

# Hindu Message

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

- (1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,
- (2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,
- (3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,
- (4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and
- (5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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## A Vision of India.

### THE SARIKA.

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

I love to hear thy speech, O Sarika!  
So clear, so human, comforting and sweet.  
And I rejoice whenever thy voice doth greet  
My hungry ears with notes without a flaw.  
What makes me nearer thee in spirit draw  
And seek thy presence with oft-seeking feet?  
That poesy beauty bright should strive to meet,  
Ah, is it not love's great preordained law?  
In Poesy's dreams I see the Yaksha's bride  
Bereft of her beloved's soft embrace  
And pining for her lord's sweet honied speech  
Stand oft in tears by thy consoling side  
And win some joy in her desolate days  
From thee, though he was far beyond her reach.

## Great Thoughts.

Radiant giver of the light,  
By whose calm and piercing ray,  
When have flown the hours of night  
Comes the re-awakening day.  
But brighter than the noontide blaze,  
Fount and Source of all our day,  
Potent in men's hearts to raise  
Sparks that ne'er shall fade away.

Framer of the realms of space,  
Glory of Thy Father's light,  
Teach, by treasures of Thy grace,  
Hearts to scan themselves aright.  
Still the Spirit's aid impart,  
Make us shrines of the Most High,  
Lest the arch-rebel traitor's art  
Lure us by its witchery.

Thus the prayerful soul aspires,  
Such its votive gifts to Thee,  
Trusting that Thy morn-lit fires  
Serve for nightly custody.



O one, O only mansion! O paradise of joy!  
Where tears are ever banished, and smiles have no alloy!  
The Lamb is all thy splendour, the Crucified thy praise;  
His laud and benediction thy ransom'd people raise.  
With jasper glow thy bulwarks, thy streets with emeralds blaze;  
The jasper and the topaz unite in thee their rays;  
Their ageless walls are bounded with amethyst unpriced;  
The saints build up its fabric, the Corner-stone is Christ.





## Events of the Week.

The *Maharatta* has the following observations on the latest Census:— A glance at this year's census returns is sufficient to fill the mind with gloomy ideas and anxious fears about the future of India. The population of India as ascertained on the 18th of March 1921 was slightly over 319 millions as against 315.16 millions in 1911. This means that during the last ten years our population has increased at the rate of 1.25 per cent roughly speaking. This rate looks exceedingly miserable when we compare it with the census figures of some other countries. The population of the United Kingdom has been increasing every ten years at the average rate of 9 p. c. The rate of increase in the Union of South Africa is about 15.41 p. c., in the United States about 25 p. c. and in Canada 34 p. c. In the light of these figures our rate of increase looks horribly low and we feel as if we were a race of pigmies. The explanation of this abnormally low rate of increase cannot be offered in a short space like this, for it may well form the subject matter of a voluminous book. The fact, however, that all self-governed nations have been rapidly multiplying their population and that the increase of population in dependent India is conspicuously arrested, is not without its significance. And again, the way in which the population of India has drifted from villages and rural places to cities and towns, and also from civil stations to military centres, frontiers and plantation districts, has its own lesson to teach. The Military stations and frontier places are being flooded with population. The Baluchistan districts show an increase ranging from 30 p. c. to 72 p. c., the North-West Frontier Provinces exhibit an increase of 33 p. c., and there has been an increase of 330 p. c. in Peshawar. These figures bring home to us how the shadow of British Militarism has spread long over India and how its population is drawn away from the normal industrial and agricultural pursuits. More melancholy figures meet our eyes as we turn to the plantation areas. The population of Champaran and Saran has been on the increase and the districts of Assam show a population that has gone up by 13 to 343 p. c. This tremendous increase is undoubtedly due to the thousands of poor Indians that have fallen a prey to Indentured Labour. Similarly Andamans and Nicobars manifest an increase of 1.4 p. c. It is a frightful idea that Indians are gradually being shaped into mill-hands, camp-followers, indentured labourers, prisoners and convicts. And yet that is exactly what this year's Census returns mean.

General Bliss quotes the following figures of the late war: There were mobilized by the Allies of Europe and Japan (not including the United States) 35,404,864 men. Of these, 4,705,665 were killed outright in battle; 10,870,025 were wounded; 4,941,870 were captured or reported missing, a large part of whom were dead at the time of the armistice. "To kill and wound these men, it cost in money actually raised by taxation, in the debts yet to be paid something like 200,000,000,000, with an additional 50,000,000,000 of previously accumulated material wealth destroyed and to be replaced."

The "Looker-on" writes:—

A very dastardly attack upon Lord Reading's nationality was recently made by an Englishman in Calcutta, who distinguished himself on a previous occasion by referring to a public utterance of the Government of India as a lying and traitorous document and then (thinking better of it) by recalling his words and using the mild term "imbecile." Now, it is no intention of mine to give advertisement to the lucubrations of unmanly non-entities and disgruntled obscurantists. The measure of Lieutenant-Commander Fraser will appear from the fact that the so-called "Truth" pamphlet contained, as the address of its originator, the name of a well-known and reputable Bank which promptly turned round and disowned the naval anti-Semite. The fact remains though that a dangerous precedent has been created; and Indians will want to know why when Mr. Horniman was alleged to have cast imputations upon the honour of British soldiers it was

thought necessary to send him out of the country, if the much graver offence of besmirching the nationality of the King's representative is allowed to pass scot-free. Mr. Lionel Curtis recently made the suggestion—very startling from the Junker's point-of-view—that any European found guilty of gross insult to an Indian ought to be sent out of the country. I think a beginning, in regard to such powers of deportation might be made in the matter of scurrilous abuse, such as has been showered upon the head of Mr. Montagu and is—in this instance—being levelled against Lord Reading.

The standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, has published a resolution with regard to procedure. They will examine and report on any Bill submitted specially by Parliament and invite the Secretary of State for India to communicate the matter and information upon which it is thought desirable that the report to Parliament should consider and they will report on any matter relating to Indian affairs to which attention is drawn by the Chairman, Member of Committee or Secretary of State provided that notice has appeared in advance, in the Agenda previously circulated and the Committee consider it of sufficient importance and not opposed to public interest. They will demand oral and documentary evidence as required and inform confidentially the Secretary of State and Head of the Government Department concerned of subject of the proposed discussion.

A recent Cairo message says:—The new political situation is fraught with most serious difficulties which have arisen owing to Zagloul Pasha issuing a challenge to the ministry and demanding the abolition of martial law and censorship and that the leadership of the delegation to London should be placed in his hands. Zagloul in a speech on April 25th asserted that his collaboration with Ally Pasha, Prime Minister, depended upon the latter's acceptance of Zagloul's conditions. The resignation of Ministry may possibly be imminent and would involve negotiations with Britain.

The *Nation* has an informing article on the Irish situation which it calls the tragedy of England. In point of fact, if the world knew nothing about our administration in Ireland except what it learns from Sir Hamar Greenwood himself, what impression would it form? It would know that the Government dares not hold an impartial inquiry into any incident in Ireland, and that it dares not publish the reports of its own official inquiries on Cork and Balbriggan; that no constable has been punished for the murders at Balbriggan; that no cadet has been punished out of the thirteen who watched two men being murdered by one of their number; that there are scores of outrages a year old attributed to the armed servants of the Crown as to which the result of the official inquiries has never been disclosed; that no court martial has yet been fixed for the Trim looting. It would know also that the Government dares not allow an investigation by a judge or any civil court of the circumstances under which the Mayor and ex-Mayor of Limerick were murdered during curfew hours. The reports of the proceedings at the military inquiry are censored, but anybody who looks even at the censored report will be struck by some strange features about this case. It appears that on the night of these murders a sentry heard the fatal shots fired, and that afterwards three men passed along the street; that the sentry did not challenge these men; that no patrol was turned out; and that the officer in charge, who was informed at the time, the shots had been heard and that men had passed down the street, was not examined at the inquiry. These facts alone explain why the Government did not hold an independent inquiry, and why they preferred to set up a court of officers representing the persons suspected. Doubtless they remember that on the one occasion on which the conduct of a military court has been reviewed by a court of H. M.'s judges, it was found that there had been serious irregularities in its proceedings.





## The Hindu Message

### Sir Sankaran Nayar's Madras Speech.

Sir S. Nair's main point in the speech was that the Social Reform movement of which he has ever been one of the shining lights had from the beginning "assumed a political shape" as "all classes except Brahmins laboured under great disabilities, disabilities which stood in the way of progress," and as a foreign government could not remove those disabilities, could not interfere in their social customs and could not pass the necessary legislation in order to alter what was declared to be the Hindu law by the opponents of social reforms." In the *first* place, the Government had as a fact already interfered *to some extent* in social matters and passed various legislative measures, though not all that social reformers needed. In the *second* place, we do not at all see the justification for the extraordinary and astounding assertion that Brahmins alone were "free from the disabilities which stood in the way of the progress" of all other classes. Sir Sankaran Nair mentions by way of illustration "the disabilities under which women suffered and Non-brahmins suffered." We reply that Brahmin women had no status either in the home or out of it which differed at all from that of non-Brahmin women,—and *also* that the Hindu sacred law had as a matter of fact imposed greater restraints on Brahmin, than on non-Brahmin, *men*. The former were prevented from taking to many trades and avocations and confined mostly to those pursuits which were economically the very reverse of profitable and dependent on the whim or choice of men of other castes. Nor is it true that the reformers—whether Brahmins or non-Brahmins—agitated for political rights (as Sir S. Nair avers, boldly and without shrinking or hesitation), only or chiefly to get rid of the "disabilities," so-called, imposed by Hindu law. Let us see what the late Mr. Bannerjee has said on the matter. He has pointed out not only that the Congress was "in reality the work of the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was the Governor-General of India," but that it was Lord Dufferin who suggested that "it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that *Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved.*" Hence we deny that there is any foundation for Sir Sankaran Nair's assertion that even our reformers,

Brahmin or non-Brahmin, were moved by the idea that "it was only by the acquisition of political rights that there was any possibility of their getting all their disabilities removed,"—*i.e.*, disabilities stated by Sir S. Nair—and wrongly as we have shown above—to have been imposed on Non-Brahmins alone by Hindu law. Moreover, Sir S. Nair must not lose sight of the fact that, from the beginning of the Congress movement, the most enthusiastic Congressmen where, most of them, staunch conservative Hindus and especially Brahmins. In the early stage of the Congress also, the feeling against social reform was so great that at Bombay and Calcutta there was no meeting of a Conference of social reformers, and that, even after such a Conference had been started, the Congress Pandal was refused once at least—*i.e.*, at Poona—to the holders of the annual meeting of the Conference. It is strange that so great a man as Sir S. Nair should have spoken with so little circumspection and care at a time like this.

Moreover, it is indeed impossible that the political agitation in India should have been started in 1885 for the purpose of getting rid of the so-called "disabilities" already referred to. For it is only in this Presidency that these caste jealousies and provocations have been fomented till primeval sentiments have been roused in human breasts and civilised men and groups of men with ancient traditions and spiritual heritage have begun to dread the recrudescence of barbarism,—of what has been called the "ape-and-tiger" spirit—in our midst within a measurable distance of time. In other Indian provinces, there has not occurred, and never will occur, such a revival of fierce passions, due to the machinations born of the aggressive greed or hatred of men, whether hailing from within or without Hindu society. For, the spirit of the Vedic age and institutions has there more fully permeated all ranks of Hindu society from time immemorial and its strength and vitality are fully safe and assured in all grades and groups of men. What Sir Sankaran Nayar's Anglicised temper stoops to call "disabilities" are usually understood or designated as the mere external forms of the underlying Aryan spirit of indifference to sense-enjoyments,—as the spontaneous response of nature in evolution to the struggle of the awakened and living human spirit to realise its own essence. The observance of Varna (*caste*, so-called) Dharmas; the avoidance of the impurities and abominations of *Sankarya* or racial hybridism; the preservation of feminine honour and chivalry through the avoidance by women of all opportunities of entering into competition with men in the mere struggle for bread or notoriety; the women's preservation in fitness for the voluntary and cheerful performance of their honourable and essential function of maternity; the preservation of economic co-operation among all groups of men while maintaining their innate spiritual character and status so as they may easily attain the Aryan goal of universal liberation from samsaric bondage according to the principle of Svadharma—all these fruitful Indian ideas and institutions are far above the level of men like Sir Sankaran Nayar who are steeped in the materialism of the West to an extent which is perhaps rare even in the West. Otherwise, it will be difficult to account for the



support which he gives to such despicable measures of legislation as the Civil Marriage Bill and such measures as the concession of the franchise to women which will in the end help only to de-womanise woman and deprive her of the graces and charms which make life in the Model Hindu homes of the higher type an unbroken idyl of enchanting sweetness and serenity. Sir Sankaran Nair makes much of what he calls the "support" given at the recent Elections to these and other measures of so-called "social reform." We deny that there has been much support or enthusiasm. The so-called passing of the suffrage resolution in the Madras Legislative Council was a solemn farce,—for so many as 40 members declared themselves *neutral*, which is only tantamount to saying that they were not willing to avow themselves openly opposed to the measure. Even if a majority had supported the proposal, we do not think that it will make the exercise of the franchise by women a sign of higher culture in them than it would otherwise be. Even in England, there are many women of high types of culture who are opposed to it. We think it absurd to assign a character of divine wisdom, or even of human wisdom, to every measure passed by a legislature or advocated at the polls. There is a corrupt form of democracy as there is an elevated and cultured democracy. A recent Western writer on "Democracy"—Mr. Ivor J. C. Brown—says:—"The corruption of the best is worst, and no form of Government is so debased as an apathetic, corrupt, and ignorant democracy." And further.—"Democracy has been so long preached as a gospel of rights that few people bother their heads about duties." The only *true* democracy—the only one based on duties is that which existed under the ancient Indian system of Varnas,—for it was based on such abiding ethical principles as the co-operation of human groups on the basis of resignation of selfish advancement in life and of their spiritual unity of aim (or goal of liberation from *samsara*.) Sir Sankaran Nair speaks of "social reform" as a principle which is not "actuated by considerations of expediency, of filthy lucre and all that sort of thing." In reality, as another speaker admitted at the same meeting, "the Non-Brahmin movement was a legitimate child of the Social Reform movement in this Presidency." The world now knows what the former movement is in its true nature and aim,—the enemy of every advance in justice or freedom, of the efficiency of judicial administration, of the mere hankering after what are called "the loaves and fishes" of office, &c. That Sir Sankaran Nair should have stood forth at the fag-end of a long public career as the supporter of so obscurantist a movement will certainly not redound to his credit or character for just and high-souled love of equality of opportunity for all. The Brahmins, as a community, do not care to join in the fight for official crumbs thrown as it were, from the Anglo-Indian's Barmecide feast of Indian exploitation. The Brahmins have never in their places in our former or present legislative councils promoted any measure calculated to bring them any exclusive advantages. In our view, it is better that there are no Brahmins in South India than that they should compete like fierce dogs or hungry wolves along with their so-called

Non-Brahmin brethren for such mean and unworthy offerings from the rich and feasting Anglo-Indian's overweighted table of sweet Indian "spoils."

Finally, it is a surprise to us that Sir Sankaran Nair should say of the so-called "reform movement":—"It is unfortunate that it is taking a violent turn; but I am not now concerned with that. There are others who are concerned with the maintenance of law and order. I only say that these things testify to the progress that our movement is making throughout India." How can he be justified in saying that "*violence*" is a sign of progress? There are many who oppose the Non-Co-operation movement on the ground that it might lead to violence. If *violence* can be justified on the ground that it "testifies" to progress in social reform, we do not understand why the Non-Co-operation movement, even while it remains non-violent as it does at present, should, be fought against on the ground that it *might hereafter* breed violence? On Sir Sankaran Nayar's principles, that is really a ground for welcoming and promoting the movement,—for it is for him a sign of progress. Logic and life, however, do not always go together,—at least logic does not pull well together with public life in Southern India as illustrated by the Social Reform movement so long advocated and headed by Sir Sankaran Nayar and even now receiving his enthusiastic support though on purely fallacious and indefensible grounds, as shown above.

### Prospects of Peace.

By S. P. THIAGA RAJAN.

We referred last week to the threat held out by the Chinese Chief Justice in respect of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—which will form one of the subjects to be discussed at the Imperial Conference shortly to be held. Japan, by the way, has been much maligned for her alleged atrocities in Korea: and we see that the writer of that brochure, "Non-co-operation in other hands," has unthinkingly adopted the anti-Japanese point of view. Though no upholders of tyranny anywhere, we have to remember that the accounts of Japanese militarism etc. in Korea proceed mainly from sources tainted by anti-Asiatic and anti-non-Christian bias. Just as Khilafatists rightly refuse to believe in "Armenian horrors," religiously served up in dainty dishes to set Christendom against the Turk, unless proved by impartial testimony, so also Indians who must not forget the Jap's cultural affinity with them, ought not to place implicit faith in the stories about Japanese penetration into and subjugation of Korea. That the Japanese naval programme has caused a perturbation among the statesmen of the world is fairly well-known. Japan is faced with the problem of over-population, which renders it a question of vital importance to her to secure for herself more places under the sun than she possesses at present. The world's powers have adopted what may conveniently be called a policy of exclusion and are therefore perturbed to see her growing in the strength needed for effective retaliation. Japanese emigration is prohibited in America and in the Pacific states of the British Commonwealth. That these sea-same parts of the British



Commonwealth are under an eternal obligation to the Japanese navy for their protection during the late great conflagration does not however prevent the quite uncompromising declaration of Sir John Findly, last month, that the New Zealanders would rather face death than open their ports to unrestricted Japanese immigration. Australia would no doubt hold the same language. Yet Sir John Findly admits that the Japanese do construe such prohibitions as an insult to their nation and country. The London *Times* of the 8th March tries to save the *amour propre* of the Japanese by pointing out the shameful truth that even Indian subjects of His Majesty are subjected by these colonies to the same humiliating treatment.

The facts must be borne in mind that to the Japanese navy belongs the credit of having kept watch and ward over these colonies during the great war: and that even to-day it would tax to the uttermost the capacities of the English navy to defend these outlying portions of the Empire without the active aid and co-operation of the Japanese navy. Hence England's interest in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. America has expressed her objections to the cession to Japan of the German islands in the Pacific Ocean; and has stated that she cannot forego her natural right in those waters. An Anglo-Japanese alliance will certainly have to cover these grounds and the essential thing to be borne in mind is Japan's overwhelming necessity of new lands for the surplus population. The British Commonwealth offering no scope for Japanese immigration and America having entered her caveat against Japan becoming master of the German islands, Japan could only keep her powder dry and her arms furnished up. Whether America will consider this a cause of quarrel, we cannot at present state with any amount of certainty. But if ever there should be a Japanese-American war—and the present race in naval construction can lead them nowhere else—England will be placed in an unenviable position. The Australian Premier is responsible for the quite significant statement that England ought on no account allow herself to be dragged in a war against the United States. What may thus come out of the simmering cauldron in the Pacific, no one dare predict: but they warrant not any assumptions favourable to the peace of the world.

The War of Greece against Mustapha Kemal is going on merrily, much to the discomfiture of the Greeks. Turkish complaints have been vociferous that England is helping Greece. It seems admitted that Greece had financial help from England. But England has been strenuously denying any such thing and protesting that she has been maintaining strict neutrality in the Turko-Greek conflicts. There is a storm brewing in the Central American republics and the United States, very much in the spirit of a schoolmaster putting down a pack of recalcitrant schoolboys, has declared that she cannot look with equanimity on a war in that region. A survey of other world-forces makes one extremely apprehensive for the peace of the world.

So soon have the illusions of the great War begun to creep forth: and the ironic reply of the Gods to all the glorifying non-sense about the war to end war, of the ushering in of a new Saturnian epoch is seen in the course of events in both hemispheres.

A "Ditcher" writes in *Capital*:—Lord Reading gave audience at Lahore, to a number of men of affairs, who were carefully selected by the bureaucratic wire-pullers under the chief direction, doubtless, of Mr. Highness, His Excellency's Private Secretary—the fly in the ointment! Lala Lajpat Rai was not invited to this informal ball, which was an unfortunate mistake. The Lala is the most popular tribune of the people of the Punjab. The bureaucracy and their friends, the tame Moderates, are going out of their way to make him an object of Public worship. Mr. Sastri, the delegate to the Imperial Conference, before leaving Bombay for London flung at him an invective as exaggerated as Macaulay's abuse of Barera. On the top of that comes his ban from the presence which will be attributed to the Civilian Familiar, reputed to be the evil genius of Lord Chelmsford. Undue importance is attached to those ten minutes chats with Viceroy and other great personages which reporters politely describe as interviews. As a rule they are an exasperating waste of time; nevertheless they carry a cachet of distinction and to deny them to the popular leaders who are unpopular with a sun-baked Bureaucracy is both silly and indecent in the crisis through which we are passing in this country. It has been said of a celebrated Lord Chief Justice of England, who was also a politician, that he was an excellent Jurisconsult but a very inferior statesman. But that by the way.

## Notes and Comments.

No word is more often bandied about in the controversies of the day than that of "Progress." No word, however, is so little understood,—and the reason is simple. In these times men are governed entirely by passion and self-interest, and do not care either for the facts of life outside or for the inner truth on which those facts are based or of which they are a development from within outwards through the activities of man's senses and body. Each community has learned to measure the world in the light of its own circumstances, and all its judgments of the future and its theories regarding truth are formed accordingly. If its own standards of comfort, wealth, population, knowledge and power have been realised in fullest extent or even beyond expectations, it unhesitatingly declares that the world has progressed. If not, the conclusion arrived at is that the world is passing through a period of decline, of reverses and disappointments. A recent writer in one of the leading periodicals published in Great Britain has said:—"Our race has achieved plain and tangible moral and spiritual as well as material gains." This self-satisfied gentleman is so elated with, and blinded by, race-pride that he complacently transfers what can be at most true of his own people and race to the entire human species inhabiting the earth and thereby given the weight of his authority to what is a clear, though unconscious, piece of falsehood. It is all the more blatant and discreditable as it proceeds from one who belongs to the clerical profession and is therefore bound to set an example of moderation to the lay world around him which forms his flock and which is therefore under his guidance, or supposed to be.

We do not deny that there have been many men who have dreamed dreams of an ideal order of human society, and men, too, who have set about to bring into existence some of the initial steps needed to realise it in the living world of social man. No one has yet possessed either the knowledge needed for conceiving a universally-acceptable ideal, or the power over their fellow-man needed to make such a goal practicably realisable. The ideas and efforts of men have so far turned out to be, and have been accepted, as failures. The reason is that the authors of utopian schemes and those who have experimented in various forms of ideal human association have only concerned themselves with the merely external side of human life and civilisation, or even of human knowledge;—i. e. with the development of population, wealth, industry, transport, state organisation, comfort, and national and imperial power over land, sea, and human society. But the heart and will of man has remained the same. What Schopenhauer has called "the affirmation



of the will to live" in man has remained the same. Hence, in spite of all the accumulated heaps of the mere instruments of human and social life, the sense of the joy of life and mind in the human spirit has become gradually attenuated. There has been no deepening of the consciousness of self-control and self-reverence, but only a persistent attempt to deal with the facts of environment and heredity, — an attempt to deal with the economic, legal, intellectual, and physical conditions of the civilisation in which men are born in all the so called advanced and modern countries of the world.

In these days, the minds of men are a good deal concerned with the problems of reconstruction of all kinds which are inevitable after the weltering horrors and wastes of a war that has been homicidal and suicidal to the civilisation reared with the care and labour of ages. One thinker wants and pleads for the larger realisation of the value of personality in the structure of the society and the state; another wants a reconstruction of our "ideas of what actions are right and what actions are wrong" with a view to secure that "men might one day, perhaps in the far future, come to reject all gain which involved a loss to others; a third is of opinion that a new system of education must be devised with the aim of producing in the mind of the citizen the conviction that he must dedicate his life to the service of the state; another still wants a new religion which will teach us that "it will not profit any one of us to save his own soul if in so doing or while so doing, he has consigned other souls to destruction, or has taken no active steps to combat the destruction going on around him." Lastly, one wants a supreme and simple religion of real renunciation of personal "renunciation, such as is realised by Nature in the lower animal world," but despairs of finding it, for "personal religion is blocked by the family spirit among the members of the same nation, and a cosmopolitan religion which shall embrace all nations is damned entirely by the secret or open antagonisms of race, colour, or creed."

\* \* \*

What, then, are we to do? Mr. H. G. Wells answers, — "the creation of Utopias and their exhaustive criticism." Every one of us is called upon to become a "kite-flying prophet"; Mr. Wells himself is such a prophet in his recent work — "God, the Invisible King," — already by us introduced to our readers in these columns and found fairly absurd and even ridiculous in its statements, suggestions, and implications. The gaping multitudes of men, whether capable of thought or not, will never be satisfied with the sending up of kites and balloons, — especially in these days of scientific and spiritual exploration of all kinds. Let us not further engage in the dreaming of impracticable dreams, whether of the social kind called Utopias or schemes of improving the individual, merely based on the lessons, so-called, of the past history of the failures of civilisations.

\* \* \*

The ancient people of India have a source of true revelation in their Veda, — and they have clung to its inspiration as an unailing source of joy and peace, within and without, — within the heart of the individual man as well as in the bosom of each family, in the domain of the state, and in the carrying out of all international relations between state and state. There is hardly any practical use in indulging in merely high-sounding phrases, ideals, and principles. If one says there is only God to rule us, another is ready to reply at once that there is only Satan to rule us. Let us not be constantly dangling before our fellow-men empty phrases and un-understood ideas of all kinds. The Veda, in all its aspects and precepts, is ever practical. It ever calls on us to do what it commands, — and if we follow its lead, all of us will attain to what it calls *Chitta-Suddhi*, — the gradual purification of the mind from all desires. All Indian sages condemn, with a unanimity which is simply marvellous, that desire (तृष्णा) in man which blocks man's way towards spiritual perfection. Give up desire, and all spiritual gains and joys will be added unto you. They not only condemn all *trishna* in the human heart, but point to the Veda for the means to the conquest of desire which leads to the true self-conquest which is the parent of all blessings even on

earth. The Veda is thus the one universal revelation for all men, — and a practical revelation, too. No Utopias, no mere learning of books, and no detailed codes of law, and no elaborate schemes of popular election or state organisation, are wanted. Let all men, — all social groups of all grades of development — and existing state-organisations of all kinds devote themselves to the one task of carrying out in daily life all Vedic precepts for the well-being of our race, and then the problem of human peace and human happiness will be solved for ever.

The modern methods of civilisation in the West has no doubt to some extent solved the long-standing problem of the conflict between nature and man, but the conflict of man with man, of people with people, of race with race, of caste with caste has developed with a bitterness and violence unknown to history. The enormous masses of machine-made wealth turned out by skilfully-driven masses of labourers are wasted in these periodical conflicts between men, and the Utopia of a world of interdependent industrial nations is as far from us, to-day as at any time during the last half a century of breathless progress in forms of industry and production. So long as the nations continue to increase in numbers — as every decennial Census return of the world's population shows — there is no ground for rejoicing that a nation like the French or a community like the Red Indian or Dark Hottentot or Zulu is diminishing in numerical strength. The European and American man with difficulty and reluctance bears the burden of manual and mechanical drudgery which the creation of wealth or the winning of bread involves, but will certainly be glad to find time for activities of the higher order, or even give himself up wholly to them, if he can. Nor is it right to hold that it is a worthy aim of men and societies to adopt John Stuart Mill's suggestion that the "checks to population" on which he insists should be constantly applied in the course of human advance in civilisation. The history of modern scientific and economic advance shows that such a course is neither possible nor desirable. Apart from the fact that history proves that increased numbers of men can make up by efficiency and co-operation what they lose by competition, we must not forget the teaching of the Indian sages that man is a *spirit* in reality and that his clothing in a body is indispensable for his spiritual emancipation and perfection. We must not also forget that man's capacity for renunciation is far greater than we know. The case of the great Irish patriot, McSwinnery — the late Lord Mayor of Cork — also shows that most or all men take more food than is necessary or desirable. The Indian man of spiritual aspiration has long also practised the teaching of the Aryan Scripture: — "नानशनात्परमं तपः" "there is no higher spiritual exercise than fasting." Count Leo Tolstoy, the late prophet of Russia, has also taught that fasting is the "first step" to the emancipation of modern Europe from the trammels and tribulations of its material civilisation. Christian missionaries and rabid Indian social reformers might laugh at our Vedic ideals of fasting and asceticism. But even in the Europe of to-day, men are learning the lesson of the urgent need of controlling desire and the appetite for consumption. A discerning Western writer on economics has said well: — "We must learn to check or correct the growth of our desires, or rather to discriminate between those which should be gratified and those which should be denied. Real progress lies not so much in the mere multiplication of our wealth, as in the proper discernment of what is true wealth and what is not." What this discerning economist regards as "true wealth" is certainly not the wealth of eternal joy which the perfected Aryan sage finds in the inner realm of the soul, but he too is getting into the right track of activity. This is a warning to us not to abandon the methods and aims of our sages and saints in the present mad race and conflict for power and pelf which is so absorbing and so shameful to us, especially in South India. Let us observe the signs of the times and the new ideals and aspirations of thinking minds in the West. Let us still reflect on the true and noble teachings of the Veda contained in the following: — "अमृतत्वस्य हि आशास्ति वित्तैर्" "न ह्यभुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत्."



## Social and Religious.

### The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA VI.

(continued.)

योगं योगस्त्वया प्रोक्तः साम्येन मधुसूदन ।  
एतस्याहं न पश्यामि चञ्चलत्वात्स्थितिं स्थिराम् ॥  
Arjuna said:

This yoga which has been taught by thee, O, slayer of Madhu, as being of the nature of evenness—I do not see its steady existence owing to the restlessness (of the mind.)

#### NOTES

1. साम्य—implies balance, evenness, and equality as also the realisation of equality and identity.

चञ्चलं हि मनः कृष्ण प्रमाथि बलबद्धम् ।  
तस्याहं निग्रहं मन्ये वायोरिव सुदुष्करम् ॥ ३४ ॥

Verily, the mind, O Krishna, is restless impetuous, strong and unyielding. I deem its control as difficult as the control of the wind.

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् ।  
अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥ ३५ ॥

Without doubt, O mighty-armed, the mind is hard to curb and restless; but it can be curbed by constant practice and by dispassion.

#### NOTES

1. क्रमनिग्रह is better and easier than हठनिग्रह ।

2. *Abhyasa*—Sri Madhusoodana defines it thus: मन्त्रजपदेवताध्यानादीनां क्रियारूपाणां आवृत्तिलक्षणोऽभ्यासः ।

3. Chapter I Sutras 12 to 15 in Yoga Sutra says:

अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः ।

तत्र स्थितौ यत्नोऽभ्यासः ।

स तु दीर्घकालनैरन्तर्यसत्कारासोर्वितो दृढभूमिः ।

दृशानुप्रविश्यविषयवितृष्णस्य वशीकर संज्ञा वैराग्यम् ।

असंयतात्मना योगो दुष्प्राप इति मे मतिः ।

वश्यात्मना तु यतता शक्योऽवाप्तुमुपायतः ॥३६॥

My conviction is that yoga is hard to attain by one of uncontrolled mind, but by one whose mind is controlled and who makes incessant endeavours it can be attained by such means.

अर्जुन उवाच—

अयतिः श्रद्ध योपेतो योगाञ्छलितमानसः ।

अप्राप्य योगसंसिद्धिं कां गतिं कृष्ण गच्छति ॥

कश्चिन्नोभयविभ्रष्टश्छिन्नान्धमिव नश्यति ।

अप्रतिष्ठो महाबाहो विमूढो ब्रह्मणः पथि ॥ ३८ ॥

एतन्मे संशयं कृष्ण छेत्तुमर्हस्यशेषतः ।

त्वदन्यः संशयस्यास्य छेत्ता न ह्युपपद्यते ॥ ३९ ॥

What end does he attain, O Krishna—who is of slack endeavour though endowed with faith and whose mind wanders away from yoga?

Does he, or does he not, fallen from both perish without support, like a rent cloud, O Mighty-armed, deluded in the path towards Brahman?

Deign, O Krishna, to dispel fully this doubt of mine; for there will never be born one besides thyself who can dispel this doubt.

#### NOTES

1. The swerve from yoga (योगचलन) of the yoga-brahma may be due to various causes. Sri Madhusoodana says well; आयुषोऽल्पत्वेन मरणकाले चेन्द्रियाणां व्याकुलत्वेन साधनानुष्ठानसंभवात् योगाञ्छलितमानसः । Such fall may be due to the shortness of life and the weakness of the senses at the time of death.

2. The question is a natural one. What becomes of the yogic aspirant who dies before fulfilled attainment? Who else but God can answer well such a question?

3. The question relates to one who has, in the yoga path, lost कर्माश्रय but has not attained realisation and to the विविदिषा सन्यासी who is in a like position.

## Hinduism and Caste.

BY B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, M.A.

(concluded.)

In respect of philosophic tenets also, Hinduism permits a great fluidity of opinions. Indian metaphysics aims at ascertaining and defining the true nature of the undying entities associated with the material vehicles, of the cosmic conscious Principle, and of the object-world, and their mutual relation to one another. The solution of these problems, it is recognised, transcends the ordinary limits of human knowledge and can ultimately rest only on the Scriptures, which were revealed to man in the inspired and super-conscious utterances of the sages. These revelations, embodied in the mantras and the Upanishads and systematised in the Vedanta Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita, have been interpreted by great thinkers like Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva in different ways; and the solutions offered in the interpretations range, in the variety of their speculations, from Naturalistic Dualism to the doctrine of the Absolute and have given birth to several schools the *dvaita*, the modified *advaita*, the unconditioned *advaita* and the *Siddhanta*; not to speak of the older interpretation like those of the Sankhya and Yoga, Vaisheshika and Nyaya, and the Karma mīmāṃsā. All these schools are treated as orthodox systems, as in spite of their doctrinal differences they all recognise (1) the authority of the Vedas (2) the doctrine of Karma and Samsara and (3) the divine origin of chaturvarṇya and the regulation of duties and religious rites on the basis of caste. It was only because Charvakism, Jainism and Buddhism denied these three essential tenets of Hinduism that they came to be treated as heretical; otherwise it should not have been impossible for a com-

1. Charvakism or agnosticism denied all the three; Jainism repudiated the Vedas; Buddhism denied the first but accepted the second—that of Karma; though strangely enough it did not accept an eternal principle as the substratum of the fleeting "cogitations."



prehensive scheme like Hinduism to have accommodated these sects also, within its almost all-embracing fold.

All this latitude is only on the speculative and intellectual side. When we come to the social and practical aspect of Hinduism we meet with an altogether different attitude. Religious rites and social usages are regulated on the quadruple division of society what is binding on or permissible to one caste is even forbidden to another caste. The Brahman should study the Veda and ceases to be a Brahman if he does not; the Sudra should not study it or even hear it recited. The Brahman alone can teach the Veda or officiate as priest in religious rites; the other two Aryan castes cannot; some sacrifices like the Rajasuya, Rashtrabhrith and Asvamedha can be performed only by the princes; the Brahmans can simply officiate in these; the Vaisyas can travel overseas, the Brahmans cannot, on pain of losing caste. The Vedic texts and *tantras* differ not only with the castes but also with the *sakhas* of the clans under each caste. The sudras can perform only a few of the rites to Gods and ancestors, but even in these they can use only non-vedic texts. Rules of ceremonial purity become more rigid and exacting as we go up the scale. Times and seasons for the several Vedic rites, dress and outward deportment and even modes and expressions of salutation differ with each caste; privileges also differs with the responsibilities; and punishment is regulated, among other considerations, on the caste and status of the offender. The rules of etiquette have greater binding force than even moral duties. "Manners above morals" appears to be the prevailing tendency of the Grihya and Dharma Sutras which determine and prescribe the religious and social rites and duties of the Hindus and the methods of their observance; even today when Hinduism has shed most of its ceremonies and usages in the struggle for existence, it means nothing more than the social restrictions and a farcical performance of some of its most essential rites like the daily prayer or the occasional *sraddhas*, according to the rules and methods, dead in the spirit and alive only in the letter, prescribed in the sutras or the modern *Prayogas*. It is not, therefore, correct to say, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar has stated, that there is no such thing as caste in the Hindu religion.

It may be argued that a religion, based on caste distinctions, offends the accepted principles of justice and equality, does not deserve the name of religion and must therefore go. But this is a different question altogether. Perhaps by caste the learned lawyer understands the various sects and sub-sects which have crept into the Hindu Religion in the course of its vicissitudes. If so, he is not wrong in maintaining that Hinduism does not, at any rate in theory, recognise these distinctions.

In what I have elsewhere denominated as the period of mantras, we see a marked contrast between the people who called themselves Aryas and those whom they called Dasyus or Dasas. It is especially noticeable in the hymns to Indra, the God of the fighting and conquering Kshatriya. It was not simply a difference of cult between them; it was a difference in race and origin—a difference visible in the complexion of the skin. The Aryans had a fair complexion; the Dasyus were dark-skinned. One Rik<sup>1</sup> says "Indra protected the Arya in the battle-field and subdued the black skin;" another says "Indra smote the Dasyus and protected the Aryan varna."<sup>2</sup> A Rishi prays "Cast thy dart at the Dasyu and increase, O Indra, the might and the glory of the Arya;"<sup>3</sup> another sings "subdue the Dasas to the Arya."<sup>4</sup>

1. Gautama Dh. 8. XII-57.

2. R. V. I-130-8; Sayana interprets the expression 'Krishnam tvacham' in this rik as referring to a legend about an Asura named Krishna; by 'Arya' he understands 'the pious worshipper who sacrifices to the Gods and by 'Dasyus' and 'Dasas' 'the enemies of Sacrifice.' Western scholars have, in the light of historic criticism, understood these terms to denote the fair-complexioned Aryan race and the dark aborigines respectively; and this appears to be the more correct view.

3. Rigveda III-34-9, where Sayana interprets 'varna' as *traivarnika* as also in R. V. X-33-3.

4. Rig Veda. I 103-3-4.

5. Id VI-25-2.

Another praises Agni as having driven the Dasyus from their home and bestowed light on the Arya.<sup>5</sup> Some Aryas did not care to worship the gods or sacrifice to them; these *adevas* (godless men) were equally unwelcome with the Dasas. A Rishi wishes, "that godless man, whether he be Dasa or Arya who would war with us, with thee, O Indra, may we subdue him."<sup>6</sup>

In the Aryan community itself we find three subdivisions which evidently originating in difference of occupation were becoming hereditary and stereotyped. In the Rig Veda we find that the bulk of the Aryan people were known as the Vis' or Vaidyas and on a higher rank were two smaller sections of the Aryan community—the priest class (the Brahman) and the ruling class (the Kshatriya or the Rajanga). An account (allegorical) of the origin of the four Varnas including the sudra is furnished by the well-known Purushasukta (R. V. X-90-12) and, later, by the Taittiriya Samhita (VII-1). The passage in the Rig-Veda shows that the four classes of the Indian Community, including the subjugated non-Aryas admitted to the Aryan cult on terms of serfdom, had been established with definite duties; the Brahman taking precedence as having the special privilege, as priest, of addressing the gods in prayers and sacrifices and having, by virtue of his special training and a rigid course of discipline and education, the charge of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual enlightenment of the people; the Kshatriya forming the regal and the military class; the Vaisya being in charge of agriculture and trade; and the sudra being the labouring man on whose industry the people ultimately depended.

Outside these four varnas were the non-Aryans who still stood outside the Aryan cult, if they did not actually defy it. The expressions *Pancha-krishti* and *Pancha-kshiti* (the five peoples), so frequently met with in the Rig Veda<sup>1</sup> presumably refer to all the then known people of this land—the three Aryan Varnas, the sudra, or the aryanised Dasyus, and the aboriginal tribes that still stood outside. In course of time as contact between the Aryan varnas and the Sudras became more and more intimate and frequent and practice of taking an additional wife from among the Sudras grew among the Aryans there arose a tendency between the two bloods<sup>2</sup> to fuse together. The Aryans, desirous of preserving the purity of their blood set their ban against *pratiloma* marriages, especially the one of a sudra with a woman of the Aryan *traivarnika*. The offspring<sup>3</sup> of such union was termed a *chandala* and was just outside the fourfold community! Others also, among the Aryan sections, who had committed heinous offences and other violations of duties involving loss of caste (*patanuja*<sup>4</sup>) were treated like Chandalas. These latter, *abhisastas* as they were called, had to live together outside the village, sacrificing for and teaching one another and marrying among themselves.<sup>5</sup> Their children were however permitted by some sutrakaras like Apastamba to enter the Aryan community and receive the Aryan Samskaras,<sup>6</sup> while stricter puritans like Harita would not allow this. These were the only people with whom *abhyagamana* (association), *bhojana*, (interdining) and *vivaha* (intermarriage) were not permitted.

For the rest, till the time of the latest sutrakaras, there were only four varnas. Differences in occupation

5. Id. VII-5-6.

6. Id. X-38-3.

1. Cf. R. V. T-7-9 and T-100-12. Sayana gives two interpretations (1) the more natural, the four castes and the 'Nishadas' or the aboriginal Indian tribes described as fishermen, hunters and robbers (2) the Gods, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Asuras, and Rakshasas. Some western scholars understand the confederations Turvasus, Yadus, Anus, Drahyus, and Purus.

2. The expression 'Sudranyan, the Sago texts, meaning the Sudras and the Aryas (or not baryas) or vaisyas,—as understood by the scholiasts,—evidence this intimacy, especially between the lowest Aryan community and the Hinduised aborigines.

3. Gaut = Dh. IV-28.

4. Ap. Dh. T-7-21-8.

5. Ap. Dh. T-10-29-8 et. seq.

6. Suk. Yag. XXX. Taitt = Br. III-4-4, 7. Gaut Dh. IV-28.



were recognised from the period of the Brahmanas; and cultivators, traders, herdsmen, moneylenders, and artisans laid down rules for their respective classes; but all these came under one or another of the four castes. At a far later time the teachings of Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, etc., brought sectarian differences into existence. Then came differences in language, in manners and customs, due to local causes; but none of these causes affected the solidarity of the fourfold division.

But this fourfold division has now almost ceased to exist. The Brahmanas alone claim to have preserved the purity of Aryan blood. The orthodox test, as explained by scholiasts like Sayana, is the privilege of performing the vaidik rites with the recitation of vedic texts and in the manner more or less prescribed by the ancient Sutarakaras. This privilege is now exercised (so far as southern Indians are concerned) only by the Brahman. I do not know if there are any Kshatriyas or Vaisyas who are at present exercising this privilege. As Goldstucker writes "the classification of modern Hindu Society is very different from the original theory. With the exception of the Brahmanas the pure castes have disappeared and out of the intermixture of the others have sprung innumerable classes, many of them unauthorised except by the people themselves." But anthropologists with their gratuitous tests of cephalic measurements and nasal indices are repudiating the purity of even the Brahman descent. It may be safely asserted that so far as the present Hindu Community is concerned there are, with microscopic exceptions, only two castes in existence the Brahman and the non-Brahman and of the four orders only one—that of the householder—practically exists. 'Varnashrama Dharma' means the dharmas or duties religious and moral of the four varnas and of the four asramas' the vanaprastha has become as extinct as the dodo. The other three orders, the Bramacharin, the Grihastha, and the sanyasin have almost disappeared. A few are found here and there; but the ideas are gone; The Brahman has to thank himself if he does not receive from the other communities the respect and consideration which his learning and teaching, his virtues and self-denial once ungrudgingly secured to him.

## The First Step in the Vedanta.

### "Person" versus "Thing."

By R. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

STAGES IN THE IDENTIFICATION BETWEEN PERSON AND THING, AND THE STAGES IN THE WAY OUT.

13. I may exemplify the above by a side by side enumeration of the main stages of this confusion between the person and the thing.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. I am a person.  | 1. This is a thing.  |
| 2. I am a physical body.   | 2. This is a jewel.  |
| 3. I am imperfect without a jewel.                                   | 3. This jewel is desirable.                                  |
| 4. I desire to have a jewel.   | 4. This jewel is desired.                                    |
| 5. I work to obtain the jewel.                                       | 5. The jewel is striven after.                               |
| 6. I obtain the jewel and hold it in my hand.                        | 6. The jewel is possessed by a person.                       |
| 7. I wear the jewel as a part of my body and feel perfect and happy. | 7. The jewel becomes part of the person and is one with him. |

To get rid therefore of this confusion between the real person and the real thing, I will have to retrace all these stages thus:—

I. I will get rid of identification with jewel (अहंता) if I realise that I can hold it in my hand as the object of my possession (समता).

II. I will be free from this sense of possession (समता) if I do not make any effort to obtain the jewel (प्रवृत्ति).

III. I will cease to make any effort (प्रवृत्ति) if I do desire to have the jewel (कामना).

IV. I will not desire to have the jewel if I give up the idea that the jewel is desirable and will make me perfect (समीचीनत्ववर्ध).

V. I cannot have the idea that the jewel is desirable and will make me perfect if I realise that I am not the imperfect physical body (अभ्यास).

VI. I will realise that I am not the physical body if I get rid of the non-perception of the true nature of a person and of a thing as distinct from each other (दृग्दृश्यविवेकाभाव).

We shall find that each one of these stages is fully taken account of and provided for in our Vedanta system of practical training.

### OUR PRESENT POSITION.

14. I have already said that the perception of the absolute distinction between the person and the thing is but the first of the four steps towards the realisation of the absolute monism of the Vedanta. A consideration of the various stages I have just now enumerated as necessary to be passed even in that first step will reveal to us the immeasurable distance that lies between us and the absolute truth of the Vedanta. Most of us would scorn to be called materialists, that is, those who do not recognise persons as distinct from things. But I would like to know how many of us can conscientiously say each one that he is above the vanity of taking up a mirror when he puts on a stiff collar and neck-tie or even a watch-chain and exclaiming to himself "how nice I look!" absolutely forgetting for the moment that what really looks nice is the stiff collar and necktie or the gold chain and not himself. It would therefore be only presumptuousness if many of us should say they are qualified even for the first stage of the first step; and what shall I say about their attempt sometimes to talk about the absolute truths of the Vedanta as the guiding factors in their life at present?

Now we shall consider each one of the above-mentioned six stages in some detail.

### SENSE OF IDENTITY.

15. (1) The first stage is, you may remember, when you have to dilute the sense of absolute identification or अहंता into that of possession or समता. Instead of saying "I look nice," I must learn to say that my jewel looks nice. This can be brought about in either of two ways, one by a thoughtful consideration of the true status of a jewel with respect to myself, another by substituting a different thing as the object of the identification. I will get to a realisation that the jewel is not myself but only mine if I realise that the jewel is a physical object with which I can do what I like or if I identify myself with the physical body without the jewel. It may seem at first sight that there is no practical difference between the two methods, but in fact the first method is the more difficult of the two as it requires thought and therefore trouble and as its object is the extinction of the much cherished sense of identification (अहंता). The second method does not require any thought from you and does not want you to extinguish the अहंता but only says that it will furnish you with a different object to lavish your अहंता upon. Though the final result of the two methods is the same, it would seem that the second method is the easier one. I may say that the first method is against the current and the second is with the current. As the distinction between these two methods will be made clearer and clearer as we consider the further stages I shall at once proceed to the second stage.

### SENSE OF POSSESSION.

16. (ii) The sense of possession will be destroyed if we do not make any effort to possess the thing. The tenacious hold which a person has over his hard-earned



money is sufficient proof of the fact that the sense of possession is proportionate to the effort made to obtain the thing. The ease with which a pleasure seeker parts with his unearned patrimony is another example of the same fact. It is well known that the mother has a deeper love for her child than the father. That is because the mother's effort to bring the child into existence is far more than that of the father.

This sense of possession also can be got rid of in either of two ways, one by ceasing altogether from making an effort to get it, the other by substituting another thing as the object of the effort. If I keep a jewel in my box and do not make any attempt to take it up in my hand, I will in course of time begin to forget that I have a jewel. I will also forget that I have a jewel if my energies are engaged elsewhere. The first is the method of 'abnegation,' the second that of 'diversion.' Naturally the method of abnegation requires more trouble and thought than that of diversion. I have mentioned the mother's love for her child. It will be very difficult for her to attempt to love her child less and less till she loves it not as that will be going against the current. Suppose however she is pregnant once again and in course of time becomes the mother of another child. The effort in bringing forth the second child is a matter of recent experience, while the effort taken for the first child is a but a thing of distant memory; the later effort therefore looms larger in the eye of the mother, and the result is that the sense of possession over the second child is more intense than that over the first. She therefore loves the later born more than the first born. That is, her love for the first born has lessened owing to the fact that another child has taken the place of the former in her affections. But no mother will willingly consent to have her love for her child lessened. That is just the difference between the two methods.

(To be continued)

## Miscellaneous.

### The Great Betrayal.

By POONDI SWAMINATHA IYER.

Lala Lajpat Rai has fired his second and deadliest shot at the Moderates' broadside. It is not his fault. The Moderates, had they been content to lend themselves to the Bureaucracy as ready instruments to tyrannise over their fellow-countrymen, would have been beneath notice. But as it is, they should arrogate to themselves all political wisdom and make a virtue out of their ignominious position as a Party *vis-a-vis* their country. With few of the virtues of a politician, except always setting himself "fair," it had always seemed to us that the ironic laughter of the Gods followed Srinivasa Sastri and his rapid jump into influence and the front rank of statesmen who have willingly been tools for enslaving their countrymen. The language of studied politeness in which a correspondent in the *Bombay Chronicle* in the course of a long article drew attention to Sastri's rather poor and mediocre abilities erred, if at all, on the side of under-statement. Ordinarily the antics of such a politician and of the party whom he represents deserve no attention. But they have not the gift of silence and do incalculable injury to the nation's interests as conceived and interpreted by the nation itself. It was therefore high time that some one in Lalaji's position should give a knock-out blow to every one of their pretensions. We pity Srinivasa Sastri that he should have sought to draw his bow against so tried a Nationalist as the Lala.

Lala Lajpat Rai has done well to point out the nature of Swaraj demanded by Sastri and his friends. To Sastri and his friends, democracy simply does not exist. The people are only so much food for powder, so fond of the cannoner. What Sastri and his friends are out to set

up in this country is a form of Swaraj which commends itself to the British Parliament, an oligarchy of educated men and wealthy imbeciles, with "stakes" in the country as the over-wise Chintamani will put it, (the people left out as convenient cyphers) and maintained in power and influence by British bayonets. It is over again the Irish case. Though the constructive side of non-co-operation has much in common with Sinn Fein, there all parallel ends. But Sastri and his friends are the Irish Unionists in all respects. What the Irish Unionist detests is Home Rule, democratic self-government for Ireland as a whole; for then he can no more be an oligarchy, a favoured party of Protestants and gentlemen who can lord it over both the English cabinet and native Irishmen with the strict impartiality of a say, small-pox or influenza.

In his nauseating cant of loyalty, Sastri has not even the merit of being original. We remember to have heard of it for long enough time. "Loyal Patriotism"—a phrase manufactured by Sir P. M. Mehta soon after his elevation to the Anglo-Indian knighthood—we heard the phrase first during the Bombay Congress of 1904. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal immediately took strong objection to such language, whether held in sober earnest or held diplomatically, and pointed out the incalculable mischiefs it engendered to the national cause, especially when no sane Englishman believed in those loud protestations. Srijut Pal further observed that loyalty as a personal sentiment nowhere existed in the civilisation and civic life of our time except probably in Japan. Do people deprive a nation of the right to bear arms in whose loyalty they have any faith? while they unscrupulously make political capital out of such professions before international opinion. And he further reminded us of A. O. Hume's nervousness at a Congress sessions when the repeal of the Arms Act was urged vehemently. This is what Lalaji says:—subject people may be legally loyal to a foreign Government in so far as to be unwilling to throw off the foreign rule by force or violence. To be loyal to a foreign Government in any other sense is disloyalty to the country and its people. You may accept the fact of a foreign rule and admit helplessness or even unwillingness to overthrow it by force or by violence. The moment, however, you accept its rightfulness and profess your loyalty to it as such, you betray a lack of patriotism which can only be termed either cowardly or treasonable. Loyalty to a foreign king is disloyalty to one's own people. In fact loyalty to any king who is not a king with the consent of the people is disloyalty to the people in the eyes of those who can only believe in the sovereignty of the people and not of kings. In the case of a constitutional monarch like that of England who is really not responsible for the Government of India, an Indian may be legally loyal to His Majesty without being disloyal to his own people. But if in Mr. Sastri's language the word "King" connotes the British nation who really rules India, then any sincere loyalty to such a king would surely be disloyalty to the people of India. And I am thankful to God that the Nationalists of India do not share that loyalty with Mr. Sastri. In fact the difference between the ideals of Swaraj clears the way for the above conception of loyalty and disloyalty.

The real crux of the situation lies in the fact that Mr. Sastri and his fellow-Moderates have no faith either in themselves or in the people of India. If they had, they would not talk so often and so loudly of "civil disharmony," chaos, disorder and "constitutional agitation." The Moderates are anxious to maintain the present Government even with its shortcomings because they have no confidence in the capacity of the people of India to set up any Government which will be at least as good as the present one. The Nationalists do not share that lack of confidence. Hence the great difference between the attitudes of the two parties. The Nationalists look to the people for salvation, the Moderates look



up to the British for progress. Mr. Shastri's talk of the want of faith in the young people of India is entirely out of place as lack of faith is displayed by Mr. Shastri and men of his school and not by the young who have no faith in Mr. Shastri's panacea for all evils, the so-called constitutional agitation. The so-called constitutional agitation has so far consisted in appeals to the mighty and the powerful. The young of India want to replace it by appeals to the people and to themselves. They have a greater faith in the future of India than Mr. Shastri can possibly have with his present principles. This lack of faith in Mr. Shastri also explains the inability of his party to understand the Nationalist's demand for immediate complete Swaraj. The Moderates think the country is not yet ripe nor fit for Swaraj. The Nationalists believe that this idea betrays woeful ignorance of what Swaraj should be. Swaraj for us means the complete sovereignty of the people of India in such shape or manner as may be determined by them. We believe that the people of India are quite fit to exercise that right. In Mr. Shastri's judgment Swaraj means the voluntary gift of the control of Indian affairs by the British Parliament to the handful of educated people whom Mr. Shastri represents. I cannot resist the temptation of repeating that what the Nationalists aim at is a recognition of the sovereignty of the people of India in India as against the sovereignty of Great Britain in India. Any partial transfer of responsibility by the British Parliament is neither this nor that so long as they retain the power either to take it back or give a few more crumbs at their mercy; I can only pity a people who cannot throw away the obsession that peace in their country can only be maintained by foreign bayonets. "Peace" in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "is not better than life." What we want is life and not peace only. Peace one may have in a graveyard, but life can only be exhibited by living like living people amongst living people. Then again there seems to be a great deal of confusion in the minds of my moderate countrymen about civil disharmony and disorder. Does Mr. Shastri honestly believe that any people can gain its lost freedom without some sort of disharmony between the rulers and the ruled and between such sections of the ruled as cling to the rulers and those who want their freedom? Then again are members of a subject race to restrict or regulate their movement for freedom by the fear of such movement causing "unprecedented unrest" which in its turn might cause an increase in the military budget of the ruling class? We might as well say that the movement for freedom, if likely to result in unprecedented unrest should be stifled for fear of encouraging other Governments picking up quarrels with the foreign masters of the land. It reminds me of those Jingoists who held the Irish movement responsible for the war.

The Lala has no difficulty in exposing the fatuous pretensions set up on behalf of the new Councils. The vast majority of the people have still not got the franchise; and of the enfranchised, only a small percentage recorded their vote in spite of the congress mandate. It is surely the height of temerity to talk of "representatives of the people" working the will of the people through these amorphous instruments of the militarist bureaucracy. Does Mr. Sastri maintain that the decisions of the Legislatures represent the will of the people of India? Can it be said with any show of reason that the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to recommend the release of the Martial Law Prisoners of the Punjab or the vote of the Legislatures refusing to ask for the punishment of the guilty officials represent the will of the people of India?

As for the repressive policy now extensively adopted towards the nationalists whose unceasing and strenuous endeavours to change the slave mentality of the people have for the moment landed Moderates on the heights of Olympus, rightly does the whole country hold the Moderates guilty. Says Sriji Lajpat Rai:—I am sorry for

the merger of the Moderates into the bureaucracy (practically admitted by Mr. Sastri and moderate papers) because the battle for freedom loses a number of stalwart and good fighters. As to the responsibility of the moderates for the policy of repression inaugurated by the Government of India that also is admitted. In fact Mr. Sastri takes credit for it. The only thing which he ignores is that combating Non-Co-operation from outside the Government was an entirely different thing from trying to extirpate it and its advocates by a conspiracy with the common enemy. We have certainly reason to complain of the latter though we could have none of the former. We now know that our fetters are being forged and our lives and liberties are in danger not from the will of the bureaucracy but from the deliberate will of the Moderates plus the bureaucracy. We won't whine and weep nor do we see any reason to be thankful to the Moderates as suggested by the Leader for the small mercies said to have been shown to us by the good will of the Moderate leaders in office. We are prepared for the worst. We only wanted to know where we stood. The fact remains uncontradicted that the present repression is the outcome of the Moderates' support of the Government and dates from the time Moderates entered into offices.

The Lala delivers a staggering blow at the Moderates pretensions, by implication, that they are the salt of the earth. With incisive logic, Lala Lajpat Rai points out that the country is marching towards freedom in every phase of individual and corporate life and the Nationalists are the agency through which that end is being realised. The Moderates preached temperance for over half a century. The results they obtained were extremely meagre. The Nationalists are obtaining substantial success in their campaign against drink and the Government of the Bureaucracy and the Moderates is feeling the pressure of their work. The Moderates talked of Swadeshi, but only succeeded in filling the pockets of the profiteers. The Nationalists are making Swadeshi the aim and object of the life of every Indian home. The Moderates complained of the litigiousness of the people, but they never did anything to stem the tide. The Nationalists are establishing a net-work of arbitration Courts which will substantially reduce the work of the British Courts of justice and destroy their prestige. The Moderate conception of political progress was the passing of resolutions by a few English educated Indians. The Nationalists are carrying the Gospel of freedom to every hearth and home in the country with a success which has upset the Government and the Moderates, both. The Moderates in the 40 years existence of the Indian National Congress could not raise 50 thousand rupees at a time for the work of the Congress. The Nationalists are raising a crore of rupees and have already raised a several lacs to carry on their political campaign. The number of congress Committees under the Moderate regime could be counted on fingers. The Nationalists are establishing Congress Committees by scores in every district with thousands of members on their rolls. The Moderates talked of removing the barrier between the touchables and the untouchables but achieved only partial success. The Nationalists have made it a part of their political creed and are conducting a much more effective propaganda even under that head. If all this is a hindrance to progress then surely Mr. Shastri must have a conception of progress peculiar to himself.

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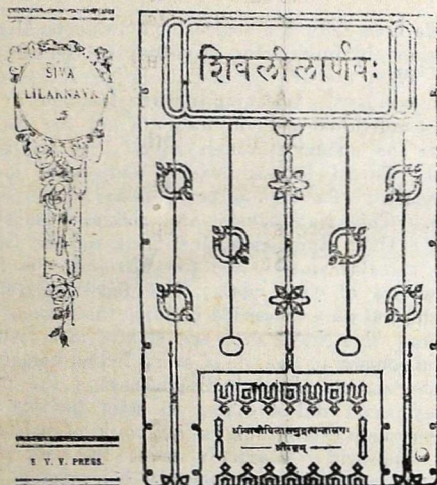
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