe to Pandit Lalnath and those Sanatanists whom he represents.

"God willing the Harijan Tour will finish at Benares on August 2 next. It is perhaps a fitting end, and will be signalled by a penitential fast. May it cover all errors of omission and commission, committed consciously or unconsciously by me and my co-workers.

"The movement will not end with the fast. Let it open a new and cleaner chapter in this struggle for the emancipation of nearly fifty million human beings from the thraldom imposed in the sacred name of religion.

"Let it also be a warning to those who are in or will join the movement, that they must approach it with clean hands and hearts, free from untruth and violence in thought, word and deed.

"I hope that no one will feel tempted to imitate the fast. The cause will be best served by greater dedication."

BRITAIN AND CHINA.

The following extract from *Chinese Affairs*, the fortnightly organ of the International Relations Committee (Nanking, China), dated February 28th 1934, explains "the cynical complaisance of the British Foreign Office towards Japanese aggression in China":—

"British soldiers are illegally engaged in mining operations in the Panhung district along the Yunnan border, ignoring persistently orders of Yunnan provincial authorities, recent reports aver. Clashes between Britishers and natives of Panhung have made the situation very tense, alarming. Revival of the long outstanding Sino-British dispute over the Yunnan-Burma boundary is feared because of the present conflict. Territorial loss by China is apt to be the outcome of such controversy, unless the situation is properly handled by the Chinese Government. Britain's past aggressiveness in Yunnan justifies the foregoing assertion.

"Since Britain annexed Burma in 1886, the boundary line between Yunnan and Burma has been undetermined. The unsettled situation has given occasion for repeated British encroachments upon Yunnan. The recent reported transgression over Panhung is but one of a series of British attempts at territorial expansion beyond the Yunnan-Burma line into the former's territory.

"The first British usurpation by force of Yunnan land took place in 1892 when the alleged killing of an English officer by natives of the border regions gave rise to a dispute that lasted over two years, until finally an agreement was reached by China and Britian regarding the disputed boundry. Unfortunately, the demarcation agreed upon was incomplete in that the northern and southern boundaries were not definitely declared.

"In the spring of 1900 further encroachments were effected by British troops that crossed the Kao Li Kung Shan (mountain) and occupied border districts. They were withdrawn six years later. Again, in the winter of 1910, about two thousand British soldiers went into Pien Ma, a district well into the region of the Yunnan side of the boundary, built barracks and fortifications. The 'campaign' ended at the outbreak of the World War.

"Once more Britishers are trying to exploit mines in Panhung stiuated in Yunnan area. British troops have built garrisons, radio stations and aerodromes along the Yunnan border, latest reports indicate. Such activities are indicative of preparedness for military action belying the apparent mere intent of mining developments.

"This military gesture is nothing short of a guilty admission that the intruders are poaching on questionable grounds and that their land-grabbing is to be protected at the point of guns against just and righteous protests or objections of those whose property they are so wilfully and wantonly encroaching. In the light of recent events, steps must be taken by China to attain prompt amicable settlement of the long standing dispute and conclusively determine the Yunnan-Burma boundary once for all. Immediate action to avert more serious international complications is imperative. Procrastination will be suicidal to territorial interests of Panhung and other border regions."

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWAS' DAFTAR.

Another volume of the "Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar" which is the 40th of the series edited by Rao Saheb G. S. Sardesai has been published by the Government Central Press. It is entitled "Miscellaneous Papers of Peshwa Balajirao". This Selection brings together a number of important papers which came to light after the previous Selections had been arranged and sent to the Press. It contains 152 papers which refer to the various events with which the regime of Peshwa Balajirao is so full—the conquest of the Karnatak, the early history of Ramraja and his struggle for power and the pilgrimage of the Peshwa's mother, Kashibai. The rivalry that long existed between the Peshwa and Babuji Naik Joshi for the possession of the Karnatak, a subject which has already been dealt with in Selection No. 25, will be found further elucidated in the papers reproduced in this Selection, *viz*, Nos. 28, 33–35, 45, 48, 52 and 53. No. 28 in particular, being a sanad granted to Bapuji by king Shahu, seems to point to the origin of the dispute. A few papers of the previous regime are also included as they threw light on the conquest of the northern Konkan as far as Jawhar and Ramnagar first projected by Bajirao in 1724 and completed as late as 1759. The letters of Krishnarao Ghaskar, Balajirao's maternal uncle, who was for a time entrusted with the task, will be found full of interest. Nos. 79 and 86 shw how the Peshwa and Tulaj Angria gradually came to a clash. Nos. 129 and 132 throw light on the preparations made by the Peshwa for resisting the Abdali, a task for which Raghunathrao was already appointed and which at the last moment came to be entrusted to Sadashivrao at the famous meeting at Patdur. Although these papers are styled Misoellaneous, they are by no means less important historically.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

No Parties to Officials :—H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar has passed orders deprecating the tendency of people to flatter officers by giving them addresses, parties, etc., instead of thanking Government for helping them by gracious acts of public utility and welfare. It is undesirable, observes His Highness, that people should ask for concessions on one side and spend as above whereas this money can better be utilised for the amelioration of village life. He further advises state officers in the order not to encourage the people in such actions.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru :—The Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons on Monday that it was impossible to consider remission of sentence in the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Pandit was sentenced not for an offence connected with Civil Disobedience but for three seditious inflammatory speeches. This certainly is making a distinction without a difference. The Pandit during the same visit to Calcutta made, if we remember, another speech condemning political murders in language stronger than any used by a Congress leader not excluding Gandhiji. The seditious speeches, therefore, could be called inflammatory only in the sense that they advocated Civil Disobedience. Such speeches are in our opinion really a manifestation of the spirit of Civil Disobedience and cannot be distinguished from it. We take it that Government in lifting the ban on Congress wished that it should function in all its parts and not lopsidedly. Pandit Jawaharlal represents a side of Congress mentality different from that of Gandhiji. The Congress view cannot, therefore, be completely expressed unless he is free. We trust that Government will reconsider their decision in the light of these circumstances, which do not seem to have been present to their minds.

Lawyer and Statesman :— Mr. K. M. Munshi contributes an article in the *Harijan* on the proposed legislation for admission of antyajas into Hindu temples. Mr. Munshi at the outset argues that the Hindu sovereign enjoyed the right to legislate on socio-religious matters and that the British Government, as his successor, stands in his shoes and inherits his right. He writes: "The conceptions of the Hindu State and Kingship were permeated by religious ideas and the Hindu king, 'though not the head, was at least the protector of religion' and exercised the right of controlling religious matters. The royal toleration did not extend to overt practices. The conscientious objector was not permitted to allege his conscience as a justification for acts disapproved on principle by Government! Modern Hindu kings, like the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Travancore, exercise similar jurisdiction. The king in Malabar exercises the prerogative, known as Malkoima, to alter the mode of worship in temples and modify ancient religious usages. This was recently illustrated, when the Chakkala Nairs were admitted into the temples, roads in the vicinity of temples were thrown open to the Avarnas and the Devadasi System and animal sacrifices were prohibited. Strictly speaking, from the point of view of the Hindu theory, therefore, the right of Government to enact these bills stands unchallengable." The Hindu sovereign in theory had no right to legislate. Where this right was exercised, it was either sanctioned by local custom or was merely acquiesced in helplessly as under Muslim rule. The Maharaja of Travancore's right in temple maters is represented by the one half of one vote which he is allowed in the committee of eight-and-a-half in which the religious endowments are vested. Mr. V. Nagam Aiya writes of Sri Padmanabha Swami Pagoda in Trivandrum, in the "Travancore State Manual," "This temple is under the management of a committee known as 'Ettarayogam (literally, an assembly of eight and a half) composed of eight Brahmin *Jenmies* with one vote each and the Maharaja who has but half a vote." The temple is of great antiquity and held in the highest veneration. It is first in importance in Travancore because the State is a theocracy dedicated to Sri Padmanabha and the Maharajah rules as his vicegerent. The argument that the British Government of India inherits the rights of the Hindu Sovereign, is even more gotesque. It exercised many powers which never belonged to the Hindu Sovereign, for example, in the laws of marriage and succession, and it has voluntarily renounced the right to exercise some which he exercised. No Hindu ruler had need to issue a "queen's proclamation" disclaiming alike the right and desire to interfere in matters of religious belief or ancient customs. We are, of course, not questioning the power of the modern representative legislature to legislate on social questions. We are merely pointing out that

King George cannot by any stretch of legal ingenuity be made out to be the lineal successor of Chandragupta or Sri Harsha.

A Servants of India Pronouncement:—Our attention is called to an article in the *Servant of India* on Mr. Ranga Iyer's Temple Entry Bill. It argues that as the Bill is only permissive in its operation and as it gives the right of deciding in each case to the Hindus of the locality, it should be passed. These reasons would justify the Bill being extended to Mahomedan mosques, Christian churches, Parsi and Jain temples, Sikh Gurudwaras and Jewish synagogues. Why not pass a general law permitting worshippers in every religious shrine to decide by a majority all questions pertaining to worship in it? One has only to put the question, to see that the arguments of the *Servant of India* at once break down. Religion is not politics, nor social reform. It is a matter largely of inherited belief unanswerable to secular reason. In all religions, dissenters have the right to set up their own places of worship if they felt conscientious objections to continue to worship in the old churches or temples. We are told that only Hindu members should vote on the Bill. We know one Hindu member who derides religion and considers it a curse and not a blessing. There are others who do not go to temples and who regard the question from a purely political point of view. How are their votes more relevant than those of devout Muslims of Christians? We are totally opposed to the exclusion of members of the Assembly on account of their creed from exercising their right to debate and vote on every measure brought before that body. Members of other creeds and non-temple-worshipping Hindus may voluntarily abstain from voting on any question, but no one has a right to dictate to them.

Abduction of Hindu Girls:—Within the last few weeks the cry that Hindu girls and women are being abducted by Muslims, has been raised in several parts of the country. For some years past there has been a general complaint to this effect in Bengal. It is a pity that the Government of that Province thought that there was no case for an enquiry. Impressions in such cases are often corrected by a study of facts and an enquiry might have shown that the number of cases of abduction are not so numerous as is generally believed or that what are regarded as abductions were really voluntary on the part of the women. Recently complaints of this kind have been made by responsible men in Bombay and also found expression in the open letter handed to Gandhiji on behalf of a Hindu Youth Organisation at Lahore. Nothing is more calculated to embitter the feelings between the two communities than that an impression of this kind should be allowed to spread if, as we are inclined to think, it is greatly exaggerated owing to the political differences between Hindus and Muslims. If, on the other hand, the belief has a basis in fact, it is the duty of Government to devise measures to check the crime. If women of adult age and intelligence voluntarily adopt Islam or Christianity, there is no help for it and it behoves Hindu leaders to find out and remove any avoidable hardships which may estrange women from their ancestral faith. In the great majority of such cases, we fancy the reason is dissatisfaction with the conditions of home life or quarrels with relatives. It is also probable that the abductions have no religious motive behind them, and are incidents in the nefarious trade which has a far-flung organisation. Complaints of this kind are not confined to Hindus.

Elections to the Assembly:—Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, leader of the Justice Party in Madras, opened the election compaign in that city with a lengthy and well-considered address in which with great courtesy, moderation and good humour he dealt with several of the claims made for the Congress Party by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Satyamurthi during the former's tour in Madras Presidency. While Congressmen have been contemptuous of the candidates from other parties, the Dewan Bahadur declared that the best men irrespective of party should be sent to the Assembly in view of the important questions that are likely to come up before it. He drew a sharp line of distinction between the conditions prevalent in the provincial Legislative Councils and those in the Legislative Assembly. In the provinces where Diarchy prevails a ministerial party is a necessity. "But in the Central Legislature there is no such thing," he said, "as a Government party. There ought to be no such party. If the right type of men are chosen; if men are chosen for their knowledge, for their character, for their political honesty, they are bound to belong to only one party, whatever labels they may have outside,—the party which opposes Government, the party which tries to criticise every repressive measure of the Government, the party which tries to look at things from the broad point of view of the greatest good of the greatest number. There is, therefore, this fundamental distinction that while in Provincial Councils, Ministerial Parties and Anti-Ministerial Parties may be formed, so far as the Assembly is concerned, under the present constitution, there can only be one party of decent men, the party that opposes the Government or tries to criticise its measures." It should be added that, while the Congress means to do nothing but oppose in the Legislative Assembly, non-Congress members, although in opposition, will be free to introduce and support such measures as are in line with the national programme not contained within the four corners of the Congress programme. While Congressmen will be rightly loyal to Congress inhibitions, the loyalty of non-Congress members will be to nothing less than the country as a whole. "Country before Congress" will be their motto.

Choose the Best Men :—We reproduced sometime back from the *Leader* the statement that Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Row and Mr. Venkatarama Sastry will be candidates for the Legislative Assembly at the forthcoming elections and will have the support of the Justice Party, though they are both leading members of the Liberal Party. Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar's observations lend countenance to the report. He spoke in friendly appreciation of the work of the Liberal leaders at the Round Table Conference and defended them against the attacks made on them. He declared: "I have pleaded on more than one occasion and I have pleaded on my own behalf and not for my party, perhaps with the disapproval of some of my colleagues—that so far as the elections to the Legislative Assembly are concerned, knowing the position of the various parties that will inevitably get into the Assembly, I have pleaded that the best men of the various parties should be sent. If you are solely thinking of the interest of the country, if you want to see your country advance politically, if you want the best constitution for your country, if you want to utilise every opportunity that is given to you under the existing constitution, if you want to improve your political status, enhance your economic interests, if you want to make your selves better equipped for the further fights that have to be fought before we can attain Dominion Status, send the best men to your Assembly. I am personally convinced of it. I am prepared to appeal to any Party leaders to accept that position in the highest interest of the country and in spite of the irresistible temptation to enhance purely the prestige of the party by trying to capture as many seats as possible for party candidates."

Hindu Colonisation in Broneo:—The current number of the *Indian Review* contains an interesting article on "Early Hindu Colonisation in Borneo" by Dr. R. C. Majumdar which is of interest in view of the recommendation of the South African Colonisation Committee. Four inscriptions were discovered in 1879 in the district of Koti at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river. The inscriptions are engraved on stone pillars of about a man's height. They refer to the gifts made by the king of Borneo to Brahmins. The inscriptions have been referred to about 400 A. D. It would seem, therefore, that by the fourth century A. D. the Hindus had established kingdoms in the eastern part of Borneo. As the inscriptions, says Dr. Majumdar, leave no doubt about the thorough-going nature of the Brahmanical religion in that locality, the Brahmans evidently formed an important element of the population and the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at the Court. In addition to these antiquities, remains of ancient Hindu culture have also been formed in other localities in east Borneo. Writes Mr. Majumdar. "The most notable among these is the cave of Kombeng, which has yielded a large number of interesting articles. Kombeng is situated considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river. The cave consists of two chambers. In the back chamber were found twelve sandstone images, pieces of carved stone and a few half decayed iron-wood beams. All these may be taken as the remains of a temple which were hurriedly secreted in the dark chamber of a cave, apparently for safety. That the images were brought from elsewhere is clearly indicated by the fact that most of them have a pin under the pedestal evidently for fixing them in a niche. The images included those of Ganesa, Nandi Vishnu, Brahma, Skand and Mahakala. Three Siva images were formerly removed from this place to the Batavia Museum. The preponderance of the images of Siva and Sivaite gods—there being two images of Ganesa—seems to indicate that the prevailing religion in that quarter was Saiva." Hindu civilisation in Borneo seems to have come direct from India and not from Java.

Ellore Follows Bombay :— *The Indian Express* of Madras publishes a statement issued by Mr. A. Govindachary, who is in charge of the Congress Election Campaign in Ellore, in which he condemns rowdyism at public meetings. We reproduce his remarks below, as they have a bearing on incidents in Bombay on which we commented last week: "It pains me very much to have to condemn once again the improper conduct and the hooliganism that is being continuously resorted to at the three consecutive Congress Meetings by some sitting Municipal Councillors, contractors and their supporters. When the Town Hall was lawfully in the possession of the Congress Election Committee and while the Congress meeting was lawfully going on, as it was previously announced through previously printed handbills, I am at a loss to understand the legal or moral rights of those that have organised a disturbance of the election propaganda meeting. If they can approach the electorate with confidence, they may do so by organising separate meetings instead of trying to usurp the Congress platform by all these questionable means. I once again appeal, as I have been doing all through to those of the other party, to their good sense to employ fair play and give a straight fight to the Congress."

Gambling:—It is high time that the law relating to gambling in British India was placed on an intelligible basis. Gambling is illegal but some forms of it, notably at horse races, is legal. Some time back a man was convicted for having the tickets of a lottery on sale. A few days later the names of the winners of prizes in the same lottery were published in the papers. How did these men get their tickets? The present state of the law is extremely confusing and a trap to the unwary; blackmailing thrives on legal uncertainty.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, JULY 21, 1934.

GANDHIJI'S HARIJAN TOUR.

Now that Gandhiji's Harijan tour is drawing to a close, it is a fitting opportunity to review its results and to weigh the worth of the method typified by it to effect changes in a social and religious institution. For this purpose, it is necessary to start with a brief retrospect. Although, the in-equity of untouchability in Hindu society has for many years been conspicuous to Gandhiji's mind as to that of other thinking men, it is only two years ago that the Harijan movement, as it has come to be known, came into existence. A glance at the events which preceded it, is necessary in order to see it in its true perspective. At the Second Round Table Conference which Gandhiji attended, the question of the representation of the depressed classes in the Legislative Councils under the proposed reforms, came up for consideration. Gandhiji took up the position which surprised many people in this country, that he, on behalf of the National Congress, would oppose any arrangement which, either in the shape of separate electorates or reservation of seats, recognised the existence of the depressed classes as distinct from the general body of Hindus. He returned to India early in 1932 and was almost immediately arrested. About the middle of 1933, the British Government gave what is known as the Communal Award. In it, separate electorates were provided for the depressed classes, along with some other minority communities. Gandhiji declared a "fast unto death" if this provision was not changed. This was in accord with his declaration at the Round Table Conference that he would resist unto death such an arrangement. Gandhiji's life became at once the central issue, and a settlement was embodied in what is known as the Poona Pact which, besides the allocation of seats, included a general undertaking to start and carry on a vigorous movement to remove untouchability. The Bombay Conference of Hindu leaders passed the resolution which is printed on the front page of the *Harijan* every week. There was a reference to facilitating the admission of the depressed classes into Hindu temples, along with the removal of other disabilities in this resolution.

Mr. Kelappan stepped in at this point and began a "fast unto death" to get antyajas admitted into the temple at Guruvayur in Malabar. Gandhiji was appealed to. He persuaded Mr. Kelappan to drop his fast on himself undertaking to see that the reform was carried out. He asked and obtained from Government permission to conduct from Yerravada prison a campaign for the admission of untouchables into Hindu temples. It was found in the course of the discussions that there were certain legal difficulties in the way of Trustees opening their temples to untouchables, even if they wished and were supported by a large body of worshippers. As Guruvayur was in the Madras Presidency, a Bill was drafted for introduction in the Madras Legislative Council by Dr. Subbaroyan to overcome the legal difficulties. As, however, its subject-matter trenched upon religion, the previous sanction of the Government of India had to be obtained before it could be introduced in a Provincial or the Central legislature. The Government of Madras too recommended that, as the matter concerned the whole of India, legislation should preferably be undertaken in the Central Legislature. Mr. S. Ranga Iyer, thereupon, applied for leave to introduce Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill with necessary adaptations in the Legislative Assembly. The Governor-General in giving his sanction made it clear that the attitude of Government to it would depend on its obtaining the support of the Hindu community. As there was some delay in securing the Governor-General's sanction, Gandhiji again went on a fast and was released as his condition became serious. The present tour was undertaken to awaken public opinion and get public support, financial and moral, for removing untouchability; including the removal of the ban on Temple entry.

From the personal point of view, the tour has been perhaps the most arduous undertaken by any Indian Missionary since the days of Dirghatamas whose lament from the bottom of a deep well, into which he had been cast by the aboriginal inhabitants whom he went to civilize, is recorded in the Rig Veda. The season of the year added considerably to the physical fatigue of the journey. But Gandhiji has stood the ordeal admirably, thanks to his wiry Kathiawadi constitution, his iron will, abstemious life and his implicit faith in Divine Providence. During the last few days, however, he seems to have felt the strain. We are sure a few days' complete rest will restore him to his normal health. The tour has been a great success on the financial side. It has brought nearly seven lakhs of rupees to the Harijan Fund. This is a considerable amount, having regard to the economic depression and the heavy calls for Bihar Earthquake relief. During the tour Gandhiji has forcefully pleaded that the removal of untouchability was a reform which involved the very existence of Hindus as a people and of Hinduism as a religion. The reformer has to be emphatic. The trumpet should give forth no uncertain sound. The removal of the ban on the remarriage of Hindu widows, the abolition of child marriage, and even the restriction on sea-voyage, were all advocated in nearly the same terms and with the same unction. Our intrepid contributor, Mr. C. Tejpal, is convinced that, unless the Hindu dead are carried to the funeral pyre on hearses instead of on biers borne on men's shoulders, Hindus will soon became as extinct as the mastodon. The Indian public are by now accustomed to make allowances for the

language of propaganda. The great majority of educated Indians, even before this memorable tour, was convinced that untouchability was an anachronism, and Gandhiji's plea has impressed them with the urgency of its removal from the Hindu social system. But they do not accept his theory that caste Hindus have deliberately reduced antyajas to and kept them down in their present degraded position, for which, indeed, there is no historical basis. Untouchability would seem to have originated in a difference of social habits. The Gita refers to antyajas as *Svapakas* or dog-eaters, and declares that the man of religious insight regards them and Brahmins with an equal eye. Said Jesus: "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man." Several castes have within living memory raised themselves in the social scale by adopting the habits, not all of them wholesome, of the higher castes. The antyajas, too, will do the same, now that they have awakened to their duty to themselves. To help them to do this, is the best service other Hindus can do them.

How far do the crowds which welcomed Gandhiji and the amount of money which he has collected, represent a change of heart in Hindu men and women, which is what could really remove untouchability? Gandhiji has more than once remarked that the majority of Hindus are on the side of the reformers. This is rather surprising considering that even all reformers do not altogether approve of legislation for temple entry, and some even think that, by isolating the problem of the untouchables, injustice is being done to other communities who, though not untouchables, are in a scarcely better position economically and educationally. The learned Tatacharya in one of his articles, published in the *Reformer*, pointed out that what Gandhiji's movement is leading to, is the formation of a fifth caste of Hindus, which, in his opinion, is the way in which Hindu society in the past has assimilated alien elements. But will this satisfy the Harijan leaders? Will even the suggestion of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association in their representation, published elsewhere, that Harijans should be allowed to enter temples up to the same limits as Sudras, satisfy them? Will it satisfy the Sudras? Why should the custom of demarcating the limits to which the several castes may approach the inner shrine, be perpetuated, when the most important restriction of all—that on the admission of untouchables—is being given up? Our own view, as repeated again and again, is that outcastes are a necessary incident of the caste system. So long as there are castes, there will be outcastes. The removal of untouchability, therefore, can be effected only by a complete overhauling of the caste system which is the view held by all Hindu social reformers. The rich Hindus who contribute liberally to the Harijan Fund, however, have no intention of renouncing by a jot their caste exclusiveness. As for the masses, the Hindu castes immediately above the Harijans, wonder why, when so much fuss is made about the Harijans, no one seems to think of their plight which is often much worse than that of the Harijans?

We hope that Gandhiji, when he is refreshed after a few days' rest, will review the movement. More particularly, he should consider whether direct action in social reform is likely to succeed more than in politics. The seat of authority in Indian politics is six thousand miles away. In social matters, it is in each one of us, that is, distributed among 220 millions of Hindus. In such matters, it is well to turn for guidance to ancient lights. The Gita lays down two precepts, one negative and the other positive, which are applicable to social reform. The first is, do not prematurely agitate the mind of the masses. The second is, that the masses follow in their behaviour the example set by the men of light and leading in the community. The *Reformer* has from the first maintained that the practical example of leaders is what counts in social reform. Gandhiji seems to think that giving money is the best proof of a man's acceptance of a reform. He is right so far as the poor are concerned. The widow's mite truly indicates the depth of her faith. A rich man, however, may give away a few thousand rupees without missing the amount. But in social reform, it is the man himself we want more than his money.

LORD CURZON.

The literature on the War, the peace and the statesmen who at one stage or another had a hand in them, does not show signs of exhaustion. We have looked into several of them. When we get a book of this class, we first turn up the index to see if India or Indian occurs anywhere in it. As a rule, it does not. When the Indian troops first landed in France, the newspapers were loud in their acknowledgment of the great achievement. Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister in mentioning India's contribution in men and money and material, to a war with which she had no concern, broke down and wept. But all that is forgotten. The international insignificance of India is brought home to one by the complete silence or very casual references to this country in the vast literature of the war. One of the few exceptions is the life of Lord Curzon by Lord Ronaldshay and the recently published "Lord Curzon-the last phase" by Harold Nicholson.* Even here India comes in only in an incidental way. The duel between Montagu and Curzon in the Cabinet over Turkey ended in the discomfiture of the former and his disappearance from public life. Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, was anxious about the effect on Indian Moslem feeling of British aggression against Turkey. Curzon, on the other hand, believed that the time had come to turn the Turk bag and baggage out of Europe. Harold Nicholson who, on the whole, is an admirer and apologist of Curzon, though he notes some of the personal failings of his subject, describes the antagonism between Montagu and Curzon thus: "Curzon from the point of view of that India which he had served, desired to deal a final

* Oxford University Press. Price 18 sh.

blow at pan-Islamism. Montagu, again from the Indian aspect, wished to conciliate pan-Islamic apprehensions. The former wished to eject the Turk from Constantinople. The latter wished us to maintain the Caliph with undiminished prestige." The Indian National Congress under Mr. Gandhi's leadership was at one with Mr. Montagu. Gokhale in his presidential address to the Benares Congress, in 1906, had compared Curzon to Aurangazebe for his pro-Muslim policy. If Curzon did intend to favour Indian Muslims by his Bengal Partition, it was not from love of Islam but from fear of Indian nationalism.

In the early stages, Montagu's opinion prevailed with the majority of the Cabinet against the opposition not only of Curzon but also of the Prime Minister, Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour. Curzon was furious. He recorded his earnest and emphatic dissent from the decision of the Cabinet. "In order to avoid trouble in India, largely manufactured and in any case ephemeral," he wrote, "we are losing an opportunity for which Europe has waited nearly five centuries, and which may not recur." Montagu's fall later was due to his having spiked Curzon's gun in his anti-Turkish intrigues. Writes Mr. Nicholson: "The Khilafat Committee in India spread the rumour that the British Government were about to furnish the Greeks with the sinews of a fresh campaign. The Viceroy (Lord Reading) telegraphed to Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, asking for permission to publish a repudiation of this rumour in a form which expressed strong sympathy for Turkish aspirations. Without consulting the Cabinet Mr. Montagu gave his consent." Curzon completely lost his temper. "If the policy of His Majesty's Government," he wrote, "is the policy of the Viceroy and Montagu then let Montagu go to Paris in my place and fight to obtain Ardianople and the Holy Places for his beloved Turks." Mr. Lloyd George's position as Prime Minister in the Coalition Cabinet was very shaky, and he wanted to conciliate Curzon who was a more influential colleague than Montagu. So Montagu was thrown overboard. The *Reformer* commenting on the incident at the time expressed surprise that the Viceroy continued to remain while the Secretary of State was dismissed for complying with his request. The surprise is intensified by the facts which have since come to light. The explanation probably is that Lord Reading was the intimate personal friend of Mr. Lloyd George. Nicholson entirely upholds Curzon. Lord Ronaldshay, writing with closer knowledge of the Indian situation, is more judicial. "Whatever the lack of judgment he (Montagu) displayed in assuming responsibility for the publication of so confidential a Despatch," he observes, "his action did have a very marked effect in allaying what, from the confortable distance of Whitehall, Lord Curzon characterised as "a factitious agitation," but which, to those in India who were called upon to cope with it, had all the appearance of a movement fraught with the possibility of very real trouble." It was in connection with this incident that Curzon described the Government of India as a subordinate branch of the British Government. But when the British Government refused his claim when he was Viceroy to have a voice in negotiations with Russia, he indignantly protested. They were ignoring, he said, the great change, which he believed he had himself done much to accelerate: "the lifting of India from the level of a Dependency to the position which is bound one day to be hers, if it is not so already, namely, that of the greatest partner in the Empire."

Curzon was the complete egoist. All his talents were devoted to sustain his own greatness. This is also the explanation for his contradictions. Seven centuries of aristocrat descent had weakened his backbone. But they only aggravated the domineering nature of the man. His normal attitude towards his fellows was overbearing. When he met his match, however, he simply collapsed. Kitchener, Poincare, Chicherin, were more than a match for him. Harold Nicholson records that he bolted abruptly from an interview with the "little Frenchman"—and wept. There was another occasion when Curzon wept. Bonar Law was dead, The King's secretary had telegraphed to Curzon on Monday evening to be in London the next day. Curzon, rightly regarding this as a preliminary to Premiership, came to town full of hope. After the telegram was sent, the King had changed his mind on the representation of the Labour opposition that a Prime Minister in the House of Lords would be highly inconvenient to it. Balfour had also advised that Curzon's temperament unfitted him for the Premiership. The next day the King's secretary called to tell him that Baldwin had been sent for. Then Curzon wept—wept like a child. Curzon could get on with the "people". It is the "higher middle classes" with whom, he confessed, he could not get on. He was quite sincere in his professions of concern for the men at the plough in India. But he disliked educated Indians. There was some speculation as to the origin of his Universities reform. Sir Sankaran Nair, while member for Education, rummaging amidst old files, came across a note by Curzon. In it, he had argued that the revolutionary movement in Tsarist Russia was the work of students, and they ought to guard against the danger in India by bringing universities under Government control. Curzon lived to see the Soviet Republic established on the ruins of Tsardom by a people whom tyranny had driven to desperation. The best part of Harold Nicholson's book is his epilogue. He calls it "Terminal Essay." In it he develops the idea that statesmen and diplomatists are generally creatures of circumstance and not its creators as is often supposed. "There is," he writes, "a tendency to ascribe to individual statesmen and diplomatists a greater degree of volition than they in fact possess." Such men are exceptional. "Most statesmen and most diplomatists are not in the least exceptional. They may possess certain theories; certain prejudices; certain ideals and certain desires. The interaction of these elements may, again, lead to a certain attitude of mind. Yet that attitude is mainly governed by the momentarily expedient—by what, in othe words, constitutes the lines of least resistance both at home and abroad." The exceptional man when he succeeds, is acclaimed as a genius; when he does not, he is voted an "idealist." The man who follows the lines of least resistance, does not incur any odium by failure. He often really gets a reputation for foresight which he does not possess. Lard Irwin was the former. His succesor, the latter.

Munis Renounce Holy Orders :—A Sensation has been caused in Jain circles by the renunciation, by three prominent Jain religious leaders, of all symbols of sectarianism. Before a gathering of Jain and non Jains of Beawar, Jain Muni Chunilalji Chaitanya, his father, and his guru, Kalyanswami and Laxminishi, alias Sewapriya, renounced their symbols .In a statement made on the occasion, they said that they had not abandoned Jainism but purged themselves of the sectarianism that had penetrated the faith. All the three munis will henceforth call themselves Jain Brahmacharis and devote themselves to the service of the country.

INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR.

The history of Indian trade relations with Zanzibar goes back to the first century A. D. if not earlier. The Hilton Young Commission on the Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa remark in their report that "several references in the Puranas show that the ancient Hindus had a fairly accurate idea of the locality and its peoples" and Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee cites the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' a marine book of 100 A.D. as evidence of India's ancient trade with East Africa. The Arabs arrived much later on the scene and the Europeans were the last comers. Captain Smee of the East India Company (1811), Colonel Rigby (1860) and Sir John Kirk (1910) have borne testimony to the importance of Indian trade in Zanzibar. Sir John acknowledged that British influence in Zanzibar was the outcome of the presence of Indian merchants who had captured the trade of the island. Of the five acts objected to by the Indian community in Zanzibar, two discriminate against the Indian in favour of the African and the Arab——the Moneylenders' Decree forbidding goods being sold on credit to Arabs or Africans, and the Alienation of Land Decree preventing Arabs and Africans from alienating their land outside the limits of towns except to Arabs or Africans. The Arab apparently is treated as a native of Zanzibar with rights to State protection even greater than the African as he figures first in the various decrees. It would be a mistake to suppose that the special treatment awarded him is a concession to the Sultan. The same supplement to the *Zanzibar Government Gazette* carries a Decree reducing the penalty under the Native Liguor Regulation Decree from "one year" to "six months" and from "Rs. 1,000" to "Rs. 500"—a measure which as a devout Muslim the Sultan surely cannot approve of. We do not grudge the Arab the advantages he enjoys to-day under the British Protectorate nor do we ask for special treatment from the British in view of the pioneer work of the ancient Hindu traders. But the two great communities in Zanzibar are entitled to equal treatment instead of being played off against each other.

The discriminating decrees fall into two groups—the first in regulation of general trade and the second relating to the clove industry, the principal product of Zanzibar. There are two decrees in the first category and four in the second. The first two are the Moneylenders Amending Decree and the Restriction of Land Alienation Decree. The new clause added to the Moneylenders Decree prevents the sale of goods on credit to an Arab or African, by bringing such a transaction under "moneylending." The Land Alienation Decree controls the transfer of land belonging to an Arab or African outside the limits of towns. Under this Decree the Arab or African is prevented from permanently alienating his land unless the party taking it over is an Arab or an African, without the sanction of the British Resident. Temporary transfers for periods of twenty or less than twenty years are alone permissible when the purchasing party is non-Arab or-African, and even in these cases the tendency under the decree is to make the mortgage a usufructuary one. After the twenty-year period, the land reverts to the original holder unencumbered and the debt is extinguished. A mortgage without possession has also been provided for, but under the decree, if the African or Arab mortgagor fails to pay principal or interest according to his contract, then on application the mortgagee will be placed in possession for a term not exceeding twenty years and the mortgage will be treated as a usufructuary mortgage. The mortgagor is at liberty to redeem his land at any time during the mortgage although a condition is permitted by which the time of the agricultural year at which a mortgagor may resume possession of his land on redemption may be agreed on by the contracting parties. There is no personal liability and no interest can accrue while the mortgagee is in possession of land or in receipt of rent other than that fixed by the official. Mr B. H. Wiggins, a lawyer of twenty-eight years' experience in Zanzibar, remarked in the Zanzibar Legislative Council, "It seems to me not only unfair but unjust to compel an investor to change his security to usufructuary mortgage. It would mean that the investor would become a sort of trustee having to manage the estate and keep accounts of perhaps twenty years without getting back his money unless things improve in the future. This would be sheer speculation. The Arab and African will get back his property at the end of the stated period free of debt whether it has been paid off out of produce or not. I am certain no Indian moneylender or any other investor will advance money upon usufructuary mortgage." Another important provision of the Decree is the declaration of a moratorium of one year in respect of Court decrees or orders for sale of land of Arab or African in settlement of debts incurred prior to this enactment. These then are the two measures for protecting the African or the Arab from, what it ultimately amounts to, his own improvidence. Apart from British obligations to Indians in Zanzibar, there is the peculiar position of three communities, starting presumably equal, two of whom have gone hopelessly in debt and all of them hard hit by the world depression and in particular the break in prices of cloves and copra, and the Government devises measure to protect the improvident communities at the expense of the only one which has held its own! It is not unlikely that the Zanzibar Indian will look out for better investments than lending his money under these restrictions to African or Arab, with detriment to the natives of Zanzibar.

So much for the two decrees enacted for the "protection of the natives." The measures regulating the clove trade which has hitherto been almost exclusively in the hands of Indians are four—the Clove Growers Association Decree, the Agricultural Produce Export Decree, the Adulteration of Produce Decree. and the Clove Exporters Decree. Under these enactments an association called the Clove Growers Association is formed which will be controlled by a Board of management of seven members nominated by the British Resident. The Association is exempted from stamp duty, registration fee or other charges. Advances can be made only to persons who are agricultural producers. Members of the Board can receive advances from the Association. The funds of the Association are mainly to be drawn from a levy on all cloves produced in and exported from the Protectorate. Inspectors are empowered by the Adulteration of Produce Decree to enter at all reasonable times any premises on which there is or is believed to be produce for sale or export, and to seize any adulterated produce. No action can be profitably brought against them on account of the broad provisions of the Decree. The Agricultural Produce Export Decree provides for official grading and inspection of the produce and grants immunity to the officials and the Government for any loss sustained by the merchants during the detention on Government premisss. Under the Clove Exporters Decree licences are to be issued to exporters at a cost of Rs. 5,000 per license per annum, the funds thus raised going to the Clove Growers Association. This in brief

is the purport of the clove regulations. "The "Statements of Objects and Reasons" attached to the enactments are not illuminating. They merely state that similar provisions exist in neighbouring territories in East Africa. The Zanzibar Indians have protested against all the clove decrees. We cannot, however, deny that the Adulteration Decree and the Agricultural Produce Export Decree are in the interests of the clove industry and not against the Indian traders who as the established merchants in the trade stand to profit more than the others by them. The Clove Exporters Decree is really a danger to the industry as it aims at a monopoly by raising a prohibitive export fee as licence and our countrymen in Zanzibar will be well advised to concentrate their agitation on that one issue alone. As for the Clove Growers Association, the definition of agricultural producer, the sole qualification for membership, is a wide one and we do not see what objection the British Resident can have to nominating three Indians on the Board of seven, particularly when the Indian interest in the industry is so predominant.

WHERE IS DISARMAMENT NOW?

(By 'Observer')

After very nearly going on to the rocks through a difference of view between the French and British Governments, the Disarmament Conference remained afloat as the result of the General Commission's Resolution of June 8. Much more credit for this agreement than is generally known belongs to Mr. Anthony Eden, whose modesty is one of the chief factors in his popularity with other delegations at Geneva.

But although the Conference continues, it has to be admitted that all the major difficulties remain.

Technical difficulties are no longer much trouble. The reduction and limitation of armaments is a feasible proposition the moment the leading Governments of the world are prepared to make the necessary concessions to one another.

Further proof that technical difficulties can be overcome, has been furnished during the past week, by unanimous agreement reached in a Committee, composed of European States, dealing with the question of regional security pacts. Also by progress made in another Committee that has been at work on the problem of securing national and international control over the manufacture of and traffic in arms.

But whether the fruits of such labours will ever be gathered depends not upon technical considerations at all, but upon political.

A bridge—to use the metaphor employed by Sir John Simon—has still to be constructed between the French and German positions, which on paper at least are not hopelessly far apart. That gulf cannot of course be bridged unless there is a positive desire on both sides to reach agreement.

There is no doubt that Germany wants a convention provided it is of such a nature as to make it possible for Hitler to tell the Germany people he has achieved equality of rights—to achieve which principle he is willing to submit to large inequality of armed strength for the period of the Convention (say 8 years.)

It is not so sure, however, that France wants a convention. It is said that even the French General Staff is divided on the point.

Monsieur Barthou's forthcoming visit to London in early July will show which way the wind blows.

In the meantime the preliminary talks about naval armaments are showing, what well-informed observers have been saying ever since the Conference opened, namely, that the Far Eastern situation is even more likely than the European to become the determining factor in this long drawn out attempt to reach a general agreement about armaments.

THE OUTLOOK FOR DISARMAMENT.

(By Bertram Pickard.)

The Rosolution approved by the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference on June 8th after a week of diplomatic tension and general pessimism, marks the beginning of a new phase in the long struggle to achieve a first General Convention.

It is as much a Christian as a political duty to face facts as they really are. Because organised Christian opinion has followed the Conference with constant and earnest attention, that is no reason for taking a sentimental view as to its continued existence, if it could be shown that positive results were now beyond reach.

It would be hard to exaggerate the gravity of the present situation, in Europe and in the world. Signs of insecurity and of the conflict of will and of interest are evident on every hand.

The 'collective system' (as represented by League Covenant and Pact of Paris) for assuring the peace of nations and promoting international co-operation is gravely threatened.

Violent force, though renounced in theory, is still employed as an instrument of national policy. The Sino-Japanese dispute, and two conflicts in South America have illustrated this.

On the other hand, there is little evidence that States with power and privilege are prepared to favour those changes in the *status quo* without which the changing life of the peoples of the world cannot be made to conform to the dictates of necessity or of justice.

Failing that general reduction and limitation of armaments envisaged by the Peace Treaties and the League Covenant, a new competition in armaments has actually begun, and in the event of a total breakdown of the Conference would certainly develop by leaps and bounds.

For this reason alone, we are disposed to think that the Resolution of June 8th, though it could become a virtual adjournment *sine die* in disguise, signifies that a new opportunity is now presented to the Governments to reach, before it be too late, a first General Convention which would at least provide a basis for progressive disarmament in the future.

The difficulties that block disarmament are no longer technical; the technical preparation was largely completed long ago. They are psychological and political; and they necessarily demand important decisions and concessions, almost exclusively on the part of the Big Powers be it said, notably the so-called 'heavily armed' Powers.

Towards securing such concessions leading to decisions, the Resolution arranges that the work of the Conference is to be carried on partly by the Governments themselves, partly by the Bureau, and partly by four Committees.

To the Bureau is confided the task of working out solutions for the outstanding disarmament problems and of putting together a disarmament convention which is to be presented later on to the General Commission.

As to the Committees, the first one is to deal with security; it is to consider the proposals for pacts of

non-aggression and mutual assistance which might be concluded between various groups of States, in the first case in Europe.

The second committee is to study the question of how to ensure that a disarmament treaty, once it has been agreed, to shall be kept by the nations which signed it. This same committee will deal with the similar question of the international supervision of the armaments of all countries for the purpose of ensuring that the amount of armaments permitted is not being exceeded.

The other two committees are to deal with the question of the air and with the arms traffic question. Those are two matters with which the public is especially concerned. A disarmament convention which included these matters would have considerable importance. But if it is to achieve real disarmament it must cover very much more ground.

How this ground is to be covered will depend upon negotiations with Germany with the object of bringing her back to the Conference.

It is here that the Governments come in. An important clause in the resolution leaves it to the Governments to enter into private conversation with Germany "in order to facilitate the attainment of final success by the return of Germany to the Conference."

"HINDU FUNERAL REFORM."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I thank Mr. R. V. V. Tatachariar for his remarks in your columns of 2nd June on "Hindu Funeral Reform." But it seems that he is not as conversant on the practical side of the world and the life of our age, as he is in Smritis. So far as the castes, the method of conducting Hindu funeral and segregation or untouchability are concerned, Manu may be wise in his period of life and leisure but Mr. Tatachariar cannot prove that the method is simple and easy. Regarding God's wish to have corpses of the Brahmins of India as Ahuti, it is purely a myth of Manu but one might say that "the Wheel" is the emblem of progress and not "the Shoulder" of a Hindu.

As many men are wanted to carry a dead body on shoulders all the way to the cemetery, a very uphill task for all and in case of the poor nearly impossible to have such a large number, the hearse is the proper and convenient thing for the purpose and it does not lessen the honour due to the dead but on the contrary enhances it. The hearse is a blessing for Hindu posterity and for the poor.

The glaring defect in Hindu sociology lies in the conduct of Hindu funerals which is a blot on the otherwise fair name of Hinduism or beautiful Hinduism, since the method is sufficient to keep Hindu posterity as hewers of wood and fetchers of water perpetually up to eternity if it is not replaced by an alternative method. When a male child is born in a Hindu family, the advent of the baby is generally hailed by the family along with relations composing their subcaste who rejoice at having one more corpse-bearer: a result of slave mentality to be maintained also by the new born in his turn who may be supposed to be an intelligent and a free man.

May I know, if it is not the cult of the corpse-bearer, what is responsible for having so many castes and sub-castes in India, where originally there were only three or four varnas? It is easy to combat each and every shade of slave mentality and slavery, except that of the Hindu mourners who are instruments of the present plight of our motherland, whose children are turned into a heterogeneous community from a homogeneous group of three of four varnas with intermarriages among all the varnas and with even non-Aryans without check, fear or restraint.

The secret of culture is to learn that a few points steadily reappear, alike in the poverty of obscure form and miscellany of metropolis and that these few are alone to be regarded; the escape from all false ties, courage to be what we are and love of what is simple and beautiful, independence and cheerful relation; these are the essentials; these and the wish to serve or add somewhat to the well-being of men.

It is not only the parents, Mahatmas, Gurus or Heroes that die, but the majority who are not these also die and nobody hesitates to respect, revere, love, and honour the living parents, Mahatmas, Gurus, Heroes, etc., by all the means and ways one likes. But so far as the dead body and its bearers are concerned, Lord Zoroastor's contensions are quite correct. But the hearse is a most reverential and convenient vehicle both for the dead and the living who use it, and the dead do not ask to be shouldered all the way long for deriving reverence of mourners. Moreover, one cannot charge others who place this dead in a hearse drawn by a horse or motor as quite bereft of love, reverence, respect etc. On the contrary they have a solidarity, self-respect, descipline and a status which Hindus in general have not. They can possess and maintain the mentality of a Raj which is the thing wanted by Indians for Swaraj. But those who believe themselves as dust of the feet of their castes may ask themselves as to whether Hindus can honestly abolish segregation of their folds and untouchability without the help of the public hearse and the undertaker. If India wants to be recognized as a nation in its true sense, Hindus will have to nationalize their dead.

Hindus pay cash down for the offices of barbers, butchers, shoemakers, potters, scavengers etc., but the office of the undertaker is unknown to them in spite of the large number of vagrant Sadhus fit for the profession. Eventually a Hindu Minister of State, Chief Judge, or a councellor is a picturesque subject for an artist to paint him, when he is in his untouchable uniform, passing under the yoke of the Hindu bier. If Hindus make cash payment instead of the expenses of funeral feast, the Sadhus can be made to serve us in this world also, as was done by King James I of England, and thereby Hindu society can be saved from being a laughing-stock of the world and many humiliations.

All the merit for salvation cannot be reserved by Hindus alone at the time when they appear to be as if forsaken in this world and lost in the next due to their sins of omissions and commissions in connection with untouchability, compulsory widowhood, infanticides, misalliances, white-slaves and such other evils that are sapping the life-blood of India. Of course there are several other forces and principles that help to nourish such evils, but the cult of the corpse-bearer is, if not mainly, to a certain extent responsible and of course mainly responsible for creating and maintaining the artificial caste system that perpetuates segregation and untouchability. The nations that use the hearse may have their draw-backs or miseries but they don't know such a tyranny as that of India caste system and untouchability.

When Hindus understand that their problems of life cannot be solved without the problem of death, they will insist on funeral reforms and will not be afraid of infection of disease of one dead body to the other placed one after the other in the hearse. And just as barbers know their

business to keep their instruments clean, neat and tidy, the undertakers must know theirs as well.

Many Hindu ladies and gentlemen of all varnas have by a will informed their friends and relatives through the Press that after their death their bodies should be taken by hearse to the cremation ground. Thus an impetus has been given to the masses and a large number of Hindu funerals have already been conducted by the help of the public hearse without fearing infection. The public have been falling in with this humanitarian and human method slowly but steadily. The Rajkot Social Service League has provided two on account of the increased public demand for its use. The corpse-bearers have their convictions no doubt but I would like Mr. Tatachariar to understand the maxim, "What individuals are that will the nation be."

Rajkot,
July 12th, 1934. } Yours etc.,
C. TEJPAL.

[We cannot say that we have understood every thing Mr. Tejpal say in this letter but we publish it as he has been for many years an earnest and sincere advocate of this important reform. As a matter of fact the use of hearses for conveying the dead is increasing in Bombay and probably in other cities among Hindus. We like Mr. Tejpal's happy phrase of "nationalizing the dead." Ed., *I. S. R.*]

BADEN-POWELL'S CONTRADICTION.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I am sure you will be interested in the correspondence that passed between Lord Baden-Powell and me, copies of which I herewith enclose.

In the issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* for 3rd March, 1934, there was an article under the title, "East of Suez" by a person who calls himself "Wayfarer." In the course of the article the writer referred to "Instructions" alleged to have been given by Lord Powell to Mr. Wilson who was touring India at that time in connection with the Scout Movement. Among the "instructions" referred to the following occurred,

> Some of these natives are not possessed of the same ideas and minds as white men; they have no ideas of chivalry and are full of conceit and self-importance, and if this is allowed to grow without check, they are apt to become insolent and mutinous which is a dangerous thing in countries like India and Africa, where millions of natives are ruled by a handful of whites. It is necessary, therefore, to remind them now and then to respect the British rulers.

As soon as I read this article, I brought this statement to the notice of the Executive Committee of the Madras International Fellowship to consider what we could do in the matter. The Committee felt that without being sure that the report was correct they could not take any action and therefore they asked me to write to Lord Baden-Powell direct asking him whether he was correctly reported. This correspondence then followed :—

Lord Raden Powell,
Boys' Scout Association,
Buckingham Palace Road,
London.

Sir,

In several newspapers in India, there has been lately references to the instructions that Your Lordship seems to have given to Mr. Wilson, when he came out to India on his tour on behalf of the Scout Movement.

Among the several instructions that you are alleged to have given, the following occurs :—

> "Some of these natives are not possessed of the same ideas and minds as white men; they have no ideas of chivalry and are full of conceit and self-importance, and if this is allowed to grow without check, they are apt to become insolent and mutinous which is a dangerous thing in countries like India and Africa, where millions of natives are ruled by a handful of whites. It is necessary, therefore, to remind them now and then to respect the white ruler."

It is difficult to know if you are correctly reported. Some of us find it hard to believe that statements of the kind given above have their origin in you. It is quite likely that the reporters have been unfair to you. If you are incorrectly reported, we want to say that to the Indian public and correct the impression that has already gained ground. I shall, therefore, be deeply grateful if you will kindly let me know if you are correctly reported.

I need not say that statements of the nature given above will do considerable harm to the relationship that ought to exist between Indians and Britishers and further it will do great injury to the cause of the Scout Movement itself.

I am sorry to trouble you with this. But, I feel sure that you will recognise that the matter is important.

MADRAS,
28th March, 1934. } Yours faithfully,
A. A. PAUL.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of March 28th. addressed to the Chief Scout, I write to say that the instructions which you say he is alleged to have given were certainly never given by him and you need have no hesitation in contradicting the statement.

LONDON,
2nd May, 1934. } Yours truly,
Private Secretary.
(*To Lord Baden-Powell.*)

Since you published the article referred to, "East of Suez", I hope you will consider it necessary to publish Lord Baden-Powell's reply to the question when I referred the matter to him.

Yours etc.,
A. A. PAUL.

[The article referred to was not by "Wayfarer" but by V.A.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

BOMBAY REFORM ASSOCIATION ON UNTOUCHABILITY BILL.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has communicated the following views on Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill in the Assembly for removing Untouchability:—

Though the Bill for the abolition of untouchability among the Hindus is not properly drafted, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association is in favour of the principle of the bill on humanitarian grounds and reasons based on justice, equity and good conscience.

It is no doubt true that though disabilities are referred to in the statement of objects and reasons they are not specifically referred to. The social and other disabilities are not specified. It is, however, clear that the disabilities referred to relate to the absence of enjoyment of elementary rights as human beings *viz.*, worshipping in the public temple, walking on the same public road or pavement or drawing water from the public well. The legislature is called upon to recognize that the minimum of elementary human rights can be exercised by the depressed classes without let or hindrance and not to allow the courts to recognize any custom to the contrary.

It is true that the enjoyment of elementary rights including touchability is not denied to the depressed

classes during travel in a railway carriage or any public conveyance. It is a matter of common knowledge that an appreciable number of educated Hindus do not seriously object to the partaking of food or drink touched or prepared by the members of the depressed classes at a public dinner or party especially in the cities. So also no serious objection is raised to the use of the public roads and pavements by members of the depressed classes except in some parts of Southern India. Serious objection is however taken to their drawing water from the public wells and entry in public temples. This objection can be based solely on custom. The elementary human rights cannot be secured to the depressed classes merely by means of persuasion of the higher classes. They cannot be enforced by recourse to law. If a member of a depressed class enters a public temple, in addition to the risk of being malterated he runs the risk of a prosecution of the offence of Criminal Trespass on the ground that he might thereby cause annoyance to any person or persons. The civil and criminal courts will invariably enforce *status quo*, the former by recognition of custom and the latter by buttressing the custom by recourse to Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Though there is considerable change in public opinion and also the custom observable in railway carriages, public hotels and conveyances, the Courts will enforce the custom so far as temples and perhaps public wells are concerned. Since the establishment of the British regime the process of recording any change in custom by Nibandhkars in their commentaries on Smritis has ceased to have any operation, and British courts have petrified social customs by throwing over them the mantle and protection of judicial recognition. There is, therefore, no other way except recourse to legislation to enable the depressed classes to enjoy the minimum of their elementary human rights.

Enlightened public opinion is not sufficiently vehement and assertive to justify penalising the obstruction to the exercise of these elementary rights *e. g.*, by declaring such an obstruction to amount to an offence of wrongful restraint. The Association is of opinion that a member of a depressed class should not expose himself to an action for damages or criminal prosecution for attempting to enforce his elementary natural rights, and the courts should not recognize any custom written or unwritten which would in any way obstruct or hamper the exercise of such elementary human rights.

Though the association is in favour of removal of the disabilities of the depressed classes in social and other diverse matters, it is of opinion that the bill should not confer on them any higher rights than the Sudras, the fourth class in the Hindu social structure of Varnashram Dharma. If the Sudras are not entitled to enter the sanctorum of any temple, the bill should not authorise the depressed classes to exercise higher rights than are permissible to the Sudras. Though the Association is opposed to the recognition of caste as such, it would be prepared to acquiesce in the express restriction of the rights of the depressed classes to the same extent as the Sudras and nothing more, if such express restriction is likely to blunt the edge of opposition. The principle then of doing away with untouchability as such will be enforced and the depressed classes will be allowed access to the public temples and wells to the same extent as Sudras.

The wording of the bill might be amended to secure the enforcement of the exercise of the natural human rights by the depressed classes. If the operation of the Act is restricted to public wells, temples and other public places, it would meet the objection that the bill is likely to violate well-established principles of law relating to trusts and ownership of property.

It is contended in the debate on the bill that the three sources to which penalties, disadvantages and disabilities are traced in the beginning of Section (2) are not quite accurate. In order to meet that objection my Association thinks that the wording of Section (2) should be as follows:—

(2) Notwithstanding any written or unwritten custom, usage or convention having the force of law, no penalty, disadvantage, or disability in relation to public temples, wells or other public places, or in relation to any public convenience, utility or service shall be imposed upon or any discrimination made, recognized or enforced against any person on the ground that such person belongs to an untouchable class or caste among Hindus, and no civil or criminal or revenue Court shall recognize any custom of untouchability or base its adjudication on such custom.

A proviso might be added as follows:—

"Provided that such a person belonging to an untouchable class or caste among Hindu shall not be allowed or held entitled to exercise higher rights than a person belonging to the class or caste of Sudras in the Hindu community."

TEMPLE ENTRY BILL.

(By R. Veerian.)

Social tyranny is so rampant that a vast bulk of the masses (Adi Dravidas) are denied the very rudimentary rights of human beings. In fact we have no free access to public wells, tanks, springs, path ways and other places of public resort. Because the mentality of the Caste Hindus have not changed, we are not able to fully enjoy our rights, although there are legislative enactments made regarding the same.

Untouchability is practised in different forms in different places under the cover of Unwritten Laws. This could not be removed without systematic work. It is purely a question of change of heart of the Orthodox section. Without sufficient education and propaganda in a systematic manner, it is not possible to convert the extremely orthodox to cosmopolitan views, especially in religious matters. The so-called Depressed Classes are depending mostly on Caste Hindus for their livelihood, and so they will not care to cast their votes in favour of Temple Entry, for fear of losing their support from Caste Hindus, especially in rural parts. The Bill will not really help the depressed classes, unless an Organisation comes to their rescue to help them financially in the event of any trouble arising by their entry. Without such a provision, we strongly oppose the passing of this Bill.

A deputation of Adi Dravidas of Southern India headed by me submitted a Memorandum to Mahatma Gandhiji at Coonoor on 4-2-1934 and we explained to him that Temple Entry would not in any way materially benefit the community; but would only create confusion in the country. What we impressed on him was an all round education and economic improvement. We have our own Temples and Bhajan parties and hence we are not lacking in any way in spiritual food. Those who plead so much for us ought to help us in actual practice to our free access to public wells, tanks, springs, path ways, and other places of public resort.

Saint Nanda, Thirupanalvar, Sokamallar and Rohidas belonging to our fold had the opportunity to enter Temples, but this did not improve our lot. What more proof is needed to show the truth of my above statement?

"THE SERVICES AND RELIGION."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I for one, must make serious objection to the last sentence in your leader in the Reformer dated July 14th, headed: "The Services and Religion." You as an intelligent Hindoo know very well that the statement: "Christ died upon the Cross to enable his Indian followers to become candidates for an Assistant Auditorship in the South Indian Railway," is not true. You are trying to be funny, where as you are, in reality, sacrilegious. I doubt very much whether you are gaining in respect with all right thinking men, not even with impartial Hindoos, when you flippantly make such statements. Rather help us to a better understanding of one another. I think that you owe all Christians, certainly those that have read this statement, an apology. May I kindly request that you refrain from making such statements no matter what your interpretation of the Cross that Christians consider holy, may be?

Champa,
July 17, 1934.

Yours etc.,
P. A. PENNER.

[We quite understand our correspondent's indignation but it is misdirected. He has overlooked three small but very important words at the beginning of the sentence that he quotes and an exclamation mark at the end. The full sentence reads as follows:—"*To think that* Christ died upon the Cross to enable his Indian followers to become candidates for an Assistant Auditorship in the South India Railway!" The thought which offends our correspondent is not ours but that implied in the reservation of this particular appointment exclusively to communities professing Christianity. Mr. Penner's indignation should therefore be directed not towards us but towards the policy which reduces the great religions of the world to the level of qualifications for jobs.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

A HILL TRIBE PROPHET.

In 1931, a man named Sri Hari Doss, professing himself to be a 'Divine Messenger sent by God for the salvation of the hill tribes in the Agency" was found in the Parvatipur Agency, converting large numbers of hill tribes to his creed by preaching to them that they should bathe twice a day, that they should abstain from eating meat and drinking liquor, that they should recognise him as a messenger sent by God. When it was found in the year 1931, that his influence was growing and that he was creating disturbance, he was deported to Bellary as an undesirable person by the Agent to the Governor for the Vizagapatam Agency under an Agency Warrant. Sri Hari Doss, however, managed to escape from that place almost immediately. A warrant of arrest was thereupon issued against him. The authorities strenuously endeavoured for some time to round him up but failed to find out his hiding place. In August 1932, there was definite information that Sri Hari Doss was openly visiting one village after another at the head of a band of armed Pydies who carried swords, bows and arrows, and that though he at first posed himself as a Sadhu and a Divine Messenger, had later assumed the role of a King and had declared his intention to proclaim himself as "King" of the Narayanapatnam Agency by ascending the gadi in his new "Fort" at Boriput on the Dasara day. The authorities then determined that decisive action should be taken to check the spread of the movement. Armed Reserve police of four districts were concentrated in the Agency and after a protracted campaign, Sri Hari Doss was arrested with his regal paraphernalia. He was tried in a number of cases on a number of charges and sentenced to a long aggregate period of imprisonment wherefrom he soon escaped and was recaptured in Kalahandi State only recently.

AN OPEN LETTER ON THE POONA PACT.

The following open letter addressed to Mahatma Gandhi by the Hindu young men of Punjab was delivered to him on July 12:—

Revered Mahatmaji,

On behalf of the Hindu young men of this Province we welcome you to the Capital of the Punjab. We offer you our tribute of homage and admiration for your great work in the movement for the uplift of the Harijans.

We feel constrained to tell you, however, that even your great and saintly personality and your matchless championship of this cause will be sterile because of the 'Poona Pact' in which the Hindu leaders in their anxiety to save your life agreed to conditions which cut at the very roots of nationalism, and which sacrifice the solidarity and the high interests of Hindu India. This Pact is a deathblow to the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab in particular.

Mahatmaji, you never paused to make a searching enquiry into the miserable plight of the Hindus of these Provinces. Their very existence as a community is threatened by organised Muslim fanaticism and the Government's indifferentism. Their sisters and daughters are systematically abducted by Muslim rowdies. They are economically strangled. They have not the freedom even to preach and practice their own religion. Granted that there are murders and kidnappers in every community. But is there any other community in India, we ask you in all humility, which organises men and funds for defending and help them? And have you ever condemned the nefarious practices of these ruffians? We have been painfully forced to the conviction that this resurgence of fanaticism is almost entirely due to your weighty support of the Khilafat movement and your constant eagerness to be "pocketed" by Muslim communalists who masquerade as nationalist leaders.

The wave of this fierce fanaticism fanned by your obliging readiness to accept Muslim dictation has swept over British India as well as over the Hindu States and has created a veritable hell for Hindus. Witness the troubles in Kashmir, Alwar, Kapurthala and Jhind. Your offer of a blank cheque to Muslims, which is an open confession of the worst form of timidity and bankruptcy in statesmanship, has turned the heads of Muslims.

Your support of the abominable Communal Award opposed to the very first elements of nationalism and democracy has encouraged communalist Muslim leaders in their extravagant communal demands. It is a matter of surprise and grief to us that all this even did not make you pause in your scheme of unjust concessions to Muslims. But under pressure of so-called Nationalist Muslim leaders who work in concert with their communalist brethren you have not only agreed to accept the unjust and anti-national Communal Award but also to exert the pressure of your towering personality on Hindu leaders for persuading them into its acceptance.

DEPRESSED CLASSES IN TRAVANCORE.

The Travancore State Government have prepared a comprehensive scheme for the uplift of the members of the Depressed Classes in the State, which number nearly 800,000 and form one-sixth of the total population of the State.

In order to give them vested interest in the land, the Government have sanctioned concessional

assignment of 'Paduval' (virgin land) in many places. The Government have also made provision for the assignment of three acres of 'Paduval' land for each depressed class family. The total area ear-marked for the assignment is about 15,000 acres, of which nearly 4,000 acres have already been allotted. The Government have prohibited the alienation of such lands to prevent them from passing into the hands of money-lenders.

Special attention is paid to the spread of education among them and almost all schools in the State have been thrown open to the Depressed Classes children. Every facility has been granted to them in the shape of concession of fee. Besides, a large number of Technical schools and night schools have been started to satisfy educational needs. The organisation of Co-operative Societies to improve their economic condition has been receiving special attention.

Efforts are also being made to organize Cottage industries for their economic betterment and a Weaving School has been established at Vettikavala in the Kotaravara Taluq.

Another scheme for starting a Model colony for the members of the Depressed Classes in Trivandrum has been formulated. The proposal is being considered by the State Government and when the scheme materialises the question of starting similar colonies elsewhere in the State will be taken up.

DR. MOONJE'S CALL TO THE ORTHODOX.

In a message to the Sanatanists Dr. Moonje made the following remarks on the fast undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi :—

"M. Gandhi has announced a fast of seven days, which will be begun two days after he reaches Wardha at the end of a year's most fatiguing tour. The fast has been undertaken as a penance against the show and practice of violence towards the Sanatanist leaders, who are opposed to the methods of his movement for removal of untouchability. It is feared that there may turn up many occasions for such fasts during the course of the election campaign, which bids fair to be marked and polluted with most determined violence between the opposing sides. However, the Sanatanists must recognise and appreciate the purity of heart and engrossing solicitude for the preservation of Hindu religion and culture, as against the active aggression of the proselytising religions in India, which have inspired the movement of Mahatma Gandhi. As the Mahatma is cleansing his heart by his fast, the Sanatanists also should cleanse theirs and protect, consolidate and broad-base their very religion and culture, for which they have thought it their sacred duty to oppose a saintly soul like the Mahatma. They must announce complete eradication of untouchability, as the Hindu Mahasabha has done; so that we may all combine together to save this old religion and culture from sure extinction, which otherwise faces them. Let the so called untouchables who still have faith in and love for their fore-fathers' religion, be brought into line with the other touchable castes in the Hindu community, and a combined and intensive movement be started to bring about an organic unity and consolidation, *i. e.*, Sangathan amongst the Hindus. We all should pray to God for health and long life of the Mahatma."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Unfair to the Aga Khan:—A member of the Legislative Assembly asked Government this week whether it was the fact that H. H. the Aga Khan had made a request to be given a State in recognition of his services to the Empire. The Political Secretary to Government replied that they had received a confidential communication from the Aga Khan, the contents of which they could not disclose. A maladroit intervention by another member provoked the retort that the Government Department was not responsible for the leakage of the information and that there were many other avenues by which it could have leaked out. A similar question was put in the House of Commons the next day and the Secretary of State for India negligently replied that he had nothing to add to the reply given in the Legislative Assembly at Simla. But Sir Samuel Hoare's opponents are alert, and one of them promptly asked how many other supporters of the White Paper scheme had applied for States. Sir Samuel Hoare was evidently taken aback and replied in a somewhat confused way that the imputation conveyed in the question was improper. The Government here and in Britain have thus unfortunately given colour to the rumour that the Aga Khan asked for a State in reward for his services to the empire. A little reflection will show that this is totally out of keeping with the character of His Highness as an Indian leader of outstanding eminence and as spiritual head of a flourishing religious sect which has followers in many lands. As the Aga Khan has so far thought it not worth while to give his own version, it is not for any one else to guess what it might be. But we are sure that the contents of his communication were essentially different from what they have been made out to be and that they were conceived in the public, rather than in his own personal, interest. One ingenious friend went so far as to suggest that His Highness had requested to be made ruler of Sind, excluding Karachi Port and the Sukkur Barrage. Even with these two, Sind will, it is estimated, continue to be a deficit province for many years, and it is highly improbable that the Aga Khan, who certainly knows what he is about, would covet the rulership of the series of deserts which is Sind.

A Political Prodigy :—The impossible has happened. A vacancy has arisen in the membership of the Bombay Legislative Council owing to the promotion or demotion of responsible Minister Cooper to irresponsible Member of Executive Council. This is a vicious, unconstitutional practice calculated to impair the independence of popular representatives. That is by the way. Mr. Soman who stands for the seat vacated by Mr. Cooper in the Legislative Council has, according to Dewan Bahadur Latthe, the support of non-Brahmins, the Congress party and the Liberals in the Southern Division. Mr. Soman has had a portrait and a biographical sketch published in the *Mahratta* and is a Brahmin. That he should have the support of non-Brahmins, Liberals, the political alias of non-Congress Brahmins, and of Congressmen is a noteworthy achievement auguring well for the future. If this is possible in the Karnatak, it must be possible elsewhere.

Representation of the Depressed Classes :—Our leading article to-day deals with Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar's second electoral address in which he spoke of the claims of minority communities and the failure of attempts to arrive at a settlement of them. In the same address, he commented on Gandhiji's opposition at the Second Round Table Conference even to reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes in the legislature. It came upon us also as a surprise. But it is not difficult to understand his point of view. He returned to India, determined to launch a powerful movement to influence caste Hindu opinion. He was not able to do so. What happened in the twelve or thirteen days which intervened between Gandhiji's leaving London and reaching Bombay, is a mystery. The Dewan Bahadur said in his speech that the second session of the Round Table Conference came to a disastrous end, "not because the Conservatives were in power, not because Sir Samuel Hoare took the position of the master and the Premier was washed out of the picture and

not certainly because the Britishers turned hostile to us, but primarily because the communities could not come together, the trusted lieutenants of Gandhiji threw him overboard, did not show confidence in him and everybody in the whole world knew that we met with disastrous failure over the minorities problem." Even the high authority of the Dewan Bahadur will not suffice to convince observers, Indian as well as foreign, that the replacement of Mr. Wedgwood Benn by Sir Samuel Hoare, as the head of the India Office and its spokesman at the Conference, for instance, did not mean a material change in the atmosphere of the Round Table Conference. Neither Dr. Moonje nor Raja Narendranath can be described as ever having been lieutenants of Gandhiji. We must say that the Dewan Bahadur's opinion is strongly biassed against the Hindu Mahasabha people in the first place and in the next against Congressmen.

Gandhiji's Fast:—The *Indian Witness* complains that we did not express an opinion on Gandhiji's decision to fast on account of the assault on a Sanatanist by a Harijan Sangh Volunteer at Ajmer. It writes: "*The Social Reformer* says 'we trust the objects with which he has made this resolve will be fulfilled.' It also refers to the fast as undertaken "in expiation of the violence offered to a Sanatanist leader." Does the Editor believe the fast can make expiation for the violence? There is no way to tell. He does not say." On seeing the announcement of the decision, Mr. Natarajan telegraphed to Gandhiji at Karachi: "No call for penitential observance. Condemnation sufficient. Pray desist." Gandhiji replied: "Thanks wire. Read statement. Cause too great for overlooking Ajmer neglect duty." Obviously there was nothing more to be said. The *Witness* states the Christian position as being that, while one person cannot make expiation for the sins of others, if by his fast Gandhiji can bring the offender to repentance, that is to be desired. We suppose Gandhiji wants not only to bring the volunteer in this particular case to repentance but to warn others not to do as he did in future. As for one person not being able to make expiation for the sins of others, the *Witness*, of course, regards Jesus Christ as an exception. Many Hindus believe that vicarious satisfaction is of general application. So also many Muslims. There is the classic incident of Babar calling upon himself the illness of his son, Humayun, and dying of it.

Muslims in Railway Services:—An Associated Press message of the 20th explained why no Muslim was selected to undergo special training in the United Kingdom in the batch of six who were recently sent up. There were ten candidates of whom one was a Muslim, and he stood ninth in the order of merit and did not attain qualifying standard. This would be sufficient explanation ordinarily. But Government have undertaken to have 33⅓ per cent. of appointments reserved for minority communities, of which 22 or 25 per cent is allotted to Muslims. In the present case four Hindus and two Anglo-Indians were selected on their merits. It is now claimed that, as one-third of the six nominations went to members of a minority community, namely, Anglo-Indians, none was available for the Muslim. If this interpretation is the right one, the one-third of appointments reserved for minority communities may all be absorbed by Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and persons of non-Asiatic origin, and the position of Muslims in the services will be in no way improved. According to the recent resolution of the Government of India, one at least of the appointments should have been given to a Muslim even if he did not attain the qualifying standards. Ango-Indians are only entitled to 9 per cent, and one would be more than that. It will, no doubt, be a serious risk to appoint an unqualified person to the traffic services. But this should have been thought of, and these services exempted from the scope of the recent resolution. The explanation will not serve the purpose intended, namely, avoid further criticism of Muslim representation on Railway services.

Communal Representation in Judicial Service:—The *Times of India* in a leading article has urged the exclusion of the Judicial services from communal distribution. The *Times* has chiefly in view judges of the High Courts. But of the enormous volume of litigation in the country, only a small percentage goes before High Courts. The arguments advanced for excluding communal considerations in the selection of High Court Judges, therefore, apply with much greater force to the District judiciary. These arguments, however, ignore one important fact, namely, that, as Judges as a rule work in public, have nearly always a strong bar to assist them in the discharge of their duties, and are aware that their decisions are liable to be scrutinised by higher courts, their incompetence is likely to do less injury to the public than that of Executive officials who work behind the purdah and, for all practical purposes, are sure of being protected by their superiors from the consequences of their errors. A stupid judge will be a greater trial to himself than to the public. He will have to face day after day a Bar which will not be long in making him feel what opinion it has of him. This, and the publicity of procedure, are safeguards against incompetency which do not exist in the case of executive ineptitude. Indeed, the executive officer who acts before he knows the facts, is likely to acquire the reputation of being a strong man. The Judicial Bench is, from the public point of view, the safest place for communal selections with minimum qualifications.

Congress and Khaddar:—Difficulty is being experienced in enforcing the rule that only those members who wear khaddar (hand-spun, hand-woven cloth) can participate in Congress elections. Owing to the comparatively high price of hand-spun cloth, many persons recently enrolled could not afford to buy it. In order, however, to satisfy the rule, election organizers

in Allahabad and elsewhere kept sets of *Kurtas* and *Dhotis* for the voters to wear at the time of election. Gandhiji's attention having been drawn to this practice, he strongly condemned it as tantamount to cheating. Only habitual wearers of khaddar, he said, should vote in the elections. A man may be very capable and intelligent but unless he wears khaddar he is to be prevented from serving his country, so far as the Congress is concerned !

Kirpans for Girls:—In view of the frequency of abduction cases, Mrs. K. Kaul in a letter to the *Hindustan Times* suggests that a young woman should keep a *kirpan* with her "hidden somewhere near her waist." She continues: "She should learn to use it and should not hesitate to put it into operation as and when the opportunity may unfortunately arise. I do not know if other girls, besides my Sikh sisters, are entitled to keep it under the law. If the law allows it, so far so good, and if it does not, it is the duty of every member of the Legislative Assembly to get such a law passed whereby the weaker sex, to whichever class or community she may happen to belong, may be allowed to keep the *kirpan* with her as a safeguard for her person and honour. And I am sure when once or twice the *goondas* are stabbed at the hands of the weaker sex, such accidents will never happen. The *goondas* have no courage, and the knowledge of the dagger being present with the girls will keep them at a respectful distance." The *kirpan* is a knife about nine inches long which it is the religious duty of every Sikh, man, woman and child, to wear as a part of their dress. The Arms Act specially permits this in the case of the Sikhs. The law will have to be amended to permit of girls of all communities to wear the *kirpan*. The wearing of the *kirpan* will instil a wholesome fear not only in *goonda* abductors, but also in unloving husbands.

A Problem of Co-education:—The Rajshahi College is open to students of both sexes as most Indian Colleges are. Professor Shivkumar Shastri, son of the Principal and Honorary Professor in Civics, found one day that his class in the girls' section was empty. The Professor reported the matter to his father, the Principal, who deputed the Vice-Principal to enquire into the reasons for this apparent boycott of Professor Sastri's Civic class. He found that on that day only one girl attended the college. On being questioned, she said that she felt shy to attend the young Professor's class alone. The Principal, when this was reported to him, fined her three rupees for her "impertinence" and threatened her with expulsion in case of recurrence of such offence. We do not see any "impertinence" in the girl's excuse, though it is surprising that a college girl should feel shy before her Professor.

Death of Nepal Minister's Wife:—The wife of the Nepal Minister at the British Court died at a Nursing Home on Tuesday the 17th July. She was seriously ill even when she left India. Hindu custom requires that the dead should be cremated of as soon as possible. No meals can be cooked or eaten in a house in which there is a corpse. On Wednesday the funeral rites were performed according to orthodox Hindu usage. Princess Shamshere Jung's funeral in the village of St. John's, Working is believed to be the first open air cremation in England. The body was taken in procession along the half-mile village street which was thronged by the inhabitants. The children picked up silver and copper coins ceremonially scattered along the route. The pyre erected behind canvas screens, was made of sandal and other rare woods, says a Reuter's message. In the absence of her husband in Italy, the Nepalese General was the chief mourner. The ashes will be taken to India and be deposited in the Ganges. General Shamshere Jung, accompanied by his suite, arrived in London from Italy on Thursday. He bore obvious traces of grief at the death of his wife, but in accordance with Nepalese custom there was no mourning and the General carried on the usual duties of the Legation.

A Liquor Abolition Resolution Disallowed:—Mr. J. F. Edwards writes in *Dyanodaya*:—"We are sorry to note in an Associated Press message from Simla dated July 17 that the Governor-General has disallowed in the Legislative Assembly a resolution of which notice was given by Mr. Gunjal which 'proposed the abolition of all liquor shops.' Apparently the resolution is disallowed 'on the ground that the matter does not primarily concern the Governor-General in Council.' This is one more proof of our contention in the Memorandum we have sent to the Select Committee in London on India's new constitution, that even the Viceroy of India has not the power to allow either a non-official Bill which affects revenues, or any Bill in the All-India Legislative Assembly which deals with a Provincial question such as liquor. It illustrates also another of our contentions, that not until Drink Reform is saved from 'falling between two stools' in the Central and Provincial Governments will the Drink Reform that India desires be found possible. Friction between these two sets of authorities must cease by the Central Government administering a united Excise policy, thereby ensuring public morality on the Drink Question. 'This was done in the case of opium,' as Mr. Frederick Grubb of London agrees in the May-June issue of the *Indian Temperance News* in a reference to our Memorandum, 'in spite of the fact that several States in Central India depended largely on that source of revenue."

What For?—The *Servant of India* thinks that the Congress members of the next Legislative Assembly intend to do exactly what the others declare they will, namely, work the White Paper scheme if it survives their efforts to kill it. Then why the slapping of things, squaring of shoulders and twisting of shaven or unshaven mustachios by the Congress propagandists ?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
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COMMUNAL AWARD.

By way of preparing his electorate to cast its vote intelligently at the forthcoming election for the Legislative Assembly, Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar has been delivering a series of addresses dealing with the important aspects of the political situation. We referred last week to his first address in which he dwelt on the grave tasks which awaited the next Assembly and the duty of the electors to return the best and ablest men irrespective of party. He devoted his second address to the Communal Award and the circumstances which led to its being given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Cabinet. The Dewan Bahadur began with a melancholy narrative of the infructuous attempts previous to the Round Table Conference made in India to arrive at a settlement of communal claims in constitutional reform. He next referred to the first Round Table Conference and described in piquant language how at about 1 a. m. one morning, Dr. Moonje's hesitancy destroyed a settlement which had been agreed upon by all other delegates as the result of strenuous talks on board the ship by which they sailed to London and on arrival in London. Yet they were not discouraged. They returned to India determined to find a solution. Incidentally, the Dewan Bahadur hinted that it was the efforts of the delegates at the first Conference that led to Congress being invited to the second Conference and also to the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The second Conference met full of hopes inspired by Gandhiji's presence. A Minority Committee was constituted. Gandhiji was on that Committee. After several meetings, it was proposed that a small Committee of three or five delegates should be appointed to arbitrate on the several communal claims. The Muslims agreed. Dr. Moonje, however, again played the role of marplot. He and two others, a Hindu and a Sikh, "conveyed the distinct impression" that they had no confidence in Mahatma Gandhi who was to have been one of the arbitrators. This also was enacted at 1 a. m. Gandhiji himself, when he reported the failure of the Committee next day to the Conference, attributed it to the non-representative composition of the Indian delegation. The Dewan Bahadur criticised Gandhiji for questioning the representative character of the delegates after having worked with them for many days. He also criticised Gandhiji's opposition to the reservation of seats for antyajas as another cause of the failure to reach a minorities settlement. The so-called "Minorities Pact" was the direct consequence. The Prime Minister was then asked to decide and that was how the "Communal Award" came to be given.

It is natural that the Dewan Bahadur who played an important part in these negotiations and in the sessions of the Round Table Conference, should regard them as heaven-sent opportunities which had been sacrificed by the perversity of some of his fellow-delegates. It is, however, the fact that many people in this country felt extremely doubtful about the utility of holding a Conference of this kind in London. Lest we should be accused of being wise after the event, we quote the following sentence from the leading article in the *Reformer* of September 6th 1930:—"There is a considerable body of opinion in support of holding the Conference in India where the delegates will be in contact with the currents of feeling among their own people and alive to the absolute need of having Indian public opinion behind them." After pointing out how the original idea of the Conference had been whittled down, we observed in the same article "with the changes now adopted, its character as an authoritative body has been considerably lowered and the chances of its coming to acceptable or even definite decisions made more remote." We are not, therefore, surprised that the delegates of the Round Table Conference in London failed in their attempts to reach a communal settlement which we have not been able to do in India even after repeated attempts. The Dewan Bahadur showed less than his usual perspicacity in trying to make Dr. Moonje the scape-goat for the failure. If Dr. Moonje had signed the settlement at the first Conference, it would have made no substantial difference in the result which followed. The Dewan Bahadur attaches excessive importance to the part played by individuals, whereas the forces which guide and control individuals are deep-rooted in history. The Hindu Muslim question bears a different aspect to the Sikh, the Rajput and the Mahratta from what it does to an inhabitant of Tamil Nadu. It is really not one problem but several problems. If it concerned only the Tamil country, Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar's observations would be thoroughly well conceived, including that which declared a Pan-Islamic Indian Muslim to be not a "proper Muslim." Said the Dewan Bahadur, "If there is any Muslim who turns his eyes westward, who speaks in pan-Islamic language and tries to adopt the patriotism of Turkey or Persia, then we say—and I trust the vast majority of Muslims will say—that he is not a proper Muslim or a national or a patriotic Muslim." Friends are sometimes surprised that we are not so keen about joint electorates as many others are. The reason is that we feel that Muslims who hold that without separate electorates their interests will not get adequate protection, have some justification for their opinion. The distrust between Hindus and Muslims can be overcome only by their working together for a considerable period for common ends. Such collaboration is, of course, more easy with joint than with separate electorates. But it is not impossible even with

separate electorates, and in the present circumstances we should try to do this rather than concentrate our efforts to get rid of separate electorates.

We agree with the Dewan Bahadur that the minority problem in India is esentially different from that of the newly established states in Europe. The fear of racial, religious and cultural opression against which the minorities in European countries have to be protected, and for which the League of Nations formula was devised, does not exist in this country. "It seems to me idle to suggest," said the Dewan Bahadur, "that a Hindu majority might ever be in a position to persecute or prosecute a Muslim minority on religious grounds. That has not been our tradition. We have admitted into our country every religionist and allowed him to thrive without any restrictions. It is the proud privilege of Hinduism that, throughout its long career and existence, it has held fast to its high tenets; it has given shelter and hospitality to the persecuted of all other nations. And, therefore, it is idle to suggest that what the minorities are really afraid of is religious persecution when once we get powers." This is admirably put. What is it then that the Indian minorities want protection for? Said the Dewan Bahadur: "They want to feel secure that, within any constitution that may be given to us, by any majority rule that may be adopted in this country, they will also have a place under the sun, and, whether they are right or not in claiming these privileges, statesmanship, wisdom, and political sagacity require that minorities should have that feeling satisfied and must have a sense of security that their position will not be jeopardised under any constitution." The Dewan Bahadur here lapses into vague words which is not usual with him. The argument that whether they are right or not, sagacity and statesmanship consists in humouring them is not one which can be accepted. The Dewan Bahadur's Party, the Justice Party, was not founded on this principle. As for the desire of minorities to have "a place under the sun," an examination of their demands would show that what they want is rather a "place under the shade." We do not mind separate electorates, but we are totally opposed to the principle of weightages because these, as the Dewan Bahadur remarked in another part of his speech, could only come from the share of the majority community. A Legislature which does not represent the natural distribution of the population, can carry no moral weight or possess no lasting authority in the country. The Dewan Bahadur and those who honestly share his views, may roll the stone to the top of the constitutional eminence, but they will find it a hard job to keep it there for any length of time.

THE OXFORD GROUP.

For some time past, much has been heard of what is called the Oxford Group. The Oxford Group has nothing to do with the Oxford movement. The latter is a Catholic revival within the Church of England while the former is a campaign for the revival of the practice among men of the truths of simple Christianity. It has nothing to do with Oxford either. Dr. Frank Buchman, a Lutheran Minister came to England from America a dissatisfied man, feeling that his work for the spiritual and social welfare of young men there had been seriously hampered by a difference of opinion with a governing committee. Whilst in England, says the anonymous author of "What is the Oxford Group*" he caught a vision of a Christ-led world untrammelled by sin. Dr. Buchman, unlike other people who have had a similar vision, resolved to make it a practical reality. It meant the cutting of all personal ties, the sublimation of his personal ambitions and making the wide world the only place he could call home. After several years spent in this way he went to Cambridge in England and with two undergraduates whom he "converted," he went to Oxford. That was the origin of the name, Oxford Group. It was at Oxford that the practice grew up of "House Parties" which play so great a part in the movement. These House Parties are held at certain intervals in various countries. They are cosmopolitan. Guests at these house parties are treated as guests; they meet on an equal social footing whatever may be their social status outside. Individual spiritual needs are, we are told, attended to in a sensible and business-like way. All are allowed to contribute their views. There are no strict rules as to admission to these parties. All are free to come and go and do as they wish. There is no special dress and there is no subscription to be paid. The Oxford Group is not a religion. It has no temples, no endowments. Its workers have no salaries, no plans but God's plans. The word 'Sin' is the keyword of this movement. Sin is defined as anything that keeps us from God or from one another. The consequences of sin are incalculable. The Oxford Group maintains that 'I' or the ego is the secret of the power of sin. Individually self-interest is the causation of the world of sin. Absolute surrender to God brings peace of mind.

The above paragraph is put together from the book, "What is the Oxford Group," mostly in the words of the author who calls himself "A Layman with a Notebook." Most of the ideas can be paralleled almost word for word from the scriptures of other religions, notably the Hindu scriptures. In fact, one is almost tempted to think that the main ideas of this group are derived from Hindu sources. It is said that Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, in the first edition of her book, acknowledged her indebtedness to Hindu philosophy. But this was omitted in subsequent editions in order not to prejudice the movement in the eyes of the American public. Surrender to God, the ego is the cause of all sin, sin is something which comes between man and God, are all familiar to Hinduism. The idea of sin itself is analysed in Hinduism and found to be ignorance and the removal of ignorance is the way to enlightenment. The one thing that is new in the Oxford Group is the importance attached to the confession of one's sin to another member of the Group. This is not like the Catholic Confession but simply a frank avowal to a fellow groupist of whatever lies as a burden upon one's soul. Sharing,

* Oxford University Press. Price 2s. 6d.

we are warned at the same time, "does not mean divulging indiscretions which involve other people by name. It means confessing our part in our sinning. Placing the blame on others and making excuses for our weakness is not sharing, it is merely negative selfish talk." Rather paradoxically it is also argued by the author that "the discovery that our sins are often the sins of our neighbour gives a particularly healthy outlook to the young." The Oxford Group is at the same time opposed to any exhibitionism of ourselves even in talking about sin. The other ideas in the book too are nothing new. In fact it is very difficult for outsiders to understand the extraordinary claims that are made for the effect of this movement on many thousands of lives. We note with special interest the observation about the visit of a team of the Group to South Africa. It is claimed that this visit resulted in the bringing about of better racial understanding and reforms which would have a lasting effect on the life of the Dominion. A well-known South African statesman is quoted as saying that if the work of the Group continues to grow in South Africa during the next few years as it has in the past, there will soon be no racial problem there. We fervently hope that he is right. When people say that a particular religious thought or practice has brought peace to their souls, it is not for others to question the fact. We are bound to accept the claims put forward in this book for the Oxford Group. There can be a similar movement in every religion with Buddha, Sri Krishna or the Arabian Prophet as the central inspiring figure. We do not know whether there is any team of this Group working in India as yet, but if there is, we should like to know more of it.

The propositions about honesty, sincerity, love, restitution, sex and so on, contained in this little book, will find universal acceptance, and every one of us would be better for attempting to put them into practice as much as possible. But the author himself shows that few could wholly succeed in the attempt. One of the best men of our acquaintance used to say that he had only one principle in life and that was to tell as few lies as possible. He was really a very truthful man but he would not claim to be a *satyagrahi*. The problem of the would-be Groupist is to find another who is truly a "changed man," and not a "rogue in grain veneered with sanctimonious theory." In India we have what is perhaps the least fallible test for a spiritual teacher. He must have renounced the world. Even so there are many pretenders. In the Oxford Group, overt acts of renunciation are discouraged. Frank Buchman is not an ascetic, says the author. He wears no distinctive garb, affects no unusual manner, and makes no claim to an unusual personality. There is more laughter in House Parties than at many social gatherings. There are no prohibitions, not even against liquor and gambling. From one point of view, the Oxford Group may be described as "Religion made Easy" or "Religion Without Tears." "What is the Oxford Group" is a book worth reading even by those who may find it a collection of copy-book maxims amplified and elaborated with great ingenuity.

Prof. P. Lakshminarasu:—We regret to record the death which took place recently at Madras of Prof. P. Lakshminarasu at his residence in Mint Street, Georgetown. The late Mr. Lakshminarasu was wellknown as an educationist having been for a long time Professor of Science in the Pachaiyappah's College. He was a great pioneer of the social reform movement and took an active interest in the work of the South Indian Buldhist Association of which he was the President till the time of his death.

SOCIAL WORK IN BOMBAY *

(By S. S. Patkar.)

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was founded in the year 1900 after the death of Mr. Justice Ranade. The Ranade Memorial Fund formed the nucleus of the fund of the Association. For nearly two decades the association was doing very useful work under the guidance of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Other funds were also collected *viz.*, Madhavdas Raghunathdas Memorial Fund, Temperance Fund and the Hindu Widows Fund. It appears that latterly during the last fourteen years the Association was not so active as before and the number of members was considerably reduced. Owing to the efforts of the Secretaries—particularly of Mr. Y. V. Bhandarkar—the number of members has considerably increased this year.

Last year besides the celebration of the Anniversary of the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act, the Association arranged a series of public lectures on various subjects of social reform and sent representations to the proper authorities in connection with the bills on the Legislative anvil relating to matters of Social Reform.

It would not be inappropriate to refer to some of the bills relating to the burning questions of the day.

Our Association was in favour of the Devadasi Bill which will be introduced in the Legislative Council by Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole. The bill purports *inter alia* to render illegal the performance of the ceremony having the effect of dedication of a woman Devadasi in a Hindu temple, and to render legal the subsequent marriage of a Devadasi notwithstanding her going through the ceremony of dedication as a Devadasi.

Our Association also sent considered opinions on the Temple Entry Bill by C. S. Ranga Iyer and the Abolition of Untouchability Bill by Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja.

Attempts are made to include members of the depressed classes within the pale of Hinduism on political and other grounds, but they are denied the exercise of the minimum of natural elementary rights on the ground of religion, usage and custom. The elementary human rights including touchability cannot be secured to the depressed classes merely by means of persuasion of the higher classes. They cannot at present be enforced in a court of law. Though there is considerable change in public opinion and also the usage as observable in railway carriages, public restaurants and conveyances, the courts will enforce the usage so far as public temples and wells are concerned. In order to remove these disabilities in respect of public temples, wells or other places of public resort or in relation to any public convenience, utility or service, there is no course open except recourse to legislation to secure to the depressed classes the elementary human rights.

It appears that a large number of petitions have been forwarded against the bills. On this point I may refer to the remarks of Sir John Peter Grant on 12th July 1856, on the occasion of the Widow Remarriage Bill. Sir John Peter Grant observed "that he believed that there were upwards of 40 petitions against the bill signed by from 50,000 to 60,000 persons; in favour of the bill there were upwards of 25 petitions signed by more than 5,000 persons. If he knew certainly that but

* Opening address at Annual General Meeting of the Presidency Social Reform Association, July 21, 1934.

one little girl would be saved from the horrors of the life she led by the passing of the Act, he would pass it for her sake. If he believed, as firmly as he believed the contrary, that the Act would be wholly a dead letter, he would pass it for the sake of the English name." During the course of the discussion of the same bill, Sir Barnes Peacock pointed out circumstances under which the legislature was bound to interfere with religious customs. He observed:—"When the commission of an act or the omission of a duty would be an offence against society, a political Government interfered to prevent that act or omission. But it did it for the protection of society, not for the protection of religion."

With reference to the proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen Empress on which strong reliance is placed by the sanatanists, it is pertinent to observe that the proclamation promises to see that none shall be molested or disquieted by reason of his religious faith and observances and that "All alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law," and further gives a pledge to paying only "due regard" to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India "generally in framing and administering the law." But "due regard" does not mean unconditional or implicit regard but only regard which is proper *i. e.*, consistent with reason, justice and humanity. If the government and the legislature do not protect any of the subjects from outrageous and inhuman acts when such acts are either sanctioned or enjoined by religion, or does not secure the enjoyment of elementary human rights to any of the subjects on account of social or priestly tyranny, it would amount to paying an "undue regard" to ancient rights, usages and customs however objectionable and reprehensible they may be on the ground of reason, justice and humanity.

There is another point to which I would like to refer on this occasion. There is a loud and persistent complaint that there is a wholesale defiance of the Sarda Act. The offence under the Sarda Act is not a cognizable offence. The Magistrate can take cognizance of the offence only on a complaint made in that behalf. It is therefore the duty of Social Reform Associations or Vigilance Committees if any in the different town and cities to make proper complaints in cases of flagrant defiance of the Act.

I would like on this occasion to indicate the channels in which our association should work in the near future.

One of the objects of our association is to promote the cause of Temperance. The vice of drink is more prevalent among the mill-hands and the backward and depressed classes. I do not suggest that it does not exist in the higher classes. I would suggest that mill-hands and members of the backward and depressed classes should be invited to send prize essays on the question of temperance and total prohibition, and prizes should be awarded by our association. Another suggestion I would make is that magic lantern slides and also cinema films should be prepared with a view to emphasize the evils of drink, and shows should be arranged in the quarters inhabited by mill-hands and backward classes and Harijans.

The movement of social reform is mostly confined to the higher classes. Social reform ideas should be made to permeate through the lower classes. Effort should be made by means of preachers and lecturers to carry wholesome and progressive ideas into the lower strata of society. Ideas of the dignity and the rights of women should be popularised in order to prevent regrettable instances of beating and cruelty to women in the lower classes.

If funds are available, a widows' home should be started in Bombay to facilitate widow remarriages.

It appears that when the object to be attained is acquisition of higher social or political rights, the pursuit of that object is all engrossing or a pleasant one. But when the question arises as to concession of rights to others with or without diminution of one's rights, the matter assumes a different aspect. It is now increasingly realised in many quarters that social and moral progress is absolutely necessary for national uplift. It is a very encouraging sign of the times that women are taking a more prominent part in social, political and educational movements. I would therefore appeal to enlightened ladies and gentlemen to assist this association in furthering the cause of social reform. If our Association does substantial work in furtherance of the objects of our association, I have no doubt that the number of members of our Association is bound to increase.

INDIA'S MISSION.

(By Mrs. I. J. Pitt.)

It is not only the authors of "The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India" who believe that a resuscitated India with free scope for her self-expression has a specific contribution to make to the comity of nations, but all who know her well will agree with this dictum. And what is her unique quality?

Surely it must be that which is so forcibly brought home to the observant Westerner who has come into close contact with the people. It is, to use an oft-repeated phrase, her "genius for religion." Truly in the West there are saints who have sounded the heights and depths of religion to as full an extent as any in India, but the "masses" are not inherently religious, they must acquire it. To give two illustrations:—

The writer was taking an evening walk, accompanied by a Hindu school boy. The passing by an old temple gave rise to questions asked regarding the Shaivite sect. Other boys strolling that way, joined us, and with eager interest listened and contributed information to the enquirer. Another: Every evening the Munsif, the Headmaster, the Vakils, the doctor and the writer were accustomed to meet in a Brahmin musician's house for reading and discussion of Hindu scriptures; some or other always attended, and would stay on talking to the late hours. Imagine our English schoolboys eagerly discussing religion on the road, and our village or town magnates giving up every evening to a Bible class! One's wildest flights of fancy do not reach that! Who living amongst a Hindu community but does not observe that with the unsophisticated the spiritual world is the Reality; the material, the unreal, the transitory, and that this recognition is part of the very fibre of their active lives; and that ability which enables many a simple illiterate to grasp easily a metaphysical abstraction.

Without being concerned here as to whether their lives are more moral than other people's, the fact remains that the invisible world is to them the real. That spirit is greater than mind or matter.

If asked to give proof for this belief these people would look astonished, they take it for granted, as they do the functioning of their bodily organs. Such a one and his questioner might be compared with a lover of music and a friend who had no ear for music whatever. Let us suppose this friend saying, "What is this music that you tell me

produces in you exhilaration, ecstacy, and enthralls you absolutely? All I can hear is a lot of chaotic sounds, conveying not the least meaning to me. Unless you can give me proof that these sounds are capable of producing the alleged effects, I must conclude that you and all musicians are victims of a delusion."

The music lover might reply, "So be it, I can only assert that I know that I have spoken the truth. I can give you no proof. As you are deficient in the musical sense, to re-iterate the experience of these who are musical is only to speak to you in a strange language. If you have faith in our *bonafides* you will take our word on trust; if not, not." The "things of the spirit" can be only discerned by the spirit. If that become atrophied by disuse, or lying dormant, or perhaps non-existent the language of the spiritual world will be mere gibberish.

Is it not India who speaks this language with the greatest proficiency who should teach it to a world where the powers of evil are mustering all their forces to destroy the angels: to fill puny man with a colossal pride, by which he imagines he can dispense with the Incomprehensible, scorn the supernatural and evolve a religion out of himself, which is to have no creeds, no dogmas, leading to a state "moth-eaten with liberty" as T. S. Eliot calls it? "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God," but even fools can understand that every man a law unto himself, and every man allowed uncontrolled self-expression, means chaos and anarchy and that the only check upon this, which is available to them is to standardise humanity, suppress individuality, induce group-mentality—in short, soul slavery.

But the starved soul must have an object of worship, a God and a religion. Or they will worship a man, or the machine, as in Russia; and for a religion, a concoction compounded of materialism and sentimentalism, as served up by Bertrand Russell, for instance. All those with eyes to see can discern in the modern world how all this works out where it has been tried.

Is India preparing herself for this spirtiual mission? Are none of her sons falling under the attraction of an outwardly alluring form, which speaks with the voice of the charmer, of liberty and a universal religion without God, while they discern not that the bright coloured vesture clothes a skeleton?

A CO-OPERATIVE COLONY FOR MAHARS

(By Vaikunth L. Mehta)

Among the places visited by Mahatma Gandhi during his recent stay in Bombay was the Colony of Konkanastha Mahars at Pali Danda in Bandra. The colony comprises nearly one hundred families who have put up thatched huts of their own on a site at the foot of the Pali Hill. In 1918, they were allowed temporarily the use of this Government land. Since then they pay to Government a monthly rent of Re. 1 per cottage. Government are prepared to consider their request for the permanent use of the site provided they construct pucca buildings on approved lines. The colonists who are mostly employed in the Railway Work-shops and in Mills are anxious to remain on the present site and put up permanent buildings out of their little savings. These savings of persons with a monthly income of Rs. 20/- to Rs. 40/- are naturally not substantial and the proposal has, therefore, been put forward that the colonists should form a Co-operative Housing Society. The society will borrow funds for the purpose from Government or other sources and purchase the site from Government, construct the buildings and manage the property until the liabilities are met.

A beginning has been made in this direction and 30 persons have made a formal application to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the registration of the proposed society. During a period of three months a sum of Rs. 925/- has been contributed by members and deposited with the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd. Plans and estimates have been drawn up for the cottages and informal discussion carried on with the Collector, Bombay Suburban District for the purchase of land and for the grant of a loan. It is understood that in view of the special circumstances, a Government loan may be made available to the extent of three-fourths the cost of the land and the buildings, as a special concession the rate of interest may be reduced to 5 per cent, and the period of repayment extended to 40 years. The land is to be made available also on special terms, being required by a Harijan Community, and the price is estimated at Re. 1/- per square yard.

According to the estimates the total cost of the land will be Rs. 7,500/- at Rs. 250/- per cottage. Two types of cottages are proposed, ten for those who can afford to pay a larger monthly instalment of Rs. 10/- and twenty for those who will pay a monthly instalment of Rs. 5/-. The cost of the former will be Rs. 10,000/- and for the latter also Rs. 10,000/-. The total cost of the buildings will thus be Rs. 20,000/-. If a Co-operative Housing Society can be registered, Government will grant a loan of Rs. 20,625/- but that is conditional on the remaining one-fourth or Rs. 6,875/- being secured at the outset. The members are prepared to put by as much as possible from their monthly saving and by the time the Society commences operations they expect to raise Rs. 2,400/-, Rs. 1,200/- being contributed by the ten intending occupants of the larger cottages and Rs. 1,200/- by the twenty occupants of the smaller cottages. The Co-operative Department cannot, however, register the society unless the members raise the whole of the guarantee fund themselves or secure donations for the purpose. The members wish to borrow the amount required and have no desire to secure donations, but the condition imposed regarding registration makes it incumbent on them to seek assistance in the form of donations. The scheme, as framed, contemplates the refund of these donations in a period of five to seven years, as the monthly payments proposed to be made by members cover repayment of this amount. The total amount required is Rs. 4,475/- and this appeal is addressed to all who are interested in the welfare of Harijans, in which the improvement of housing conditions plays a very prominent part to assist in the scheme by giving some substantial help. The Mahar Colonists are ready to help themselves and only need some initial help to comply with the requirements of the law under which they seek registration of their housing scheme.

Donations may be sent to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., (Post Box No. 472) for being placed to the credit of the Society's account.

Indian Position in Zanzibar:—It is understood that in view of the paucity of information regarding the Indian position in Zanzibar as affected by the recently proposed legislation, the Government of India are likely to ask Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, their Agent General in South Africa, to proceed to Zanzibar to conduct an inquiry on the spot and to make recommendations to the Government of India to enable them to take up the matter with the Colonial Office.

THE ABOLITION OF LICENSED HOUSES.

The League of Nations has gone on record as being opposed to the maintenance of the system of licensed houses of prostitution, which is still in force in many countries. This view was adopted by the League Committee on the Traffic in Women on the basis of a report prepared by the Social Section of the League Secretariat on information collected in reply to questionnaires and from investigations done on the spot in a number of towns in which licensed houses have been abolished.

The report gives evidence in reply to the question: What, in actual practice, have been the consequences of the abolition of the system of licensed houses? It contains the results of an enquiry in fifteen European towns in which licensed houses have been abolished or have never existed. Different types of towns were chosen—state capitals, seaports, garrison towns, cosmopolitan centres—from a number of countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. Information on recent developments with regard to the abolition of licensed houses in port towns or colonies of the British Empire was furnished in the survey prepared by the British Social Hygiene Council. The information collected refers to the following points:

(1) Date of the abolition of the system of licensed houses and measures taken with regard to the inmates of the establishments which were closed;

(2) Laws and regulations at present in force for the protection of public morals, and the results of their application;

(3) Measures applied to combat venereal disease and the efficacy of these measures;

(4) Preventive measures;

(5) Opinion of persons in direct contact with prostitution regarding the value of the measures at present in force as compared with the former system of licensed houses.

The examination and discussion of the draft report brought out the fact that considerable diversity of method had been employed to achieve the same ends. It was the opinion of the Committee that methods must naturally vary according to local conditions and the social habits and customs of a population. This applies particularly to measures taken for the rehabilitation of former inmates of the licensed houses. In its final report, the Committee drew attention to the different methods employed. In particular, it emphasised (*a*) the necessity for making the free treatment of venereal disease available for all members of the community, (*b*) widespread propaganda with regard to this disease, (*c*) early intimation of the decision to close the licensed houses so that co-operation may be achieved among all concerned, (*d*) that suitable measures must be taken for the rehabilitation of former inmates. The Committee concludes, in view of the fact that the authorities in communities where licensed or tolerated houses have been closed, have been unanimous in declaring that the problem of prostitution can be more effectively dealt with where these houses are abolished and that there is no desire to return to the former system, that it will no longer be possible to defend the system of licensed or tolerated houses by the arguments which once seemed to justify it. It asked the Council to invite the Governments to maintain the abolition of the system of licensed or tolerated houses wherever this has been realised, and to consider the desirability of abandoning this system where licensed or tolerated houses still exist.

At the same time, the Committee pointed out that abolition in itself cannot be effective unless it is supplemented by the education of public opinion and effective medical and social measures. In addition, the punishment of souteneurs and procurers must be severe and consistent.

The Traffic in Women and Chiidren Committee expressed its satisfaction at the fact that since its last session (April 1933) Brazil had ratified the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. The Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age which was drawn up in October 1933, has already been ratified by twenty-seven States—*viz.*, Union of South Africa, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

THE CHURCH AND "UNBELIEVERS."

Mr. L. P. Jacks, the editor of *Hibbert Journal*, concluding his second article on Mr. Loisy's new book on the birth of Christianity remarks:

On one pervading characteristic of the earliest Christian propaganda which, unhappily, its later developments have never entirely lost, M. Loisy has touched but lightly—its attitude of condemnation, of menace and even, at times, of violence towards the unbeliever—who, be it noted, is not the unbelieving atheist of modern controversy, but the "liar" who denies, in one way or another, that "Jesus is Christ" (I John ii. 22) and is in turn to be denied by the Christ before the Father in Heaven (Matt. X. 33.) —probably one of the sayings "received" by some prophet or initiate as a spiritual admonition from the risen Christ. This intolerance of the unbeliever, apparent enough even in the Epistle which announces that "God is love," may be detected all through the New Testament, sometimes as an undercurrent and sometimes, as in the Apocalypse, assuming a tone little short of ferocity. May we not account it the *damnosa hereditas* of Christianity, the fruitful parent in every age of theological hatreds, internecine bigotries, heresy hunts and excommunications? What but this has given Christianity the unenviable reputation of being the most addicted to persecution of all the great religions of the world? Combining an official theology which condemns the unbeliever to perdition with humanitarian ethics which declare that all men are brothers, is it to be wondered at that Christianity in these days is inwardly divided against itself and outwardly split into atomistic sects, an astonishment to the Hindu and the Buddhist, whom it vainly seeks to convert, and even, at times, to its own adherents? Intelligible as such intolerance may be as a phenomenon of the age when Christianity was born and amid the fierce oppositions which beset its infancy, the survival of it into our times is an offence to just-minded men. By this spirit M. Loisy himself, toiling a long life for the spiritual progress of humanity, has been excommunicated. But there are many others, toilers in the same cause, who wait for no official excommunication to drive them beyond the pale. Offended by anachronisms so inhuman, they excommunicate themselves.

Curzon, the Last Phase:—Mr. Harold Nicholson's book which was reviewed last week in these columns, is published by Messrs. Constable and Co., and not by the Oxford University Press.

PROHIBITION REPEAL A TRAGIC FAILURE.*

(By F. Scott McBride.)

The results during the first six months show that repeal has deplorably failed to solve the liquor problem. So increasing tragic are these results that the ignoble control experiment is tottering toward collapse. Predictions of improvement have been proven disastrously false, and wet promises have been contemptuously broken.

The saloon is back, with added evils, in New York, headquarters of the repeal movement, and in Chicago, where both the Republican and the Democratic parties made their most solemn declations and platform promises that the saloon must not come back.

In Washington, where Congress voted for repeal and passed what the wet Crusaders praised as a model control law, drunker driving, according to a traffic official, has caused an increase of 63 per cent in traffic accidents during the first four months of this year. Governor Fly, of Massachusetts, who attacked the Eighteenth Amendment while nominating Al Smith in Chicago, recently declared here in Washington that "unless our present record improves the time is not far distant when it won't be safe for any one to venture on our streets after the cocktail hour." Here in the nation's capital an appalling record of drunken attacks, murders, suicides, crimes and misfortunes of all kinds, refutes the claim of the Crusaders that repeal would bring "true temperance."

The American Automobile Association reports that "a wave of recklessness is sweeping the nation's highways," and quotes figures showing a 34 per cent increase in railway crossing accidents under repeal.

Bootleggers have not disappeared with repeal. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau is quoted as saying that the illegal liquor business is "as bad as ever," and Mr. Joseph H. Chote, Federal Alcohol Control Director, states emphatically that lawless liquor now exceeds the legal supply. Repeal has simply added a legalized trade to the lawless traffic.

The cocktail hour, ingeniously popularized for profit by the big hotels of Washington, New York and other large cities, is more perilous and ruinous to young women than the old-time barroom treating custom ever was to young men. Employing the insistent influence of social custom to promote alcoholic habits and liquor sales, the cocktail hour alone is sufficient to condemn repeal as an inexcusable crime against American youth.

Widespread reports of rioting and bloodshed in connection with strikes are but another indication of the regrettable consequences of repeal. The contrast between turbulent conditions in strike areas in recent weeks and invariable orderliness during labor troubles under prohibition demonstrates the stupidity of adding drink to discontent.

Many recent misfortunes and disasters of carelessness, like train wrecks and fires, were undeniably caused by the drinking of beer and wine, conveniently obtainable almost everywhere since repeal.

The granting of 2,400 Federal retail liquor dealers' tax receipts in the dry state of South Carolina and the sale of revenue stamps to a brewery in dry Georgia indicate the futility of promises to protect dry territory—promises made not merely by candidates and in party planks, but in the repeal amendment itself.

The fact that officials apparently neither care nor dare enforce effective restrictions in either wet or dry territory proves the rule that politicians who choose to march in the wet parade are expected to go the whole route for the liquor interests.

My own personal observations in the eighteen states from coast to coast which I have visited in the past three months are confirmed by reports from our Anti-Saloon League offices in all parts of the country.

The first six months under repeal have provided convincing evidence that there is absolutely no hope for a cure of liquor evils in any of the various control systems.

Conditions under control, already terribly bad, will constantly become worse with the further development of gigantic liquor sales systems and fabulously financed advertising campaigns—plus the inevitable operation of the habit-forming effect of intoxicating beverages.

Accordingly, all our Anti-Saloon League Superintendents and workers are being urged to redouble the efforts to prevent repeal of state and local prohibition laws, the last and best remaining defense against repeal evils.

INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGIST IN THE WEST.

Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Indian Anthropologist and officer in charge of the Ethnographic Survey of Mysore, has been the recipient of cordial welcome at the various European Universities that he has so far visited in the course of his tour abroad, writes *The Sind Observer*.

Landing at Brindisi and proceeding to Rome *via* Naples, he was invited to lecture at the University of Rome on the subject of "Black Magic in India." Addressing a large audience, Prof. Iyer stated that it afforded him great pleasure that he had the privilege of giving his first European lecture in so ancient and great a city as Rome. He instanced that contact for a South Indian with Rome was not to be unexpected as the earlier records indicated that South India and Rome had intimate commercial relations and, what was more, had actually a temple dedicated to Caesar Augustus in the vicinity of the modern Cranganore. In the course of the lecture, which was illustrated with lantern slides, he enumerated a large number of cases of survivals and modifications of the practices of black magic in modern Hindu society. His Excellency Prof. Tucci, who presided, thanked the lecturer for the very learned and illuminating discourse he made in the University.

Prof. Iyer was invited to Florence by the University. At the Institute of Anthropology of the University, he spoke on "certain aspects of primitive culture in South India." Illustrating his points suitably with slides depicting the actual practices among the jungle tribes, he explained the customs and manners peculiar to them. Towards the conclusion the Vice-President of the Society presented him with a diploma of Honorary Membership of the Society. On the following day, the Rettore Magnifico, Prof. Dindo de Vecchi, of the Royal University of Florence awarded him the Academic Medal of the University.

The Indian savant was invited the following week to talk before the Institute of Ethnography and the Institute of Indian Civilisation of the University of Sorbonne. At the former, Prof. Mauss of Sorbonne presided and Prof. Iyer spoke about the importance of the study of the lower forms of culture. "The proper interpretation of higher forms of culture can only be

* Mr. McBride, General Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League writes in *The American Issue*.

undertaken when we appreciate the significance of the simpler form of culture correctly." He ran through the whole gamut of Indian society to be found on the west coast, explained the unity of principle to be discerned in the diverse manifestations of customs and convictions developed by the people in the course of ages, betraying the influence of their older primitive habits. At the Institute of Indian Civilisation under the direction of the famous Indologist, Prof. Sylvain Levy, Prof. Iyer lectured on the subject of magic in India. Magic practised by the people, he stated, was of two kinds black and white. The meeting was particularly memorable as it had attracted a large number of Indologists and Indian students pursuing their studies at the University of Sorbonne.

Prof. Ananthakrishna Iyer next proceeded to the University of Oxford where the University Anthropological Society invited him to deliver a lecture on June 7.

At Vienna, the Asiatic Society and the Faculty of Anthropology invited him for a discourse on certain problems of Indian sociology. Baron Heine-Geldern of the University of Vienna was found working on the sociological analogies between Kerala and Indo-China. The indefatigible Father Schmidt, the founder of the Anthropos, the Director of the Vatican Ethnographical Museum and Professor of the University of Vienna, in collaboration with Prof. Coppers have utilised very large amount of information from the "Cochin Tribes and Castes" in their able and encyclopaedic work on Culture. Then, again, at Breslau, Prof. Dr. Freiherr von Eickstedt, Director of the Anthropologisches Institute and Ethnologisches Institute, has created an important school of Anthropology for the University of Breslau. Apart from the monographs he has issued on various racial problems in India, he has collected 15,000 photographs of types from India alone.

At Berlin and Konigsberg the next two places to which the Indian Anthropologist was invited, there are professors attached to the University who have studied and published important contributions to the study of Indian culture. Mention may be made of Poof. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, who is as familiar with the important pilgrim centres in India as any orthodox Hindu.

Prof. Iyer next visited Halle on Saale about 2 hours' journey from Berlin, to speak on the Aryan Conquest of South India at the University.

At Halle the Lord Mayor welcomed Prof. Iyer and his son, Prof. Natesan, to the ancient and noble city of Halle. The Mayor Weidemann stated "To my sincerest thanks to your visit which greatly honours us, I may add the wish that you will have gained some good and thorough impressions of Halle. Our town is situated in the middle of the German Reich. This Central German landscape has always played an important part in the spiritual and political history of Germany and Europe. It was here that the great religious fighter and creative linguist Dr. Martin Luther was born. I would greatly appreciate if your stay in Germany would help you to understand our struggle in the right way. May you take home besides a good scientific result which will serve to promote in a greater degree friendly relations between two peoples of old culture."

Education of Indians:—That the late Mrs. Shyamji Krishna Varma, wife of the wellknown Indian revoluntionary of that name, who died in exile in Europe has, by a will, left a sum equivalent to about thirty lakhs of rupees for the education of Indians abroad is announced in an interview by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, wellknown historian, Indologist and lawyer, who recently returned from a tour in Europe.

PROFESSOR LASKI.

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—

The lecture recently delivered in Moscow by Professor Harold Laski on the prospects of revolution in the United Kingdom, has had the inevitable consequences of indignant protests in Parliament.

Mr. Laski is now back in London and he has protested to the "Daily Telegraph" against certain of its comments and its assertion that the lecture to which exception is taken was given before the Communist Academy. In the House of Commons yesterday, the Foreign Secretary was asked the terms and conditions under which the Professor's passport was endorsed to enable him to visit Russia. Sir John Simon replied that Mr. Laski held the usual passport, available for travel anywhere, including the Soviet Union. No special facilities were necessary and none were asked for from the Foreign Office.

Mr. Attlee pointed out that Professor Laski's lecture was given not before the Communist Academy but the Institute of Soviet Law and consisted of a defence of Parliamentary Government. It was followed by five hours' continuous attack by Communists on Professor Laski's views.

The Government was then asked whether in view of the fact that the London School of Economics was supported by an official grant, it would be indicated that such grant was not given to facilitate such activities as those now criticised. The Government reply was, the London School of Economics does not receive a grant directly from the Government. The University of London receives an annual block grant, paid on the advice of the University Grants Committee, and from this source and others at its disposal makes allocations to its various constituent schools and colleges. It did not seem necessary to take any action of the nature suggested.

Captain MacDonald.—Is it not a fact that this Professor Laski is an avowed Communist as well as being of alien origin; and will the Right Hon. Gentleman say why he should be allowed such facilities as are provided by the B.B.C. frequently, as well as the London School of Economics, to spread his poisonous propaganda?

Sir S. Cripps.—Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that the charter of the London School of Economics expressly provides for complete freedom for professors and lecturers to express their political opinions outside the school; and will he resist the obvious tendency to try to curtail that freedom?

Mr. Maxton.—Is not the gentleman referred to in this question a perfectly respectable member of the party which composes His Majesty's official Opposition? (Laughter.)

No answers were given.

The Vice-Chancellor and the Principal of the University of London have written to the press pointing out that although they offer no opinion on Professor Laski's action in Moscow which will doubtless form the subject of inquiry by an appropriate body, they wish it made plain that the University accepts no responsibility for personal expressions of opinion by any of its professors. It is added that such expressions of opinion should not be taken as representing in any way the views of any responsible person connected with the University.

Building A Mosque in South Africa:—A meeting was held in the Zeerust Town Hall recently to consider a petition urging the Town Council to sanction the building of a mosque on a piece of ground next to the Post Office, which the Mahomedans had bought some years ago for that purpose. The design showed that if would be a fine building. The Christian section of the community, however, attended in force, determined that the Indians should not succeed.

A HINDU CHURCH FOR CATHOLICS.

If the miniature church now designed by Rev. Heras, S. J. the wellknown historian, meets with the approval of the Apostolic Delegate in India, to whom it will be sent in a few days, then the church in India will have made the biggest stride in its process of acclimatisation in this country.

The miniature church which is 5½ by 4ft. has been constructed at a cost of a thousand rupees. To all outward appearance it looks more like a Hindu temple in South India than a Christian church with its 'sikaras,' 'mandaps,' 'vimanas,' etc., The architectural style in the main follows the lines of the Maduta temples, but the 'sikaras' or towers, which unlike the Hindu manner of construction, are hollow, have for their models those of the famous Khajarho temple of Bundelkhand in Northern India. These towers are surmounted by crosses, which thus drop a hint to the casual on-looker that the place is dedicated to Christian worship.

At the entrance are two elephants which signify according to the Indian usage that the residence belongs to royalty. On either side of the main gate carved into the wall are two 'dravapalaks' or gate-keepers, who have wings—a thing not in conformity with Hindu custom. The first 'sikara' which is above the entrance, is constructed in a way so as to provide living room for the priest in charge on the first floor, whence the bell suspended in the tower can be operated.

Right from the entrance runs a very narrow 'mandapa' open inwards but closed outside by a wall, which forms a complete rectangle enclosing the church. This mandapa resembles the usual courtyard surrounding the Hindu temple. From this mandapa the worshippers can obtain a clear view of the main body of the church which is covered by a much larger mandapa. The smaller mandapa is therefore meant for processions and private devotions.

Between the main entrance and the principal mandapa is the 'vimana' or the baptismal font through which the worshipper has to pass to the main body of the church. The font symbolises purification and is a *sine qua non* to enter the church. The principal mandapa itself is supported by ten pillars representing the Commandments. All the pillars are constructed in the style of the Vyjianagara period.

The entrance to this mandapa is over seven steps representing the Seven Sacraments of the Church. At the top of the entrance are two peacocks which denote souls in the manner of the Syro-Malabar Church.

The sanctuary is separated from the rest of the church by railings. Besides the main altar there are two other sideways. By the main altar and in front of the Holy of Holies is the perpetual Lamp like a silver dove hanging on a serpent-like chain.

The main altar is directly below the second 'sikara.' At the back of this altar is a statue of Christ made after that of the Buddha of Sarnath. It is in the Buddhist preaching attitude—"dharma-chakra-mudra". Around this altar are twelve candelabra representing the apostles. Behind this 'sikara' and on the outside is a statue of the Mother of Christ dressed in Javanese attire, so also are the statues of saints placed in the narrow mandapa. The statues of the evangelists kept at the four angles of the mandapa are purely in the Hindu costume and the gospels which they carry bear Sanskrit inscripitions.

There is a vast mass of architectural detail containing religious symbolism, which whenever it does not conflict with the essentials of the Christian worship, is maintained intact. In this miniature all suggestion of Moghul architecture is carefully eschewed.

MAINTENANCE RIGHTS OF HINDU WIVES.

The judgment in *Sobhanadramma v. Varaha Lakshmi & anr.* is important from the point of view of Hindu wives who for proper reasons live apart from their husbands but neglect to sue them foo maintenance. The decision which is reported in the current issue of the All India Reporter is to the effect that where a wife leaves her husband's house without his permission but subsequently comes back and offers to live with him, his refusal to allow her to do so entitles the wife to demand separate maintenance from him. Maintenance depends upon a gathering together of all the facts of the situation, the amount of free estate, the past life of the married parties and the families, a survey of the condition and necessities and rights of the members, on a reasonable view of change of circumstances possibly required in future, regard being of course had to the scale and the mode of living and to the age, habits, wants and class of life of the parties. The Court has held that the claim to maintenance which arises when it is unlawfully withheld is a legal right. A demand and refusal is not necessary to create the right. They are only of evidentiary value to show that afterwards the withhold must have been wrongful or that there could not be any support for the theory of abandonment or waiver. In the same way, mere non-payment of maintenance, though by itself it does not constitute the withholding wrongful, is still evidence to show that the withholding was wrongful. The only legal answer to such a claim is either abandonment or waiver or such conduct on the part of the plaintiff as may have misled the defendant into thinking that such a claim would not be made thereby inducing him not to make any provision for it especially as maintenance is a provision to be made out of the current income of the estate or of the person liable. The discretion of the Court when applied to the grant of arrears of maintenance is generally exercised in adjusting the rate at which the arrears have been awarded or in limiting the period, by inference from facts of an implied waiver or abandonment or conduct such as above mentioned. In this particular case the plaintiff under the advice of her father, who was in affluent circumstances lived away from her husband, practically during all her married life without making any claim for maintenance against him. He had no property which could be charged with the maintenance and his only income was his salary earned by his profession. It was held that it was not unreasonable in the circumstances to infer that the plaintiff had either impliedly abandoned or waived the claim for the greater part of the period for which arrears were claimed or at least that her conduct had been such as to lead the defendant to believe that he would not be called upon to meet suddenly a claim for a large sum of money which he would not reasonably be able to pay and which ordinarily he ought to have found from the current income and the enforcement of which would only lead to the result disastrous alike to him and to his wife, of making him a pauper and that arrears could be granted only from the date of demand.

* *The Bombay Law Journal.*

MAN WITH "X-RAY EYES."

Prof. K. B. Duke, a Kashmeri gentleman, 28 years of age, who has earned a reputation for possessing "X-Ray Eyes" claims to have discovered a method which will make the blind see.

Blindfolded with a number of kerchiefs, a broad cardboard screen placed over them all, he sat back in a chair and read printed and manuscript sheets in English, Hindi and Urdu,—the three scripts he knows, demonstrating his uncanny ability to see through the several opaque substances. The Professor also claims that he can drive a car blindfolded, or shoot with his eyes closed and hit the bull's eye as often as he could with his eyes open, writes the *Hindi*.

"How did you develop these undoubtedly marvellous powers?" asked a press representative to whom he gave a demonstration in the Hindu office.

"It all came so naturally," the Professor observed, "I was studying books on Hypnotism and Psychology. It suddenly struck me that it should be possible for men to see blindfolded, and I gave up my studies to see if I could successfully do so."

"At first some people laughed at my queer idea," the Professor added smiling, "I was not good at school and they thought it was a ruse I was playing on them. But leave school I did in 1918."

"How long did it take you to attain your present powers?" he was asked.

"Just ten years—I perfected the art in 1928. It was a process of greater and greater concentration of the sense of hearing and seeing. As a result, I believe my brain powers have developed as also the general condition of my health."

The Professor stated that ever since he had acquired these powers his one ambition had been to train others, particularly the blind ones, in this art. "If I succeed," the Professor added hopefully, "blindness will no longer be a disability or misery." He said he had, in fact, been approached by some prominent citizens of Bombay to help them with his services in certain schools for the blind which they were interested in; but, he said, the proposal did not materialise.

The Professor expects to proceed to Europe and America in about a month and there demonstrate his powers before societies and organisations interested in the education of the Blind. "As soon as I have sufficiently popularised the system," the Professor stated, "I hope to come back to India and start an Institution for the Blind."

At present, he gave the interviewer to understand, he does not propose to give any public demonstrations.

Muslims and Railways:—The following Associated Press message dated Simla the 20th was published in the papers last Saturday: "In order to avoid further criticism regarding Muslim representation in Railway Services it is stated that at the time the recent selection of Special Class apprentices for training in the United Kingdom was made, there were in all ten candidates, six Hindus, two Anglo-Indians, one Parsee and one Muslim, who had completed their training at Jamalpur. Six of these apprentices, four Hindus and two Anglo-Indians, attained qualifying standard and were selected in direct order of merit in accordance with the regulation for further training in the United Kingdom. As by this selection, one-third of the vacancies were already secured for members of minority communities, the Government did not consider it necessary to make any further communal adjustment. It is also added that a Muslim candidate, who stood ninth in the order of merit, did not attain qualifying standard and could not, therefore, under the rules, be selected for further training in the United Kingdom."

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

Mysore and Federation :—We are rather old-fashioned in our view regarding statesmen in office writing to the Press. We did not quite like Sir Mirza Ismail's letter to the *Times* (London) purporting to interpret the inner significance of the objections of British Indian leaders to the White Paper. But his letter to the *Morning Post* protesting against its attempt to make out that Mysore supports Federation because it wants to get back the civil station of Bangalore, is entirely proper. Mysore is perhaps the one important State which has from the first welcomed Federation without any mental reservations and what is more it is the one which can enter it at once without any very large readjustments in its existing legislative machinery. But all is fair in politics, and the *Morning Post* did not perhaps seriously intend to cast doubt on the disinterestedness of the Mysore Government. As we have referred to the return of the Civil Station to Mysore, we may remark in passing that Sir Henry Gidney's speeches, regarding his negotiations with the Mysore Government, rather suggested that his community was condescending to become subjects of Mysore on conditions. We not believe that there is any basis for the suggestion.

The Indian Academy of Sciences:—The late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, when Dewan of Mysore, perceived the immense advantage to the State of attracting the Tata Research Institute to Bangalore and succeeded in doing so against all competitors, the most formidable being Bombay City. Sir Mirza Ismail has achieved a not less important stroke by securing the location in Bangalore of the Indian Academy of Sciences which was inaugurated on Tuesday. His opening address is published elsewhere. The presence of Sir C. V. Raman at the head of the Royal Institute is, of course, the immediately effective cause of the Academy being located in Bangalore. There have been some complaints that he had forestalled his constitutionally-minded and slower-moving fellow scientists, but we are sure that it will be found that Bangalore possesses more suitable climatic and other favourable conditions than almost any other place in the country. In fact, Bangalore is tending to become the Geneva of India. We have heard some other projects discussed of late, and in nearly every case, Bangalore was first in the list of places considered for their situation. Sir C. V. Raman has been the target of some rather unbecoming attacks in a section of the Bengal press. It is not, therefore, amiss to quote here what one of the leading thinkers of the day, thinks of his service to Science and India. Dr. W. E. Hocking of Harvard University in "The Spirit of World Politics," examining the conditions which establish a country's claim to a rightful place in international comity, observes ; "Nations presenting a case for independence will always, and justly, point to their men of intellectual eminence. It is an event of first rate importance for national India when a Nobel Prize is conferred on a physicist of her own breeding." This is about the only reference to India in Dr. Hocking's important contribution to modern political philosophy.

Minority Differences:—The acting Governor of Madras, Sir Mahomed Usman, will vacate the office at the end of this month when Sir Frederick Stanley the permanent Governor resumes charge after handing over the Viceroyalty to Lord Wellingdon who is due back in about a fortnight. Sir Usman was presented with a complimentary address by the Municipal Corporation of Madras a few days ago. No Muslim member of the corporation attended the function. Sir Mahomed who is the senior member of the Governor's Executive Council, retires on the expiry of his term shortly. The appointment of Mr. Pannirselvam, a Roman Catholic Christian gentleman, as his successor was announced a few days ago. There is a feeling among Madras Muslims that the post should have gone to a Muslim. As the announcement of his successor was made when Sir Usman is acting as Governor, they seem to think that His Excellency has betrayed the interests of his co-religionists by recommending a non-Muslim. It is very probable that Sir

Usman had nothing to do with the recommendation. The permanent Governor before leaving for Simla would in the ordinary course have made the selection. Sir Usman might even not have been consulted about it. The incident, however, shows that the communal distribution of jobs must lead to friction among the minority communites themselves.

The Dehra Dun Public School:—We gave in some detail not long ago our reasons against the idea of an English Public School for Parsis. These reasons apply with just as much force to the Public School which Sir Joseph Bhore opened at Dehra Dun. We are glad that this time the volume of protest is larger and comes from varied sources. We reprint the criticism of the *Guardian* in another column. *The Indian Messenger*, the Brahmo journal, protests "against the waste of money with which ten or twelve good schools may be founded at healthy places for our boys who should be encouraged to develop into first-rate Indians in preference to fifth-rate Englishmen." Even the *Statesman*, the Anglo-Indian daily, strikes a descordant note. It observes: "The atmosphere of an expensive English school where, whatever masters may desire, only the scholars and a few other clever boys are by the rest of the school expected to "swot," and most of the boys are concerned only with growing up in comfortable conditions until the time comes for them to settle down in comfortable conditions, is not to be found, and not to be desired, in India, even in a school where fees are high and pupils will be of the "better" (*i. e.*, richer) classes." The prime mover in this project was the late Mr. S. R. Das, when he was Law Member of the Government of India. Lord Irwin, then Viceroy, favoured the idea, and money was forthcoming without difficulty. In these hard days it is something that the school or college will give employment to some Englishmen and Indians (in, of course, subordinate roles).

Politics not an End in Itself:—Speaking at the opening ceremony of a new Children's wing attached to the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan at Culcutta, Gandhiji referred to the fact that both the late Lala Lajpat Rai and the late C. R. Das, who were foremost political leaders of their time, left all their property when they died for purely philanthropic and charitable objects. He also referred to the late Mr. Tilak devoting his time in prison to writing learned books on the antiquity of the Vedas and the secret of the Bhagavat Gita. This, said Gandhiji, shows that although to-day politics may seem to engross the entire being of Indian leaders the ideal that their souls crave for is religious in the broadest sense of the term. "If we are often compelled to engage in politics," he concluded, "it is in order to clear the way for the exercise of our constructive talent." Gandhiji would agree the exercise of our constructive talent itself has a purpose beyond ourselves, to make India's due contribution to the well-being of humanity. It has been India's good fortune that its leaders have all along been men of wide outlook, great culture and high character. They were also imbued with a strong religious spirit, using the term in the same broad sense as Gandhiji. One sometimes feels that in India as in other countries, including Britain, politics is passing into the hands of men of a different type. Let us hope this is a passing phase.

To Prevent Preponderance:—Sir Henry Craik, the new Home Member of the Government of India, was questioned in the Legislative Assembly regarding the recent resolution laying down certain proportions in which appointments in the public service should henceforth be made. Asked as to what the policy was behind the scheme, he answered that it had long been an established practice to prevent preponderance of any particular community in public services. It is only an Englishman (or Scotchman) who can with such calm assurance speak of preventing in others a crime or sin (take your choice) of which he is himself the standing exponent. The Briton takes his own predominance as a matter of course, and as a blessing to all concerned. In others it is a heinous offence which it is his God-appointed mission to prevent!

British Rule in India:—Messrs. Thompson and Garratt have collaborated in a new book on the British period in Indian history. As might be expected from any volume with which Mr. Edward Thompson is associated, the "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India" (Macmillans, price Rs. 21/-) starts with a claim to work for an "understanding between the two countries which fate has linked so strongly together." The book has been acclaimed as a successful attempt in this direction in Great Britain where the sympathetic treatment accorded by the authors to the White Paper Scheme, has won the hearts of their critics. Both the authors are newspapermen and in attempting to write history they have not left journalism behind. The authors, in presenting in their preface reasons why they are so admirably fitted for the task of writing a history of the British in India, have made it clear that, though they have a feeling of a second nationality for India, their first loyalty is to their own country. That statement covers many lapses in the volume. The writers occupy a good part of their time in knocking heroes from their pedestals and finding mitigating circumstances for the scapegoats of history... In commenting on the pistolling of the three Princes after the Muting the authors confuse the issue. They remark, "The blame attached to Hodson for pistolling the Princes seems hypocritical. They had been active members of the rebel army and had surrendered without safe conduct.....Actually, if not theoretically, everyone who joined the mutineers was treated as deserving capital punishment." (Pages 455, 458 footnotes). The point is not whether the princes were guilty of

having participated in the rising but whether Hodson was justified in summarily executing them. Vincent Smith in his Oxford History remarks that Hodson had not even expediency on his side.

Truth and the Politician:—A great part of "The Rise and Fulfilment" is political pamphleteering and that too at its worst. The two authors have been about in India recently and that has been unfortunate for the history. Much of the gossip they picked up from Indian friends who discussed the personal aspect of Indian politics, has been slung into the latter half of the volume. There is one particular passage which we should like to know to which author to credit. "Ever since 1897, when Tilak violently attached Gokhale for withdrawing a statement which he could not verify, the Congress," write Messrs. Thompson and Garratt, "had accepted the view that nationalist propaganda was a war-time weapon, and there was no need for it to be based on truth. Though unltimately this has disillusioned many of their friends abroad, the method is effective in India, where fact and fancy are liable to be confused, and there is little political controversy..... Mr. Gandhi now introduced two Hindu religious conceptions—satyagraha, the vow to hold to the truth, and ahimsa, or harmlessness." Passing the translation of ahimsa as harmlessness, we are astounded at the conclusion to which our historians have jumped. Even the most ardent Congressman can scarcely claim a monopoly of political truth for Gandhiji. Lest it be concluded that the Thompson Garratt collaboration is pro-Gandhi, we hasten to add that the book clearly tells its reader that political wisdom is lacking in India and that despite Gandhiji's introduction of two Hindu religious conceptions the Congress has unfortunately not been able to cure itself of its old defect.

The U. S. Bogey:—We should not be surprised if Messrs. Thompson and Garratt turn themselves to writing next on the "War Debts and American Influence in India." Mr. Thompson was about two years ago on a lecturing tour in America and, from what we have heard he was not quite satisfied with his reception there. He has not unnaturally arrived at the conclusion that Indians have played for American support and, as response to his propaganda there did not come up to expectations, he respects the Indian politician whom he regards as a successful rival. Here are a few specimens: 'From the Irish Gandhi learnt how a modern Government can be goaded into repression, and how this can be exploited in other countries in order to complicate international relations. The United States formed the obvious field for such an appeal, owing to their post-War importance as a creditor nation, their strong "mugwump" elements, and their old hatred of British imperialism.' (P. 607) 'Some even hoped that...a foreign country might intervene. Mr Gandhi, with his sense of publicity, was admittedly fitted to win support in America, where a generation educated on headlines and traditionally hostile to England was captivated by the picture of the small and ascetic Mahatma defying the might of the British Empire, or in later days parleying on equal terms with the tall Viceroy.' (P. 630). This is a nightmare picture of Great Britain—between the nether millstone of India and the upper one of the United States. We are not surprised that so many British politicians are going on lecturing tours to America. We remember reading a laudatory review of "The Rise and Fulfilment" in an English journal. The critic wrote that the history reads like a novel. It is.

A "Tribune" Protest:—Among Indian newspapers which are not Congress organs, the *Tribune* of Lahore has been the most consistently sympathetic in its appreciation of Congress activities and personalities. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that in an appreciative leading article on an address on the coming elections which Mr. Rajagopalachariar delivered at Calicut, it should feel obliged to lodge an emphatic protest against his demand for a "a blank cheque" for his party. "Our strongest objection is, it writes, to Mr. Rajagopalachari's claim that the Congress should be given a blank cheque, and that, entirely irrespective of the nature or merits of the candidates it puts forward, the country should return its nominees to the Legislature. In our opinion this is an extravagant demand, a demand which is not good either for the Congress or the country. Both have seen in the past the difference between a good and a bad member even when both belong to the Congress." The *Tribune* goes on to observe: "We are not forgetful of the underlying assumption of Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech that the Congress means the leaders of the Congress and the leaders mean the Mahatma, the leader of leaders. But in spite of all that he says and in spite of all that one sees in Europe to-day, we are profound believers in democracy and are profoundly distrustful of the best, the wisest, the most humane and beneficent of all dictators. No man is infallible, and the Congress leaders have in the past made far too many mistakes for the country to accept their lead blindly and uncritically." It is not wise to provoke so stern a rebuke from a friendly journal.

Austria in Revolt:—The methods adopted by Dr. Dolfuss to suppress Socialists were not calculated to ensue peace. The suppression of the Socialists has strenghthened the Austrian Nazis who staged a rising and murdered the Chancellor. The situation is said to have been controlled but the appeal of the Austrian Government to the European Powers to protect its territories, would show that German action in sympathy with Austrian Nazis is feared. The end may be delayed but there is no power on earth which can prevent the two Germany's from coalescing.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, AUGUST 4, 1934.

"PARLIAMENTARY MENTALITY."

Gandhiji in his speech at the end of the meeting of the Working Committee of the National Congress at Benares last Sunday, is reported to have observed that the 'parliamentary mentality' had come to stay within the Congress. By way of explanation he pointed out that the present programme, outlined by the Congress Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, was, by no means, the old obstructive programme of the old Swaraj Party, about which much has been said. He suggested that they were going into the Assembly and meant to stay there without staging any 'walks-in' and 'walks-out.' They were going to do their utmost to reject the White Paper, to get the repressive laws repealed, and to get a constructive programme worked out and to do a number of things sanctioned by the Congress. To an agonised interruption by Mr. K. F. Nariman: "But Mahatmaji, what could we do? We shall be in a hopeless minority," Gandhiji replied: "It does not matter. You and Mr. Satyamurthi can make yourself felt and bring credit to the Congress." Mr. Nariman protested: "But then what can I or Mr. Satyamurthi do?" Gandhiji said: "You will be judged by your record and you must be content to be judged accordingly." This is reproduced from the report of the *Hindu's* own correspondent at Benares and is not found in the reports of the Associated Press published in most of the other Indian dailies.

It is not our purpose to-day to speculate how this startling change came about in the course of the last two months within the Congress. We welcome the change and wish to take the first opportunity of pointing out what it means. Gandhiji in his usual lucid style explained what is meant. It is not consistent with the "parliamentary mind" to "walk in" when things go as you like and "walk out" when they do not. It is consistent with the parliamentary mind to do your best to reject the White Paper and to get the repressive laws repealed. But it is not consistent with it to do this in a spirit of obstruction. This should be done in a spirit of co-operation—the Opposition in Parliament is as much His Majesty's as the Government. The parliamentary mind requires that you support to the measures of Government which are beneficial to the public and wecome Government support to your constructive proposals for the public good. The parliamentary mind cannot be put on and off as occasion suits. It is the outcome of the constitutional temperament The best definition of the constitutional temperament that we have come across, is one by Sir Henry Maine. "One of the rarest qualities of national character," he observes in his *Ancient Law*, "is the capacity for applying and working out the law, as such, at the cost of constant miscarriages of abstract justice, without at the same time losing the hope or the wish that law may be conformed to a higher ideal." If this quality is rare in countries which are under their own national rulers it is almost impossible in a country under a foreign government. And yet such is the innate affinity of the Indian mind to the British in many things that matter in national life, that the founders of the National Congress and their successors in political leadership had acquired the Parliamentary mind and the constitutional temper to perfection. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, were great parliamentarians. The people of India under their leadership also acquired a strong constitutional bias. Gandhiji's appearance on the Congress scene wrought a change. The constitutional temper came to be despised as the spirit of mendicancy. The old veterans were chased out of the Congress, with contumely, sometimes veiled, often open. Only Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with his infinite capacity for ignoring rebuffs, stuck on, and he, too has now been obliged to quit. All the leading figures in the Congress of to-day have been brought up in the school of non-co-operation and direct action. They are accustomed to look down upon the constitutional temper, which they really never understoood. Mr. Nariman's question, "What shall we do, Mahatmaji? We will be in a hopeless minority" would not have occurred to the man with the parliamentary mind. Parnell was always in a hopeless minority but he held the fortunes of more than one powerful British Government in the hollow of his hand. Any fool can lead with a large majority behind him. We trust Messrs. Nariman and Satyamurthi will be able to resist the non-co-operator's instinct to fall back on satyagraha methods on the least provocation. If they fail, knowing have hard it is to get over a fixed idea, we, for one, shall not blame them. Very few men have Gandhiji's mental agility.

The conditions under which Congress members will enter the Assembly, we must say, are not in keeping with parliamentary tradition. There is nothing more repugnant to the parliamentary principle than a caucus; and the Congress members will be candidates of a caucus. In the same speech from which we have quoted above, it is reported: "He (Gandhiji) was confident that Congressmen would come out of the legislature, if they were called on .to do so by the Working Committee of the Congress, but he did not believe in calling them out, unless there was supreme need for the same, and Congressmen in the legislature had voluntarily agreed to the course." The implication of the last clause is not clear. It was not in the Bombay resolution and is evidently an afterthought of Gandhiji's. However that may be, these members as much by their own choice as by the mandate of the authority which selects them, will be responsible for their conduct in the Assembly not to their constituencies but to the Working Committee of the Congress which is really

their common constituency. Edmund Burke, the greatest authority on the subject, held that a Member of Parliament could not be directed even by his electors to pursue any course in performance of his parliamentary duties. In a famous passage in a letter to his electors, he repudiated the idea that a member of Parliament was their delegate in any sense. The prevailing tendency in Europe is to make the Legislature the organ of a single powerful party. Sun Yat Sen discovered this principle; in the hands of Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler, it has elaborated a varied technique. This, rather than the Parliamentary principle, of which it is the negation, seems to be the goal to which Congress is tending. The demand for a blank cheque which Congress leaders want from the country, is not the expression of the parliamentary mind. It may be that the system of one-party rule is the best for India. If so let it be called by its proper name and not masquerade in a parliamentary garb.

PANDIT MALAVIYA DECIDES.

My feeling on reading the news that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Board was one of immense relief. I met him at Birla House a few days before he left Bombay for Benares. We had a long talk. Mr. Aney was with us for a part of the time. Dr. Ambedkar came in as I was taking leave of Panditjee. I had not met Panditjee since I visited him in the lock-up of the Esplanade Police Court during the first Civil Disobedience Campaign. He had squatted all the previous night in the middle of Cruickshank Road, opposite the Municipal Office along with a large number of men and women who were prevented by the Police from going as they intended in a procession to the Fort. "I could not," he told the Magistrate, "keep aloof when my sisters and daughters were undergoing this hardship." He is not a man who loves crowds, processions and demonstrations. But the key-word of his life is "loyalty"—loyalty to his religion, to his country, to the National Congress of which he is one of the first members, and to Gandhiji. There is no hardship, no indignity which Panditjee will not endure when it is a question of loyalty. The problem which distressed him for the past several weeks was how to reconcile his loyalty to his religion and his country with his loyalty to Congress and Gandhiji. I could not help him in solving it. As a Hindu Protestant I recognise no intermediate loyalties between God and man. Institutions, leaders, the country itself, are deserving of support only so long as their claims do not clash with those which God makes upon us through the mysterious something which we call "conscience." There is, of course, the danger that what one hears in his conscience may not be the voice of God but may be that of the devil. There is the same risk in lesser loyalties—one's religion, country, political party, personal friendship. However that may be, the sight of Panditjee, more frail than I have ever seen him, but gentle, courteous, dignified as ever, torn between conflicting loyalties, was most painful. That is why I felt great relief at the news of his resignation. What it means to my mind is that Panditjee has decided after a prolonged struggle that loyalty to Congress and Gandhiji in the matter of the 'Communal Award' is disloyalty to his religion and to his country. Mr. Aney did not strike me as struggling with a conflict of loyalties. He seemed to view the question in a purely objective way with reference to its possible effect on politics, particularly of Maharashtra. His resignation means that he has found that it would be wholly unfavourable.

As for the Communal Award which is the ostensible bone of contention, the whole thing to my mind was a mistake from the first. I can not imagine how the experienced lawyers, business men and publicists of the Indian delegation agreed to refer the matter in dispute to the Prime Minister for decision. I say 'agreed' because the Prime Minister left them no alternative. He declared that if Indians could not come to an agreement, Government will do it for them. He thus ruled out by anticipation arbitration by an independent party. The British Government was a party to the suit, so to speak, as much as the Indian delegates. The ultimate issue in the constitutional reform is, after all, the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. In the nature of things the head of the British Government could not be expected to take a detached view of the Communal Problem. He was bound to look at it from the point of view primarily of British interests. Mr. Ramsay McDonald, to be sure, had travelled in India, come in contact with Indian politicians and written books about Indian administration, criticising some of its defects in uncompromising language. But Mr. Ramsay McDonald, the struggling member of the Labour Party, to whom it was an honour to be thought of as a possible President of the Indian National Congress, is not the same man as the Prime Minister of Great Britain. He was not the same man as Prime Minister in the National Government as Prime Minister in the Labour Government. The Indian delegation did not realise the significance of the change—it did not understand that the politician's business has affinities to the actor's. In default of agreement among themselves, the Indian delegates should have asked for an arbitration by independent men as in the case of the recently decided dispute between the Government of India and the State of Navanagar. It was a blunder on the part of Indian delegates, including Gandhiji and Malaviyaji, to have left the matter to the Prime Minister for arbitration. It was not fair to him. To be quite fair to Mr. Ramsay McDonald, he distinctly warned them that any decision that he might give would be an unsatisfactory one. But the blunder of the delegates should not be allowed to go against the interests of the country. The country has a perfect right to repudiate the action of the delegates. The question then is, how does the Award stand on its merits? Let us take the case of Bombay as a test. The Legislative Council of Bombay including Sind is assigned 200 members. Muslims, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans have separate electorates and the number of representatives allotted to them totals 77. The general electorates which consist of all others are given 107 seats (including 10 for depressed classes.) Some 45 seats are thus taken from the general and handed over to the communal electorates in the name of the "protection of minorities". An award which includes such an arrangement cannot be claimed to be a fair one. The Award, it is laid down, can only be changed with the consent of all the parties. Obviously, this consent can only be secured if the general population is prepared to make greater sacrifices than the Award inflicts. An artificial distribution of this kind has to be maintained by artificial means and hence the Governors' extraordinary powers are a logical necessity. What should be the attitude of nationally

minded Indians to the Award? The same, I think, as to the White Paper—try their best to mend or end it. It is difficult to understand the tenderness of the Working Committee of this Congress in dealing with the Award as compared with its downrightness as regards the White Paper. Perhaps, Congress Muslims who are for joint electorates are unwilling to forego the weightages allowed in the Award. To me, separate electorates are far less harmful than weightages.

N.

BEYOND THE WHITE PAPER.*

It is a tragedy when a writer who has given proofs of the possession of the creative talent is obliged to become a party hack. Philip Cox in his "Rani of Jhansi" showed real dramatic power. The Rani herself was a potent personality. She needed no touches from the artist's brush to make her seem greater than she was. In fact, Philip Cox's picture of her made her out to be rather less than what she was. His most striking portrait in the play was Low, the member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, who tells the masterful Dalhousie to his face and in defiance of his subservient colleagues, that his policy of annexation was a breach of faith with Indian princes. "As ye sow, so shall ye reap! What your Excellency has just been pleased to refer to as the dead past may rise up to confound us some day!" Let us show that "we are not the common thieves that our actions sometimes lead people to imagine us to be." Dalhousie who first tried to browbeat Low is himself momentarily cowed down a bit by this fearless councillor. There must have been several Lows who served India with undaunted loyalty and that is why in spite of everything the Indian politician in his most excited moods has a lurking sense of what he and others owe to British exemplars. It is painful to meet the portrayer of Low as a propagandist of the White Paper which belies every principle and tradition we have been taught to respect and try to imitate as British. It is not, to begin with, straightforward, not honest. It is double-faced—one to face the British with and another to show to the Indian people. A section of the Indian Press has unwillingly allowed itself to be manouvered into seeming support of this scheme by holding up Winston Churchill as the great enemy of Indian Self-Government. If he is, he is quite frank about it. He has helped to expose its double-dealing, not a small service to any good cause. As a writer and thinker he towers head and shoulders above his contemporary politicians to whom the expediency of the hour is the guiding star. It is a greater honour to be attacked by Churchill than to be defended by some of the apologists of the White Paper. It is not evident why Cox calls his book "Beyond the White Paper." All that he quotes—it is really a compilation from the evidence largely of Sir Samuel Hoare before the Joint Committee—is there. The sub-title describes it as "a discussion of the evidence presented before the Joint Select-Commitee on Indian Constitutional Reform. There is very little discussion—only assertion. In his final words, he says that "If my method of analysis should have given the impression that I regard the White Paper proposals as being primarily designed with a view to the imposition of checks and over-riding powers, I shall be doing both the framers and myself a disservice." As a fact, the book conveys not only that impression but also that the author approves of its being what it appears to be from his presentation. The book, he says, is concerned rather with the difficulties of English people in understanding the features of the White Paper scheme than with developing independent views about the Indian political situation. He has made the English people understand—and the Indian people also—that this great constitutional Reform consists mostly of a facade behind which things will be managed pretty much as now, but with Indian Ministers to bear the responsibility while the English Governors and Governor-General pulls the strings of power.

* "Beyond the White Paper."—By Philip Cox (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Price 3s, 6d).

HINDU CHURCH OR CHRISTIAN PAGODA?

The *Reformer* of July 28th published a brief account of Father Heras' miniature church for Catholics in India. As the move is of peculiar significance to the history of the Catholic Church in India I sought an interview with the Reverend Father. The approach to Father Heras' study is appropriately enough through the Indian History museum of the St. Xavier's College. Father Heras regretted that the miniature of the church was ready packed for despatch to the Apostolic See but said he could give me an idea of what was proposed by means of a few photographs of the miniature which he had with him. As he handed me the first of these—the church from the front—he remarked that the Church of England was a national Church and so could not adapt itself to foreign countries in which its missionaries preached the faith but that the Church Universal, the Catholic Church, had no such limitations and was not under necessity to restrict itself to an uniform architectural style or mode of worship. In answer to a question he remarked that the Indian Church building would be Hindu or Muslim. Father Heras disclaimed any originality in his idea of "Hinduising" the church and illustrated his remarks with prints of paintings by Chinese artists of incidents from the New Testament and photographs of two churches in Moghul architecture in Karachi and Patna. There is another "Moslem" church in Gwalior.

My knowledge of architecture, unfortunately, is elementary and my interest lay more in the practicability of a scheme which meant nothing less than reversing the methods pursued by the Catholic Church in India for nearly four hundred years. But Father Heras has for years been absorbed in the study of Hindu history and it struck me that he would resent any suggestion of mine that a church built on the Hindu style might not appeal to the Western educated Indian Catholic as much as it did to a man who had deliberately concentrated on Hindu India. I tentatively remarked that the minute symbolism with which Father Heras had decorated his church would certainly appeal to the Hindu but not to the Catholic of Bombay who would very probably be happier in a Church built on European models.

Father Heras dismissed the thought with a smile. "In this connection," he said, "I will tell you what happened at Karachi. The plans for a church in the traditional Western style were ready and a description of the proposed building was published six years ago along with an appeal for funds. I wrote to the priest at Karachi approving of the idea of building a Church, but why, I asked, do we want the Roman basilica? When the early Christians emerged from the Catacombs they occupied the old pagan buildings and in Europe the basilicas had a meaning. In Karachi where the population is predominantly Mohammedan why not adopt the Moghul style? My suggestion," continued Father Heras, "was adopted. But the Catholic donors

demurred, threatening to withdraw their support if the new suggestion was put through. In a few months, however, everybody came round. The Church was built on the Muslim style but it was not possible for financial reasons to put up two domes. The priest sent me photographs of the building and asked what I thought of it." Father Heras concluded with a chuckle, "I wrote back that it was beautiful but looked like a queen without a crown. The church is now complete." The moral was obvious. I pointed out that Muslim art has in the past been utilised in the building of Catholic Churches notably in Spain. Father Heras agreed and expressed the view that the same process of adaptation could be applied to Hindu art and architecture.

I was interested to find out how far Father Heras was prepared to adopt the externals of Hinduism; and, as he has dressed the main figures in the Church in Indian dress, I asked him whether his priests would don the saffron robe of the ascetic. "My friend," remarked Father Heras with a twinkle in his eye, "when you yourself have adopted English dress why should I go back to the old sanyasi garb? Besides everyone in the cities understands what our dress signifies. In the villages I agree that it would be more advisable for us to adopt a dress which has a definite meaning for the people." "Does this imply that the Church is reverting to the policy of Abbe Dubois?" I asked remembering the Abbe's claim that by circumspect conduct and by adopting the habits of the people he had gained their confidence. "De Nobile, not Dubois," corrected Father Heras.

I asked Father Heras about the music. He informed me that all the hymns would be sung in vernacular. The Gregorian Chant would necessarily be in Latin but, observed the Father proceeding to illustrate his argument with a recital from "Lamentations," the intonation is very similar to that of the Hindu chants. "You will admit, Father Heras," I remarked, "that the average Bombay Catholic has had his ear trained to Western music and will very probably find the Indian jarring." A Catholic friend of mine who was by me and who had put me in touch with Father Heras, bore me out. Father Heras, however, was in no mood to brook opposition. "We foreign missionaries and the older Catholics must sacrifice our feelings in the interests of future generations," he retorted. "And what after all is the Western music in Indian churches today? It is the strongest argument for my proposal. In a South Indian Church and in a church in Gujerat where the hymns were sungs in the local vernaculars, the result was distractingly effective."

Two paintings were intentded to decorate the church. One was a geometrical production looking strangely like a railway poster and representing the omniscience and illuminating qualities of the Almighty. The bottom half was occupied by the sea; the top consisted of an eye set in a triangle which was surrounded by circles of varying colours, the brighter ones being nearer the centre. The second picture portrayed God as a venerable rishi seated on a lotus, his left hand raised above his head where the heavens are depicted, his right straight down where just below his parted finger and thumb appears the completed glob. Father Heras lingered lovingly over this picture as he remarked that the artist must have been inspired when he painted it. It was a striking piece of symbolism. Both pictures carried Sanskrit inscriptions. This is an instance of enthusiasm carrying a man beyond reasonable limits. In view of the importance of Latin in Catholic literature, it is inappropriate to introduce another language, equally remote to the Catholic laymen.

Father Heras' almost exclusive interest in Hindu life has led him, to my mind, to exaggerate certain aspects which, say, the Hindus of today would not worry much about if they were building a temple. It might be retorted that Father Heras is truer to ancient Hindu art than modern Hindus are. The object of the Catholic Church—Father Heras told me he was commissioned by the Apostolic See to plan an Indian church—is presumably to provide a place of worship for its Indian members which will appeal to their national tastes, a place where they may feel religiously "at home." It is very doubtful whether a church after the Hindu style will appeal to Indian Catholics. It is useless to discuss whether the first missionaries were correct in modelling the Church here after structures in their lands. The Western buildings are here with us and they carry a certain meaning not only for Catholics but others.

It is not the old Catholics alone but even, and more so, the young Catholics who have been brought up on Western traditions. The Western music of Indian choirs might be discordant to Father Heras and the European missionary, but the vast majority of Indian Catholics have become habituated to it and, I daresay, find it spiritually satisfying. They may find the Indian songs a serious hindrance to worship—I have several Indian Catholic friends who are frankly bored by performances of Indian music. Hybridism is no doubt bad but when the whole country is going through a form of it it seems to me absurd to insist on a revival.

If the Indian Catholic community had wanted a change in the existing Church building or method of worship there would have been organised agitation. But it is just the other way about. The Hindu building suggestion has met with a certain opposition, not very vocal I admit, but nevertheless strong.

There can be only one explanation for the proposed innovation. Faced by the fact that converts were decreasing. Protestant Christianity seeks to modify its attack against other faiths. Catholicism meets the same danger by adopting the externals of other faiths. Such a policy might inconvenience the existing worshippers but it will, it is hoped, attract new converts to the fold. The new Church will, however, introduce a split in the community. As funds will not permit of a country-wide scheme for replacing the old Western churches with Indian ones, the two types will exist side by side, at any rate for a time. The worshippers at the Indian shrine will be marked out from the worshippers at the Western shrine, probably bringing about a new caste division. If, however, the "Hindu" and "Muslim" church is accepted without reservation the Catholic community would have moved several steps forward towards removing the reproach that its members are denationalised. A Hindu friend with whom I was discussing the proposed innovation, remarked drily that this was a half-way house to Hinduism.

S.

AN OXFORD GROUP MEETING.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I have read with interest your article in the last issue of the *Reformer* on the "Oxford Group" or Buchmanism. It will not be without point to note that a young Oxford undergraduate has written on the

Group. Mr. Phillip Stockil in an essay in 'Red Rags' has many hard things to say about the Oxford Group or Buchmanites as he insists on calling them. The conclusions which he forms of Buchmanism are contained in these sentences: "The great attraction of Buchmanism is that it appears so easy. The tenets seem so simple. 'Believe in God's Guidance and you are saved.' 'Confess your sins to a group of other sinners and your conscience is clear.' Any one could adhere to this code of behaviour. It is a very easy way out of difficulties for the weak or lazy."

Mr. Stockil is often flippant. But he tells us that he attended a group meeting and relates what he saw there. "There was," he writes "no ceremony. A bespectacled chairman began by reading at random out of a notebook. Then he called upon a young man, whose name he had in this notebook, to come forward and 'testify.' The young man seemed only too willing. Apparently he had already expressed his desire to do so. He stood on the hearthrug; he told us his name; he told us the history of his early life, the history of his fall, the history of his conversion. It was not instructive; nor indeed particularly entertaining, although the audience laughed on the slightest provocation. But I noticed this about his speech. The form and matter of it corresponded exactly with a model instance given in Buchman's "For Sinners Only." The inference is obvious. This was not so much a case of 'inspired witness,' as 'witness according to formula.' It seemed, too, that the young man had not even had the energy to invent new sins to suit his own case. His misdemeanours tallied exactly with those given in the 'model instance.' There followed a comic person whose remarks were received with loud laughter. He said that he had been a 'decent chap' at school; that he was very religious; and that he had joined the Group Movement, believing that it alone could satisfy his spiritual needs. Then he proceeded to describe the effects of "Guidance" in his own case. He had been guided to stop smoking. He attempted to give no reason for this. The authority of his "Guidance" was apparently sufficient. Again, after another bout of introspection, he had been guided to shave off his moustache. This pronouncement was received with laughter and applause. But I could only pity the poor young man standing by the fireplace, revealing only too obviously the hopeless naivety of his mind. I doubt if his own remarks were funny to him; for there only flickered across his face one slow, embarrassed smile when the storm of guffaws broke loose. He had not expected this revelation of the precious contents of his sould to be received with such hilarious mirth. He sat down shamefaced. ....As I have indicated many of the speeches were received with laughter. In fact, on the slightest encouragement, the whole meeting would give way to mirth. But I noticed that this Hearty-Muscular-Chritian hilarity was so forced and stopped with such unanimous suddenness that I was reminded of nothing so much as schoolboys laughing at their form-master's poor attempt at wit. It was considered good form to laugh; but to be really amused would be the height of impropriety. The former was expressive of broadminded Christian fellowship the latter of obsence irreverence."

It is, I dare say, probable that Mr. Stockil was unfortunate in the "Group" he fell in with. But his experience reveals at the very least what such a movement can degenerate into.

Delhi,
July 31, 1934.

Yours etc.,
INTERESTED.

THE OXFORD GROUP.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I was interested in the article in *The Indian Social Reformer* of July 28th on "the Oxford Group," and noted the writer would like to know of a team, if any in this country. I am myself an Oxford Grouper and we have in Bombay a Group that meets regularly. There are now scattered Groups in many parts of India, but there is in no sense a 'team' at work. The Metropolitan of India, Bishop Wescott and Father Jack Winslow are both keen Groupers. There was a semi-public meeting in Bombay last November at which the Metropolitan spoke. It is possible that a 'team' might come to India in the not far distant future. If your writer would get in touch with me, I should like to correct his impression of "the keyword of this movement," if I could.

Bombay
July 29, 1934.

Yours etc.,
ELSIE UNDERWOOD.

THE TEST OF A SPIRITUAL TEACHER.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the *Indian Social Reformer* of July 28th, you remark in an article on the Oxford Group that the least fallible test for a spiritual teacher is that he must have renounced the world. Another "test" is frequently alluded to by Sri Ramakrshna in his teachings. Replying to an inquirer on the methods of present day religious teachers, Sri Ramakrishna said:—

"It is like inviting an hundred persons to a dinner where the food is only sufficient for one. It is pretending to be a great religious teacher with a very small stock of religious experience. When a fire burns, the moths come, one knows not whence, and fall into it and die. The fire does not invite the moth to its fate. Even such is the preaching of the perfect. They do not go about calling others but hundreds come to them, no one knows whence, of their own accord, seeking to have instruction of them. The ants gather of themselves where the sweetmeat has fallen. The jar when it is filled makes no noise, and so the man who has realised God does not talk." In another place Sri Ramakrishna remarks:—"You wish me to show you God while you sit quietly by without making any effort. You would have me set the curds, churn the butter and hold it before your mouth! You ask me to catch the fish and place it in your hands!"

As Yeats-Brown writes in *Bengal Lancer*, "Information is not to be had for the asking. The high-caste Hindu is convinced that no illumination can be given to minds that do not wish for it." The old method of imparting religious instruction only to the persistent inquirer had much to commend it. It might not have brought the spectacular results of mass conversions but neither did it disturb the multitude who found solace in pursuing the faith of their fathers. Such an attitude, however, is only possible with a society where tolerance in the matter of belief prevails. Obviously the man who believes he has come into sole possession of religious truth, cannot wait for disciples to come to him, nor can he pick and choose his followers. But such an attitude is alien to Hindu religious thought.

Bombay,
July 31, 1934.

Yours etc.,
A READER.

THE MAHAR CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I read with interest the article entitled "A Co-operative Colony for Mahars" by Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta, in the current issue of your excellent weekly, and was much impressed by what is being done for the better housing of the Mahars at Danda. The Mahars, though included among the Harijans, belong to the upper strata of that society and are honest and intelligent. That the benefit of modern institutions should be made available to them is much to be commended. That they have responded eagerly to the idea of the formation of a co-operative housing society speaks well for themselves. It is a pity that the whole scheme is held up for want of a sum of Rs. 4,475, the balance necessary to make up the guarantee fund to secure the registration of the Society. Instead of appealing to the harassed public which has had many calls on it, in these days of earthquakes and flood disasters, why has not Mr. Mehta applied for the money to the Harijan Sevak Board which has accumulated nearly eight lakhs of rupees during the one year tour of Mahatma Gandhi in the cause of the Harijans? If I am not mistaken one of the objects of the Sangh is to help housing schemes for the Harijans and what can be worthier than the cause of the Mahar colonists? Besides, the money will be refunded to the Sangh in a few years.

Dadar,
July 30, 1934.

Yours etc.,
A SUBSCRIBER.

PARLIAMENT AND THE ELECTORS.

The late Mr. John Galsworthy contributed an article some years back to *The Realist* entitled "The Good Servant" in which he wrote:—

"Our statesmen nowadays starve the imagination within them, out of fear of the plain man, and the expression, "Not practical politics." They wait on public opinion, instead of initiating it. The art of "waiting in front," in truth, is the art best understood by modern politicians. It is not enough. The House of Commons has succumbed to the idea that it is elected to follow, not to lead. It has abjured the function of foresight. Unless it abandons that line of least resistance, it is doomed as an institution that counts, and the real direction of British policy will, for bad and all, fall to unseen forces already shaping it, or, rather, letting it drift...A kind of fatalism has crept over the political scene. Public opinion has become a fetich, though no one knows what public opinion really is. Even granted that everything comes back to the question of the money that will make the mare to go, custom and vested interests will always guarantee the line of least resistance and prevent the mare from going, unless ruthlessly opposed by a foresight and initiative that will wrench the wherewithal from support of what is not so vital to the rescue of what is.....

"Do we elect in order that we might drift with the man in the street, or in order that we may be led by vision at least a little in advance of the judgment of that easy-going citizen? If the former, we must inevitably slip back, perceiving each landslide after the event, and making pathetic efforts to recover ground that need never have been lost. The elected of the people cannot justify their election by unimaginative service to popular prejudice and belief; they can only justify it by the exercise of foresight and by initiating policies which may well start at long odds, but will turn out winners, for all that.....

"Imagination may be a bad master, but it is a good servant. If it is not employed by those who are elected to run this country, this country can only run downhill."

WHY THEY RESIGNED.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyia and Mr. Aney conclude a long and closely-argued statement on the reasons which obliged them to resign their positions in the Congress Parliamentary Board, as follows:—

"The Working Committee has said that, judged by the national standard, the Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds. It has added that it is obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and it has further qualified what it has said by unnecessary forbidding an appeal to the British Government or any other outside authority in what it calls this essentially domestic question, which has ceased to be a domestic question and has become a political question of the highest importance by the manner in which the British Government has dealt with it. The effect of the attitude taken up by the Working Committee is that a Nationalist, who will be elected on the Congress ticket as a member of the legislature, will be bound to abstain from voting against the Communal Award, if anyone should bring forward a resolution on the subject. He will also be bound to obstain from making any representation against the Award to the British Government or to any other outside authority. The result will be that while, in view of the fact that the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the British Parliament will be dealing with the proposed legislation which will include the communal decision of the Government, a tearing agitation will be carried on throughout the country, as part of the election campaign or otherwise, against the White Paper, there will be no such propaganda by Congressmen against the Communal Award and the wrong impression which has been created by the action of the Working Committee will be strengthened that the Communal Award has been accepted by the Congress and therefore by the Hindus and Sikhs.

"In our opinion, in view of the entire circumstances mentioned above it was the clear duty of the Congress Working Committee not to have adopted an attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Award but to have opposed it wholeheartedly and to have stood up for the Working Committee Scheme of 1931. By not doing so it has given Nationalists in general, and Hindus and Sikhs in particular, cause for just complaint.

"We fear that the Communal Award has been considered more from the communal than from the National point of view. Sedulous attempts have been made to foster a feeling in the minds of nationalists that the Communal Award affects the question of only the distribution of seats among the several communities in the legislatures. Even if it were so it would still be a matter of deep national concern but, as a matter of fact, communal aspect of the Award is of secondary importance. The matter of primary importance is how the award affects the national question of questions, namely, the establishment of Swaraj, Self-Government or responsible Self-Government. It is clearly the duty of every Nationalist to examine the Award primarily from the national point of view. Looking at it from that point of view it is important to note that distinguished Indian Nationalists who cannot be accused of any communal bias have condemned the Award

as anti-national, arbitrary and unjust, and have urged its complete rejection."

THE ASSEMBLY AND THE TEMPLE ENTRY BILL.

A significant turn has been given to the progress of the Temple-Entry Bill by a letter received from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari by several Hindu Members of the Assembly. The letter which is dated Madras, 13th July, says:

"If it is found that the majority of the existing Hindu Members of the Assembly are not in favour of the principle, Mr. Gandhi will advise the holding up of the Bill for the present. It is Mr. Gandhi's desire that the Bill should be passed with such modifications as may be proposed only if there is a clear majority of Hindu Members in favour of it. Mr. Gandhi does not desire it to be passed with the help of non-Hindu votes."

Mr. Rajagopalachari wants the Assembly members whom he addressed to write to him expressing their opinion for or against the principle of the Bill. The Bill itself does not open any temple but only permits the opening of a temple if, upon the vote taken for the purpose, a majority of local Caste-Hindus desire it to be opened to Harijans.

The provisions of the Bill regarding majority in the referendum may be so modified as to make it very stringent. It need not be a bare majority but may be made three-fourths or whatever is deemed desirable. In other respects too, the amendments may be made.

"The question is," writes Mr. Rajagopalachari, "whether you (the Hindu Member addressed) are in favour of the principle of a permissive measure. I believe that the majority of the present Hindu Members are in favour of the principle and I wish to make it clear to Mr. Gandhi."

An Orthodox View.

In reply to the letter of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in regard to the Temple-Entry Bill, requesting Hindu members of the Assembly to communicate to him their views on the principles of the Bill, Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar, M. L. A., has sent the following communication:—

I thank you for having given me the opportunity of expressing my views on the subject matter of your letter. I am glad to note that Mr. Gandhi is not willing to get the Bill passed with the help of Non-Hindu votes and that he is not anxious to proceed with it if a majority of the existing Hindu Members of the Assembly are not in favour of the principle of the Bill. I specially welcome this statement from you that Mr. Gandhi is the real sponsor of the Bill, for when I made a statement to that effect in the Assembly Mr. M. C. Rajah fell foul upon me and said that, long before Mr. Gandhi was thought of, he and others who agreed with him were pressing for this right.

You will remember the discussion that we had in New Delhi along with your friends when we were there on the last occasion. At that time, I made it quite clear that I was wholly opposed to the principle of the Bill and I would oppose it lock, stock and barrel. So far as I remember you told me at the end of the interview that while you were sorry you could not enlist my sympathies on your side, you quite understood my position. Whatever has, since happened has only strengthened my opinion and I am decidedly against the principle of the Bill. I do not know on what basis you say that the majority of the Hindu members of the Assembly, I do not know if you include officials and nominated members also, are in favour of your Bill. But whether it be so or not my position is perfectly clear and it is impossible for me as a matter of conviction based on reasoning to support the Bill before the Assembly.

I quite admit that the Bill is only a permissive measure and I have no doubt you have read the speech of Sir B. L. Mitter and of others who pointed out the defects in the Bill and that it is of an unworkable nature. Even assuming that these defects are rectified I must point out that the so-called permissive nature of the Bill is only an eye-wash and, as the late Mr. Justice Muthuswami Aiyar pointed out in matters of legislation permissive statutes have a knack of becoming compulsory. In my humble opinion this is only the thin end of the wedge and I consider that it would be a gross violation of the principles of Sanatana Dharma to allow this to be done in connection with temples which have been consecrated under the various Agamas considered to be authoritative in the country. Mr. Gandhi himself has admitted that the temple-entry question is of a purely religious nature as worship or prayer in a temple or a church or a mosque is indeed the most important item of any religion. I do not know upon what authority Mr. Gandhi allows the "Satanic Government" to interfere with our sacred religion for which he has been claiming his great regard to the extent of styling himself as the only true Sanatanist who understood the Shastras. Apart however from this it is a most novel principle, at least to me, that a religious question could be decided by the vote of a majority. Would the Mahomedans or the Christians allow this to be done in respect of any of their religious injunctions? It is a tragedy that Hinduism alone is considered fit for reforms at the behest of any and every one.

Another difficulty is to determine who the Caste-Hindus are in a locality whose votes would determine the entry in view of the fact that if a Caste-Hindu is an unbeliever in the principles of Hinduism his vote, however valuable as coming from a distinguished member of the community, would be absolutely valueless in determining this question. The danger of making this dependent on such votes is all the greater considering the wave of reform that now sweeps through the country which, I have no doubt, would in a few years completely cool down. You remember the enthusiasm with which everything foreign was adopted by our people in our younger days and now you yourself are the champion of a policy to reject everything foreign. That way enthusiastic and unthinking reforms lie. Pray pardon this plain speaking for I thought you did require a frank reply to your letter.

May I, in all humility, submit to Mr. Gandhi through you that it is virtually admitted on all hands that there is a very strong opposition in the country against this measure, however unreasonable that opposition may be supposed to be? It is also the opinion of distinguished men that the present movement of Mr. Gandhi, however well intended, has already thrust a wedge in the Hindu community. You know how the Sarda Act which had Mr. Gandhi's benediction and which was rushed through the Assembly with the help of the Officials' votes has created great dissatisfaction in the country. Even such an ardent reformer like our distinguished countryman, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri declared the other day in Kumbakonam that the Sarda Act was a hasty piece of ill-considered legislation or something to this effect. Among the depressed classes themselves there is difference of opinion as to the advisability of pursuing this propaganda and as to its probable effect on that community. It is singular that the whole

movement owed its origin to and is given the necessary momentum not by a member of the depressed classes but by Mr. Gandhi. Unkind people say that being a Jain or at least brought up in Jain traditions he is not particularly qualified to advise on Hindu religious matters. The Assembly is in its last gasp and the country requires attention to other and more important matters which will come for decision. Would it not be the part of statesmanship to put off such disruptive proposals until a new Assembly comes into existence? You gentlemen are perfectly confident, if your public speeches are any index of your feelings, that your party, that is, the Congress party would sweep the polls and be returned with a thumping majority. If that is so, and the Assembly so constituted would decide that such a Bill must be passed, then no amount of what your party calls obscurantism can stop it from becoming law. Why not wait till then? The Heavens are not going to fall if you waited for a year. Meanwhile in addition to the political difficulties the most important problem is economic depression that now passes over the country, and notwithstanding the claims made by the Congress it seems to me, as one of the many millions that have been sorely affected by it, that more attention may be directed towards that aspect of the question. Pray do not misunderstand me. It would be highly impertinent on my part to advise such an exalted personage as Mr. Gandhi and I have ventured to place these few observations before you in the hope that you will take effective steps to save the country which we all love from a further trouble until we get over the present crisis. No one can help the fulfilment of this object as Mr. Gandhi can do, and that is my apology for this appeal.

JAIN OPINION.

In reply to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's letter to the Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly regarding Mahatma Gandhi's willingness to agree to certain modifications in the Temple-Entry Bill if the majority of the Hindu members accept the principle of the Bill, Mr. Bhupat Singh has sent the following open letter to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar:—

As far as I am personally concerned, being a Jain, I am not against the principle of granting equal status to the Harijans in the matter of religion and worship and specially in the matter of entry into temples by all, irrespective of caste, as Jain temples are always open to every Jain. But this is a Bill which concerns caste Hindus and, as I represent the landholders constituency of Bihar and Orissa, consisting mostly of caste Hindus, I will have to be guided, in these matters of important social legislation, by their wishes, which I am seeking by a circular letter addressed to all of them separately. Though it does not affect me personally, yet I believe that the opinions of caste Hindus have not yet sufficiently been brought round in favour of opening temples to the Harijans and I think the present propaganda, both in the Press and on the platform, will have to be continued by the leaders for a long time yet to bring round a sufficiently large volume of caste Hindu opinion in favour of such entry before legislation to this effect could be undertaken.

The Indian masses of today, even after 150 years of British rule are still in the depths of abyssmal illiteracy, due to the absence of compulsory primary education, and, unless and until the masses are sufficiently educated, the passing of such social legislation will bring in more disunion and discord and may even lead to violent riots amongst the Hindu society to which I cannot conscientiously be a party.

I agree with you that the Bill is only a permissive measure and the question of grant of permission to temple-entry has been left in the hands of the caste Hindus. But that is not enough. It should have been provided in the Bill that the management of all Hindu temples would remain by statute in the hands of caste Hindus even in such cases where the temples would be thrown open to the Harijans. There is no denying the fact that almost all the Hindu temples with very few exceptions have been established by the caste Hindus and a provision for their maintenance has also been made by such caste Hindus by the bequests of large estates and properties attached to such temples. To sum up I will, in this particular case, be guided by the views of my constituents, but at the same time, I think Mahatma Gandhi should direct his efforts to educating public opinion in favour of such a change till the caste Hindus voluntarily veer round to this view and help legislation for this purpose.

HANDLOOM WEAVING.

(BY EVELYN GEDGE.)

It is entirely satisfactory to read that the Government of India are going to render financial aid to Provincial Governments for the development of the Handloom Industry. Handlooms will it is hoped provide steady employment for an increasing number of people who need employment both in villages and towns not only in India but in many other countries of the world. Also through the conservation of handloom weaving the native art in rural districts will be protected and encouraged.

The economic problem in such development in rural areas lies along the path of providing proper supervision for the standardisation of production, and satisfactory marketing facilities for the distribution and sale of what is considered up to set standard work.

In Rumania a similar problem exists and has been fairly satisfactorily met by the Department of Education. Country products in the way of homespun cloth, embroideries, carpets, woodwork, etc, are sent from villages or convents where they have been produced to Bucarest for inspection by a committee of expert ladies. The Ministry of Education keeps a room for a permanent exhibition of all goods which are considered to be good enough for sale and the pricing of those goods is done by this committee so that there is no bargaining (and this is a country where bargaining is as common as in India).

I would suggest that the Government might start some such permanent organisation for the sale of Homespun and other village products in each big Indian City where women's organisations exist. Ladies would be asked to serve on committees to select the work and also to act as saleswomen in the Exhibition room once or twice a week. In Bucarest the exhibition room is in the Ministry of Education and it is open on Wednesday and Saturday mornings for several hours. The work is sold at a moderate price and the whole of the stock is up to standard. Usually there are crowds of customers. Would not the various provincial Governments of India utilise some of the new grant towards the establishment of such depots in each of the great Provincial centres of India. There is little doubt that such a scheme should more than pay its way, as a certain small percentage on sales would go towards expenses.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SCHEME.*

Sir Joseph Bhore, the present custodian of what is called the Indian Public School Scheme, has issued a lengthy report outlining the proposals made by the School Executive Committee. If people well placed in life desire to provide a superior type of education for their children to what is available in India, we should consider such a desire natural and commendable. Though a scheme with this object would benefit only the rich, the model might be one which could be adopted on a modest scale for the needs of other classes. The Dehra Dun Scheme however has little to commend it to either the rich or the poor. Sir Joseph Bhore reports the decision of the Committee that 'the school should not become the exclusive preserve of the rich.' For the benefit of 'those of moderate means,' the fees have been fixed at Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,200 per boy per year for the Junior and Senior classes respectively. Obviously the Simla standard of 'moderate' means in ordinary language 'rich' as a simple calculation of the cost of maintaining a couple of boys at this school will show. However the more serious question to ask is what will happen to the products of this school. It is said that they may join an arts or professional course in an Indian University or let us say a British University. Used to an uncommonly high standard of life till 18 years of age, they must take their chance with the lesser breed in later scholastic life and in the search for occupations. A few may step direct into the ranks of the idle rich or perhaps become active national workers. But the majority cannot inherit the I. C. S., Army offices or leadership of the Bar from their parents. On the other hand, they would start with the handicap of a standard of life ill suited for severe competition in life and ill adapted for social relationships outside the circle of the elect. A new class will arise, not those who rise in society on their own merits by self effort as happens now, but manufactured according to plan by the Public School. Literally and figuratively, they will be left high and dry at Simla, if the hope is that they would be our future rulers in embryo.

The standard of life to be maintained, let us note, is not natural to Indian conditions. The promoters are clearly thinking in terms of their own selves. Theirs is a highly artificial mode modelled on the artificial life that the European maintains in India. The European in this country is an intolerable snob so far as the rest of India is concerned and even in relation to his countryman who chooses not to be so. The Public School is designed to foster this atmosphere and will thus be an exotic unlike the Public School of England that fits naturally into educated society in that country. Whereas the present day wealthy man in India in spite of his wealth, follows the habits and customs of his countrymen, the new rich of the Dehra Dun School will aspire to be the replica of the up-to-date exclusive Westerner. Sir Joseph Bhore's report stresses that the Indian outlook will be preserved. The value of that forecast may be estimated by what the *Statesman* rightly characterises as an 'amazing proposal.' Here it is: "Provided that there is a suitable demand, instruction in Indian vernaculars and Oriental classical languages will be given, but special emphasis will be laid on imparting a sound knowledge of English." After this, the talk of Indian culture in the school is just hot air. The Headmaster is to be selected in England by a Committee there. The position assigned to the Viceroy is very much like the Governor-Generalship of the school. He is to be the Chairman of the Board of Governors. He is to appoint the Vice-Chairman and six other members of the Board. Among the 5 other members, one is to be the Commander-in-Chief. What is the school going to accomplish but create a new class of people and denationalise them thoroughly at a young age? Wealthy boys can do better than pay heavily for a secondhand knowledge of Western snobbery.

* *The Guardian.*

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.*

(By Sir Mirza Ismail.)

The past quarter of a century has witnessed a remarkable change in the attitude of Indian thought towards the material sciences. The Intellectual of former times exhibited a lack of interest in, and even a certain amount of distrust of, investigations into the working of a universe of the objective existence of which he was not too sure. It is, therefore, not surprising that practically all the scientific work from India which came to international notice was that emanating from the scientific departments of the Government. The system of scientific education or instruction followed by the Indian Universities, in which the study of experimental science hardly figured, was responsible for in the younger generation an attitude of undue submission to the authority of books and for discouraging independence of thought and of action in pursuing original investigation. In fact, so marked was this effect as to create a general impression abroad of deficiency of originality and resourcefulness in research as a quality inherent in the Indian character.

Reforms in the methods of teaching the experimental sciences introduced some twenty years ago have not been long in bearing fruit in the form of the very respectable volume of scientific research of a high order which now stands to the credit of Indian workers in academical institutions as well as in official departments. Indian science may be said to have come again into its own after a long dormant period. Of recent years, indeed, its success has been nothing short of spectacular; in every branch of research, Indian investigators have gained international recognition. Some have become leaders of the very front line in their own particular subjects. As evidence, I need only cite such names as those of Sir C. V. Raman, Professor M. N. Saha, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray. India's new position in international science demands the foundation of a permanent central institution, charged with the functions of representing Indian scientific opinion as a whole, of safeguarding the position of research, of offering reliable guidance in scientific matters to the administrations, of providing means of publication for work of merit and value—in short, of being to India what the Royal Society of London is to England, and what the other Royal Societies of the British Empire are to their respective Dominions.

Regarding the necessity for such an institution there can be no difference of opinion. Judging from certain newspaper paragraphs that have recently appeared, there does seem to have been some dissension in Indian scientific circles regarding the form of the new institution and particularly regarding its location. Without presuming to discuss a matter which is to be considered at your business meeting to be held later in the day and without prejudice to any decision you may reach, I may say that I should welcome the choice of Bangalore as the home of the Indian Academy of

*Speech at Inaugural Meeting of Indian Academy of Sciences at Bangalore, July 31st 1934.

Sciences; and the Government of Mysore would be prepared to consider the grant of special facilities to the Academy should you finally decide to found it here.

Bangalore needs no introduction to the Scientific fraternity in India. This city present a combination of climatic advantages and social convenience and amenity such as probable no other place in India can offer. It is already sufficiently accessible from all parts of the country and will become more so in future years as the aviation service develop. Here, also, the young plant of the Academy will find, during its growing years, a sturdy support in the Indian Institute of science, the only All-India Institution for the pursuit of original research in a variety of branches of pure science—an Institution, moreover, which is independent of external control to the extent of practical autonomy, and which is now under the direction of an Indian researcher whose brilliant discoveries have done so much to bring this country to the forefront among the nations in the field of scientific advance. May I also mention here the fact that the Science department of the University of Mysore is located at Bangalore, a department which can, I believe, stand comparison with any of a similar description elsewhere in India, as regards both equipment and personnel? For all these reasons, it appears to me that no more favorable ground than Bangalore could be found for the germination of the idea of an Indian Academy of Sciences and for the subsequent growth of the organism into a flourishing national institution with the necessary international affiliations. I trust, therefore, that those well known scientists of the North—some of whom visit Bangalore regularly in connection with the meetings of the Institute of Science—who are, at present, not so kindly disposed towards the proposal, will modify their attitude and will lend their powerful support in establishing a successful and influential academy. The mind of science is one of high ideals—and the Academy holds out a great ideal before us all.

I understand that sixty distinguished scientists from all parts of India have already enrolled themselves and I hope that other eminent men of Science will soon join and make the Academy an institution truly representative of the growing scientific achievement of our country.

It ought to be one of the functions of the newly established Academy to secure the intimate co-operation of the medical, agricultural, industrial and forest research departments and to stress the importance of such co-operation among those departments for the promotion of the national health and the economic well-being of the country. I hope that in the years to come, the Academy will expand and grow into a great national research organisation. The function of the Academy ought not to be restricted to the encouragement and co-ordination of research work conducted in detached centres, nor merely to the publication of scientific papers and memoirs—however important and necessary these may be for the intellectual greatness of the country. The Academy should seek opportunities for establishing a link between Science and Government on the one hand, and on the other between Science and Society. It should accept the responsibility of promoting discussion in the Council Chambers of All-India on scientific subjects in their application to economic policy and national well-being. The usefulness and importance of the Academy will be tested not merely by the scientific prestige which it attains and the number of publications which it produces each year, but also by the confidence it inspires in the public and the influence it exerts on national affairs.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

The Anand Marriage Act:—We reprint in another column the text of the Anand Marriage Act which was passed by the old Imperial Legislative Council in 1909. When the Bill was introduced by the Maharajah of Nabha, then the heir-apparent and a member of the Council, we took exception to the omission to introduce in it the principle of monogamy which has been embodied in all other Marriage Acts passed by the British Indian Legislature. The Act came under public discussion four years later with reference to a polygamous marriage contracted under it. We reprint elsewhere the letter published in the *Reformer* of the 15th June 1913 from a Sikh leader as also some Legal Notes published in the *Tribune* of Lahore bearing on the applicability of the Act. It appears from both the writings as also from the comment of the *Khalsa Advocate*, the now defunct organ of the Sikhs of the Punjab, that polygamous marriages are against the tenets of Sikhism except when contracted for urgent "political reasons" and that the community views with repugnance marriages according to the Anand rites contracted by non-Sikhs who become Sikhs in order to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act which was intended to remove doubts as to the validity in law of this custom. In the Legal Notes it was argued that the Hindu law alone is applicable to Hindus outside the Punjab even though they might have gone through a form of conversion to Sikhism as customary law is peculiar to the Punjab. We have thought it necessary to reprint these writings as there is a danger that, without realising the nature and objects of the Anand Marriages Act, marriages which contravene their personal law may be contracted by parties who are unable to marry under the Special Marriage Act or Gour's Amending Act owing to the insistence of these two Acts on their having no prior husband or wife living at the time of marriage.

The Ban on Communists:—The announcement that Communist (not Communalist) organizations have been declared illegal by the Government of India, came rather as a surprise. There have been several prosecutions of Communists, including the famous Meerut trial, and recently several leaders of the Textile Strike were arrested and kept in jail without trial under one of the many emergency laws, on suspicion of being Communists. There was, perhaps, some loophole in the law which the ban is designed to close up. Except Government and some factory-owners, very few believe that Communism is an imminent peril in this country. Gandhiji was right when he told a Socialist deputation the other day that many of their theories borrowed from Europe had no application to Indian conditions, except to a very small extent. Trotsky himself points out in his "History of the Russian Revolution" that the conditions in his country were different from those in India. In the first chapter on "Peculiarities of Russia's Development," he observes: "The ancient civilizations of Egypt, India and China had a character self-sufficient enough, and they had time enough at their disposal, to bring social relations, in spite of low productive powers, almost to the same detailed completion to which their craftsmen brought the products of their craft." Trotsky's reference to Gandhiji also shows that he thinks that what was not successful in Russia might be practicable here. Referring to Tolstoi's "philosophy of non-violence" and his endeavours to put it into effect Trotsky writes: 'Mahatma Gandhi is now fulfilling the same mission in India, only in a more practical form."

Communism and Christianity:—For some time Christianity has occupied itself with the problem of facing Communism. Western Protestant leaders have even suggested an easing of the missionary drive against other faiths in the East to help in checking this menace. The Student Christian Movement with a view to concentrating public attention on this issue has undertaken publication of a series of volumes of which two are already published—"The Truth and Error of Communism" by H. G. Wood and "Communism and the Alternative" by A. J. Penty (Association Press, Calcutta; Price 4s. and 3s.-6d. respectively). Mr. Penty seems to incline towards Fascism while Mr. Wood prefers to keep

both Communism and Fascism at arm's length. His alternative is not disimilar to what Gandhiji has propounded as "indigenous Socialism." A recent contribution to the subject was made by Dr. Stanley Jones in an address before the Madras Y. M. C. A. "I am not," said Dr. Jones. "an economist nor even a Socialist.....But I am a religious man and as such I say we must present an alternative programme or abdicate...Personally I think Christianity will fit in better into a co-operative order than into a competitive one." The real reason why both Communism and Fascism have a greater appeal than any religion today is because both systems attempt to govern men in all their activities. Walter Duranty in his "Russia Reported" just touches on the close parallel between Bolsheviks and early Christians. The subject is worth developing.

A Christian Prayer Cave:—Mr. B. S. Josyulu writes from Dichpali, Nizam's Dominions, "It was very interesting to read an article in the *Indian Social Reformer* of August 4th on "Hindu Church or Christian Pagoda?" Quite recently I had the chance of visiting Bidar, a place of great historic past, in the Nizam's Dominions, in the company of a kind English friend. Amongst the many interesting sights was the Mission Compound where the Missionary in charge showed us round. The most striking of all we saw was what the Missionary called a "Prayer Cave." It was after the fashion of a Hindu Cave Temple and was dug through soft red rock on the side of a steep. It was not much roomy inside but there was large enough open space in front with a modest garden. Inside, an altar was carved on which were kept a copy of the Holy Bible and a punched board with the words "Lord Save Us" woven in wool. I further understood that a *jatra* is also held here once a year about the end of April. The atmosphere inside was just like that of a Hindu Temple. This struck me to be the farthest step in Indianising the appearance of a Church and I came out feeling that this sort of reform would really take Indians much nearer." The difference between the Bidar "Prayer Cave" and the elaborately designed church of Father Heras is obvious.

Rangoon University:—A meeting of Burmans in the Shwedagon Pagoda was held recently to support the resolution of Rangoon University making the Burmese language compulsory for the matriculation examination there and to protest against the opposition of Indians and "other foreigners." Resolutions were also adopted urging the University to make Burmese compulsory in the higher examinations. Evidently the Burmans are seeking to replace English gradually by their own language and they resent opposition as calculated to set back their national progress. That the resolutions were adopted unanimously is significant even though the meeting was attended largely by members of the Nationalist Party. Burma apparently regards Separation as an accomplished fact and is setting about to make the best of it. Indians in Burma will be well advised to accept the situation instead of standing in the way of Burmese self-realisation. After all such a measure should in the long run be advantageous to the Indian.

The Pusa Institute:—The Editor of the *Indian Nation* of Patna has published a pamphlet protesting against the proposed removal of the Pusa Agricultural Institute to Delhi. With many of his arguments, it is impossible to disagree. There are one or two, however, which may be urged in addition. The Pusa Institute has done good work and has become recognised as one of the principal Agricultural Research institutions in the world. It has developed a technique and a tradition of its own which should not be uprooted except for very cogent reasons. Then again, the present is the worst possible time to establish new and costly institutions instead of developing existing ones. The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry writing in the *Hindu* adduces another weighty reason with which there will be general concurrence. He writes: "I have a rooted objection to all expenditure on Delhi and its neighbourhood as the capital of India. It is to me not only conceivable but probable that a future legislature, really mindful of the interests of the poorest taxpayer of the world, will abandon a system that requires the maintenance of two expensive seats of Government, one of which is partly, and the other wholly, out of touch with public opinion. Those who, like me, raised this issue in the old Supreme Legislative Council, found the bureaucracy in mild sympathy with us, but compelled by the weight of policy to support the vast outlay on the erection of New Delhi."

Sir John Simon Not a Jew:—It is improbable that Sir John Simon would have gone out of his way to declare publicly that he was not a Jew but an ordinary Briton of Aryan stock with no Jewish admixture whatever, merely to satisfy the Nazis. It would seem that the statement that he is is industriously circulated in Great Britain and abroad with the suggestion that British foreign policy since he became Foreign Secretary was powerfully influenced by his ancestry. Sir John Simon disclaims sympathy with anti-Semitism which he characterises as un-English.

A Colony for Indians:—The public has every reason to be satisfied with the result of discussion on Thursday in the Council of State on the proposal of the South African Colonisation Report to found a colony exclusively for Indians in some derelict part of the world. The idea was favoured by Mr. Hasan Imam who moved a resolution recommending that the British Government should be informed that it is desirable to have such a colony. Mr. Hasan Imam's speech, so far as can be gathered from the telegraphic summary, was rather a thin one. His one argument was that there should be an outlet for the surplus population of India which was excluded from many parts of the

world. Sir Fazli Hussain had no difficulty in showing that the idea was preposterous. He described it as a proposal to have a Harijan quarter for Indians. The resolution was lost. Mr. P. N. Sapru, in a speech which evoked the warm praise of Sir Fazli Hussain, moved that the colonization scheme did not serve the interests of South African Indians and that the Union Government should be urged in accordance with the Cape Town Agreement to take adequate steps to secure the advancement of Indians in South Africa. Sir Fazli Hussain's statement on behalf of Government will be endorsed by Indian opinion. He said, "on the present report, the Government of India had not yet formulated their views, as they were awaiting expression of opinion not only in India but in South Africa. In such a difficult matter as this a few weeks' delay should not matter. Even if the colonization scheme was accepted, it was obvious that in the present state of finances, it was impossible to start it. The Government of India would carefully examine all opinions received before formulating their own conclusions." As for improving the conditions of Indians in South Africa, Sir Fazli said that the Government of India's policy was strictly national. There was no difference between their views and those of the public in India. "A large number of members of the Union Government desired to help Indians as far as possible. But that was a responsible Government, and they found it difficult to carry opinion with them. Public opinion in the colony was narrow and selfish judged from the Indian point of view. So education was needed. Something was done when the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir Kurma Reddi were there. But that was not substantial enough. The struggle with South Africa must continue with perseverence and vigour. The Government of India would do everything to see that this struggle was carried on in the best interests of Indians overseas."

Indian Christians in Public Services:—A resolution moved in the Legislative Assembly by Dr. de Souza urging due consideration to the claims of the Indian Christian community in the Public Services, received support from all quarters. It was a striking testimony to the relations of goodwill between Indian Christians and other communities. Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar in strongly supporting the resolution declared that in South India, Christians were not distinguishable from Hindus, and all over India the community had no extra-territorial patriotism. Dr. Zia-ud-din objected to discrimination being made between Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian to the disadvantage of the latter. Mr. James said Indian Christians had always put the nation first and their community next, and that was why they made friends with members of other communities. Mr. Trivedi speaking on behalf of Government pointed out: As regards Indian Christians, they held to-day in every service under the Government of India a proportion well in excess of their population ratio, which was 1·4 per cent of the total. For instance, their share in the I. C. S. was 5·8 and in the Indian Police over three per cent. The same was the case with appointments in the railways, posts and telegraphs and the Government Secretariat. As for the future position of Indian Christians, Mr. Trivedi said that the 8 1/3 share reserved for non-Muslim minorities would really be consumed by Indian Christians, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and Parsis, who all combined formed only 2·6 percent. of the total population of India. Indian Christians were highly educated and would annex more appointments even in the unreserved portion. The reason why Anglo-Indians had been specially treated was that their economic well-being was woven round a particular class of appointments, whereas Christians held posts in all classes of the services. He accepted Dr. de Souza's suggestion that the annual returns should show the position of the Indian Christian Community, and if at any time it was found that Indian Christians did not get reasonable representation, the position would be reconsidered. Dr. de Souza in winding up the discussion observed that his community put the nation first and community next and they would contribute their share to Indian Nationalism. The resolution was carried.

The Temple Entry Bill:—The present session is the last of this Legislative Assembly which will be dissolved about the end of this year. There has been some doubt as regards the future of the Temple Entry Bill. The *Hindustan Times* made enquiries and was informed that Mr. Ranga Iyer's Temple Entry Bill has not been dropped. According to the Rules of the Assembly, the Bill could be moved only by the member in charge. As Mr. Ranga Iyer who was the member in charge of the Bill was absent, the Bill could not be moved. The next day for non-official bills is August 16. If Mr. Ranga Iyer requests the Secretary to include the Bill in the ballot which has to take place about August 10, it is possible that Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill may have a chance on August 16, but everything would depend on the ballot. Though a number of members had given notice of the motion to introduce the Bill originally, Mr. Ranga Iyer having won the ballot, the other members were ruled out on the ground that only one motion on the same subject could be made. This has now resulted in making it impossible for any other member to move the Bill in Mr. Ranga Iyer's absence.

Gandhiji's Fast:—Gandhiji began his penitential fast as planned on Tuesday the 7th inst. In a statement issued just before the fast Gandhiji insisted on the personal purification of workersfor the Harijans and the Congress and concluded by asking all the friends in India and abroad, whatever their faith or race, to pray that God may bless his little penance.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, AUGUST 11, 1934.

THE NEW NATIONALISM.

We showed in our leading article last week that although Gandhiji said that the Parliamentary mind had come to stay within the Congress, the machinery devised to control elections and the language of some of its recognised spokesmen rather pointed to one-party rule, as in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, as the actual goal of their endeavour. In an article headed "Christian Youth and Contemporary Nationalism," Nicholas Berdiaeff, Director of the Russian Religious-Philosophical Academy in Paris, describes the characteristics of post-war nationalism and assesses their value with special reference to Christianity. The form of State to which post-war nationalism tends is the Totalitarian. The Totalitarian State tolerates no other influence—not even that of religion. "The Totalitarian State," writes Berdiaeff, "spreads its power not only over one side of human life, but over the whole of it. It organizes not only the social, political and economic life of the nation, but also the spiritual, religious and intellectual life. It usurps authority over the most intimate depths of the human soul. Contemporary Nationalism, just like Communism, accepts dictatorship; not only a political dictatorship but, above all, a dictatorship over the whole world-wide view of the individual; a dictatorship over the spirit." Though the subjects of a Totalitarian state are under the domination of an absolute Dictator, his power in theory is derived from the masses. "Mussolini declared," says the writer, "that the State was limited as long as it expressed the wishes of privileged groups; it would become absolute as soon as the people should have power in their own hands." Again, "the strength of contemporary Nationalism is upheld by its attempt to unite national and social elements. Without this, Nationalism could not exist during our social epoch. Therefore this new type of Nationalism attempts to fight Capitalism in its own way; it wants to plan and regulate economic life; it competes with Socialism from which it borrows many features. A Totalitarian National State dictates its laws both to spirit and to matter; to religious and to economic life." Those who have followed even cursorily the trend of Congress evolution, will easily recognise in them more than one of the features of this movement of contemporary Nationalism. In keeping with Indian character, the dictatorship here is based neither on the army nor on the proletariat. It bears a quasi-religious character. Its measures are enforced by religious not by political reasons. It professes non-violence. Nevertheless, it is a dictatorship as absolute as that of Hitler or Mussolini. Owing to the dominance of a Government deriving its authority from a Parliamentary democracy, the Congress has perforce to adopt Parliamentary methods in the political field. We understood Gandhiji's statements at Benares regarding the intentions of the Congress Parliamentary Party, to mean that it will act in the Legislative Assembly as His Majesty's Opposition. The *Hindu* of Madras takes the same view. Whether it acts as a constitutional opposition or not is another matter. But in other fields in which activities affiliated to the Congress are carried on, there is undisguised autocracy. Only habitual wearers of hand-woven, hand-spun Khaddar can vote or hold office in Congress organizations. The Bombay Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh goes farther. Following Mr. K. M. Munshi's fallacious assumption, it demands that the Government of India should exercise the powers which ancient Hindu Kings are supposed to have but never in actual fact exercised. In the *Reformer* of July 21st we cited the composition of the Managing Committee of the principal temple in Travancore in which the Maharaja had one-half of one vote in a council known as that of eight and a half members. The powerful Peshwa, Baji Rao, had to give up his idea of investing his son (by a Mussalman lady) with the sacred thread because of the opposition of Brahmins. There is not a single instance, recorded or legendary, of a Hindu king having changed by his fiat the traditional customs of his people. "Hindu kings in India," declares the Board, "have always exercised the right of controlling religious matters. The argument that the present Government being foreign should not interfere in religious matters is not founded on reason. Even if it is considered a foreign Government ruling by virtue of conquest, its obvious duty is not to perpetuate by any act of its own, either of commission or omission, a disability which members of a religious community have come to regard as unreasonable." The question at issue is not whether the community has come to regard the disability as unreasonable. We think that the Board is right in its view as to that. But the question is whether a particular method proposed is the most appropriate in the circumstances of the case. The Board completely ignores the fact that, whatever ancient Hindu kings did or did not do, the Government of India, as at present constituted, is pledged not to interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of any of the communities of India. We refer to this matter here only to show the dictatorial mentality of contemporary nationalism in India as in other countries.

Berdiaeff does not agree with those who think that Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy are artificially engineered by persons who have secured the support of the Army. "There can be doubt," he writes, "that both Italian Fascism and German National Socialism are movements of the people." He does not include Russian Communism in this statement but doubtless it is true of it equally.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE.*

The July number of *Hibbert Journal* contains an article headed "Death, Dying and Survival" by Mr. Harold P. Cooke. Mr. Cooke begins by pointing out that statements such as 'life is extinct' is misleading. By Death, he says, "we mean nothing more than a 'corpse,' or our seeing a corpse or 'dead body.' No corpse or 'dead body' no 'death,' And the 'body' it was that was 'dead,' not the man, spirit, soul or what not that before was supposed to 'inhabit' it. Only by a kind of metonymy, proper to some later date, could the *man* have been said to be 'dead.' For a 'dead man' is simply a 'corpse' and has never meant aught but a 'corpse' save in contexts more pleasant and facetious." He concludes: "Dying, whatever it consists in, appears the peculiar prerogative of those who are said to be dying. It is something unshared by others. Or, at least, that is so of the 'living.' If others in some sense may share it, they dwell in some world beyond this, into which we are 'born' when we 'die.' Such may well, I conceive, be the case."

The ancient Hebrew, like the nineteenth century scientist, believed that death is the end of life. "For in death there is no remembrance of thee," cries the Psalmist to his God; "in the grave who shall give thee thanks?" Christianity, however, holds by the immortality of the soul. "Life is extinct" is the language of the physical scientist as "the man is dead" is that of his ape, the popular journalist. People who are neither, say that a man has "passed away" or that he is "no more (among us)." Both these phrases are consistent with Mr. Cooke's idea that death is of the body. It is, nevertheless, true that death to the Western mind most generally signifies the cessation of life as well as of bodily functions.

In striking contrast to this, is the age-long recognition, both in popular language and religious philosophy, of the Hindus that Death is a physical phenomenon unrelated to Life. In communicating the death of a relative or friend the Hindu speaks of the deceased person having attained to some more delectable place called Shivaloka or Vaikunta, according as he is a devotee of Shiva or Vishnu. That life does not cease with Death is in the very grain of the Hindu mind. It is almost an instinct, supported and emphasised by the highest philosophical thought of his race.

In that great synthesis of Hindu religious philosophy known as the *Bhagavad Gita*, we have a fairly connected view of Life and Death. According to it, the body is literally a dwelling place of the soul. Death is a bodily process just like childhood, youth and old age. We put off our old bodies as we put off old clothes to don new ones. The soul cannot be cut or burnt or dissolved in water or dried up by exposure to the sun and air. The soul is not subject to the vicissitudes of age or death. A man's actions and thoughts, fulfilled and unfulfilled, affect it closely and determine the manner and conditions of its next incarnation. Reincarnate it must so long as it retains even a trace of "I"-ness as distinct from the soul of the Universe. No values, especially ideal values, are ever lost. The aspirant starts in his next birth exactly where he leaves off in this. He is born again in conditions favourable to his continued development. The momentum of his endeavour in one life carries him on to farther and farther achievement without conscious effort in the next. Very similar is the philosophy of Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

The question arises: Why should Life enter a body since it can go on without it? The answer is that it has to work out its past and to work up its future. It wants a medium through which it can fulfil this double function. And what is the work which subserves this double purpose? The answer to this question given by the *Gita* is to my mind the high watermark of human thought. And that is, in the words of the Christian Teacher, whatever thy hand findeth to do, that do with all thy might and, adds the *Gita*, without an eye to result, either in the shape of reward or consequence.

To the Hindu, the world is a round of duties—to God, ancestors, family, posterity and society or state. There is no word that I know of for "rights." Perhaps, Hinduism has overshot the mark in regard to duties. Certainly, the West has done so in regard to rights. In the ideal polity of the future, duties and rights will be strictly correlated.

The weakness of present-day Hindu society and Hinduism is that the 'duties' have become petrified, instead of being interpreted in the light of changing conditions. As Lowell says,

> New occasions teach new duties,
> Time makes ancient good uncouth,
> They must upward still and onward,
> Who 'ld keep abreast of truth.

There is nothing in Hinduism to prevent the enlargement of our view of duty according to the needs of our time. I would like to enter an emphatic protest here against the unthinking denunciation of Hinduism for its assumed failure to do this or that. For over a thousand years, Hinduism has had to put forth all its energies to preserve itself and even some of the walls and barriers which now but impede the free movement of light and air, were erected in order to prevent Hindu society from being overwhelmed. Without underrating political expediency, it is really going too far to falsify history for its sake.

The man who has performed all his duties with entire disinterestedness and has ceased to be obsessed by the first person singular is the perfect man, ready to become one with the Infinite. But out of compassion for mankind, he does not exercise this privilege. He remains with us to guide and instruct us. Such an one was Buddha; such an one was Jesus. There are men and women at all times who, in larger or smaller measure, are used by these great benefactors of mankind as their instruments. How shall we know them? Arjun is rather confused by the philosophy of the Gita. He wants to know how the emancipated person behaves. How does he walk, how does he talk? The Behaviourist School of modernists are not modern after all. There are two pregnant phrases describing the supreme quality of such men. These are that they look with equal eye on all and, as a consequence, they delight in the good of all. But how should we know them if we met one of them face to face? It is not for us to know. Their presence announces itself to us without any effort on our part. They carry in their eyes, as Emerson would say, the patent of their nobility. The Hindu is assured that in the hour of need the Supreme Soul will incarnate on earth to save mankind from catastrophe. Mathew Arnold had a glimpse of the same belief when he wrote the last lines of "Rugby Chapel":—

> "Then, in such hour of need
> Of your fainting, dispirited race,
> Ye, like angels, appear,
> Radiant with ardour divine.
> Beacons of hope, ye appear!
> Langour is not in your heart,
> Weakness is not in your word,
> Weariness not on your brow."

K. N.

* Put together from notes of a talk on "My View of Life as a Hindu" at the Y. M. C. A., Byculla on Sunday, the 5th August.

REACTION IN REFORM.

The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Monday the news that a daughter of the late Sir Ramanbhai and Lady Nilkant had married a man with a wife and three children. The young lady is a graduate of the Bombay University and occupies the position of head-mistress of a Girls' High School in Ahmedabad. Polygamy is one of the evils against which the Women's Movement in this country has resolutely set its face. The Nilkant family is one of the first and most enlightened families in Gujarat. It has played a pioneer's part in religious and social reform. The parties could not marry under the Hindu law, as the girl is a Brahmin and the man is a Bania. Marriage with Hindu rites was thus not open to the parties. They could not marry either under the Special Marriage Act of 1872, or under Gour's Amending Act, for both embody the principle of monogamy. They could have gone to Baroda where intercaste marriages among Hindus have been legalised irrespective of caste. The validity of marriages under the Baroda Act (assuming it is not monogamous) by persons domiciled in British India, has not been tested. Short of perversion to Islam or Christianity (in the latter case legal proceedings involving delay would have been necessary to get over the principle of monogamy) there was only one door open and that was the Anand Marriage Act applicable to Sikhs and the only Marriage Act of the Indian Legislature not based on the monogamous principle. So both became Sikhs and got married under the Anand Marriage Act. We deal in an editorial note with the legal position of marriage under the Anand Act by persons outside the Punjab.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in a curious editorial pleads on personal and public grounds for "exercise of sympathy and understanding" on the part of publicists in commenting on this event. There is very little difficulty in understanding what has happened. The man has been working on the feelings of an impulsive woman by tales of an unhappy married life from lack of love. Her pity was aroused and pity is a fair imitation of love. She had also ideas of shocking Hindu Society out of the old custom of parents' settling the marriages of their children. This may be a bad custom but when a man acquiesces in his parents' selection so far as to have children by the marriage he is morally estopped from advancing the plea that his wife was not of his own choosing. Notwithstanding Miss Nilkant's *ipse dixit*, the Hindu custom has not proved less successful than alternative customs. "Every one of my friends who married for love," said Disraeli, "either beat their wives or are living apart from them." The few cases of this kind in India have borne out his experience. We are not, of course, justifying this ancient custom. We are only pointing out that it cannot be altered to suit the fancy of every person who has an overweening sense of her right to please herself at whatever cost to others who have as much right to be happy. There have been cases of educated men discarding their innocent young wives as not being good enough for them. Some of them pose too as champions of mother India. As for sympathy, that of all right-minded men will flow to the unfortunate wife and her children who for no fault on their part have been exposed to ignominy.

The *Chronicle* thinks that this incident proves the urgency of the need for provision for divorce in the Hindu law of marriage. We are unable to grasp the point. Who should have divorced whom in the present case and for what reasons? Surely the *Chronicle* does not hold that a husband and father could divorce his wife because he has taken a fancy for another girl. The Hindu community or any other community for that matter has nothing to gain by smoothing the path for people to marry in haste and repent at leisure. The couple in this case, declares the *Chronicle* "will have rendered a distinct service to their community if the action they have taken hastens the adoption of divorce by it." Really?

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE.

In a study entitled "The Soviet Union and the League of Nations 1918-1938" by Kathryn W. Davis, published in collaboration with the Geneva Research Centre, it is suggested by the author that "Soviet-League relations have passed through an evolution in which four apparent stages may be discerned." These four stages are classified as follows:

1 The period of *Non-recognition*;
2 *Sporadic* attendance at some League meetings, of a technical character mainly;
3 Post-Locarno period of frequent *contact* with Geneva;
4 Recent establishment of a more positive and *constructive* relationship.

This analysis, though summary and approximate in character, offers, nevertheless, a sufficiently accurate guide to the phases of a clearly marked, and significant evolution.

It was no oversight that Soviet Russia was not invited to Versailles to co-operate in the drafting of the Peace Treaty and the League Covenant. On March 23, 1919 President Wilson suggested to Mr. Lloyd George that the League should be offered to Europe in effect as "an alternative to Bolshevism."

A covert, if not overt, hostility to the Soviet Government on the part of the principal architects of the League was fully reciprocated. Lenin spoke of the infant League as "an alliance of world bandits against the proleteriat" a phrase which to this day characterises the attitude towards Geneva of the Third International and its associated organisations. At that time hardly any members of the League recognized Soviet Russia; which fact no doubt prompted Chicherin's retort to Dr. Nansen—"My Government does not recognise the League of Nations."

Nevertheless, both over prisoners of war and refugees, the Soviet Government did deal with Nansen not as League Commissioner but as emissary of the States in the League! Whilst a year or so later Soviet delegates attended the Health Conference (March 1922) held under the auspices of the League at Warsaw. The ice had been broken.

It is highly probable that contact and even co-operation between the Soviets and the League would have developed much faster had it not been for the assassination of the Soviet delegate at the Lausanne Conference in 1923. The acquittal of the assassin by a Swiss Jury led the Soviet Government to refuse participation in gatherings on Swiss soil (with one or two exceptions) until in 1927 a formula was found which enabled this Soviet-Swiss controversy to be buried officially.

Nevertheless, sporadic contact with the League continued. In 1923 Soviet Russia adhered to the Straits Convention (supervision under the League of the Dardanelles). In 1924 the Soviets attended a Naval Conference called by the League in Rome. In 1925, for the first time, the Soviet Government signed a League Convention (connected with inland

navigation). Throughout this period, Soviet delegates maintained regular direct contact with the League's Health Organisation.

Once the above-mentioned Swiss-Soviet dispute had been settled, Soviet delegations became frequent visitors to Geneva. This phase of more or less regular contact with the League was heralded by Soviet participation in the Economic Conference of 1927; and was characterised then, and later at meetings of the Commission of Inquiry into European Union and of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, by the pursuit of a double policy. On the one hand, Geneva was skillfully used as a sounding board for the propaganda of Communist ideas. On the other hand, the astute Soviet Foreign Minister (Mr. Litvinov) made the most of the unique opportunities offered by Geneva for personal contacts with the statesmen of the world. A study of Mr. Litvinov's speeches during this period will demonstrate his diminishing interest in Communist dialectics and his increasing concern to establish with "Capitalist" states a co-operative relationship designed first and foremost, naturally enough, to achieve the political and economic security of Soviet Russia. A corresponding change in the attitude of other delegations towards the Soviet representatives (notably Mr. Litvinov) is equally apparent.

Two events of outstanding importance for the world—the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in the autumn of 1931, and the emergence of the Third Reich in the Spring of 1933—have revolutionised the attitude of the present rulers of Russia to the League. The Soviets feel themselves threatened both in the East and the West, and having abandoned hope (if they ever entertained it?) of substantial general disarmament, are now working tenaciously to secure their territorial integrity in two ways; first by a series of non-aggression and non-intervention pacts with as many neighbouring States as possible; second by exploring the possibility of closer co operation with the other signatories of the Pact of Paris and the League Covenant towards the organisation and preservation of peace.

A highly significant departure from the traditional attitude of Soviet Russia towards the League was made in December 1933 when Stalin publicly declared that under certain circumstances "it is not impossible that we should support the League of Nations despite its colossal defects," while similar statements have been made by leading representatives of the Soviets. The distance travelled from an unqualified ridicule and fear expressed in 1919 to a guarded offer of support in 1934 represents remarkable political pilgrimage indeed.

France's Marriage Fairs:—Ancient marriage fairs to enable unmarried girls to pick up husbands from the young men of the village, have been revived in France to keep up the falling birth-rate of the country. The first fair was held at a big village near Rennes. The Archbishop and local officials have expressed approval of the revival of the custom, which is centuries old, but had recently fallen into disuse. The assembly is fixed for early morning and by noon the fair is in full swing. Girls and men first parade in opposite camps, but as noon approaches, any girl is free to invite the young man she prefers to lunch with her, on condition that she pays the whole cost. The man is not obliged to accept the invitation but, if he does, it is an invitation that he is not indifferent to the interest taken in him by the girl. If afterwards there is no marriage, it is taken as severe slight on the girl, and young men who offend in this way are generally cold-shouldered in the village. After the luncheon, there is an afternoon of revelry on the village green followed by strolls through the woods, in which the youths chosen are expected to pair off with their entertainers.

OUR POLITICAL PEASANTS.

It was a frequent reproach levelled by British officials against Indian politicians that they were lawyers who had no contact with the masses of the country and were liable, if the Government were not careful, to exploit the agriculturists for personal advancement. The insinuation was hotly resented by Indians who felt not unnaturally that they were more likely to understand their people's wants than a foreign officialdom. It is interesting to watch the reactions of the educated to the same charge when it comes, as it does today, from Congress leaders.

We are all familiar with Gandhiji's identifying himself with the masses, and most of us have heard Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel say so often that he is "a peasant born and bred" that we have almost come to believe it! Mr. Patel helps on the illusion by dressing the part. But it surprised me, and, I daresay, I was not the only one, to read in a recent issue of the *Sun* Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's remarks on himself in his Vizagapatam speech. After telling his audience that with men among them like Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir C. V. Raman, they were not lacking in "intellectual equipment," Mr. Desai remarked, "I am a man of the street. I was born a poor agriculturist and had to walk five miles to school at the age of seven with a view to learn the rudiments of Gujerati character. Therefore, I am of the people, I belong to the people, and I understand them, and it is through them, for them and with them that my thoughts always turn." The first remark is only rhetoric. I can only say that if Mr. Desai is a "man of the street" lots of people I know would like to be in the same street with him. As for his birth as an agriculturist, it is, or so I have been told, what a man becomes rather than what he was born that determines his occupation in modern society. Incidentally I should like to how many other "poor agriculturists" whom Mr. Desai claims to represent, considered the five mile trudge worth their while. That zeal for the rudiments of education which Mr. Desai and doubtless many of his audience displayed, is what marks them out from the average man.

Why then should Mr. Desai who far from dressing the part has adopted the aristocratic *sherwani* and close-fitting trousers of North India, claim kinship with the rural masses of India in an address to educated Indians? It cannot be merely electoral tactics. The real explanation seems to me to lie in this that the mantle of the Government official has fallen on the Congress leader. In this country there is no rest for the educated class. Having figured first as the scapegoat of Government and then of British propagandists —Messrs. Thompson and Garratt refer to the educated Bengali as the dog which is learning to walk on its hindlegs like a man—it is now being victimised by the Congress whose leaders, good, bad and indifferent, are all drawn from its ranks. That is understandable because all opposition arises from this class and opposition is resented by every group which seeks to establish absolute control over a country. What puzzles one is the patience with which the intelligentsia tolerate these attacks. Nor can I understand how the Congress can still claim to represent the whole country when at the same time it is bidding for agricultural support. India no doubt is mainly agricultural but its political centre is in the industrial cities.

V. A.

Harijans' Complaint:—The Secretary, the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Lahore, has addressed the following letter to the Executive Officer, the Municipal Committee, Lahore: "My attention has been drawn to the fact, that in the preparation of electoral rolls various candidates are alleged to be using unfair means in registering Hindu sweepers as Muslims and Christians for the purpose of Municipal franchise."

THE RIGHT METHOD OF REFORM.

(By Ramdatta Singh.)

"Gods conquer them who consider themselves different from Gods;

Men conquer them who consider themselves different from men,"

is a Vedic teaching, the full purport of which the Hindus as a community are just beginning to learn. They had enough of degradation and downfall. After paying heavily for their ignorance, and after learning a bitter lesson they are awakening to their sense of duty towards themselves. Real help and growth, now they realise, have to come always from within. So they are attempting in all possible ways to cleanse their home and set it right.

This change of attitude on the part of the Hindus is manifesting itself decidedly in the way in which they have taken to the service of the low and the downtrodden. It has been a shame and disgrace to them that a portion of their race should have been so long left neglected, if not maltreated. To lift up these unfortunate millions who have become next door neighbours to animals, has now rightly become an important item of national work. It behoves every caste Hindu to seek atonement for his communal sin by his doing all he can for his suppressed brother. The service to the poor shall not be forced, and it shall have no colouring of pity or favour. It shall rather be the result of spontaneous flow of the heart, tinged with the spirit of yajna or worship. "Literal worship of the Daridra Narayana shall be our motto."

In all societies there is a section of people who are conservative in their outlook and they view with suspicion anything new that is presented to them. India is no exception to this. The conservatives here are old, fossilised and scantily informed about the way in which the world is moving. The greatest help that they have been so far rendering to the nation was that they did not offer any obstacle to the progressive work of the country. Their silence and aloofness amounted to consent if not hearty co-operation.

But quite recently things have taken a sudden turn for the worse. Controversy, division of opinion, cleavage among the Hindus—these seem to be the order of the day. It may be that rivalry and party spirit are justified in the political field. But they ought to be scrupulously avoided in matters relating to the religious, social and economic uplift of India. Organisations and institutions concerned ought to complement and not compete with each other.

The question of removing an unknown and obscure legal difficulty that stands in the way of admitting an out-caste into the orthodox Hindu temple is now engaging the attention of the whole of the Hindu community. This has unnecessarily created an unpleasant faction among them. Those who stand against or oppose the Bill for removal of disabilities, call themselves Sanatanists, while those in favour of the bill are styled Reformers. The agitation reveals lack of right understanding on the part of one, and haste and deviation from the proper method on the part of another. But quite recently things have taken a sudden turn.

Each party claims that it alone is the real champion and protector of the Sanatana Dharma from danger and perdition. Sanatana Dharma is nothing short of principles and spiritual laws governing life. To claim proprietorship over them is as ridiculous as one's saying that all the air and water of the earth are his sole property. Again a formal Sanatanist can no more be a Dharmi than a king on the stage can be the ruler of a territory. To reach the state of a Sanatani one has to strive through a disciplined life. From the ideal point of view a Sanatanist is one who has through purity, austerity and control of body and mind realised the Eternal Truth that he is the immortal Atman putting on the mask of a mortal body. Such a man is the embodiment of good conduct and compassion for the whole creation. Virtue and universal love mark him for their own. Men of this type are, of course, rare and few. But all Hindus, irrespective of social inequalities, are conventionally called Sanatanists because of their paying alligiance to the ideal. Even non-Hindus and foreigners become Sanatanists when they take to this ideal.

The party which stands against the Bill is alarmed and agitated. It refuses to make a calm study of the situation. In the Bill under consideration there is, in fact, hardly anything against the Sanatanist, his society and his religion. Mere legislation will not change society into anything good or bad. The Sarda Act is a standing testimony to it. But all social customs and usages which come into existence under certain circumstances, also die out when they cease to serve a noble purpose under changed circumstances. Time is a great purifying factor in this respect. It rings out the old that is no more of any use. It rings in the new that is good and beneficial to society. Whatever might have been its origin, untouchability as it exists today is a useless and meaningless custom, and it is bound to die a natural death. Vain is the attempt of man to preserve it.

Long before the Reformer conceived the idea of removing the legal difficulties, the suppressed brother had effectively solved the problem for himself. The cultured section, though few in number, of the so-called depressed classes, who were no more satisfied with their wild deities and demi-gods, had been quietly going into the orthodox Hindu temple when the urge to do so came from within. The priests and the orthodox knew it, and they also recognised the natural growth behind it; as such no voice rose against it. In a couple of years, in direct proportion to the amount of culture imparted to the suppressed brother, the custom and usage will have assumed the desired form and change. Legal difficulties would have remained there simply in theory, as many such things are to this day in Manu Smrithi.

There are certain vices which are best rooted out by making the least possible reference to them. They die or become things of the past by man's ignoring or forgetting them completely. One such vice is that of untouchability. Under modern modes of life it is impossible to cherish it any further. It is rapidly disappearing and is bound to become completely extinct in the near future. Speeches, legislation and circulars have been unwittingly calculated to give the vanishing vice undue importance.

Social inequalities in India have been, till lately, mainly based on culture. To-day the economic condition also plays an important part in getting a social uplift. The methods that the religious reformers were uniformly adopting all along was to give a cultural uplift to the backward classes. In spite of the country being caste-ridden and priest-craft-ridden, it automatically bends its head before that magic wand, culture. Bring light, darkness vanishes; give culture, elevation and equality come of their own accord. In other words if proper care is taken of the means, the end will take care of itself. This has been the one smooth and golden method adopted by all the Acharyas. They acted efficiently without creating a jarring reaction anywhere. But the method now adopted almost all over the country seems to be in a reversed way. They attempt to remove darkness anticipating

that light will come; force equality hoping that culture and cleanliness will follow suit. When this process is properly analysed it reduces itself to putting the effect before the cause. Temple-entry, along with several other things, ought to be the natural outcome of education, culture and economical uplift.

Though political issues and growth of society are inter-related to some extent, the changing tactics of the former should not be confounded with the steady, though sometimes slow, evolution of the latter. It is both noble and desirable that the country has taken to the spirit of self-sacrifice and service. Along with it if she learns to adopt the right method of service, and if she also learns not to become impatient and eager to have quick results, the combination will then be splendid. This happy combination and whole-hearted service are required more to-day than ever before.

VILLAGE WORK.*

(By Fr. Verrier Elwin.)

Here are three heresies of mine. I don't suppose that anyone will agree with me, but I would like to say what they are.

My first heresy is that I cannot stand this idea of well-to-do people from the towns going out to the villages or to the quarters of the Harijans with brooms and disinfectants to sweep them up. How would we like it if some well-meaning social reformer were to walk into our bungalows with a vacuum cleaner and start improving our carpets, provide a better Bromo for our lavatory, and remove the last shy cobweb from our walls? We would regard it as an intolerable impertinence. Villagers have exactly the same feelings as we have, and they take a very great pride in their houses. As a matter of fact, the Gond houses for example (and many Harijan houses that I have seen) are far cleaner than the average Brahmin houses. Peasants at least do not use their bathrooms as latrines. The truth is that sweeping a village, with someone taking photos if possible, is a mere sop to the conscience. It is completely and utterly useless. It does no good to the villager. It simply makes the social worker more conceited and superior than he was before. He thinks he is a tremendously fine fellow, but he has done nothing. Village relief work is a far harder and longer business than that.

My second heresy is that I don't see any point in the craze for badgering our unfortunate university students, especially the Christian students, to take up village work. Why should they? They have spent a great deal of money on an education which may be good or may be bad, but which is the very last thing that can prepare them to be of the slightest use in village service. If you want to persuade well-to-do people to do village work, then go to the schools and capture the imagination of the boys and persuade them to take some training that will enable them to be of some use. By the time they have gone to college it is too late. In the village centre brains are a great nuisance. The people best fitted for village work are villagers. You need of course a few educated people to set the ball rolling, but for the real hard work an enterprising village cannot be beaten. Now when students and educated people write to me wanting to join the Gond Seva Mandal, I say "No, thank you;" and when I want a worker I go and find a good villager. The villager does more work than the student and he does it better. The student had equipped himself for something else and he had better go and do it. Once for example, I thought that all our workers ought to be graduates, but experience has taught me otherwise.

My third heresy is less heretical. For heavens' sake, let us stop talking about Village Uplift Work. Who are we to uplift the villager? Read Pearl Buck's *The Mother*: is there in your life that depth of feeling, that magnificence of love and devotion that the mother who has not even a name possesses? Live among villagers for a time, and you will find that there are many things that you can do with them but you can't uplift them, really you can't uplift them. We are not good enough for that. We can suffer a little with them, perhaps—if God allows us that privilege: we can share a few of their joys; we can fight a few of their battles. But generally (and I am not forgetting any of the superstitions and ignorance and evil customs that exist) we can only follow humbly in the footsteps of the poor. St. Francis was right. Poverty is a straight road to heaven, and the poor tread it. The safest rule for village work is never to try to do anything and never to talk in a way that we would not do or say to someone who is of the same (to use the conventional expressions in which I do not believe) social and cultural status as ourselves.

* From *The Ashram Review*.

'THE TEST OF A SPIRITUAL TEACHER.'

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The article in the *Reformer* of the 4th inst. under the above heading arrested my attention. That renunciation of the world as the test of a spiritual teacher has for long been obsolete, the two coming to be more and more recognised as a contradiction in terms. The two Hindu Epics Ramayana and Mahabhratha, foremost among Sir John Lubbock's 100 books, will be found to demonstrate this view in unmistakable implications because the central lesson in both is the revealing of ways and means for self-realisation amidst wordly conditions. The simile of Sree Ramakrishna Paramahamsa of the burning fire and the moth is not happy either, because the predominant suggestion therein is one of decaying into destruction—a view which is diametrically opposed to the idea of winning over.

It is not correct to say that Spiritual teachers "do not go about calling others." They do more than that. The ideal of a real Guru is that of lying in wait for response from straying souls with grief when it is not forth coming—a variety of grief which has a compelling force hidden in it. The attitude of a spiritual-Guru may be better compared to the sunshine waiting outside to enter in abundance as soon as you make the least opening in your window that remains shut against grace. When that is the law of life, how much more transcendant should be the spiritual law? That law is that response always transcends impulse,—but impulse there must be—as was sung by a great Kanarese Saint Jagannatha Dasa in his 'Harikathamrithasara,' a moving lyric. Here is the import of the verse:

"If you sit up and think of Him (that is the least human effort) He stands up and listens. If you yourself stand and invoke, He will reveal Himself to you dancing in ecstacy."

If this is the experience it is inevitable that the real ultimate test of a spiritual teacher is a vein of sorrow at the indifferance of the multitude to the eternal law that spiritual destiny is the heritage of each composing it. This grief again is in the

measure of the intensity of a Guru's spiritual experience. Prahlada's life-story is a standing illustration of this truth. Harold Begbie's "Broken Earthware" supplies the latest authority in support of this view.

Penukonda, August 7, 1934. } Yours etc., T. SIVASANKARAN.

THE OXFORD GROUP.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I was very interested to read your article on the Oxford Group Movement and the discussion that has followed since in your valued paper. I shall be very thankful if you let me contribute my quota to it.

Last time I was in New York, I passed some six weeks in very close touch with this Movement and what I found there has really impressed me. This Movement is far from perfect and I believe its leaders would be the first to say that it is far from being this, and it has some glaring defects. To my mind, the chief among these is what may be called its bourgeois mentality and a kind of snobbery which this breeds. Somehow or other, from its leader Frank Buchman down to the commonest follower, the Movement has developed a sort of partiality for those who are big in the world, and, unfortunately, Counts and Countesses, Lords and Ladies count a great deal more than they should in a purely religious movement. I found this to be true from my own observation and also from the criticism made of it by sincere wellwishers of the Movement both in the U. S. A. and in England. The Movement takes it for granted that its ideas will spread from these to the lower and hence has concentrated its attention upon capturing the upper classes. So much so is this the case that poor folks like Jesus Christ and St. Paul would surely find themselves out of place in some of their house parties and public meetings in first-class hotels. In New York I was told by the wife of a well-known author and professor in a most important religious school that, much as she wanted to go to one of these meetings in a big hotel in New York, she could not muster courage enough to go there in her shopping dress in which she had come to the city in the earlier part of the day. When such a thing happens to a Movement, it is indeed time to cry a holt and see what is wrong with it.

Another defect is, perhaps, that the Movement takes its spiritual life a little too easily. After a short stay with them I said to some of them that they were "spiritual good-timers," and they evidently did not dislike the term. This may be their strength, however, and I am not prepared to criticise them on this score. It may be that the world hitherto has taken its religion too seriously and what we see in this Movement may be a healthy reaction although for the present it may be a little too extreme. Apart from this, however, the Movement has much in it that should commend itself to the religious-minded people belonging to every country and creed. Its great emphasis is on conversion of the self resulting in its turn in the conversion of others. In as much as it does this, in however lame a manner and to whatever little extent, it is "a Dispensation of God for our times" as I said to Rev. Sam Shoemaker, who, by the bye, is the noblest product of this Movement. I have known people whose lives have been changed altogether and it is undoubted that a new spiritual power has come into the world along with this Movement. This conversion is to be real and not merely a make-believe one, and hence the need of confession. This is to be followed by work for others and there is God's guidance provided daily for this purpose. The daily meetings for evidence have a reality which cannot be ignored. That the Movement has neither a Philosophy nor a Theology of its own, has no creed nor Orthodoxy of any kind, neither any organisation nor office-bearers, is a matter for congratulation, for it means that its attention is concentrated solely on the ethical and spiritual life. There is much room for deepening both of these, and the Movement will be forced to provide for this if it has to meet the need of the world of which it has a real vision.

Movements of this kind need to be started all over the world if we are to save it from the wreck and ruin which faces it to-day. All the religions of the world can have similar movements if only a few truly spiritually-minded people among them will take a lesson from the Oxford Group Movement and start work in their own particular groups. In the last century in India we had two movements, one led by the great Vaishnav reformer Swami Narayan and the other the Brahma Samaj, as it developed under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, which worked on the same lines and did a great deal of good to the people. Whenever true religion touches the springs of life, we have phenomena similar to the Oxford Group Movement. Let us, therefore, be thankful to this breathing of the spirit in our times, and be ready to catch the same breath for ourselves and for the world.

Rajkot, August 7, 1934. } Yours etc., MANILAL C. PAREKH

DIRGHATAMAS.

The Editors,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your leading article of the 21st July, you mention Dirghatamas as an "Indian Missionary, whose lament from the bottom of a deep well into which he had been cast by the aboriginal inhabitants whom he went to civilize, is recorded in the Rig Veda." Will you kindly give further particulars about this missionary and say where his lament occurs in the Rig Veda?

Karwar, August, 3, 1934. } Yours etc., K. S. DESAI.

[Rig Veda I. 158. Dirgatamas tells of his ordeals by fire, water and sword at the hands of Dasas. He was thrown into a river. Rishi Trita was thrown into a well. R. V. I 105. Griffith's English Translation.—Ed. *I. S. R.*]

This Civilization:—The white man with his burden feels that he has not reconciled himself to his god unless he has converted a mountain or a wood into something like Widnes or Dowlais. When the mountain is a mass of slag on which a community crowds into back-to-back hovels, living there in the sure and certain hope of the Poor Law as the crown to its labours, the man of Western Culture looks at the figures in a Blue Book, and knows that he has fulfilled the divine injunction. He never suspects that he may be wrong in that. Impossible that the Murato Indians in their forest may be as pleasing as his flying machines and alcohol! Yet perhaps the firs and pines of Newfoundland are not necessarily worse than the rolls of paper into which they are converted. The conversion of a forest into a popular Press may be inevitable, like war, but we should not deride the trees which help us to our enlightenment by calling them savage. That seems hardly fair. Let the Murato and all other Indians perish, if there is no other way of getting our alcohol, but to say they are uncivilised as we extinguish them seems a little priggish.—*W. M. Tomlinson*, in "Gifts of Fortune."

THE ANAND MARRIAGE ACT.

The Anand Marriage Act deliberately refrained from incorporating any particular form as the valid form of marriage, but it is obvious that its recognition extends only to the form authoritatively accepted by or on behalf of the Sikh community. The text of the Act which is a very short one, is as follows:

"Whereas it is expedient to remove any doubts as to the validity of the marriage ceremony common among the Sikhs called Anand; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

(1) This Act may be called the Anand Marriage Act, 1909.

(2) All marriages which may be or may have been duly solemnized according to the Sikh marriage ceremony called Anand shall be, and shall be deemed to have been, with effect from the date of the solemnization of each respectively, good and valid in law.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall apply to,

(*a*) Any marriage between persons not professing the Sikh religion, or

(*b*) Any marriage which has been judicially declared to be null and void.

(4) Nothing in this Act shall affect the validity of any marriage duly solemnized according to any other marriage ceremony customary among the Sikhs.

(5) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriage between persons who are related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would, according to the customary law of the Sikhs, render a marriage between them illegal."

Mr. Sadhu Singh wrote from Jammu to the Editor of the *Reformer* on June 15, 1913:-

"You consider that the Anand Marriage Act, "as it stands, is a menace to morality." Perhaps you do not know that under the Anand Marriage Act, the bride and the bridegroom, at the time of marriage, have to declare that they are "Sikhs." If they are Sikhs, then a polygamous marriage cannot take place unless there is political necessity for it, because Sikhism does not respect polygamy. There are clear injuctions over this subject in the Granth Sahib. Moreover at the time of marriage, the father or guardian of the bride has to give her over to the bridegroom. In the case cited by you the father, it appears, knew nothing of the marriage. In short, if any particular person commits any irregularity in the celebration of his marriage, certainly the Act cannot be condemned. I wish you, Mr. Editor, to study the procedure of the celebration of Anand Marriages before you take up your pen to condemn it. The Chief Khalsa Diwan, the central body of Sikhs, is now preparing a detailed code of such social unions and in fact, it has already issued a draft on the subject which would clearly show that the Act does not encourage polygamy but discourages it."

The *Khalsa Advocate* had the following comment which was reproduced in the *Reformer* of June 22, 1913:—

The *Social Reformer* not only condemns the action of the individual but considers that the Anand Marriage Act as it stands at present is a menace to morality because it encourages polygamy. We are not much concerned with the individual but we cannot support the views of the *Social Reformer* concerning the Act. We know Sikhism does not allow polygamy except in cases of great emergency when political necessity demanded such deviation. There are clear injuctions in the Granth Sahib that the Sikhs are not allowed to have polygamous connections. The Anand Marriage Act contains a necessary clause that both the bride and the bridegroom must be Sikhs. In the face of this clause nobody unless he professes to be a Sikh can legalize his marriage under the Act."

The *Tribune* wrote under "Law Notes" which appeared in the *Reformer* of July 6, 1913:—

"The lapse of a great reformer in entering into a polygamous alliance was in itself too sad and shocking an event, but the controversy it has given rise to is no less deplorable. The fact that the parties had resort to the Anand Marriage ritual has given rise to an impression in certain quarters that the Anand Marriage Act has given sanction to the union under discussion. Without entering into the rights and wrongs of the marriage, which has been universally condemned, the legal questions it gives rise to, deserve close and careful examination. In the first place what constitutes the validity of the union? Is it the Anand Marriage Act? How far does the Act go in this respect? These are questions that go to the root of the matter. What is the precise scope of the Anand Marriage Act? With what object was it enacted? The statement of objects and reasons of the measure declared that certain doubts had been cast as to the validity of marriages performed by Anand rites, and emphasized the expediency of removing those doubts by legislative enactment. Anand marriages had been in existence before. Doubts had been cast on their validity, and the legislature sought to remove them. What were those doubts? The doubts concerned the Anand rites—whether the rites sufficed by themselves to confer legal as well as religious sanction to the union effected. The doubts thus concerned the ritual, the procedure, but the substantive law governing marital rights was not affected. All that the Anand Marriage Act effected was that it gave legal sanction to the Anand ritual thus declaring that no marriage previously performed or that might be performed subsequently would be invalid merely on the ground that it was performed under that ritual. The question then arises how would the validity of the marriage itself as apart from the procedure, be regulated. What law would govern the substantive side of the marriage, for instance, the question of prohibited degrees and so on? That is the real point at issue which must be faced. Is it the Anand Marriage Act? The reply must be in the negative. It is not a measure at all dealing with substantive law. How would the rights of the parties be governed under the marriage by the Anand Marriage Act? Here again the reply must be in the negative. What law governed these rights before the enactment of the Anand Marriage Act? Did this Act in any way repeal the previous law? The reply again must be in the negative. What was the substantive law that governed marital relations? According to the Punjab Laws Act, Act IV of 1872, the primary rule of decision in all questions affecting marriage in the Punjab is the Customary Law, and if no such custom be proved to exist then the Hindu Law or the Muhammadan Law in the case of Hindus and Muhammadans respectively. It is thus the personal law of the parties, in the Punjab the Customary Law or the Hindu Law, as the case may be, but outside this Province the Hindu Law alone which continues to govern the validity of the Hindu marriage sacrament. Whether the Anand Marriage Act existed or not, the question would thus, in either case, be decided by the Hindu Law, as they would be in the case of any other marriage among Sikhs who did not follow the Punjab Customary Law and who contracted an intercaste marriage."

THE VINODINI-MANUBHAI MARRIAGE.

The Ahmedabad correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes: A sensation was created in the city when the news spread that Kumari Vinodini Nilkanth, daughter of Lady Vidyagauri, was married to Mr. Manubhai Lalbhai Parikh, who is a Visashrimali Jain and is conducting the Ahmedabad Radio Company. Manubhai's present wife Smt. Sharda aged about 25 and their 3 sons are living. It is said no consent was given by Lady Vidyagauri for this marriage which was kept a secret up to the last moment. Miss Vinodini at present is the Head Mistress of the Municipal Girls' High School and has informed the Administrative Officer Mr. P. K. Desai, of her marriage, asking leave for a month and half stating that she had to leave Ahmedabad. A stir has been caused in the city by the marriage of Mr. Manubhai Lalbhai and Miss Vinodini Nilkanth. Manubhai is a Bania by caste, a graduate and business man and was also a Swadeshi worker. Miss Vinodini is a Nagar by caste and is the daughter of the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth, wellknown Gujarati writer, and social reformer. Miss Nilkanth besides being a Bombay graduate possesses some American degrees. She has widely travelled in America and only recently returned from an extensive tour in Japan and is serving as the Lady Superintendent of the Girls' High School. Prior to the marriage it is reported the couple embraced Sikhism and have left for their honeymoon to an unknown destination. The marriage is condemned both by the reformers and the orthodox including Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth, the bride's mother and other relatives who are all ardent social reformers and highly educated. "Although (because?) we are social reformers we do not approve of this marriage," said Lady Vidyagauri to the *Free Press* correspondent, "especially as the bridegroom is a married man. We knew of Miss Vinodini's intention and tried to dissuade her from the marriage." The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent writes from Ahmedabad: "News received from Bombay states that Manubhai has repented of this marriage after meeting his relatives who went to Bombay after him for inquiry. Similarly Vinodini also has sent a telegram to Lady Vidyagauri stating that she repented of the hasty step taken by her. She asked for advice as to what she should do now. It is said that Lady Vidyagauri has wired asking her to apologise and come back again to Ahmedabad."

The marriage of Miss Vinodini Nilkanth, the daughter of Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth the well-known social reformist of Ahmedabad with Manubhai Parikh, a radio engineer of the same place, has aroused the keenest interest among the public especially as it was against the wishes of Lady Vidyagauri and also because Mr. Parikh has already his first wife alive.

It was recently reported that both Miss Vinodini and Mr. Manubhai who are now in Bombay, are regretting their 'hasty step.' A denial of this report is given by the couple in an 'interview to "Nav Bharat," a local Gujarati paper.

"I am tired of the bondage of society," said Miss Vinodini, "I feel that the foundations of our present-day society should be demolished and on their ruins a new society should be built up. My marriage will certainly have some effect on the society. It will startle parents and make them think before arranging an undesirable match for their children."

Q.—But in your case the question of undesirable marriage does not arise.

A.—Manubhai never entertained any feeling of love for his first wife after their marriage. His personal feelings in the matter of that marriage were never consulted. And when two people cannot love each other how can they live together?

Q.—But very often this ground is put forward only to justify a new marriage.

A.—That is true. But so far as Manubhai is concerned, I am certain that it is not so. I have come into contact with him for the last six years, and during this period we have anxiously discussed how to solve this problem. At last we felt that it is better for us to marry than to suffer like this indefinitely.

Q.—When you thought of the happiness of you both, did you ever try to think of the unhappiness you would cause to Manubhai's first wife?

A.—The fact is that she was never happy because Manubhai never loved her. And life without love is nothing but unhappiness. Our marriage, therefore, does not suggest the question of her unhappiness.

Q.—Your mother and your maternal uncle, Mr. Gatulal, were opposed to your marriage, is it not?

A.—That is true. But my mother would not allow this marriage because Manubhai has already his first wife living. But on this point I differ from my mother who is orthodox, while I am a reformist.

Q.—How can you call Lady Vidyagauri (your mother) orthodox? She is regarded as a god-mother of reformist couples.

A.—That is true, but she was opposed to this marriage of mine. If Manubhai had not his first wife living, then my mother would not have objected. But I go further than her and maintain that if there is no zest in life, why should the position be tolerated any longer? I believe that if a husband and wife do not love each other, it is immoral for them to live together. Having considered this situation for six long years we have now taken the step, and it cannot be called hasty or impulsive. Society may talk anything. If you care for the opinion of society, you cannot expect a social revolution.

Q.—Did you ever try to persuade Manubhai's first wife to agree to his second marriage with you?

A.—No. I have never met her. But Manubhai felt that he could never make her happy, and, therefore, we decided on this step.

Q.—It is certain that she will now have to lead a miserable life.

A.—Though she was never happy before, she must have certainly been shocked by our marriage. But our social life is such that there was no other recourse.

Replying to a further question, Miss Vinodini said "We do not in the least regret our marriage and we are prepared to suffer any consequences that may result."

The *Free Press* gives the following account: The curtain has not yet rung down on the Vinodini-Manubhai drama. The marriage is still a matter of hot discussion among the general public and the Nagar and Jain communities to which bride and bridegroom respectively belonged. The local journals are daily publishing lengthy accounts of further developments and are adversely commenting on the marriage.

It appears that the local Sikhs do not recognise this as a true Sikh marriage. It is learnt that the couple are now in Bombay. The former wife of Mr. Manubhai and her relatives have also left for Bombay. A telephone message said to have been received by a friend of Mr. Manubhai Parikh, says that Mr. Manubhai expressed regret for what had happened.

On the other hand Miss Vinodini had, prior to her marriage, written a letter addressed to all the girl students of the high school of which she was the Principal. In the letter, she says that what she was doing may not be considered proper by society, but she had taken the step of marrying Manubhai in obedience to her 'inner voice.'

Some further developments have taken place in connection with this episode. It is reported that Lady Vidyaguvri Nilkanth, the girl's mother, received a telegram from Vinodini saying that she greatly repents the hasty step she has taken and seeking advice from her mother.

It is also reported that Lady Nilkanth has sent a telegram to Vinodini in reply, asking her to publicly apologise for the faulty step taken and then to come to Ahmedabad.

Miss Vinodini Nilkant is now in Bombay, staying at Sardar Griha.

Interviewed by the *Free Press* correspondent, Miss Vinodini flatly denied these reports. She declared that her marriage with Mr. Parikh is the result of six years' deliberation and that both of them were now fully satisfied with their action.

In the course of further conversation with Miss Vinodini she declared her decision to stick to her maiden name and not, as is the Hindu custom, adopt the husband's family name.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Removal of Liquor Shop:—A referendum under the Local Options Act for recording the decision of the electorate on the question of the removal of the liquor shop from the local Municipal limits was held at Sadhura (Ambala), on July 30 and 31. Out of 1,837 Municipal votes more than 1,300 voted for the removal of the said shop. This has been a huge success for the members of the Prohibition Committee and their sympathisers. This Committee was organised especially for this occasion and did a lot of useful and active propaganda work for days together before the polling began. L. Nathu Ram, Secretary of the Prohibition Committee, L. Hans Raj Jain and their colleagues deserve the gratitude of the public of this place for their efforts.—*Tribune.*

Indians in Zanzibar:—Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., is proceeding on deputation to Zanzibar to investigate the condition of Indians in Zanzibar *vis-a-vis* certain measures passed by the Colonial Legislature. It will be recalled that Sir Maharaj Singh who was asked to go to Zanzibar could not do so owing to illness and it was understood that Mr. Bozman, his Secretary, also was unable to go. Mr. Menon will stay at Zanzibar for abont six weeks. The Secretary to the Government of India (Education, Health and Lands Department) has telegraphed to the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that Government are deputing Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., to make local inquiries in Zanzibar. Mr. Menon arrived in Bombay on the morning of August 8, by the Frontier Mail and sailed by the s. s. "Kenya," the same afternoon.

Ceylon Women's Conference:—For the first time in the history of Ceylon, and All-Ceylon Women's Conference will be held in Colombo on August 31 and September 1 next. The Conference, which will be of a non-political character, will be open to all women, regardless of race, nationality, belief or occupation, and aims at bringing the women of the island together to discuss common problems in education, home life, social welfare and legislation. A number of interesting subjects will be discussed at the conference, including the existing laws relating to women and children. The Conference will also suggest new legislation necessary for (*a*) the protection of children, (*b*) dealing with juvenile offenders, (*c*) protection of women in industrial employment, (*d*) dealing with female offenders, and (*e*) the control of midwives.

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gratification lay only in a self-complacency of having eaten too much and too many. I have now been observing fast since the 16th of July and during these 15 days I have been living on lemon juice diluted with natural water. Occasionally I take sips of pine apple juice and cocoanut water. I have hitherto never felt hungry or thirsty. Of course, I have lost in weight and have become slightly emaciated but one thing that strikes me is that I have gained more in energy, vigour and cheerfulness. I can now do more of both physical and mental labour, and, with each sunrise, my experience becomes all the more fortified. I am determined to carry on like this until real hunger returns and I feel tempted to convey my experiences to your readers to say that fasting is not so horrible and dangerous as it is popularly apprehended. Rather it is invigorating and brain-building. This much I am pretty sure that hitherto my hunger has been a routine hunger, a hunger false, stereotyped and degenerating." Fasting is a tonic for people who suffer from diseases due to overeating—who live to eat. This was known centuries before Mr. Bhowmic discovered it. In fact, it has been observed in the case even of domesticated animals. (Wild animals never over-eat.) But for people who have not the means nor the temptation to indulge in over-feeding, fasting means starvation and no addition, as in Mr. Bhowmic's case, to their energy, vigour and cheerfulness. There is also the psychological difference of a deprivation which is voluntary in one case and forced in the other. When you are sure you can get your next meal whenever you need it, you are spared the gnawing despondency of one who does not know where to look for it.

An Insidious Evil:—The evil commonly imputed to Communalism is that it leads to undue favouritism being shown to men of one's community to the injury of persons of other communities in matters of common concern. A more insidious and, therefore, more dangerous evil is the temptation of sensitive men and women to be unduly censorious of people of their own community in order to escape this liability. In some recent cases the Judges, Muslims, struck us as having allowed themselves to be influenced by a consideration of this kind into giving expression to sentiments and passing sentences rather more than what would be absolutely appropriate.

The Anand Marriage Act:—In view of the grave doubts regarding the validity of marriages under the Anand Marriage Act of persons who became Sikhs solely for the purpose of effecting an otherwise unpermissible union, it is desirable that an early opportunity should be taken to bring them to the test of a judicial decision. The question of amending the Act, may, if necessary, be taken up after the decision is pronounced. The amendments should, in the main, restrict Anand Marriages to parties, whose parents observed or were competent to observe the custom, and in the case of converts to parties who are single or have no wife or husband living by a prior marriage.

Missionary Ideals:—We publish this week extracts from an interesting sermon delivered at Cambridge University by Mr. Paul Gibson, Principal of Ridley Hall. Mr. Gibson was formerly in Ceylon at the head of the Theological College there. One can see from the sermon that he has been greatly influenced by his Indian experience. He remarks in one place that only those who have been in the East can know the relationship between disciple and master, that the disciple leans heavily on his teacher and that something of that spirit is necessary in mission workers. Mr. Gibson regrets that "Rethinking Missions," the report of the Hocking Commission of enquiry into the working of Christian Missions, does not stress the ideals behind missionary enterprise. But his own conclusions are not very different. On his standard that only those who are prepared to live the "Christian" life, should go out to teach it by precept and example to others, few workers would be judged fit for that great task. Whilst this undoubtedly places missionary ideals on a higher plane than in the past, at the same time it makes it very difficult to secure people who live up to this requirement for mission work. And yet, if Mr. Gibson's views are accepted, as they should be, by mission boards, we shall see a wholesome shifting of the emphasis from philanthropic activities to spiritual growth.

Mass Conversions:—The Rev. F. Kurtz read a paper at the Missionary Conference at Darjeeling last June on "Christian Mass Movements in India" which the *Baptist Missionary Review* reproduces in its August number. The paper is based on Dr. J. W. Pickett's "Mass Movements Survey" and contains a strong appeal for mass conversions. Dr. Kurtz remarks with pride that caste problems do not bulk large among the converts although he concedes that in some missions 'inter dining and inter-marriages between different sections are almost unknown.' Nor does the writer disguise the fact that the giving up of caste has been not altogether to the benefit of the Indian Christian Community. He writes "Many are not yet able to use properly the liberty which has come to them through Christianity.....In some sections where early missionaries used liquor, some of the Christians become more addicted to drink than their fellow caste men. Missionaries are now teetotallers and all this is changed." The sudden removal of the caste system has apparently, as Sir Herbert Risley put it, "been more than a revolution: it resembles the removal of some elemental force like gravitation." Dr. Kurtz also deplores the fact that the Hindu, once converated to Christianity, spends less on Christian worship than he did on his 'idolatrous rites.' "The home people continue to think that the Christian community is still in a famine condition. From an American or European point of view, I grant that may be true, but we have to work on an Indian basis.'

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, AUGUST 18, 1934.

THE COMMUNIST MENACE.

It is an old trick of statesmen who wish to divert attention from their own shortcomings, to keep a foreign bogey dangling before the public eye. The statesmen and administrators of British India have not been free from this foible. For many years it was Tzarist Russia watching for an opportunity to pounce upon India in accordance with the directions in an an apocryphal will of Peter the Great. British benevolent neutrality in the Russo-Japanese War towards Japan was motivated by this fear of Russia. The Japanese victory in that war inaugurated a new era in the relations between Europe and Asia, and there are not wanting writers who lay the blame for it on the foreign policy of Britain. It was an irony of fate which led the British Government to seek to save during the last War the Tzarist regime that it had helped less than two decades previously to undermine. It did not succeed and Tzarism perished amidst the flames of red Revolution, unwept, unhonoured and unsung. The Russian menace for the time being had ceased, but something else was found to put in its place, and to combat it the Rowlatt Act was passed and it brought in its train the Jallianwala massacre, Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience. There was a lull for some years after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Repressive measures were either repealed or allowed to fall into desuetude. Terrorist activities practically ceased, and social legislation was quickened. India seemed to be settling down a last to an era of fruitful co-operation. Then came Mr. Montagu's dismissal from the India Office, a prelude to the reaction in British policy. Lord Reading with his legal and judicial background withstood to a large extent demands for drastic repressive legislation against Civil Disobedience. His successor, Lord Irwin, was an "idealist," that is, he could see farther than the "realists" of the bureaucracy. Repression to his mind was a remedy worse than the disease, to be resorted to in extreme crises and then only in order to gain time for reform. Even when forced to issue drastic ordinances, he made qualifications and exceptions to reconcile them to the better mind of India. His successor, Lord Willingdon, had no such qualms and the revival of terrorist activities in Bengal prevented effective opposition to the wholesale repression his ordinances inaugurated. The suspension of Civil Disobedience and the rise of a Parliamentary group in the Congress have eased the tension between Government and the public. The measures against terrorists, bordering almost on martial law, in Bengal, have been acquiesced in. The extension of some of the special provisions of the anti-terrorist laws to Assam, met with only more or less formal opposition in the Assembly.

Things thus seemed to be progressing peacefully. Civil Disobedience prisoners in jails have been reducd to a small fraction of their original number. In this connection, a word of appreciation is due to Government for the considerate manner in which they have allowed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to remain with his wife until she is out of danger. This is in marked contrast to the attitude of Government in some other cases of equal urgency, and we welcome the change. But our rulers are never happy unless they have a bogey to frighten themselves and the people with. They have found one in Communism. The Soviet regime in Russia has survived its excommunication by Europe and America, and has now become respectable enough to be invited to join them in the League of Nations for ensuring international peace and collaboration in humanitarian service. The promulgation by the Government of India of a ban on Communist organisations at this time, came, as we said last week, rather as a surpise. On Tuesday, the Home Member of the Government of India explained in the Legislative Assembly the reasons for the ban. One was certain opinions expressed by the Allahabad High Court in their judgment on appeal of the persons convicted in the Meerut Case. The appeal was decided about a year ago, and the sentences reduced in the case of several of the accused. Much water has flown under the bridge since then. Then there are quotations from "the draft programme" of the Communist Party of India. A draft does not become effective until it is accepted. The recourse to the "draft programme" shows that Government have not found anything that can be adduced as objectionable in that actually adopted by the Party. Next, are cited some aims of the Communist International as summarised in the Report of the Fish Committee appointed by the United States House of Representatives. It was after this Report was made that America received a Soviet Ambassador and sent her Ambassador to Moscow! We would commend to the Home Member the deliberate opinion of Walter Duranty, an Englishman who has represented with great distinction the *New York Times* in Moscow for many years: "(October 1, 1933.) When I came to Russia twelve years ago I was prejudiced against the Bolsheviks for a variety of reasons. And in that year of famine I found conditions terrible enough. But I also found, which I had not known before, that the Russian masses had been enslaved by the Tzarist regime, whose corruption and incompetence had been the chief levers of its own downfall. I found that the Soviet leaders were in the main altruists—fanatical altruists if you like—honestly trying to make a disciplined and self-respecting nation of this horde of newly liberated slaves." The surest way of countering Communism is to avoid Tzarism

BOLSHEVIKS AND RELIGION.

An exhibition of the "anti-God" posters of modern Russia was held recently in London and a copy of a French pamphlet entitled "Les Sans Dieu" describing the exhibits there, has been sent to us by an English friend. The pamphlet is interesting but reveals nothing new. People are likely to run away with the idea that, because Christianity is now organising against Communism, the Bolshevik attack on religion is a new feature of Soviet policy. But, as Walter Duranty remarks in his "Russia Reported," "the anti-religious movement is a progressive process continuing for several years." "Les Sans Dieu" itself deplores the past apathy of Christians towards the problems of the religious in Russia. It remarks that a Geneva Conference of Christian leaders admitted last October the lack of response from the laity to appeals addressed on behalf of Russian believers by the leaders of the Churches and resolved to set up a permanent Committee to work for a powerful front against the action of the Godless and at a subsequent meeting in January this year it was decided to organise an exhibition of documents relating to the subject. The exhibition in Byron House was the result and it is its declared object to strengthen believers of "the working classes in their Christian convictions as opposed to anti-religious Marxism." In other words, although our attention has been pointedly drawn by our correspondent to the fact that Bolshevism wages war against all religions and not Christianity alone, the "Pro Deo" movement considers the attack as mainly directed against Christianity. Naturally as 76 percent of the Russian population are Christians by birth. The "Christian" attitude towards Communism is familiar to all of us. It will be interesting to observe the Bolshevik attitude to Christianity.

From what sympathetic writers have written of the relations subsisting between the Russian Church and the Soviet—and obviously they are the only writers who can be consulted on the subject—the Church would have suffered greatly and eventually died for lack of funds even if the Soviet Government had not entered on its campaign of persecution. Theodore Dreiser writes, "In these days, truly, the priests and their flocks are hard put to it to make the church books balance." (Dreiser Looks at Russia, p. 174.) "If we commence an inquiry," writes Dr. Hecker, "into the causes which have brought about the rupture with Religion, we find them to be the results of either agitation or disappointment in the clergy and the power of religion to prevent the calamities of war and famine." (Religion and Communism, p. 229). M. N. Klepinin who contributes an article on religion to the handbook "Russia-U. S. S. R.," admits that the Churches in Russia have had to contend with falling numbers while, though there are few active atheists, large numbers are passively so. And M. Klepinin is a lecturer in the Theological Academy of Paris. Waldemar Gurian whose "Bolshevism—Theory and Practice" has given many an argument to Christian and other opponents of Soviet Russia, has a significant sentence, "The Bolsheviks regard the power hitherto exercised by religion as resting primarily on its support by the State." Both Maurice Hindus and Walter Duranty comment at length on the decreasing hold of organised religion over the Russian people. And both writers stress the view that Bolshevism had to adopt a policy of opposition to religion because the religions sought to identify themselves with the old Tsarist State. Protestant Christianity, writes Hindus, helped the Bolsheviks to break the Orthodox Church which had persecuted its followers under the Tsarist regime. It was in turn broken by the Soviets, and a main cause was that the Bolsheviks were afraid of the Protestant Church becoming the refuge of the counter-revolutionaries. Duranty goes even further. "The Russian peasants," he writes, "have begun to feel that they can do without the church which they never really understood. The church had lost touch with the masses and its detractors assert that it played no helpful role in the national life. On the other hand the communists generally try—and in many cases succeed—to provide exactly that form of community centre which is now being developed by broad-minded churchmen in America and elsewhere. Where in a village or urban factory district a church is converted into a club, it becomes a real factor in community life." In short Russia is undergoing the same experience as other countries. Broader views of religion are taking hold of the people. Only while elsewhere it has been possible for the change to take place gradually within the organised faith, here the two proved incompatible.

The agitation which is now apparently gathering strength in Europe, for resisting the encroachments of the Soviet State on religion leads one to believe that, having lost the battle on Russian soil, the church seeks to retrive its position in other fields. It is very doubtful, however, whether Russian Christians are at all likely to be benefitted by an agitation led by men who work from outside that country and whose motives are probably not altogether unmixed. It is certain that the burden of bearing the brunt of any revival of anti-religious severities against the religious—Mr. Hindus remarks that the Bolsheviks have given up their campaign—will necessarily fall on the Russian believers. Had the "Pro Deo" movement concentrated on helping the sufferers there in the first instance much more could have been done. As for the restrictions placed on the churches, there is another side to the question. Mr. Gurian laments that the right to conduct propaganda is denied to them. He even seems to make a grievance of the fact that "the penal code expressly forbids the exploitation of the 'religious prejudices' of the masses in an attempt to overthrow the Government or to incite to resistance of its laws and decrees." But how, we should like to know, is the Communist treated in the "Christian" countries? In the most advanced ones freedom of profession is allowed but they have no right of propaganda. Russia has merely accepted the opinion of Christian leaders that Christianity and Communism are incompatible, and she treats Christian propaganda exactly as these countries treat Communist propaganda. It is generally true that Western critics of Soviet Russia fail to make due allowance for the mistakes of the Church in that country which brought it into disrepute. The current *Baptist Missionary Review* contains an article on "Churches That Produce Atheists" which has some pertinent remarks on Russia: "The character of the Eastern Orthodox Church is largely responsible for the recoil in the U.S.S.R.. So closely was the Church bound up with the old Tzarist State that it could even be regarded as a department of the State." It would seem that Western Christianity has now come up against real opposition and feels extremely doubtful of its ability to survive. It has, however, something to learn from the East. Commenting on the things that the various religions can share, a writer placed the Christian contribution as providing a method of meeting materialism and Communism. He was wrong there. On the other hand, Christianity can learn from China and India how to meet a campaign which threatens to uproot the social, national and religious life of a people. For when Western Christianity came to Asia, it was as

disrupting a force here as Communism appears to be to Europe today.

REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WOMEN.

(BY R. V. V. TATACHARIAR.)

I. INTRODUCTORY.

The late Sriman Mahamahopadhyaya Sri Krishna Tatacharya of Kanchi, who was a rare genius and versatile scholar at once and died in 1890 at 61 years of age in wedded poverty but full of laurels from all parts of India for his learned dissertations numbering over one hundred and twenty and in Sanskrit and covering all the four Tantras or branches of learning, has left for posterity two brochures bearing on and condemning sea-voyage and widow-marriage, that concern the social reformers. The spotless life he led, and the unique position he held as Jagatguru and chief representative (in the gadi left by Sri Ramanujacharya, the founder) of the Visishtadwaita philosophy of Sri Vaishnava school of Brahmins supplemented the great authority of his unquestioned learning that breathes on every line of his encyclopaedic works. Hence it is that one feels rather nervous when one takes up an attitude and position diametrically opposed to such a great and venerable authority, who is now dead half a century ago. His aim was, if I understand him aright, "simply to justify the way of 'custom' to man." But if I happen to err in the company of the modern band of social reformers, it is because of no irreverence to the older generation of lofty souls, but in sheer justice to womankind that has for several thousands of years silently borne their miserable lot in simple resignation, especially the younger folk among them, with their bright hope of a happy future suddenly nipped in the bud. The field might have been so often covered by many an abler man; but that does not deter the present writer from undertaking the task of viewing the same in the light of his God-given head and heart. He would propose to approach the subject in a modern spirit of research in law and usage from original sources.

The Hindu woman's marital status has, one may at the very outset observe, travelled all the way from absolute freedom of contract savouring little or nothing of a status of marriage down to the present life-long virgin-widowhood. There seems to be absolutely no warrant whatsoever for the strange and distressing development of the 'law and custom' of the institution in question. Here and there, there may be stray expressions in Smritis and Puranas bearing on it but they have all been, in my humble opinion, either unwarranted or completely misunderstood to amount to and mean law pure and simple.

What was perhaps intended to convey a moral appreciation of the life of voluntary renunciation and self-sacrifice on the part of an elderly lady in affluent circumstances after the husband's death has strangely enough acquired, by sheer dint of popular but blind following, the peculiarly ferocious force of an unrelenting law of usage; so much so that even the legislature has not been able to achieve any appreciable change in the tenor of the obtaining custom after three quarters of a century of working of the Widow-Remarriage Act. Such has been the unique hold upon the Hindu public mind of the revered Smriti and Purana writers that it has been impossible to dislodge it from its moorings in religious or socio-religious refuge of their authoritative words. It fears to offend their Sastras for fear of perdition.

But if it is shown how remarkably generous and well-intentioned they were when they laid down the law or eulogised certain rare aspects of the custom in question, it will then be clear that what was really unexpected on their part has unfortunately happened and has ruined and blighted the whole race of Hindus and made it powerless and pessimistic under the combined auspices of the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration of Souls. A very long range of view has to be taken if only to enable an impartial study and sympathetic judgment on all available evidence on record.

We all know how the Maha Bharata carefully preserves the story of Swetaketu protesting in vain against his father allowing the mother to be led away by an unknown old Brahmin who begged him for the loan of the person of the lady for a short year in order that he may raise an issue for his own salvation upon her before returning her to her own life-companion. If the life-companionship were at all just the same as or akin to a status of marriage, the union must have been of a very elastic kind indeed, bordering on absolute freedom of choice on the part of man or wife, with this difference that it could be altered and compromised at the sweet will and pleasure of either party; and there was no compelling force or reason to prevent the same.

From out of this state of affairs there grew all of a sudden, to all intents and purposes, perhaps by Swetaketu's terror-striking legislation, a complete and unalterable subjection of women in law and in fact of actual life in society. लोक संग्रहणाय हि तदमन्त्रा: स्त्रियो मता: (In world-welfare women have been held excluded from all Mantras for good: Baudhayana, 1·5. 111); निरिन्द्रिया ह्यदाया श्च स्त्रियो यता इति श्रुति: (Women have been, in Vedic tradition, held incompetent and disinherited: Baudhayana, 2·2·53). And woman was, once for all and invariably, placed under the sustained protection of her father during infancy or minority, of her wedded husband after marriage, and of her own son in her old age, and deprived of all freedom of movement and action: (Manu, 9·3 & 5·148 & 149). There was no more separate Yajnya or Sacrifice, vow, or fast independent of her lord, by devoted service to whom, she should aspire to heaven: (Manu 5·154–156). She was denied all right to property and worked for the benefit of the family of her father, husband or son: (M. 8·416.) Her father was saddled with the duty of giving her in marriage in due time on pain of losing his right to her Sulka or marriage-fee (M. 9.4 & 90-94 & 196), and to her inheritance, if she were obliged to seek for her lord in Swayamvara.

But she was also forced to give up her family jewels if she would not wait for full three years after attaining her age of puberty. So too her husband was obliged to visit her on all due occasions on pain of incurring the sin of foeticide (Baud. 4.1. 819–23), and on pain of parting with a third share of his estate in favour of his dutiful and obedient wife if he should abandon or long neglect her: (Yag. 1·76.) And the son was compelled to support his aged mother even when fallen or outcast: (Baud. 2.2.48.) Such was the most salutary provision with which the rule of dependence of women started; and we know the long path and winding process of how women's rights of Stridhana and widow's estate in her husband's property were evolved; but that is a different story. We are now mainly concerned with her marriage or re-marriage.

2. THE VEDIC PERIOD.

Let us now start from the Vedic mantras applicable to marriage. Manu (9.65) says that neither Niyoga nor widow-marriage could be supported by the marriage-mantras. But we must ask how it was that both the institutions were long in vogue and countenanced and amply regulated by the Sastras. King Vena might have been responsible for the introduction of Niyoga but how did the Sages

countenance the same and embody so many rules thereon in almost every one of their Smritis? The fact is, they had both come to stay as they had served a dire want on the introduction of the severe rule against women. Both of them persisted long enough; nay, their issues have had their high place in the order of heirs; the son born of Niyoga, called Kshetraja, stood very next to an Aurasa or legitimate son, and that born of remarriage, called Paunarbhava, long occupied a third, fourth or sixth place in the list of heirs until he was slowly and gradually pushed almost to the very end or the eleventh place. So that it is clear that Manu's slokas from 65 to 68 must be a late interpollation. But the main question is whether it is true that there is no warrant in the mantras for remarriage of women at all, and was it therefore then that it has ever afterwards been held in awful disfavour? It is submitted that it is not so. "Soma knew (married?) thee first; Gandharva next after him; Agni was thy third lord; and thy lord in the fourth instance is human beings. Soma passed thee on to Gandharva; Gandharva delivered thee to Agni; Agni gave thee to me with wealth and sons." (Mantra-prasna; and Paraskara (1.4.) The deliberate use of the plural "human beings" shows that the lady could marry more than one, at any rate successively, even as the Gods have as a lesson shown the way before human lords. And the first husband performs on the woman all the necessary samskara ceremonies of marriage in detail so that his successor, if any, need not cover the whole ground once over again but only do a small indispensable portion as in all cases of Punarupanayana or subsequent thread-ceremony as prayaschitta for any error of commission or omission, wherein a large number of items are omitted: (Baud. 2.1.23.) Saptapadi effecting transfer of dominion to the husband from the father and change of gotra with its consequences relating to pollution on either side, could be gone through to effect similar changes from husband to husband.

The following mantras to the effect, *viz.*, "Produce ten sons upon this woman, and make your husband the eleventh (treat him as the beloved last,)" "Stand on this stone and be firm (true) even as this stone," "May my husband have a long lease of life for one hundred autumns," "Sit over your husband's head and shine gloriously with your children, etc." "Enter your husband's seat in heaven without any (more) widowhood," "Sit upon her lap, hold her by the hands and embrace her in hearty love," "Let Vishnu prepare the (sexual) field, the Creator the forms, Lord of children the showers, Brahman the womb," and such and similar mantras might still be chanted in all cases of remarriage as in original marriage, with great profit and no offence to the scheme of rituals. As for those relating to gift of the lady to the bridegroom, in the place of the father either her late husband's representative relation would have to stand or on the strength of Narada's and Parasara's rule (allowing a woman a second husband in the prescribed five instances of death, impotency, excommunication, civil death such as Sannyasihood or permanent dwelling in a foreign country, or other loss of the husband's company), she might undergo the Prajapatya yaga at once wherein the bridal pair undertake to join in all acts of Dharma for the rest of their joint life. In fact they re-married only in Prajapatya form of marriage leaving either party again to marry another in any of the stated five contingencies: (Narada, 15.97, and Parasara, 4.30) and Kullukabhatta's commentary on Manu, 5.152). So that, it is meaningless to say that the mantras will not be applicable to re-marriage ceremonies.

IDEALS OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.*

(By Rev. J. Paul S. R. Gibson.)

The last quarter of a century has seen a complete transformation in the problems of missionary enterprise. The time is ripe for a fresh consideration of the subject in the light of present experience. There are certain far-reaching changes, such as the world-wide economic depression, and the consequent instability both of material circumstances and mental outlook, which have had serious repercussions on the funds of Missionary Societies and on candidates for missionary service. They, however, are of a temporary nature and do not constitute the main problem.

When the call to serve abroad came to me and to others of my generation, we went out as representatives of the churches or societies which were the religious expression of nations held in high esteem in the world. Empire was in their hands, worldly success marked their progress, and scientific development gave them intellectual superiority. Moreover these countries were regarded as Christian. Then came the Great War. Not only were our eyes opened to the unreality of our claim to be countries under the sway of the Mind of Christ, but the non-Christian communities were disillusioned. They saw how little Christ had done for us either spiritually or materially. Even the victors shared in the general defeat, and our western prestige, whether this worldly or other worldly, suffered an eclipse. The advent of the motor bus has established close contact between the Christians of different Churches in adjacent areas, and revealed to them the animosities and contradictions that separate them one from the other. The very attempts at Reunion which are a feature of the present time, encouraging though they are, do not cause the non-Christian to exclaim "How these Christians love one another!" Deeper even than these revelations of hard facts about the failure of Christianity to its ideals are the attacks on the very existence of Christendom itself. In Russia the faith has been driven underground by a determined anti-god propaganda, which has all the fervour of a new religion, and has spread not only westward into Europe, but eastward into India, China and Japan. The United Missionary Conference in Jerusalem in 1928 rightly saw that the immanent danger lay not in non-Christian religions but in the rapid spread of secularism and the war on any kind whatsoever of religious belief. Both from within and from without the position of Christ is undermined. It is no wonder therefore that thinkers in non-Christian religions should be telling the world that its needs are fully met by their own faiths. The recent works of S. Radhakrishnan are a case in point, and the appeal to theoretically atheistic thinkers such as C. E. M. Joad, who champions Radhakrishnan in his "Counter-attack from the East," must be given full weight.

Two other factors cannot be omitted. In earlier days missionaries going into lands where educational, medical and agricultural work was not highly developed, undertook these departments of life and became the pioneers of progressive movements. The value and influence of their efforts was realised to be of such importance, that now in many cases governments have taken over, or are more and more taking over, these activities as being primarily their concern. The step is natural and cannot be avoided, but the result is that the religious and specifically Christian contribution is in part, or entirely, eliminated. Nationalism is in the ascendant, and with nationalism is associated the renewed desire to keep alive the faith of the forefathers. Any attempt to replace the people's religion by that of a foreigner cannot expect to receive the government's approval.

*From a sermon preached in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge.

Lastly, the whole world position has changed. The missionary no longer goes to men and women living within a settled order with an alternative message of life, a new interpretation of existence which they can ponder in quiet. The message has to be given to people in flux, fighting for very existence against fears and famines, in the midst of political intellectual and social convulsions. There is a surging need, essentially spiritual, and yet the physical conditions of mind and body are such that there is little receptiveness to what is regarded as metaphysical speculation, and unrelated to the pressing clamorous urge of the moment

The tacit acceptance of Western or White superiority by others, and by ourselves, led men to feel their qualities of leadership and of administrative ability could be effectively used in the East. The missionary was to be the leader and originator. He would share with his converts what the West and its civilization had to give. That day is past.

In many countries the indigenous churches have developed their own life, they manage their own affairs and conduct their own missionary work. They still need foreign help in men and money, but they ask for co-operators, for men and women ready, like themselves, to serve the young church. They realise the contribution we can give, but it must flow from equal to equal, and be mutual, as we learn of them qualities we have never appreciated. If leading there be, Eastern or Western, it must be the unconscious influence of a personality from behind.

I referred to the call to share our civilization. Many wished to let all races enter into what we called our Christian heritage, the privileges of our Christian England. The superiority of our country and the faults of others absorbed us. A much discussed book, "Mother India," expresses this bluntly and crudely. But apart from the deserved reply made by an Indian, as true and as unjust as the book attacked, we have in fact become less insular since aeroplanes stole from us our water. Those who know England, even though they love her, would never be satisfied merely to make another country like her. They remember the Indian boy who was thinking of baptism being sent to England by his father *lest* he became a Christian. Both racially and theologically the position has changed. The old appeal was to pity. Pictures were drawn of the number of unconverted falling into hell each moment of day and night. The horror of the unregenerate bowing down to wood and stone was—and in some places still is—sung in hymns, yet the idolatry of Mammon, of ambition, of prestige as seen in the West among so-called Christians is, if anything, more vile in God's sight.

To-day with the translation into Western languages of the classics of non-Christian religions, however inadequate at times the attempt to express Eastern ideas in Western words may be, with the close study of comparative religion, with the deeper understanding of the nature of God as Father of all His children rather than as Condemner of the many, these old ideas appear to us not only incongruous but impossible of belief. The appeal to pity in this sense makes no urgent claim on us. Salvation *then*, was conceived to hang on a right understanding of God's system of redemption, and consequently the call was to make this known by preaching. Salvation *now* is seen to be the life that can be lived in communion with God's universal love, and the challenge is to live that life amongst those who know it not and lead them to enquire of its secret. The centre of gravity has passed from enunciation of doctrine to the compelling power of the Christian life. Thus it has passed from the individual necessity of a solitary of the Gospel, to a corporate responsibility for exemplifying Christian character. Christianity is now more than before envisaged as a life in fellowship, and the older conception of the one thing needful being that a man save his soul alive, no longer satisfies.

We may state the change in another way by saying that the rigid either, or, of the earlier generation has been replaced by the both, and, of the present time. Absolutism has been replaced by relativity. Tolerance has ousted exclusiveness. In making these generalisations I realise that they are far from describing accurately the trend of thought in the minds of all men or all parties, even in this country, still less in other lands. Nevertheless, I believe that the general tendencies here outlined do in some correct measure describe the movements that have taken place in the thinking of Christians, and those who are interested in the missionary problem today must take them into account.

As to weak, ineffective or even false methods of working, these will bring their own nemesis on those concerned. What a man soweth that shall he also reap. The work shall be tested by fire. For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. The arguments that may have carried weight in days past, the appeal to miracle and prophecy, cannot be used today without danger. The resting on the arm of the flesh in the guise of state support and favour will end in disaster now, as it ever has done. The substitution of philanthropy for Christianity will lead to inanition, for there is no brotherhood of man apart from the Fatherhood of God. We come therefore to the crux of the whole matter. Is the Christ and His message so unique and so universally needed that we can dare to go forth and proclaim any world situation, in any country, to any people, as the one Life and Life Giver who is necessary? My conviction is that the answer is in the affirmative. While one can assert the fact with confidence it will be with humility and shame, partly for the failure of oneself to rise to the Christian privilege, but also through the failure within the Church and her inability to bring the nation forward to that towards which she is striving.

We can therefore go forth with boldness, confident in the uniqueness of our message and assured that it is all sufficient to meet the universal and deepest and most personal need of men. In conclusion we turn to our Lord's teaching on the subject of world evangelisation as disclosed to us in the Gospels. We shall there find the guidance we require for the due fulfilment of our task. "As the Father hath sent me even so send I you." Our task is as His task. He came to reveal the personality of God as Father. Our main work must be to make known the same. We are ambassadors for Christ. He submitted to the limitations of a short earthly life, but that life is to be relived by us wherever we are, and what He gave to Galilee nineteen hundred years ago we are to proclaim in word and deed, generation after generation. In A. G. Hogge's words "The Gospel is too splendid for us to acquiesce in its remaining anywhere unknown.'

It will demand the same surrender of things held dear, regarding them not as something to be grasped but an opportunity for joyful sacrifice. It will require the leaving of the accustomed habitat for another where one can get close to the needs of other men, incarnating ourselves into their circumstances. No superficial contact will suffice. A life lived and not a message delivered is required of us. Nothing less is implied in Christ's words as recorded in St. Luke,

"this do in remembrance of me." To limit the depth of this expression to the command to perform a ritual act is to miss its significance.

BUCHMANISM AND INDIA.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

We in India are very much given to imitating the West. Especially is this true of Indian Christian Spirituality. Every religious movement that originates in Europe or America finds its way sooner or later, sooner than later, to India and secures a following in some corner or other of this vast country. The Oxford Group Movement has been no exception. It has its ardent supporters especially among the clergy and the missionaries, who feel that this is the thing that will bring reality to religion, in India. The Anglican Metropolitan of India, for example, who claims to have received a new vision Christ through the House Party in London, has even declared that the Indian political question itself could be solved through House Party methods. And I heard one of the Indian representatives on the Mission of Fellowship to Churches of the British Isles declare that what impressed him most in England was the activities of the Groups. That I thought was a superficial observation and unworthy of an Indian at this period of his nation's life; for it is my conviction, and that is the main point I want to develop in this article, that we have in India at this time a movement far more significant than any that the Churches in the West can show, a more literal lifting up of the Cross than the respectable religion of the Groups. But first let me give my impressions of Buchmanism.

Now for the "point of contact," as Mr. Buchman would say, to begin with. I had seen Mr. Buchman years ago in South India when he was the man behind the scenes, as it were, in a series of old time revival meetings conducted by Dr. Sherwood Eddy as he then was. More recently I met him and his group at work in a Theological College in Calcutta and was not much impressed by their methods or their results. One of the students who "shared" at the party they had in the College is now bitter against them. I have since read with interest the story of the Groups told by Mr. Russell in his "For Sinners only." That is an intriguing title. While at the Christa Seva Sangh, Poona I heard a brother, who had bagged an early copy of the book for his own reading, reluctantly handing it over to another more importunate saying, "thy need is greater than mine."

Having thus established what "F. B." would call my point of contact with the reader, may I "share" with him some of the thoughts stirred in me by the accounts of the Group Movement?

One of the most challenging things in the Movement is the claim of the Group to live and act under the immediate impulsion of the Holy Spirit. Their methods of getting guidance—sitting down with "Guidance Book" and pencil to hand—may seem too crude and to reduce the whisperings of the "Still Small Voice" to too precise a code for the Indian mind; but the claim itself is challenging and if true ought to bring a new power and direction to Christian living. And why should it not be true? The claim and the experience are nothing new in Christianity. The pages of the New Testament are full of the records of the promise and the fulfilment of the Spirit coming as an abiding Presence to guide and control the believer. Jesus promised to send the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth who would abide with His followers for ever and guide them into all truth. And we see that unfailing guidance at work in the lives of the Apostles, moving their hearts to make the right decisions, directing their choice in big undertakings, preventing them in their ways and sustaining them in their labours. The Church at large has lost sense of the Spirit's presence, the dynamic of His control and that is the main reason for her powerlessness and ineffectiveness in changing human lives. The Oxford Group Movement with its insistence on the spirit's guidance is a revival of this central element in the Christian religion and as such deserves well of all the Churches.

And their claim is borne out by their results. They are guided and empowered by the Spirit to change human lives. "Life-Changing"—that is the great mission of the Groups as it ought to be the supreme mission of every Christian. Like their Master they go after the lost to seek and to save them. Particularly do they specialise in the "down and outs," the interesting sinner, the merry undergraduate, who has no use for religion, the hard nuts of the Universities. And they have remarkable successes. Showing that Christ and His Gospel are still able to win souls, especially the young and the vigorous. True American that he is, F. B. has developed a detailed technique for it—the establishment of contact, the house party method, the principle of sharing, etc. But whatever be the methods adopted, the Church has to devote its attention primarily to this task of changing lives. Its ministers and workers must tackle the individual sinner, must go after the wandering and the lost, particularly the youth who are now so easily condemned and so lightly abandoned.

But I referred to a more significant thing than the Groups taking place in India today. I refer to Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement. I have long felt that this is a truer and a more literal lifting up of the Cross than any other movement in the world today. Mahatmaji's claim to hear and obey the voice of God is a ringing challenge to Christians who claim to be the Spirit-guided people. Questioned by the whole world, doubted even by his intimate associates, he stood almost as one man against the world on the need and the justification of his great fast, taking his stand on his assurance of the Spirit's guidance. "My claim," he said: "to hear the voice of the God is no new claim.....I have been a willing slave to this most exacting Master for more than half a century. His voice has been increasingly audible as the years have rolled by. He has never forsaken me, even in my darkest hour. He has saved me often against myself and has left me not a vestige of independence. The greater the surrender to Him the greater has been my joy." The Christian can only meet this challenge by a greater confidence and a fuller obedience.

The Oxford Groups are changing individual lives. The Church has always attempted that and achieved successes in it. But my fear, at least what I have yet to see, is whether the change in individual lives goes far enough to change the World, to make these life-changers and their products men who turn the world upside down. Let me explain. I heard the Indian missioner say that an Oxford Group Team was received in audience and highly commended by Mr. Bennett, the Canadian Premier. But was their impact on Mr. Bennett powerful enough to change his economic and his foreign policy? I recall another interview when another representative of the British Crown was closetted for a few hours with a "half naked Fakir." And the result

was an agreement which the joint-authors attributed to the application of the Sermon on the Mount. (I refer to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact). That is the sort of change that the Gospel of Christ ought to be working in the hearts of men and in the world at large. An Indian Christian in this hour of his nation's travail and his Lord's opportunity, would wistfully ask, "Will the Oxford Groups be powerful enough to change the heart of Sir Samuel Hoare to apply the principles of the Sermon on the Mount to the settlement of the Indian question?" That would be proof incontestable of the power of the Christ-Spirit to control the destinies of the World and it would go far, very far, in setting up God's Kingdom in this and every land.

Trivandrum, August 10, 1934. } Yours etc., S. K. GEORGE.

"HINDU VIEW OF LIFE."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Hindu solution of the problem of death is perhaps the most rational. If you gather together from among the Hindus, lettered and unlettered, 100 people at random—whatever may be the variety of faith of each within the fold—and ask them what is the highest that they would seek as their ultimate goal in life—the answer you will have from a large majority would be, a wish to get rid of 'Birth and Death.' None of them may be able to explain the psychology of the wish much less to make out its rationale. But collectively they have a feeling of certainty of its spiritual value. Right or wrong it may be set down as one of the wonders of the human thought that this idea permeates throughout our country from Cape Comorin to Himalayas irrespective of the region, caste, sect or language revealing an underlying unity of thought if not experience, which is the despair of the citizen of our day engaged in combating the communalism nearest to the Nation's surface skin.

Let us examine and find out what should have been at the back of the master mind which first conceived this superb idea. History reveals no other nation in the world than the Hindu having to its credit incessant research work in quest of abiding peace. It appears to have discovered by experiments steady and slow that what blurred the sight of peace, were the pairs of opposites which faced life at every term. Heat and cold, pleasure and pain, affluence and poverty, light and darkness, happiness and misery were all found one after another to be identical in kind with that of 'Birth and Death' as the climax—helps in disguise in the race towards the goal of peace. The solution was in the discovery that these pairs of opposites existed only in sense but not in fact. When the average Hindu was taught that he should discard both 'Birth and Death' it was meant that he should get rid of the sense thereof. It was in this way. Life may be compared to Time. Time is not determined by night or day in the same way that 'Birth and Death' do not determine life. It is this realisation that is called "Sankhya Yoga" or immortality, forming the discourse in chapter II of the Gita as the only panacea for all human ills. Is it a wonder then that death is meant to be no more than falling away of the body leaving the soul ever free?

Penukonda, August 13, 1934. } Yours etc., T. SIVASANKARAN.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION.*

(BY ALICE S. CHEYNEY.)

The International Labour Organisation was established in a time of crisis. But the crisis which brought it into being was political as well as economic, and the Organization was created with the double purpose of improving conditions of labour and laying foundations for peaceful relations between states. Its constitution was written into the peace treaty which closed the World War, and begins with the statement that permanent peace can be established "only if it is based on social justice." Its primary task is to promote world stabilisation by establishing economic security for the masses. While the terms of peace were still under discussion, representatives of organized labour from various industrial countries met in two international conferences and demanded sweeping economic reforms. These demands were not entirely new. But the circumstances under which they were presented made them potent reminders that discontent among the masses is a standing threat to internal and international peace. The imperial governments of Russia and Germany had just been overthrown and replaced by forms of government more responsive to the popular will; the example of those countries had fired the imagination of the discontented everywhere, and it seemed not impossible that war might be succeeded by a period of revolution. Efforts to establish "social justice" seem, therefore, incumbent on those who desired to assure a permanent peace. Such efforts, to be successful, had to be made on a world scale. Substantial improvements in conditions of employment are not easily achieved by one country at a time. Labour legislation adopted country by country has faced the same type of opposition as that which must be overcome in securing labour legislation state by state in the United States. This opposition comes from individuals or groups who believe, rightly or wrongly, that legislation requiring improvement in the conditions of labour increases production costs and prevents the producers of the affected region from holding their own in competition with outsiders, forcing them out of business and creating unemployment for the workers it was intended to benefit. The preamble to the constitution of the International Labour Organization declares that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve conditions in their own countries." The Organization was primarily designed for dealing with that obstacle. Its structure is simple, consisting of an annual conference of representatives of its members, a board of directors known as the Governing Body, and a permanent office. The Conference adopts draft agreements formulating standards for employment conditions and such social policies as may affect the lives of either manual or brain workers. These agreements come into force between those member governments which voluntarily ratify them, and thereby undertake to enact and enforce legislation to secure observance of the specified standards. The Conference also adopts so-called "recommendations," giving collective approval to policies which it seems unnecessary or, for some reason, impracticable or undesirable to embody in a general agreement. While recommendations usually take the place of that type of resolution by which an organization records collective opinion, the Conference has, on occasion, expressed its views by means of resolutions. And it frequently makes use of resolutions to express the will of the Organization with respect to its own activities.

*Foreign Policy Report on the I. L. O.

The ultimate source of authority within the Organization is the Conference—the one gathering in which all members are included in a representative capacity. The present membership numbers 58 out of 64 presumably eligible governments. To the Conference are submitted the annual report of the Director of the Office and a summary of the annual reports of member governments on enforcement of conventions. While the work of the Conference centres mainly around discussion of convention projects, it does not deal with these alone. The report of the Director of the Office usually raises questions of policy which are discussed by the delegates. Each member government is entitled to send to the International Labour Conference four delegates, of whom two are to be government delegates, and two "delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of the country." These last must be chosen by the governments "in an agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople as the case may be." The Conference regularly meets in Geneva, usually late in May, and lasts for about three weeks. Most of its work is done by committees, on each of which the three types of delegates, are equally represented—the government, the employers' and the workers' delegates meeting as separate "groups" to elect representatives of the group for each committee. Every member is entitled to send with each of its delegates two "technical advisers" for each item on the agenda. These advisers may replace on committees the delegates they accompany. In the early days of the Organization, conventions were adopted after discussion at one annual session of the Conference. It was found, however, that sometimes a non-essential requirement of a convention blocked its ratification by goverments which might have agreed to alternative provisions. After some experimentation, the Conference adopted in 1926 a "double discussion procedure" by which the subject of a proposed convention is discussed at two successive sessions of the Conference. In the year between the two sessions convention projects become the subject of study in member countries and of correspondence between them and the office, and may be marked on by committees of experts. There are always more subjects proposed for conventions than can possibly be considered by the Conference. After canvass by the Governing Body and preliminary study by the Office, those subjects are selected for Conference consideration which seem most important and on which general agreement appears most likely. After this preliminary work of selection few topics have been placed on the agenda which have not ultimately become the subjects of draft conventions.

It was early found desirable to adopt separate conventions to apply to industrial, commercial, agricultural and maritime workers—even when essentially similar provisions were contemplated for more than one type of employment, as in the case of the provision of workmen's compensation for accident, regulation of working hours or restriction of child labour. The special conventions applying to commerce and agriculture have been adopted at regular conference sessions. The conditions of employment of seamen are, however, so unlike conditions and problems of land employment that ship owners and seamen have been of the opinion that general conference was scarcely competent to take decisions applying to them. Technical conferences may be called in connection with the regular annual Conference and various gatherings are convoked by the Organization which rank somewhere between committee meetings and conferences of members.

The Governing Body, which consists of thirty-six members, is made up of representatives of governments, employers and workers in the same proportion as the Conference. Eight of the twelve government seats are assigned to the governments of those eight countries which are held to be of chief industrial importance; all other seats are assigned, for three-year terms, by election of the groups in the Conference. The Governing Body meets regularly four times a year and in special sessions when occasion demands. While its headquarters, like those of the Conference, are in Geneva, it has in recent years made a point of holding some of its meetings in other places. It has various functions; it draws up the agenda for Conferences, allocates the budget and determines, in outline, the work to be done by the Office. It is responsible, among other things, for the creation of committees other than Conference committees and those functioning strictly within the office.

The development of a system of committees to deal with particular problems has perhaps done as much as anything else to extend and elaborate the services of the Organization. At the same time it has served to focus and sustain the interest of its members. Besides assigning to nine committees of its own membership the study of special problems with which the Organization is dealing or may deal, the Governing Body has set up nine "mixed" committees on which its members sit with specially appointed experts of various nationalities. The committees serve as surveyors of information and advice to the Governing Body and the Office, and as advance feelers for the Conference. Before a question is brought up for general discussion, they may work out some outline of adjustment or compromise acceptable to those who will have most influence on the final decision.

The International Labour Office is located at Geneva. The members of its staff constitute an international civil service; they are recruited as widely as possible from the countries belonging to the Organization and, at present, represent some 38 different nationalities. They are not responsible for official relations with their own countries, and are associated without respect to nationality in the various departments of the Office. The Office was originally expected to subserve the ends of the Conference without much other reason for existence; it has become an international research institution and publishing agency, and a repository and clearing house for information on a wide range of subjects. It regularly receives the official publications of various government departments of member and non-member countries and some 40,000 newspapers and periodicals, and has accumulated a library of books and pamphlets in addition to its files of periodical publications. It now publishes ten periodicals, and the results of its inquiries to date have been put out in a hundred studies and reports, in addition to reports prepared especially for use in connection with the work of the Conference. Besides thus diseminating information, the Office is called on each year to answer in the neighbourhood of a thousand inquiries from correspondents; it is in a position to supply data which could be collected nowhere else without extensive correspondence and resort to the services of many translators. To facilitate the circulation of information and keep the Office in touch with the interests of various parts of the world, seven branch offices are maintained; in Delhi, London, Nanking, Paris, Rome, Tokyo and Washington; in fifteen more localities there are individual official correspondents in the employ of the central office. A large proportion of all member governments have designated certain sections in their departments of labour, or individuals or committees, to correspond regularly with the International Labour office. Some of the committees comprise members of the several

government departments dealing with matters of interest to the Labour Organization—such departments, for example, as those of labour and agriculture and those dealing with the merchant marine.

VINODINI—MANUBHAI—SHARDA.

"This is my private and personal matter, and the public have no right to discuss it," said Miss Vinodini Nilkanth to a press representative in connection with various rumours now current regarding her recent marriage with Mr. Manubhai Lalbhai Parikh. "Our social life is so dull and drab," she added, "that public interest and curiosity are at once aroused when anything unusual or unconventional happens, like this marriage." Discussing some important questions arising from the marriage in an interview to "Nav Bharat," she said that she will retain her maiden name, and she was proud of that name. She did not believe that a woman should adopt the name of the man she loved most. She further revealed that the marriage was solemnized according to the Sikh custom and religion. For this she and her husband had adopted the Sikh religion and had worn "Kirpan" and other things according to the custom of the Sikhs. "For the purpose of the marriage why did you prefer the Sikh rites to the Hindu or Arya Samajist rites?" Replying to this question, she said that they had not thought about the matter at all. They had adopted the Sikh rites, because such a marriage could be performed by those rites. They had embraced the Sikh faith because it was necessary to do so before performing a marriage according to the rites of that religion. They were not attracted by any tenets or principles of the Sikh religion. "Before this," she added, "I did not even believe in the so-called Hindu religion of our present day society. I have never called myself a Hindu, and would not like to be described as such in view of the present state of the Hindu religion."

"I do believe he will return within a week as he has promised three days before going to Bombay again." Sharda Manubhai, wife of Mr. Parikh, stated her conviction in an interview to a press representative replying to various questions. She said: "I have to say nothing against my husband except Vinodini's statement which is quite untrue and false. We understood our responsibilities and duties fully well when our marriage ceremony was performed. It was not such a haphazard affair as stated in Gujarati,—"Lakdemakda"—we were always happy and no dissatisfaction prevailed at any time in any matter till this day. Vinodini's lame defence is just like the attempt to add fuel to the fire of wounded hearts. Our life was as happy as anything. We have not known what quarrel was. His affection towards my father's family was extraordinary and we were always together whenever we went on tour, even at the last M. C. C. matches. It was certainly to my knowledge that Manubhai and Vinodini often used to go out together. But I had no objection to that because I knew they also studied together and were friends. I had no idea whatsoever that it was to result in this way. I had not known about his new marriage till he went to Bombay, as he had gone to a feast with our son and daughter the same noon. No sign of disaffection was witnessed till the night he left for Bombay saying that he would return within 10 or 12 days. Even three days before he again went to Bombay, I had a talk with him. I noticed him repenting and feeling that he had committed a mistake. He has promised to come again within a week and I do believe he will return."

Mr. Manubhai Parikh, the young man, who has figured prominently in this incident, supports Vinodini. In an interview in Bombay he says. "I was not the least happy by my marriage with my first wife. I entertained a dislike to her from the very beginning. I was not consulted at the time of my marriage which took place when I was 18. I was not in a position to oppose it. Our betrothal took place when I was about 10 years old. Such a betrothal cannot be broken off under the orthodox social custom. At the time of the marriage I was not in a position to understand whether it was desirable or not. It was true that our domestic life was never marred by quarrels and squabbles, but that did not mean that our hearts were in accord. I came into contact with Vinodini about seven or eight years ago when we first met at College. For the last six years we were thinking of marriage, but I was very much puzzled by the thought of my first wife. It was this problem that we had been deliberating over all these six years. After my marriage with Sharda, I tried my best to create in my heart a feeling of love towards her. But I failed. I considered that it was a sin and immoral to keep up false appearances merely to please her, and that by doing so I was deceiving myself. It was thus that I came to a decision to marry Vinodini. I had often told Sharda about this contemplated marriage. But I did not inform anybody at the time of the marriage, lest it might create obstacles in our way. I have told my first wife that she is free to take the same liberty that I have taken. She can marry again, if she likes. Otherwise, I am prepared to make arrangements for her maintenance. I am prepared to keep my children with me, if Sharda allows it. Even otherwise, I will arrange for their education." Vinodini and Manubhai, who were staying at the "Sardar Griha" in Bombay, have left for a tour of India.

CONGRESS AND TEMPLE-ENTRY BILL.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, during his brief visit to Madura, took the opportunity of meeting some of the members of the Local Bar on Saturday afternoon in the Bar Association premises and had a talk with the lawyers for nearly two hours. The question of Congressmen contesting elections to the Assembly was discussed when Mr. Rajagopalachariar is understood to have set forth clearly the main issue before the country in the forthcoming election to the Assembly as to whether the repressive policy adopted by Government towards the Congress was justified and approved of by the people. The results of the election would mean the defeat of either the Government or the Congress. The duty of the people was therefore clear. Some of the members present, representing the Sanatanist point of view, asked Mr. Achariar whether in view of the fact that the question of temple-entry by Harijans by means of legislation was another important issue before the country on which opinion was divided, and also having regard to the fact that a large section of Sanatanists who oppose the measure would really support the Congress in other matters, he could give an undertaking that the Congress candidates in the Assembly would not pass the Bill on Temple-Entry, having been returned on the issue of Government's policy towards the Congress. Mr. Achariar is understood to have replied that even if he gave such an undertaking, it would be useless since it could not bind the Congress, but that he could tell them that they might rely upon the political honesty of the Congress that it would not attempt to carry out anything which had not been made the primary issue.

Dewan Bahadur Govindass Chathoorbhoojadoss, President, the Hindu Central Committee, in an open-

letter to Mr. S. Satyamurthy asks him to give an undertaking on behalf of the Congress that the Congress would not support any interference in matters religious by legislation and that it would confine its activities to its proper sphere of politics without assuming to itself the role of religious dictatorship. He adds: "Unless such an unambiguous and categorical guarantee comes forth from the proper quarter Mr. Satyamurthy, cannot expect the Sanatanists to support the Congress candidates.

INDIAN GIRL GUIDES IN A FRICA.

The girls of the Baroda Kanya Mahavidyalaya who were touring the territories of East Africa have now completed it and have gone to South Africa to carry the torch of India's progress in that country where the prejudice against Indians is the strongest.

On his way to South Africa per s. s. "Kenya" from Dares-Salaam, Pandit Anand Priyaji writes the following letter to *Kenya Daily Mail* recording his appreciation of the warmth of feelings and regard which the population of East Africa showed for the girls during their tour. Says the Panditji:—

Before sailing for South I take the opportunity of expressing our heartfelt grattitude to the Indian Community in particular of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar.

Rajratna Seth Nanjihbai M. B. E., deserves our special thanks for it was on his invitation that we undertook this hazardous tour to the land which was quite unknown to us. He has been a guiding star in our travels and he left no stone unturned to make us comfortable every where. At a great sacrifice of time, energy and money he steered our ship very ably and successfully. If our mission has succeeded wonderfully in its dual function of propagating the ancient ideal of female education and collection of funds to advance that education, great credit is due to him. He and his brother Sheth Mathuradasji have made their names immortal by helping one of the most noble causes on which depend the futnre progress of Mother India. All honour to these noble souls for all they have done.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Nairobi for extending to us a warm welcome and making arrangements for us in various ways. Their co-operation proved to be of immense value. We are proud of their true Aryan Spirit. Besides the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, the Arya Samaj branches in the countries we travelled did everything they could for us for which also we are grateful. We are also very grateful to many other organisations and individuals who have made our stay pleasant and comfortable in their respecotive places. They are many and I thank them all collectively and individually.

Wherever we have gone we received a right royal welcome and we have no words to thank the public for their kindness and hospitality. We have been able to collect for our institution Shs. 188,000 from East Africa. This contribution is certainly very creditable.

We have the satisfaction that by our tour we have been able to create a very good propaganda for the cause of the female education. We have given a death blow to the nefarious propaganda of Miss Mayo's "Mother India."

Everywhere the European Community unreservedly appreciated our tour and told us quite frankly that they had no idea that Indian girls could reach so high a level of culture, discipline and *esprit de corps*.

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"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

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NOTES

This Freedom:—On August 1st the centenary of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, the *Times* (London) wrote an eloquent leading article with the heading 'This Freedom.' The *Times* recalled that no ancient philosopher of greater repute than Dio Chrysostom condemned the principle of slavery and that the first corporate protest against it in England was made by the Society of Friends. It claimed however that the strongest impulse in favour of abolition, came from within the Church of England, from the little group of evangelists, nicknamed the Clapham sect. The accession of Wilberforce to the cause of emancipation was the next decisive factor in leading it to success. Wilberforce took it from the arena of religious fervour to the realm of practical politics. He laboured for it with single-minded devotion which sought no reward or recognition. When he applied for the Chiltern Hundreds—the formality observed in retiring from the House of Commons—he wrote to the Prime Minister that 'it is the first place that I ever asked for myself.' He was subjected to much ridicule and obloquy by powerful vested interests behind the Slave Trade, but he never wavered; and the *Times* rightly observes that in international esteem he was more famous than Pitt or Wellington, 'for so in the end the world honours its saints.' The capacity to render such honour, it finely adds, is the evidence that man is nobly born and worthy to be free The *Times* goes on to refer to the schools of thought that would throw down the ideal of liberty itself in the higher forms that have been developed in its European home. It concludes: "A nation that ceases to regard liberty as an absolute good, to be pursued for its own sake, is moving back towards the brutality, the misery, the degradation of human nature that belonged to the Slave Trade. Where liberty ceases to be prized, the spirit of the slave driver revives and works the old abominations." The *Times* links up the movement for the emancipation of Negro slavery with the ideals of liberty in its higher forms in Europe as if they were parts of a connected movement. This was not the case. While the impulse for the abolition of Negro slavery came from religion, that for political liberty came from the French Revolution which was a revolt against religion as much as against despotism. In Great Britain itself the wider implications of Negro emancipation were scarcely understood. The attack on the gross abuses of factory labour scarcely less appalling than the abuses of Negro Slavery, came from a different source and Lord Shaftesbury's movement had to encounter the opposition not only of factory owners but of some of the Negro emancipators as well. Then, looking outside Europe, the high principles of Freedom were most often contemptuously ignored. The indentured system of labour which was five years' slavery was invented to take the place of the emancipated slaves. The doctrine of liberty as an absolute good, had no validity East of Suez. To our mind the reactions against Freedom in Europe are the outcome of two causes. The first is that European freedom has become restricted to the freedom of rich men to exploit the poor. The second cause is that Europe in its dealings with Asia and America had absolutely no regard for the teachings of its own sages and statesmen. On that account, it would be wrong to under-estimate the services of Europe. But the world can no longer leave the task of carrying the gospel of freedom in its full implications to the unaided efforts of European reformers. The brown and the black men must relieve Europe of having to shoulder their burdens. That is the lesson of the centenary of slave emancipation to non-Europeans.

Legislation and Social Reform:—While we welcome the quickening of the social conscience as evidenced by the number of measures introduced in the several legislative councils on social questions, we deprecate the tendency to regard legislation as a short cut to social reform. The Bill was introduced by Rao Bahadur Kunwar Raghuber Singh of Agra to prevent the sale of minor girls to old men in marriage. When the Bill was first discussed in February there was general appreciation of the principle of the Bill, but doubts were expressed by all the speakers who took part in the debate,

first, as to the extent of the prevalence of the evil, and, secondly, as to the necessity of fresh legislation to prevent it. The Sarda Act penalised the marriage of girls below 14 and the Penal Code dealt with sale of women for improper purposes. Then, again, it was difficult to specify what would be "sale" in marriage. Mr. B. V. Jadhav referred to the *Mehar* settled upon girls at the time of marriage among Muslims but Sir Mohomed Yakub corrected him and said it was not bride price, it was consideration for the contract of marriage. The Home Member of the Government of India suggested that a similar explanation might be set up in the case of Hindu marriages also, if the Bill was passed. There were also serious defects in drafting and the text of the Bill did not correspond to the statement of objects and reasons attached to it. For these reasons, the Bill was circulated for opinion and it came up for consideration again last week. The Law Member pointed out that it would be difficult to define the word "sale" and quoted Hindu scriptures to show that marriage for which a consideration was paid for the bride was held valid. The Hindu Shastras laid down that the most meritorious form of marriage was *Kanyadan*, the free gift of a girl to a worthy person. But the recognised other forms of marriages which fell short of this ideal, their main preoccupation being to protect progeny from they taint of illegitimacy. The practice of the sale of girls in marriage prevailed only in certain areas. In other parts of the country, it was bridegrooms and not brides that had to be paid for. Sir Henry Craik, the new Home Member, thought that such considerations as jewellery or cash were a very useful form of insurance particularly in the case of widowhood and that it was difficult to define "sale" so as to exclude such considerations. The motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was thrown out. The *Times of India's* comment on the Bill is interesting: "It may shock the civilized social conscience to reduce marriage to a question of rupees, annas and pies. But, as a matter of fact, the financial aspect is seldom overlooked in any well-considered matrimonial transaction even in the most advanced societies. Only callow and inexperienced youth in the first flush of romantic sentiment ignores this side of the question." As pointed above the Hindu Shastras do not take this view. They regard the marriage sacrament as being defiled by being entered into as a commercial transaction. The Hindu view of love in marriage was well expressed by one of the wisest and most thoughtful men among educated Hindus. "Europeans," he said, "marry those whom they love, we love those whom we marry." This is not quite correct, as many Europeans also love those whom they marry, though, according to the *Times*, they might not have married those whom they loved.

The Bombay Devadasis Act:—Forty years ago the *Indian Social Reformer* voiced its protest against the institution of devadasis. These women were originally dedicated to the service of the Deity as their name shows. They were supposed to be married to the Deity and were not allowed to enter into marriage relations with any human spouse. They were carefully trained in dancing and music according to the ancient indigenous systems, and were required to display their art before the shrines to which they were attached at the prescribed hours of worship. For their maintenance they were assigned some land which formed part of the endowment of the temple. In course of time these servants of the Gods, fell from their high ideal of purity. In addition to music and dancing, sometimes in lieu of them, they practised the art of courtesans with a strict etiquette of their own. With the advent of commercialized vice of the Western type, this old system has lost much of its artistic importance. The *Reformer's* protest was against the engagement of devadasis at social entertainments, mainly on the ground that so long as singing and dancing was the special function of devadasis, girls and women of family cannot be persuaded to acquire and display these accomplishments. The protest was at first ridiculed, but had its effect, and as we expected, with the elimination of the nautch-girl, music and dancing become popular features of girls' education. The religious applications of the devadasi system were not easily dislodged. But dislodged they were, and the credit of initiating the reform belongs to the late Maharani of Mysore who during her regency abolished the vice of devadasis in temples, but allowed them to retain their lands. The next move came from Madras, where Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi signalised her career as the first woman member of the Legislative Council by introducting and getting a Bill passed much on the lines of the Mysore reform. The passing by the Bombay Legislative Council of a Bill protesting against the dedication of devadasis last week, carries this great reform a step forward towards total extinction. Our congratulations to Rao Bahadur Bole and the Bombay Council.

The Sarda Marriage Act:—While some conservative members of the Indian Legislature have introduced Bills to repeal the Sarda Act fixing an age limit for marriages, others are anxious to stiffen it as they feel that it has not put an end to child marriages in the country. Women's Societies generally have strongly urged the latter view. Women are keenly alive to the hardships of girl wives and are naturally desirous of ending them at once. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala Jagadish Prasad moved in the Council of State on Thursday that steps be taken, including if necessary a revision of the law, to enforce more rigidly the provisions of the Sarda Act so as to increase the chances of offenders being brought to book and minimise the

chances of evasion of the law. The Home Secretary, Mr. Hallett, speaking for Government explained that the position of Government was that in such matters slow advance was sure advance. He said that what was needed was education of public opinion by social reformers and particularly by educated women and their organisations, to the evil of child marriages. The Government view is the right view. Mere education of public opinion, however, is not enough. Public opinion is sufficiently educated on this reform on which two generations of reformers have been engaged. Mrs. P. K. Ray who presided over one of the Women's Conferences, pointed out that raising the age of marriage of girls has created new problems which should be taken on hand in order to facilitate the adoption of adult marriages by the community, especially the poorer classes of it. We want more girls' schools and hostels. The demand for girls' education has outstripped the provision made to meet it by Government and private agencies. Adequate educational facilities will be the best propaganda against child mariages. In their absence, rigid enforcement of the Penal clauses will not rally public support to social legislation more than at present. There is, however, one point in regard to which there seems to be a lack of uniformity in the administration of the Act. While in Bombay, Courts have acted on the view that, as child marriage is an offence under the Act, attempts to bring them about are attempts to commit an offence and should be prevented by an order of the Court, in Madras the view has prevailed that, though the Act makes child marriages punishable, it gives no power to Courts to prevent their performance. This is not common sense and, if an authoritative ruling cannot be obtained, a slight amendment will have to be made in the Act. Surely, prevention is better than punishment.

A Japanese Seismologist on the Earthquake:—Mr. S. Nasu of the Seismological Institute of the Imperial University at Tokyo, contributes an article to *The Japanese Trade Bulletin* on the recent earthquake in Bihar which gives us valuable information of how Japan provides against the dangers of earthquakes to her buildings. He writes: "When we construct buildings in our country, the first point is whether they are quake-proof or not, but here in India the first consideration is how the buildings fare against heat; the question of quake-proof is not considered seriously. In other words, houses in Japan equip themselves against earthquakes, while houses in this country do not. Generally speaking, buildings in India are very poor; brick itself is not only of bad quality, but mortar used between bricks is in many cases common earth. Therefore these buildings are easily liable to be disjointed at the time of earthquake. Though the same thing can be said with the houses made of earth, they however can stand better against earthquake." Mr. Nasu refers to the Building Law of Japan which assumes the power of horizontal vibration of an earthquake to be one-tenth of gravity and this, he says, is the maximum power of a great earthquake. The main building of the Seismological Institute of the Tokyo Imperial University which is the best quake-proof, can withstand the power of a vibration which is two-tenths of gravity. But all buildings in Japan have to satisfy the less requirements of the Building Law. Mr. Nasu discusses at length the cause of the last earthquake. He differs from seismologists in India. They regard "the Himalayan Range ceaselessly pushed by the Continent of Asia towards the interior of the Indian Peninsula resulting in an arc-shape," as the sole cause of the earthquake, a theory which, he remarks, is not generally accepted by Japanese experts. He himself has not been able to investigate this aspect but he condemns it as an obsolete theory. He concludes with an appeal to Japan to give the benefit of her experience to India.

What is Religion?:—Dr. Homer H. Dubs contributes an interesting article in *Open Court* for July on "Types of Religion" in which he gives us the following definition of religion: "As a definition of religion we suggest the following: Religion is the attitude that man takes to what he considers to be most important in the universe. In this definition, the term, "attitude" is used with the meaning given it in psychology, to include (1) tendencies to action, (2) their causative factors, such as beliefs, desires, interests, attention, etc., and (3) their consequences, such as actions, emotions, feelings, perceptions. In accordance with this definition of religion, we must include as religions, not only the so-called 'positive' religions, but also many of the philosophies, such as Stoicism, Epicureanism, Cynicism, Vedanta, Yoga, etc., whenever the fundamental feature of that philosophy is a certain way of living or a certain tendency to action, rather than merely a certain intellectual belief. Careful students have recognized the religious nature of these philosophies. Lucretius himself calls Epicurus a "savior." Bolshevism, which is being recognized today as possessing the trappings of a religion, is also included by our definition as a religion, inasmuch as it makes the bringing about of the Bolshevistic society the most important thing in the universe. Our definition also accepts the popular view that, to some people, the gathering of wealth is a religion."

The Christian Message:—We commented last week on the Rev. Paul Gibson's sermon at Cambridge. We print this week a short extract on what Mr. Gibson conceives to be the message of his faith. In a brief paragraph Mr. Gibson descends from his pulpit and appears as a student of comparative religion and asserts that the message is a unique one but his conclusions are not convincing.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, AUGUST 25, 1934.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

The appointment of Mr. Vithal Chandavarkar to the Vice-Chancellorship of Bombay University was a departure from the practice of filling the post with High Court judges diversified occasionally by a distinguished educationist. He had won a great reputation as President of the Municipal Corporation but he had not even been a Fellow of the University and was not familiar with its affairs. The reforms introduced in the constitution and functions of the University were still giving rise to frequent disputes regarding especially the proper spheres of the Syndicate, the Academic Council and the Senate. The new Vice-Chancellor thus started with several handicaps. He has overcome most of them, and has come to be recognized by all parties in the University—unfortunately, there are parties in it—as a capable and conscientious administrator of its affairs and a faithful champion of its interests. His address at the annual convocation which was held on Tuesday, was a quiet, business-like presentation of the problems immediately confronting Bombay University. Only at the end, was there a hint of his philosophy of life—for he has a philosophy—which Mr. Chandavarkar kept out of the main body of his address. "There is at present," he said, "a general tendency, whether in private or in public life, to attach greater importance to the assertion of one's rights than to the performance of one's duties.....You should always remember that if you take care of your duties, the rights will take care of themselves." There is much truth in the first statement but history, alas, does not confirm the second that doing one's duty automatically ensures the recognition of one's rights. Rather does it uphold the poet's opinion that they have rights who dare maintain them. In the ideal state, what Mr. Chandavarkar says should be the case. Rights must be strictly co-ordinated to duties, but this ideal State exists nowhere, least of all in India at the present day. Much also depends on how one understands the word "duty." The indiscipline which the Vice-Chancellor lamented and which certainly exists, is due to the difference of emphasis in interpreting "duty." This is evident from the fact that, while on the one hand we see gross indiscipline, on the other we also see abject submission to the dictates of party leaders. The central purpose of a University is to help society to correlate rights and duties—to assert the right to perform duties, and the duty to vindicate rights essential to the wellbeing of society.

The principal preoccupations of Bombay University at present are post-graduate courses, the matriculation examination and finance. The first two also ultimately reduce themselves to the financial problem. The Vice-Chancellor said that the Matriculation examination is acting as a strangle-hold both on university and secondary education. It is also unfortunately the examination which brings most money to the University's exchequer. Attempts have been made—and very strenuous attempts—from time to time to have a school-leaving examination to divert the main stream of candidates from the Matriculation. But they have always failed. If they had succeeded, the University would have found itself bankrupt. The explanation is that very few Indian students or their parents or teachers, for that matter, are in a position to determine their course in future life. Many Indians were intended for occupations different from those which they are following. The present writer is one of them. The Vice-Chancellor himself is another. It is too early to say anything about the Chancellor but some of his predecessors certainly were in the same category. An eminent English journalist confided to this writer that the profession he would have chosen was that of an engineer. If this is the case even with Englishmen who have a variety of occupations to choose from—army, navy, church, diplomacy, the Civil Service, Parliament, commerce and Christian Missions—how can the Indian, who has few openings outside the subordinate Government service and law in his own country, and is debarred from seeking his fortune in most other countries, be expected to make choice beforehand of the career best suited to his talents?

As for post-graduate studies, Bombay University, notwithstanding its stronger financial position, has lagged far behind Calcutta University with its chronic deficits. Asutosh Mukherji was constantly attacked for his lavish use of Calcutta University's resources in post-graduate departments. He even came into personal conflict with the Governor of the Province. But his policy has been amply justified by its results. If Bombay University piles up reserves in fear of future bad times, it lacks faith in itself. It is the policy favoured in Indian States. This has always struck us as one of the weak points of Bombay University administration. Finance plays in its affairs a part which is much in excess of what is legitimate in an academic body. The Vice-Chancellor complained of the smallness—ridiculous smallness—of the grant made by the Bombay Government to the University as compared with those made to other Universities by their respective Provincial Governments, and suggested that if Bombay's finances cannot afford a larger one, the Government of India should be requested to give grants to it as to Calcutta, Benares Hindu and Aligarh Muslim Universities. The chief reason why Bombay has been treated so shabbily by the Provincial Government is, that the Vice-Chancellor who is the administrative head of the University, was for a long time pract-

cally an officer of Government who thought more of the difficulties of Government than of the needs of the University. Even Mr. Chandavarkar has not escaped this bias. Not once or twice proposals for University development were stifled by vice-chancellors on the ground that it was useless to approach Government for help. The fact is that the University itself has not realised that it is one of the security services of the State as much as the Police or the Judiciary. It has, therefore, taken always an apologetic attitude and even sometimes conceived itself as subservient to the industrial interests of the Presidency. Not until it drops this inferiority complex will it secure adequate support from the Government and the public.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.*

The outstanding movement of the last 15 years in India is the Women's Movement. The All-India Women's Conference is the most important organisation of that movement. It is a registered society having for its objects (1) to promote in India the education of both sexes at all stages and (2) to deal with all questions affecting the welfare of women and children. It is also laid down that it shall not engage in any party politics, but unite on such points as affect women and children. The signatories to the memorandum of association included Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. The objects of the Conference including as they do the education of both sexes, mark it off from feminist movements of other countries. The other distinctive feature of this body is that, unlike men's organizations in this country, it knows no difference of race, creed or political opinions. A third feature of the Conference worth noting now-a-days is its motto from the Bhagavat Gita meaning that 'one comes to know me by devotion.' The last session was at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Lady Abdul Qadir. The welcome address was delivered by the Maharani of Mayurbhanj who was the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee. The Maharani is the daughter of Keshub Chander Sen, the wellknown leader of the Brahmo Samaj. In her address she emphasised the importance of Religion for the success of their movement. Rani Laxmibai Rajwade then read her report on the work of the Conference during the year. The report dwelt largely on the subject of women's representation in the White Paper Constitution. The following passage from the representation submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee may be quoted here: "We have repeatedly urged that we do not desire the communal virus to enter into our united ranks. We, therefore, disapprove entirely and shall continue to resist to the uttermost the White Paper proposals (para 4, page 75, Appendix II) by which women will be elected to the Federal Assembly by an indirect system. We totally refuse to be made party pawns for the purpose of weightage for the convenience of any community—a state of affairs which will surely follow if this proposal is accepted. On the contrary, we desire direct election on an entirely non-communal basis. By merit and merit alone do we wish to find—and we are confident we shall find—our rightful place in the Councils and Federal Legislatures of our country. It naturally follows that we are opposed to reservation of seats for ourselves and are wholeheartedly in favour of joint electorates by which means alone, we are convinced, can India rise to her full stature." The Report of the Eighth session of the Conference now before us is a handsomely printed and bulky record covering 272 pages of the good work of the Conference.

Referring to the Lady Irwin College opened in November 1932 Rani Rajwade applied for funds for endowing scholarships to enable poor and deserving candidates to be sent for training to the Institution. The report also referred to the great awakening in the matter of Hindu women's legal disability, especially the question of their rights of inheritance and the initiative taken by Baroda and Mysore in Social Legislation. Lady Abdul Qadir's Presidential address was a wise and weighty pronouncement on the principal questions affecting the position of women and the need for educating public opinion. Before proceeding to business, the Conference was addressed by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who referring to the Women's Movement said that "here the aspirations of all communities are one; here the claims of climate, religion and social authority are annihilated in the unity of an undivided aim." Another distinguished speaker was Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mayor of Calcutta. The Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra Uuiversity, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in a thoughtful speech emphasised the women's task of contributing to the national culture. Liberty from external restrictions, he said, is not enough, but equally necessary and urgent was liberty from the servitude which is infinitely more perilous and degrading, the servitude to one's own passions and desires.

The Conference has several sections—for educational and social subjects, for preparing text-books, for dealing with labour questions and indigenous industries, and for education fund. Several resolutions were moved from the Chair at the outset, one of which requested the Allahabad and Benares Hindu Universities to remove the bar against co-education and urging schools and Universities, where co-education does not exist, to introduce and encourage it. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of Kapurthala moved a resolution condemning war as a crime against humanity. This resolution was supported by several speakers and was carried with enthusiasm. Other resolutions passed at the Conference related to mass education, regulations of cinemas and posters. Mrs. Cousins moved a resolution advocating the introduction of vocational training in schools and colleges. There were numerous speeches on this subject, which was unanimously adopted. Other resolutions recommended the establishment of women's Hostels, the Indian women's University and Labour Legislation. The Conference passed a resolution condemning all attempts to repeal the Sarda Act. The resolution on women's right of inheritance was passed. Some of the speakers referred to the position of married woman who are absolutely helpless if they are discarded by their husbands. The report prints as an appendix, a memorandum consisting of all the principal resolutions passed at the Conference during this as well as previous sessions. In view of the discussion on the recent marriage in Ahmedabad, the following resolution of the Conference may be noted:— "This Conference strongly condemns polygamy and urges parents not to give their daughters in marriage to men who already have wives. It is also of opinion that girls of mature age and judgment who marry men with wives, should be boycotted."

We recommend the report to all friends in India and abroad who wish to get a comprehensive idea of the aims, objects and methods of work of the Women's Movement in India.

*Offices of All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta, Price Re. 1-4.

THE REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WOMEN.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar.)

3. The Srutis.

Next we come to certain Srutis that say "Just as two cords are tied round a single sacrificial post, so also two wives can marry the same men; and just as a single cord is not tied round two posts together, so too a single woman cannot marry two husbands," and "A man may have many wives, but there may not be many simultaneous husbands for a single woman." The orthodox interpretation of these two passages in the Vedas, however original and learned, may not be happy or acceptable to others but the meaning is patent, *viz.*, that a man may have more than one wife at a time—though this may be by way of an indulgence in special cases of barrenness, or other causes of supersession of the first wife: (Manu 9·80–84), when both the wives may live together. But the reverse proposition is what is prohibited. It does not in the least, in so many words, say that a woman shall not marry a second time at all, but only says she shall not have plurality of husbands at the same time. In the simile it is not clear that a particular cord shall not be tied round another post afterwards. In the case of posts there may not be a sacrificial necessity for a second use of the same cord. But the analogy cannot be pressed too far lest it should cut our own throats unawares. Even the Pandavas enjoyed the person of the common wife Draupadi in periodical rotation, not simultaneously under pain of a penalty for adultery. Even in later times a widow was strictly and punctiliously enjoined to observe a whole year's or at least half-year's disciplinary course of systematic physical (medical?) treatment and thorough rest under strict diet free from flesh, drink, honey, sugar or ghee, and salt and coupled with imperative sleep on the ground at the time; (Baud. 2·2·66-67) before she could embrace her brother-in-law in Niyoga for obtaining a son to her deceased husband, a healthy, hygienic condition that we find generally imposed on all women even in their monthly periods (Vasishta, 5·7. Vyasa, 2·39; Parasara, 7·17–20; Apastamba, 7·1–4; Angiras, 44). It is a means to destroy disease-germs in the system. Next the Sruti says "Get up, O, woman, who lie down beside the man whose life has fleeted away, and make up your mind to marry the man who raises you by the hand and desires to wed you," (a mantra in Pitrimedha—prasna, first anuvaka). Sri Krishna Tatacharya would interpret it to mean "Get up, that is all the wife-hood given to you here, but by your self-sacrificing devotion to your husband's memory and steadfast celibacy hereafter until your death you can go to his place in heaven as per Manu, 5·160—Parasara, 4·31," and would differ as poles from the former interpretation of Vidyaranya set out first. Both may be right or both may be wrong. But does it conclude the question? Vidyaranya's may be gramatically correct though it may not be probable to expect the next possible husband on the spot at the time, and he may not make overtures at that inopportune or impossible time. The late Sri Krishna's may have the advantage of steering clear of all that absurdity, and may be a very natural appeal to the woman to remember that the whole mankind does suffer like this and to console herself and look after her duties to the surviving children; and so may seek to establish the aspect of her life-long widowhood thereafter without a thought of re-marriage. Nothing turns on this after all, as both customs have been found to have flourished long.

Next the Sruti, of which Manu, 5·151 is an echo with just an unwarranted addition, says "To whomsoever my father gives me in marriage, I shall not desert him while alive," while the Sloka 151 adds "She shall not transgress him (be false to his bed) even after his death." This, coupled with the 160th Sloka to the effect that a widow by sheer celibacy ascends heaven, raises the interesting question whether she can embark on sannyasa-like Brahmacharya even during the life-time of her husband. But Slokas 154 & 155 coupled with 148 & 149 would stand in the way of her resolution, and remind her that after all she has no independence and cannot leave her father before marriage, her husband after it, and her son, if any, in her old age. There were only three stages in a Hindu woman's life originally contemplated, as in the case of a Dwija; but when a fourth was added, it was thought that in necessary cases a woman ought to be given a fourth stage also of celibacy, as of a Yati. But of what use is this Brahmacharya, when the Sruti said that she could get no benefit of mantras. The Vaishnavite doctrines might come to her rescue and, though in a feeble way, restore her lost right to Vedic mantras, as also that of Sudras who were in the same predicament. But one may ask, what is this without due upanayana before hand? The impetuous or impatient answer is "Silence! these don't require it," and the result is that Vaishnavism could not restore the old state of things but showed the way to put up with the galling life-long widowhood in all hope of heaven. But still the questioner asks: "When life-long Brahmacharya of a Naishthika is interdicted in Kali, how can a young blooming lady in her teens or prime of youth and vigour alone be expected to step into his shoes? And can she act the part of a sannyasin who should according to Sastras enter the fourth order only after grey hairs and wrinkles appear and after he sees and fondles the son's son? And why should she observe such a life-long celibacy which is merely a condition precedent to the means of steady and persistent Yogic meditation for realisation of God in silent seclusion? No such means is offered and being a woman and a tender woman to boot, how is she to live away from company which in turn has got its contagious consequences?" The result is that such widows are a source of danger to the society in respect of its morals, health and what not. How to turn them to the best account of themselves and advantage to the population has been the chief concern of all good social reformers. The present writer can cite an instance where a high-class girl of 14 married a recent widower with two children and became a childless widow herself in less than a couple of months after the marriage, and did not know what to do with herself and her blooming exuberance of health and beauty; and the talk goes she has disappeared for good; heaven knows where or with whom; or is it there wherefrom nobody returns? What has become of the spirit of traditional Vaishnavism running for generations in her veins? Why should she not aspire to her lord's heaven by celibate recollection of her husband's face so familiar to her during her five days' marriage? A whisper in the air seems to reply "Damn your ideal heaven hereafter when I cannot have a less perfect joy below with a life-long companion which my sex craves for." That is the secret of the failure of philosophy that may, no doubt surely and more successfully, appeal to a long-satisfied mind. And that is the thing for which came the original rule of dependence on husband between minority and old age, and the subsequent Sastras elaborately provided for, but not most effectively no doubt, because of innumerable forces at work in Society.

4. The Smritis.

Later (minor) Smriti-kartas like Kratu and Devala, and Puranas like the Aditya, have ruled that five things, among others, are prohibited in Kali; *viz*, Niyoga, re-gift of a girl in the marriage, animal-sacrifice, preferential share on partition for the eldest son or brother and "Kamandalu" or gourd-shell, carried by every Brahmachari or Yati or a Brahmana in general. 'Kamandalu' has been held to mean and apply to the last two classes or, the last only. The expression is so vague that it is a bone of contention in respect of Sannyasa in Kali age. Similarly 're-gift of girls' gave rise to various interpretations and finally was held to comprise all of them at once. The question was should it prohibit (1) remarriage after oral gift, or Vag-dana (2) that after Saptapadi but before actual consummation or nuptials, or lastly (3) that after all the three ceromonies are over, but no issue is born. It seems to have been implicitly admitted that after issue is born and whether that issue be alive or dead (Atri, 53–54; Manu, 9·106–110; Vasishta, 17·1), the purpose of marriage is over as discharging the debt to ancestors as though the continuation or perpetuation of the line was not of the essence of the thing. It is sad to note that, when a doubt arose as to which of the three interpretations of "re-gift of girls" was meant, it was not attempted to decide the point by any reasonable discussion and preference of one over the rest; but, to say, as it was said, that it included all of them at once is nothing short of the judge wantonly holding that no party was entitled to the thing in dispute but it belonged to the Court or judge. That shows either of two things; either a sad fate was overtaking the country, or the only leading authority in the land shirked the responsibility of a decisive judgment, or feared to tread the province of the same. It is not at all creditable to the petty people who tried to pose as definite and reliable authority. It reflects a very poor opinion of them, and they all failed in courage and in duty by the country. If their decision was one-sided or even wrong there would still have been a safety-valve and the widow-problem would not have been so great a menace as now. But that was not to be. The poor woman was first reduced to the position of a chattel without the least independence of movement or action; and then, without a thought of the past, the later law-givers (such as Yama 22—25, Parasara, 7·7—7·9) compelled the father to dispose of her in marriage at a much earlier age than before, that is before puberty, nay even at sight or even earlier (Manu, 9·88) if a splendid boy be available; and lastly closed all outlets once open to her in the event of her proposed or betrothed or wedded husband's death, etc., and made her lot altogether unbearable and simply atrocious. She suffers in direct and immediate consequence and through her the family society as a whole, in the unforgetable words of Manu, 8·56—58. The curse of innumerable millions of helpless young female lives is still hovering over the once-holy Bharat Varsha and holding the land in a death-struggle grip of foreign domination that would, if we have eyes to see and ears to hear the haunting shades above, remind us of our callous indifference to their aviodable lot that smothered their bright career in one prolonged and unrelieved agony. The earlier Smriti-writers are not responsible for this as Vasishta said that girls might be remarried notwithstanding Vag-dana or even Saptapadi provided they were still carnally unknown by the husband: (17.64-66.) And Baudhayana repeats the same and adds a second marital rite in some cases: (4.1.16-18.) So also Narada (15.45-53) allows a second Samskara in several instances. Are these three eminent authorities any wise inferior to Kratu, Devala and others of later times, and are the Puranas anywise superior in authority to Smritis themselves? Why then this topsy-turvy regard for the authorities? No, it is rather a blind following of the weedy growth of Custom. There has been none to come forward to weed it out and save the girls. And eminent scholars like the late Mahamahopadhyaya Sri Krishna were simply carried away by the current authority of custom when they could have saved the country and spared the unceasing tears of so many precious souls of their own generation. Just as a notion of false prestige blinds the eye to a true solution of things, so too a false idea of 'Brahman' or God killed the free play of Nature and Nature's Law. They forgot that both God and Nature overlapped each other, nay were so inextricably intermixed that an offence against the one was equally an offence against the other. Having had full notice of Nature in womankind in the eloquent words of Manu (9.12–18 and 2.213–215) and of the fact that women stand in need of constant direction and complete protection in their own as well as in other interests, the latter-day puritan visionaries set up an unwanted, unwarranted, and impossible standard for young widows; they unwittingly, in their eager search after purity, lost sight of the path towards moral improvement and numerical strength, not to say the physical build and stamina of the entire nation. They violated ever so many injunctions laid down for their guidance, and explained away their guilt by appeal to the universally-enveloping Divine Maya that carried us all in one swoop of fate, try and do how we will.

The late Srikrishna Tatacharya in his "Dharma-Nirnaya, or Widow-marriage Condemned," gets over Parasara's rule permitting re-marriage for women in five contingencies by calling in aid Vyakarana or grammatical explanation of the deliberate use of the word पतौ instead of पत्यौ—two variable forms of the locative case of the word पति. He holds that the former form denotes a rather vague or vulgar or "gauna" use indicating a wide popular meaning while the latter form signifies a precise and technically accurate sense. In other words he says that re-marriage is permitted for a girl at any time before she can really and in law call the bridegroom her husband, that is, before the Saptapadi is complete but not later. He says that even before the event he is no doubt in joke or pardonable mistake called a husband; but that does not give him the right or duty of a husband. But the question is whether such forms are invariably used by all the Smritis in the same connotation and denotation. An earnest and fairly thorough search among the Smritis will show that this position is clearly untenable. One need only look up the following citations and be firmly convinced on the point. (Parasara, 4.17,23, & 30; 10.31; Narada, 15.49, 97; 16.12; Vyasa 2.31, & 25; Vishnu, 17.22 & 25.16; Yagnyavalkya, 1.75; Manu, 3.174; 5·157; 8·317; 9·195 and 200). The two forms are indifferently used according as either of them suits the purposes of metre better than the other; or the former form being more archaic, is more often met with in the older Smritis. It is too much to expect that what was openly given by the right hand was at the same time simply taken away by the left in a sly, silent or dishonest manner. The Dharma-sastras are not Dharma-sutras to warrant any brevity either, requiring a long commentary to bring out what had been implied or (for brevity's sake) left out. From the context also it is clear that nothing of that sort can hold good; and the suggestion cannot hold water for a minute. So much was said of Parasara's rule (which is the same as Narada's also) because it was he who stated at the outset

(1.24) that *he* was the law-giver for the Kali age, and that Manu, Gautama and Sankha-Likhita laid down the law for the Krita, Treta and Dwapara ages. What is this "yuga" in the expanse of time? It means probably nothing more than a period of time completely covered by a generation of men endowed with the longest lease of life as in the case of the sages themselves. For the "yuga" means just a generation as is clear from Manu, 10.64 and Yajnyavalkya, 1.96. One is supported in this view of the meaning of the term by the following considerations. That Manu's sons were Vasishtha, and Narada (Manu, 1.33–35); that Vasishtha was a contemporary of Gautama (Ramayana makes them both meet when Sri Rama was young); that he was the father of Sakti and grandfather of Parasara (Sahasranama opens by stating the pedigree of Vyasa its author); in Sakti's time Sankha-Likhita apparently must have flourished; so that we have a complete Chatur-yuga of four ages. So that their leading or ruling sages lived rather close together and gave us the law in a practically united voice.

WHY THING PLACES IN GERMANY?

(By Otto Walter.)

Motor roads and Thing Places—these are two noteworthy proofs of the intentions of the new Germany. In the Third Reich we find the affirmation of technical progress combined with a love of the traditions, of the customs and usages of the ancestors. Motor roads and Thing Places— they decide the face of the new German landscape. The further aims in the building of motor roads are in the economic sphere, the Thing Places on the other hand have cultural aims as planned by National Socialism. Is the building of these Thing Places, of which about 400 will gradually be spread over Germany, nothing else than an artificial mania for antiquity? If one follows up the history of the Thing Places one will quickly realize that National Socialism simply cannot do otherwise than resume the thread of this Germanic tradition. The Thing Places will be the Cult sites of the Third Reich, created and formed by the will of the people. Just as the great buildings of the German Churches—which visitor to Germany has not been deeply impressed by their grandeur!—were once created by the middle classes, who in community spirit collected brick upon brick and thus completed the gigantic German cathedrals, so working Germany is collecting the building stones of *its* culture. The Thing Places were taken away from the German people when the middle-class medieval period took the place of the dominance of Dukes and Gaugrafs when the Thing of the old times became a fair of the new times. Today National Socialism is daring the bold jump across the span of the centuries and is fetching one of the most valuable cultural institutions out of the historical treasure-house to bring it back to a new life according to the spirit of the 20th Century. What did the Thing mean in the olden times and what is it to mean in the future?

For the Germanic tribes the Thing was the forum of their public life. The free-born members of the tribe met here to take council under the blessings of the Gods and surrounded by the whole tribe. And, to name only one of the cults, this was where the Frisians, after they had already been converted to Christianity, still celebrated the Petri Day which was both an old Wodan festival and the Thing Court of Justice. On the evening before huge fires were lit on the Thing hills. These fires blazed across the island across the sea. These fires were to expel the spirits of the winter darkness and to welcome the awakening life of nature. In the early Middle Ages the Reichstag met on the enlarged Thing Places, and this was where the emperors were elected and deposed.

In National Socialist Germany the Thing is also to be the site of great political and cultural happenings. The two most important National Socialist holidays, the 1st May and the Harvest Thanksgiving, will have a dignified setting in the Thing Places. Germany's two biggest Thing Places will be in Berlin, where Adolph Hitler himself is supervising the building of it, and the Reichs Thing in Buckeberg where the chief organisations of the Harvest Thanksgiving are to take place every year. The first Thing sites, by the way, which were already inaugurated on the 1st May of this year, were the big Middle German Thing on the Brand mountains near Halle and the Thing at Heringsdorf on the Baltic. The Thing Place, which is no longer to be merely a site of political action, but a place of festival for the whole nation, where the experience of the "Volksgemeinschaft" (Community of the People) is to take place and where it is hoped that a regeneration of art will also take place and will create new forms of social life. It is by no means only an open-air amphitheatre. The ideal Thing therefore cannot be a fenced in place, but it fits into the landscape, the slopes, parts and stage are to be laid out to fit in to the landscape. No benches or chairs, the grassy slopes provide the sitting accommodation. A far more difficult problem to solve than the outer formation, is the programme of the Thing. Besides the two chief aims specified above, the Thing is also to serve for the meetings of the Party and branch organisations. Further there are to be the big Thing plays as artistically shaped political demonstrations. The Thing Place is not a neutral arena for theatre performances, but it is a national centre of the landscape, where starting from the existing tradition, the myths of the place are to be reorganised according to the spirit of our age. The education of the people in a national, and not in a humanistic, sense is another aim. Consequently truly national art is to be cultivated here *e.g.*, folk songs, folk music and folk dances in connection with the revival of old national costumes. The Thing will here become an important factor in the work of the leisure-time organisation "Strength through Pleasure."

Further, as a national theatre, the Thing has the task of proclaiming National Socialist cultural aims in subject matter of great political importance. Dr. Rainer Schloesser, the Reichs dramaturgist, is fully aware of the difficulties of this part of the Thing play and has completely realized the threatening dangers. In the necessity to simplify the characters to boldly outlined forms, there lies the danger of these plays becoming too shallow. The necessity to use large bold forms of art which directly affect the senses, the recitation chorus, music, dance, tableaux vivants, the rythmic movement of the masses in every form may lead to a dulling into mere outwardness. Here lie—according to the Reichs dramaturgist—the great, the secular tasks of the German poets, to create an art of the masses, and which will yet be real art.

THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIANITY.

(By Rev. J. Paul S. R. Gibson.)

The morals of our faith as evidenced by those who profess to adopt them are not likely to carry much conviction. Even taken at their highest, one by one, they can be paralleled. Personally, I believe Christian morality as enunciated by Christ, to be revelatory of a new mode of thought with regard to life as a whole, but this understanding can only come after its meaning has been apprehended by a growing comprehension of all Christ is, and cannot be used as an argument based on the mere precepts as they stand.

God was primarily thought of as power and will. He had made the world and He judged it; His judgment was even tinged with mercy, but until Christ disclosed His nature it was not said that God so loved the world that He gave. At this point is revealed not only the personality of man but the personality of God. The two are declared to be in the highest conceivable relationship. The Creator becomes the Father. He had been called Father before but it was the father who pities, or the potter who moulds, now it was the Father who loves. Forgiveness was freely declared without any conditions except trust (this being often implied rather than stated), and the readiness to forgive others, a natural psychological prerequisite. The power to forgive is throughout assumed. The Cross is its credential. In the Cross the idea of forgiveness passes for ever away from the categories of sacrifice and legalism into that of the relation of personalities. The great revelation suffered from inadequate expression by those who would explain it. Theology has from that day to this been busy in building up explanatory systems along the lower lines of justice and sacrifice. In so doing it has brought the good news down to the level of lesser news and turned the blaze of revelation into a commonplace taper. But the miracle of the Gospels remains, and therein stands indestructibly the revelation of God as supreme personality expressing Himself to the extent that this is possible in the personality of man. This is unique. It is unique in speculation, for though the concept of the incarnation of God as power and majesty, or as weakness and human frailty is not absent from certain religions, the concept of God as love and yet free from the sins of men is not present. Still more unique is the thought that God's love was of such a quality that He not only "emptied Himself taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men," but further, "being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself becoming obedient even unto death, and that the death of the Cross." And all this is not a dream in the realm of imaginative poetry, but sober history.

Hinduism has never reached personality and has remained content with the thought of the impersonal Brahman finally absorbing the illusory individualities of men. As a natural corollary it has no true place for historicity. Buddhism rejects even individuality. Both these great religions have remained in the realm of Law, and Karma acts as the final expression of the meaning of the universe. Judaism does the same. St. Paul fought his great fight of grace in vain for them and they can see no need for anything beyond the legal relation of covenanting God with chosen people. Mohammedanism has reached individuality but never transcended the master-servant, or judge-culprit relationship.

Christians themselves have been backward in entering into their heritage. But whether we are ready to enter into possession or not, the heritage is there, and in the revelation in history of the personal relationship of God and man we have that which is utterly unique. It is this inner core of the Gospel which gives us the right and lays upon us the responsibility to share with all men the good news vouchsafed to us in the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. We are not, however, merely entrusted with a supreme truth. We are given that which meets man's universal need. That need is not material, intellectual or economic. It is personal. It is the sense of disharmony of the self with the ultimate power. When peace reigns within there is nothing that cannot be faced. The absence of that peace, however it is caused, is what we mean by sin. In every land at every time there is felt a separation whether of failure or inability to attain, and the cry goes forth "O that I knew where I might find Him." The gospel of Christ is, God with us, Emmanuel. It is the separation broken down, the peace which is forgiveness freely given to those who seek it, trusting that He is more ready to give than we to ask.

SOME TERMS OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I should like to say a few words through the medium of the *Reformer* on the propriety and history of certain terms connected with the problem of untouchability.

(1) The term 'Untouchable' is grammatically inapplicable to the Harijans, because, just as the Harijans are untouchable by the rest of the Hindus, so are the latter untouchable by the Harijans. If a Mahar may not be touched by a Brahman, neither may a Brahman be touched by a Mahar. In fact, the two classes of Harijans and non-Harijans are mutually untouchable. There is therefore no sense in calling only one of them untouchable. It is only because the former is the weaker of the two classes numerically or otherwise, that it suffers from what is in reality a mutual ban.

(2) The above applies equally to the term 'Un-approachable.'

(3) As the Harijans and non-Harijans are *mutually* untouchable and unapproachable, it follows that the terms, Touchable and Approachable, are inapplicable to the Non-Harijans. If it be said that the members of the supposed higher castes are called Touchables (or Approachables) because they are mutually touchable (or approachable,) then the Harijans also, who are mutually touchable (or approachable), will have to be called Touchables (or Approachables).

(4) The term 'caste Hindu' for the non-Harijan Hindu is of purely European origin. The word 'caste' is cognate with 'chaste,' and 'caste Hindu' seems to have been at first used to denote those within a caste as distinguished from those outcasted from it for breach of caste rules, and later applied to all those Hindus who were born within the pale of the 'chaste' castes, *i. e.*, the so-called higher castes, irrespective of whether they continued to be within their castes or were outcasted. But the Harijans have got their several castes just as the non-Harijans have got theirs, and therefore the term 'caste Hindu' (apart from its history) is quite incapable of denoting exclusively the non-Harijans. So also the term 'non caste Hindu' is inapplicable to the Harijans; they having castes equally with the others.

(5) None of the terms 'Touchable,' 'Untouchable,' 'Approachable' and 'Unapproachable' have their literal equivalents in Sanskrit. It would seem that the vernacular terms, *asprisya* etc., were only modern renderings of the English *Untouchable* etc., formed from Sanskrit, and not Sanskrit terms used in those senses in ancient times.

(6) The terms 'savarna' and 'avarna' for 'caste (Hindu)' and 'non-caste (Hindu)' respectively are very recent coinages, first minted, I believe, in Malabar. Literally meaning 'with caste' and 'without caste,' they are no more than Sanskritic translations of the foreign terms, 'caste' and 'non-caste' explained above. Both of them are intrinsically as misleading and inappropriate as their originals. (As used in Sanskrit, 'savarna' is the equivalent of 'homogeneous,' *i. e.*, it means only 'of the same kind or caste.')

(7) The word 'antyaja', primarily meaning 'the last born' or 'born of the last,' which occurs in Sanskrit literature, denotes certain low castes, not all of which correspond to the modern Harijan castes. Some of the castes enumerated as 'antyajas' are now treated as non-Harijans, and there are of course several castes now treated as Harijan castes, which are not included in any of the variant enumerations of Antyajas in Sanskrit treatises.

(8) The word 'Panchama,' as denoting a Harijan also appears to be of modern origin. It was obviously intended to signify 'fifth' caste, *i. e.*, the caste next after the fourth or Sudra caste, from the Sanskrit for the fifth. It is of South-Indian (probably Tamilnad or Karnataka) origin. Nowhere in Sanskrit literature is it to be found used in that sense.

Karwar, August 13, 1934. } Yours etc., S. D. NADKARNI.

CHRIST—CENTRE OF OXFORD GROUP.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have noted with interest and something akin to amusement your editorial on the Group Movement, in a recent number of the *Reformer*. The thing that seems so pathetic about your article, is the very clear evidence that you display of the sensitive on-the-defensive complex which I had hoped would have died out sooner than it seems able to in India. You say, "most of the ideas can be paralleled almost word for word from the scriptures of other religions, notably the Hindu scriptures." Now why was it necessary for you to go out of your way to make that remark? I have heard like remarks and I understand the complex from which they grow. I am reminded of that fine remark of Dr. Stanley Jones, "India bound is bound to reject. India free will be free to accept."

Of course the very central and most important and the lifegiving thing at the centre of the Group Movement's life is the thing which you quite omit or fail to see. That is, the Living Christ. No set of ideas or principles anywhere would produce the results which are being seen in the Group Movement and out of it today, except for the inner working of Him who can and does come into and function in human hearts wherever they let Him do so. Take Him out of this Movement and it will fall flat. It is only in His light that a man can really see light. It is only when we really bring ourselves up alongside His perfect life that we begin to see ourselves as we really are and are moved to sorrow, repentance and surrender of ourselves to Him. That is conversion. Comparing ourselves with ourselves and taking complacent satisfaction in some supposed possession of all the good ideas and virtues in some ancient shastra will not produce any stirrings of conscience or any desire for cleansing from sin or any demand for new power and life.

May I call your attention to two sources of information which you and your readers may find it worth while to get acquainted with. One is Geoffrey Allen's book, "He That Cometh," which gives the inner interpretation of this movement in a very fine way. And the other is "Koinonia," a little magazine published in Burma and obtainable from V. W. Dyer, Seminary Hill, Insein. This gives the everyday workings of the Group Movement in an Indian setting and atmosphere and contains some very worth-while material.

Kasganj, August 15, 1934. } Yours etc., G. B. OGDEN.

[Mr. Ogden asks why it was necessary for us to make the remark that most of the ideas of Buchmanism have their parallel in the scriptures of Hindu and other religions. The answer is because of the persistent claim, evidenced even in his letter, of the uniqueness of the Christian religion. In pursuance of this claim, Indian antecedents are deliberately slurred over. For instance, the biographical sketch of Dr. Buchman in the book which we reviewed, omits to mention (what Mr. S. K. George brought out in his letter published last week) that this gentleman had been in India trying to work up a revival movement before he started the Oxford Movement. We were not aware of this fact when we wrote the review. It certainly gives point to our remark to which Mr. Ogden takes exception. If Mr. Ogden is a Groupist, we are inclined to remark one thing it lacks—to teach its members to deal courteously with people of other faiths.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

PROF. G. P. GOOCH ON THE WORLD OUTLOOK.*

Our post-war world started on its course handicapped, not only by the material devastations and dislocations of the most destructive struggle in history, but by the burden of vindictive treaties. Nations have always resented defeat, but never before have there been so many and such bitter resentments at the same moment. Here is unquestionably the most alarming feature of the age in which we are living. Now that the life of the world grows daily more interdependent, it matters little where the fires of anger and revenge are burning in the hearts of men. A match lit in the Balkans set the world aflame twenty years ago. An "incident" on the Siberian railway or a rifle shot ringing out on the Middle Danube might once again hurl us into the abyss. The fate of each one of us, wherever we live, whatever the colour of our skin, whether we were victors or vanquished in the last war, hangs by a thread on the swirl of events. A deliberate attack by one power on another is extremely improbable. The danger lies in the mass of inflammable material scattered over the globe and the number of irresponsibles who are playing with the match box.

This extremity of peril is the case for the League of Nations. No historian, with his head full of past conflicts, ever shared the childish notion that the struggle of 1914 was a war to end war. Such conforming illusions are born out of the agony of the strife and perish when the fever abates. War cannot be abolished by war, but only by the organizations of mankind. It is the imperishable achievement of President Wilson to have realized this fundamental truth while the world was rocking on its foundations, and to have proclaimed it in language worthy of the Gettysburg Address. It is often said that his place in history will depend on the fate of the League which he, more than any other man, called into life. His fame seems to me to be far more securely based than that. If the present League were to be dissolved or to wither away, its place would assuredly be taken by another embodiment of the overmastering fact of the unity of civilization. The closeness of our relations to one another would demand and secure an alternative expression in institutional form.

Aristotle rightly described man as a political animal. History is the record of his ingenious attempts to satisfy his growing needs both on the material and the spiritual plane. Never for a moment do I doubt that despite temporary reactions, we are moving steadily toward a co-ordinated and co-operative world. There is something in man, declared Kant in a famous phrase, call it fate, providence or what you will, which drives us to association. The two most urgent tasks of the twentieth century are to

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elaborate a system of economic democracy within our respective communities, and to provide the international framework in which alone nations can work out their destinies unthreatened and unafraid. My greatest comfort during these twenty years of storm and stress has been my unshakable confidence in the triumphant spirit of man. He has overcome innumerable obstacles in his long career. Why should I doubt that he will thread his way out of the thicket of the present discontent?

A nationalist and an internationalist all my life, I acclaimed the creation of the League with both hands, and I have served it with tongue and pen; visits to the Continent, numberless contacts with representative foreigners, and vigilant study of every move in the game, have strengthened my pre-war instinct that nationalism is not enough. However much or little we may think of the League, it is at any rate, in Professor Gilbert Murray's illuminating phrase, an organ of consultation. Had it existed in 1914 it might very well have averted the catastrophe. Grey and Bethmann never met and never dared to meet during the five years of their common work, for statesmen of different groups could not visit one another without arousing suspicions of treachery and intrigue.

Add to the meetings of the Council, the Annual Assembly, the Secretariat, the Permanent Court at the Hague and the International Labour Office, and we have the rudiments of an organization not only for the preservation of peace but for carrying on international business. The achievement of the League in its many fields of activity is far more substantial than is realized by its ignorant critics. Functioning as it has had to do in a world bleeding with the wounds of war, and handicapped by the prejudices of political and economic nationalism its leaders have fought bravely to substitute the reign of law for the brutal resort to force. Historians of the future, I cannot doubt, will pay homage to the unselfish servants of humanity who, like Cecil and Nansen, learned and taught the deeper lessons of the war. The League is what its members make it, and its fortunes rise and fall with the ebb and flow of events. The history of Europe since 1918 divides into three sharply defined chapters. The first, stretching to 1924, witnessed the continuance of the fierce in the blunder of the invasion of the Ruhr. The second opened in 1924 with the fall of the *Bloc National* in France and the substitution of the conciliatory Herriot and Briand for the unbending Poincare. One happy event succeeded another —the withdrawal from the Ruhr, the acceptance of the Dawes Plan, the unforced renunciation of the claim to Alsace-Lorraine, the entry of Germany into the League, the Kellogg Pact, the evacuation of the Rhineland in 1930 five years in advance of the treaty limit. Like most other observers I believed that the worst was over. The general economic situation improved, and the Locarno Pact gave promise of a stability in Western Europe unknown since 1871. There was a breath of Spring in the air.

Once again we were wrong, for it was a false dawn. In 1980 a third chapter opened when the economic blizzard, breaking loose from New York at the end of 1929, burst upon Europe, uprooting great banks, doubling unemployment and sweeping Hitler into the foreground of the stage. 1931 witnessed the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, in violation of her solemn pledges under the Covenant, the Nine-Power Washington Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. In 1932 constitutional government in Germany began to totter, and Japan withdrew from the angry but impotent League. In 1933 Hitler became Chancellor, tore up the Weimar Constitution, suppressed every vestige of liberty, launched savage attack on the Jews and stormed out of the League. It was not surprising that the Disarmament Conference, which met at Geneva at the opening of 1932, failed after more than two years of discussion even to approach a solution of the problem. For armaments are at once the instruments of policy and the expression of fear. Japan's unpunished robbery of her helpless neighbour struck a staggering blow at the prestige of the League, and the resurgence of flamboyant nationalism across the Rhine inevitably stiffened the French, who decline to reduce their forces without the additional military guarantees which Great Britain cannot provide.

At no moment since the end of the war have I known so many dark clouds in the sky. In England we do not actually expect a collision between Russia and Japan, but we should not be in the least surprised if it occurred. We are cheered by the new orientation of Russia, whom we hope at length to welcome into the Council of the League; but we realize that her action springs from her fear of Germany and Japan. We are gratified by Hitler's pact with Poland and the prospect of a bloodless plebiscite in the Saar; but we look with anxious eyes at Austria, where Italy and Germany are roughly competing for control. The relations between Paris and Berlin are more strained than at any time since the invasion of the Ruhr, and the Chancellor's pacific assurances ring hollow while his followers are arming and drilling and while, despite the poverty of the country, expenditure on armaments—on land, at sea and in the air—is rapidly increased.

The failure of the Geneva Conference indicates a return to the armament race which was one of the most potent causes of the war. Japan's claims for a higher ratio of capital ships at the next naval conference will be as difficult to accept as to reject. Meanwhile the inventors are busy increasing the size, the power and the number of aircraft, civil and military, and the chemists are concocting in their laboratories the explosives which may decide the next war. The prolonged economic distress shows little sign of terminating, though some countries, including my own are on the upgrade. Half Europe is ruled by dictators who scoff at democracy and trample human rights under their feet. Meanwhile the Communists look on with firm satisfaction, awaiting their hour.

It is a dark picture, and I fear that it is not overdrawn. But there is not, in my judgment, any need for defeatism or despair. Historians of all people ought to keep their heads in a crisis, for the whole pageant of the past is continually before their eyes. The centuries that followed the fall of the Roman Empire were a far worse experience than anything we are facing today. The Tornado of 1914 broke upon a world striding rapidly ahead. The advance has been rudely checked, and the destructive influences of the struggle have proved even greater and more enduring than we thought. It is a sad story, but it is not a sentence of death.

I shall never forget the ringing accents of President Roosevelt's inaugural, which I heard over the radio, as he uttered the historic words; "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." What is true for the United States is true for the rest of the world. The duty of the good citizen today is to keep up his spirits, to maintain his faith in humanity unimpaired, to co-operate patiently and unselfishly in defense of justice and peace. Despite our quarrels and our prejudices, we are nearer the ennobling conception of a world community than ever before. If ideals are to be abandoned because they cannot be attained;

Christianity would have been thrown on the scrap-heap centuries ago. Some of my friends, when pressed for their views on the tragic confusion of the hour, reply: We are pessimists for the present and optimists for the future.

My temperament is rather critical than sanguine, and my work brings me into almost daily contact with the victims of adversity. Yet I range myself unhesitatingly with those who look with confidence to the coming of the dawn. It is far too soon to declare in sombre resignation that the human race has learned nothing from the most terrible of wars.

UTOPIA, INCORPORATED.*

Out of Southern California, that paradise of the incredible, has come a social movement that all students of American politics should note with care. For the inevitable has happened: some one has finally united a form of radicalism with the showmanship so dear to the emotions of the average American. To say that the experiment has been successful is to indulge in understatement. It has swept Southern California like a hurricane. Incorporated on February 20, 1934, the Utopian Society (or US Incorporated) now boasts a membership of 200,000. Nor is this boast far from the truth.

The Utopian Society operates as a secret order. Its founders have cleverly grafted a form of radicalism on the fraternal-lodge type of organization, with some form of which nine out of every ten adult Americans are said to be familiar. The ideas of the society are propagated not by debate, which invariably provokes dissension and ends in disunion, but by ritual and dogma. In resorting to these methods, the Utopians have shown a realism new in American radicalism.

Let me illustrate. A friend or acquaintance—he may be a salesman visiting your store—inquires if you would be interested in knowing something about a society that aimed, by strictly educational methods, to help Americans fight the depression. Or, the visitor might whisper, "Have you a number?"—the password of the society. In case you were already a member, you would repeat a number for identification. It would be some such number as "25 x 9876." The last figures would indicate the number of the particular meeting at which you became a member, the first would indicate your particular number at that meeting. Records of all meetings are maintained at the headquarters of the society, and identification is swift and accurate.

In case you were not a member but confessed an interest in the society, you would be given an address and told to inquire for your friend at a certain time and date. Upon your arrival, you would note the presence of a guard at the door. More than likely, the address would be the residence of your friend and the guardsman would be his son. After sending in your name for identification, you would be admitted. About twenty people would be seated around the room. Your friend, acting as a self-constituted chairman, would then read an "examination lecture" about "US Incorporated."

After the preliminary lecture has been read, the chairman then opens the meeting for discussion. The discussion is predicated on a list of questions that, like all the other forms, has been received from the headquarters of the society. The purpose of the discussion is to kill time, while each member of the audience who desires to join the society is conducted, blindfolded, through a series of three examination sessions in adjoining rooms. Some of the questions, read by the chairman and discussed by the audience, are the following:

Do you believe the economic system of this country, as now applied, is at fault?

Do you believe the necessities of life should be destroyed while people are suffering want and privation?

Do you believe the remedies now being applied by the administration will solve our social and economic problem?

Do you believe that poverty can be abolished without the abolition of profit?

While these and similar questions are being rather gingerly discussed by the uneasy audience the blindfolded candidates are taken, one at a time, into an adjoining room. There the First Examiner asks them certain questions: name, address, occupation, business phone number, and so forth. The candidate then proceeds, with the assistance of a guide, to the Second Examiner, who propounds such questions as, "Have you ever had any writing, dramatic or speaking experience? Do you drive an automobile? What is its seating capacity?" All indicate that the candidate, if admitted, is to be used in some manner as part of the organization. Then, in still another room (the procession has by this time probably reached the kitchen, the maid's room or the back porch), the Third Examiner assuming a high moral tone informs the candidate that the Utopian Society is a non-profit corporation; that it is predicated on the Golden Rule. He then inquires if the candidate understands the aims and purposes of the Society. Invariably the candidates answer "Yes," although obviously knowing nothing whatever of the Society or its aims. The Third Examiner then gives the candidate a permanent identification number, noting the number on the candidate's questionnaire, which is sent to headquarters for future reference. The candidate is then considered a member of the society, entitled to witness the "cycles."

All preliminary work in the order is directed toward the Cycle Rituals. There are five cycles which are presented in large auditoriums to thousands of members. Each member who is privileged to attend the cycles is theoretically supposed to have done all the preliminary work, such as recruiting his quota of members, paying his $3 in dues, performing a certain amount of organization work. When he attends the cycles he does so as a "pilgrim," he emerges from the cycles a "hermit."

The most interesting feature of the cycles is the manner of presentation. They are enacted on the stage, by players who simply move about while excellent speaking voices off-stage, through radio amplifiers, boom forth the drama of ideas. The first and second cycles picture the unemployed as down-trodden folk. They try to get grain from the Grain Merchant, but are told that he must sell for a profit, which they cannot pay. They consult the Money Lender, who demands interest and gives them, not gold and silver, but paper money which he controls, issuing and withdrawing it at will. Before they can spend the money, the Constable arrives and demands taxes. Then, at a later period, they meet a "hermit" who throws out several pregnant hints about "reason" and "truth" and "democracy" and points toward a neon-illuminated picture of Reason Ascendant with the American flag in the background. Incidentally, nearly all of this childish showmanship can be directly traced to the influence of Aimee Sample McPherson, with her mob-fetching allegories and pageants that have fascinated Southern Californians these many years.

The last cycles outline a society in which the central power operates and owns all industries and regulates the production, distribution and consumption of goods. Under one of these later lectures, the "new mechanism of money" is outlined. These monetary ideas would seem to stem from Soddy's "Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt." Through all

* Carey McWilliams in *New Republic*.

the organization, a careful centralization of authority is maintained. The Utopians place a high valuation on centralized authority; further evidence, if any be needed, that they are realists, so far as organization is concerned. People must be told what to do; they must be moved about by prearrangement; they must listen to a ritual and dogma. They must witness pageants, not debates. And they must be caught off-guard by mystery and hocus-pocus. A political meeting of the old-fashioned variety is no longer workable. The audience is advised of the character of the meeting before it attends; hence, prejudice and bias are provoked in advance. But when the audience is recruited in secret, singly, and assembled in small groups, its mind is in an almost hypnotic state of ignorance, hope and expectation. It is then that the anonymous voice of the lecturer can reach them in a manner that, except to those who have actually seen the process, is almost unbelievable.

The startling manner in which, within approximately three months' time, a society such as the Utopian Society was organized in an American city and expanded to a huge membership is surely indicative of two facts of general significance: the existence among the lower fringes of the middle class, that is, among the poor but nominally employed ranks of clerks, small business men and white-collar employees, of a mood of great restlessness and impatience; and the fact that, approached with the right blandishments and allured by the appropriate fetiches, this class is easily and effectively organized for action—and it is the fact that they can be organized, as a class, that is important. In the past it has always been the apathy of this group that has paralyzed radical action in America. What direction this impulse will take, either in the Utopian Society or generally throughout the country, whether toward communism or, as is more likely, toward a fancy American fascism, remains to be seen. The mood and the impulse are there, and the Utopians have shown conclusively how the trick can be performed.

Rural Uplift Scheme:—The Divisional Commissioners, states the Director of Information, Bombay, have submitted a quarterly report for January-March 1934 on the progress of village improvement schemes in their respective divisions. These reports show that a good beginning has been made in many areas. The first unit of organisation, namely, a district executive committee, has been set up in most of the districts, and work has begun almost everywhere. Its chief aim is to implant in the villagers themselves a desire for improvement, and this is to be promoted by the formation of a permanent nucleus of workers and by co-ordinating existing social service agencies in rural areas. Non-officials and officials alike are interesting themselves in the movement. Reports from the various districts indicate that these committees are functioning satisfactorily, and hold prospects of attracting popular support, which should help in the attainment of the general objective of the scheme.

Religion in Mysore:—The catholicity of views in respect of religious belief which distinguishes the royal family of Mysore was exemplified on Sunday August 12 when the near relatives of the Maharaja paid a devotional visit to a church, the foundation of which was laid by the Maharaja himself in October last. Costly offerings including a necklace set with diamonds and pearls were made on behalf of the Mysore Palace household (the seat of orthodox Hindu piety) at St. Philomena's shrine on Sunday in connection with the commemoration feast of the saint. The Maharani, the Yuvarani and the Princess attended. Throngs of devotees paid homage to the saint whose marvellous powers of healing have won the title of Wonder-working Virgin Martyr. Devotees are looking upon the shrine as a hallowed spot of pilgrimage.

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