

THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems
from the Hindu Standpoint.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE STANDS FOR

- (1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,
- (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 INDIAN POLITY.

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

And from the Moon-god's softer gentler fire
Hath come a human ray of noble kings
Ere yet there came the faintest glimmerings
Of corporate life leading ever higher
From selfish low life's soul-entangling mire
In other lands, to us our history brings
Kings great beyond bright Poesy's visionings
Uttered in verse or sung by lute and lyre.
Pururavas who won sweet Urvasi
From heaven as bride, Nahusha's stately reign
In heaven, Dushyanta's Kingly power,
And Bharata who ruled our land from sea to sea,
The Pandavas who fame and grace did gain
I read their storied virtues hour by hour.

Great Thoughts.

[From Tukaram]

What may I know ? What may I not know ?
To turn to Thee for light is the thing.

* * *

What may I do ? What may I not do ?
To turn to Thee for light is the thing.

* * *

What may I speak ? What may I not speak ?
To turn to Thee for light is the thing.

* * *

Where may I go ? Where may I not go ?
It is well now to remember Thee.

* * *

Says Tuka, What thou doest is easy.
Righteous acts become sins in our eyes.



'Blessed are they who in their sojourn in this world carry mercy in their hearts ; who came hither for doing good unto others, but whose abode is in Heaven ; whose words never come untrue and who are indifferent to their own bodies ; who have sweet words on their lips and big hearts within : so says Tuka.'

* * *

With a liberal manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly, with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached, this is the promised land.

Events of the Week

The event of the week is of course the release of Mahatma Gandhi—"the saviour of India, the man who taught Swaraj for Indians, who united all religions, who inspired courage in the hearts of Indians and who by his life demonstrated the highest powers of truth." The Prince of Peace is once more free. The great apostle of non-violent non-co-operation is back among the Indians once more to lead them on to the cherished goal of Swaraj. The great movement will now be purged of all the undesirable accretions and once again it will shine forth in magnificent splendour in all its ethical and spiritual glory. As Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar has rightly observed "the ethical grandeur of our National Movement was undoubtedly dimmed while he was away and now we shall have it back in full lustre. We have once more amongst us the one man who alone can and will recapture the hearts and brains of all the millions of India and lead her swiftly and surely to fullest Swaraj and more than that, to those lofty heights in which our ancestors moved in the days of Asoka.

This is a most joyful news. Mahatmaji has been released *unconditionally*. Otherwise he will not allow himself to be released. He made it quite plain in his interview with the Rt. Hon'ble Sastrī. He said in emphatic terms, "My quarrel with the Government is still there and will continue as long as the originating causes exist. Of course there cannot be any conditions. If the Government think they have kept me long enough they may let me go. That would be honorable if they think I am an innocent man and that my motives have been good. While I have a deep quarrel with the Government I love the Englishmen and have many friends amongst them. They may release me, but it must not be on false issues." In such clear terms has the staunch patriot stated his determination. This the Government knew full well. That was why they did not like the idea of releasing him. He would not budge even an inch from the position he took up. When he was sent to Jail he was performing what appeared to him to be "the highest duty of a citizen." He told the presiding Magistrate in plain terms that what he was doing was a deliberate crime according to the English law and accordingly he invited the Magistrate to impose on him the maximum penalty. Will such nobility of temper yield to any kind of outside pressure and suffering? Can any one expect this stubborn patriot to go back on his own life-principles. The Sun may rise in the West but the Mahatmaji would not deviate a hair's breadth from his righteous duty. Knowing this full well how can the Government expect to release him on conditions. By bitter experience the Government have found out that in imprisoning the Mahatma they had caught a tartar. Of course they would have been very glad to get rid of him but the all engrossing question was how they could do it without any loss of prestige?

Sir George Lloyd the Governor who wanted to bury Mr. Gandhi alive left the shores of India for good. We do not know if he was broken-hearted because he could not bury him alive as he desired but surely he became broken-kneed, we are told, before he reached England. Sir Leslie

Wilson has taken up the gubernatorial gadi at Bombay and ever since his advent it is clear there is a change for good in the angle of vision of the Bombay Government. Vinayak Savarkar has been released and the Borsad situation has been eased by the graceful climbing down of the Government. Similarly Sir Leslie seems to have desired to signalise the inauguration of his regime by the release of the Mahatma. Appendicitis came in as a God-sent and thanks to the skill, courage and promptitude of Colonel Maddock and the generous attitude of the Bombay Government the illustrious prisoner was immediately removed to the Sasson hospital and a most dangerous operation was very successfully performed. The whole of India naturally expected that the Government would catch hold of this opportunity to cover their discomfiture and release him gracefully. Lest they should forget the Mahatmaji reiterated just before the operation that the release, if any, should be quite unconditional. This reiteration wounded the vanity of the Olympic gods. It was strongly rumoured that Sir Leslie had gone to Delhi personally to persuade the Viceroy to sanction the release. But no; the Viceroy was adamant. Sir Leslie returned evidently disappointed but made firmer in his resolve to get his object achieved. A bird whispers in our ears that Sir Leslie carried the matter to the Secretary of the State.

Meanwhile the people disappointed in their hopes of release on Sir Leslie's return to Bombay turned their faces towards Delhi and began to expect a Viceregal pronouncement on the day of the opening of the new Indian Legislature. A number of Resolutions on the subject were tabled by the new members and 5th of February was balloted for their discussion. Political soothsayers began to make all sorts of prophecies, each one of which turned out to be false. The so-called message to the *Hindu* by the Labour Premier stiffened the hearts of the Die-hards and the Viceroy in the plenitude of his wisdom considered it beneath his dignity to make any reference whatever to the Mahatmaji in his speech. When the speech was over the rage of the people knew no bounds. Their pent-up feelings were aroused and immediately all parties in the Assembly sunk their differences and united into a strong body determined to wrest the release from the Government on the 5th instant. This determined attitude was cabled to all parts of the Empire and the Government of India was in tenterhooks not knowing what to do between the Scylla of the popular ire here and the Charibides of the Labour Ministry in England. When they were blinking like this it is not improbable that a cable arrived from the Secretary of State like a bolt from the blue advising the release of the Mahatma. It is stated that an urgent Executive Council meeting of the Governor-General was held on the night of the 4th instant and the Government of Bombay was advised to release Mr. Gandhi forthwith. Sir Leslie Wilson should have been overjoyed at the news. The order of the Government of Bombay was despatched to Poona immediately by a special messenger on the night of the 4th instant.

Early in the morning of the 5th instant the Mahatmaji was chatting pleasantly with the Rev. C. F. Andrews when in comes Col. Maddock with the order of the Government of Bombay in his hands saying "I am glad you are so very cheerful this morning. I have brought very good news for you. The Government have released you unconditionally." The Mahatmaji simply smiled, asked him to read the order and then craved permission of the Colonel to remain as his guest till complete recovery. There was absolutely no exaltation in him and he was as calm as he was when he was arrested, showing thereby his inherent greatness.

Such is the story of his release and need we say—can any one doubt it—that this is the first and foremost Swarajist victory—the first result of a union of strength, the first step in the onward march of India towards her goal of Swaraj. Now that the leader has come back, we are sure the forces would be properly marshalled and the advance will be steady, sure and rapid.



The Hindu Message

The Viceroy's Speech.

No speech of the Viceroy was so eagerly awaited and none was so utterly disappointing on all sides as the speech which His Excellency delivered on the occasion of the opening of the second Indian Legislature since the inauguration of the Reforms. The occasion was unique and any statesman would have eagerly welcomed the opportunity to exhibit his firm grasp of the actualities of Indian politics and thus create a record for farsighted liberalism and mature judgment. (1) "The greatest man of the world," one too who has been the sole and sure bulwark of peace, was just recovering from the throes of death—not by the solicitude of the authorities but by the bold and courageous action of that true Englishman, Colonel Maddock. The news of the sudden illness of their trusted leader spread throughout the country like lightning and any one who had eyes to see could have discerned the eagerness and anxiety with which every bulletin describing the state of his health was scanned by millions of men throughout the length and breadth of the country. From far and near, from all parts of the Indian continent, people began to flock to Poona just to get a glimpse of the illustrious patient. People high or low, rich or poor, waited at the gates of the hospital, patiently for hours together just to read the bulletins so thoughtfully posted by Colonel Maddock in the notice-board of the hospital. For about a fortnight it may truly be said that all roads led to Poona. Such was their attachment to their leader and such was their reverence to him. Every one began to consider that it was criminal for the Government of India to continue any further even for a single moment the incarceration of this saintly soul clad in such frail frame. Every one took it for granted that the Government would release him at any moment. (2) The Congress has allowed such of its members as wished, to enter the Councils and work there in the best manner possible for the early attainment of *Swarajya* as a consequence of which a number of Swarajists have been returned by the electorates to the various Councils fully determined to attain their object by any means whatsoever. Forty-five Swarajists of that stamp, men tried and true, have been elected to the Legislative Assembly itself. The Central Provinces Council had a foretaste of the effect of a Swarajist majority. A motion of "no

confidence" in the newly appointed ministry has been passed and the work of obstruction is in full swing there. In the Bengal Council also where the leader of the Swarajya party Mr. C. R. Das himself leads the opposition, the Government experienced four crushing defeats in quick succession. The release of all political prisoners, the repeal of Regulation III and all repressive laws were demanded and resolutions to that effect were passed by overwhelming majorities in spite of the Government's protests. (3) Besides the 45 members of the Swarajya party there are 30 Independent members who are also pledged to bring about Swaraj though they differ from the Swarajists in the means to be adopted to bring about the same. Thus a clear majority of the members of the Assembly are pledged to work for the attainment of Swaraj and a motion to that effect has been tabled. A motion for the release of Mahatmaji has also been tabled by a number of members. All these must have clearly shown to a discerning observer which way the wind blew. Did His Excellency discern them and did he profit by them? Even the Moderates who were under the illusion that Lord Reading's ardent liberalism was hitherto cramped by the reactionary tutelage of Whitehall naturally expected, now that the Labour Party, a party of large-hearted idealists, is in power in England, that His Excellency would freely give out his own mind, make amends for the past sins and earnestly commence the work of reapproachment between India and England. In short a new heaven and a new earth were expected from Lord Reading's address to the new Indian Legislature. Mahatma Gandhi's release, the appointment of a Statutory Commission for the revision of the Government of India Act, release of political prisoners, repeal of Regulation III, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other such repressive laws—these and such others were among the many hopes which had been expressed in the course of speculations in the Lobby just before the Viceroy's arrival. A Swarajist was heard asking an Independent as to whether he would endorse the Swarajists' demands. "Wait for the Viceroy's speech" was the sharp reply reflecting the mentality of the majority. Even the Swarajist were caught in the atmosphere and thought that the Viceroy was going to be different from what he was till then. Did His Excellency rise equal to the occasion? Did His Excellency appear to have followed the events in this country with any discerning eye. Did His Excellency realise that the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Peshawar to Rangoon was on the tip-toe of expectation to hear him announce on that momentous occasion the release of their most beloved and trusted leader, the noblest and purest soul in the world, the one man who alone can and will capture the hearts and brains of the millions of India? The answer is an emphatic 'no.' Lord Reading has chosen to be blind to his surroundings. He has exhibited in a remarkable degree bankruptcy of statesmanship. He has lost a unique chance offered to him through divine intercession. He has blundered egregiously. He has wantonly dug the grave of his reputation. He had not even the ordinary courtesy to refer in sym-

pathetic terms to the serious illness of the beloved leader of the 32 millions of people, to express his appreciation of the timely and skilful medical help of Colonel Maddock and his joy at the recovery of the noble-hearted apostle of Peace for whose sufferings in the jail His Lordship himself had been instrumental. Not a word passed His Excellency's lips about the Mahatmaji. Evidently His Excellency purposely wanted to avoid the subject which would have thrown oil on troubled waters, which would have been a soothing balm to the lacerated Indian heart. His Lordship sadly missed a golden opportunity which would never recur. By this single wanton omission His Excellency paved the way for the combination of all the different parties—Moderates, Independants and Swarajists into a united national party forming thereby a tremendous Opposition which the Government of India will find it extremely difficult to face.

Proceeding now to what the Viceroy said in his speech we note that his observations regarding the Lausanne Treaty that it had solved the problems exercising his minds, His Lordship may forget now but will soon realise that far from solution the Khilafat issue is as unsolved to-day as ever. On the question of Indians abroad Lord Reading can hardly expect India to be satisfied with the small concessions that he has managed to obtain. His note of optimism has no justification as far as we can see in the facts so far known either about the results of the Imperial Conference or the possible attitude of the Labour ministry. Regarding the Anglo-Afghan relations it is reassuring to hear that these relations have not been put to any appreciable strain but the blustering attitude of the British Press and of certain Anglo-Indian Journals certainly gave colour to apprehension in that respect. On the general question of the Frontier the Viceroy has neither showed frankness nor a realisation of the duty to the Indian tax-payer. His Excellency has assured us that the new scheme is meeting with great success. But how many times during the last half a century have the advocates of the different schools of Frontier policy assured us that their particular brand of solution is on the point of success only to be told on the almost very next day that a complete reversal has been found necessary either on account of lack of funds or any other numerous excuses which the authorities in Delhi are adepts in manufacturing. The two points in which the Viceroy dwelt with some emphasis are the measures to deal with anarchical crime and the Reforms and after. Concerning the Bengal Regulation III and the political imprisonments, His Excellency justified himself in these words: "Need I assert that it was only with greatest reluctance that I assented to the use of these measures for the protection of the public and in the public interest. I am firmly impressed by the consideration that it is essential, strictly to confine to extreme cases of emergency and I fully appreciate and sympathise with the views of those who wish to protect the liberty of the subjects with strict exactitude." Lord Reading further continues "In these days the striving light of publicity both in the Legislature and the Press is brought to bear upon the use of emergency measures of this

character and this in itself safeguards against their abuse." As we read this assertion we rub our eyes and wonder how often has the strong light of publicity led to the righting of judicial wrongs and how often has the Government respected the force of public opinion in such matters. The campaign of repression with its con-comittant tragedies such as that of Pandit Pratap Narain Vajpeyi supply the answer. Lord Reading's defence of extra judicial action was not at all convincing. His Lordship of course assured personal scrutiny but the ex-Lord Chief Justice who came out with the watchword of equality and justice must be a poor Judge indeed if he thinks that Justice could be done to those who are imprisoned by his examination of the evidence which has not been subjected to the fire of cross-examination.

We now come to the last portion of His Excellency's speech wherein he refers to the Reforms and after. His Excellency assures us that none of the government of the four Prime ministers under whom he has served as Viceroy has wavered for one moment regarding the policy of the Reforms in India and that each in succession has accepted the Reforms as "the rock-foundation of British policy in India." We are not quite sure of the accuracy of this statement. Was the speech of Mr. Lloyd George the Prime minister that the Reforms were only an experiment an indication that the Reforms are the rock-foundation of the British policy? Was his speech regarding the steel frame of India in consonance with the policy declared in the preamble of the Government of India Act about the growing association of Indians in the Services and was that also an indication that the Reforms are the rock-foundation of British policy? Is the censure of the Secretary of State on the Government of India for the issue of the O'Donnell circular regarding further reforms and Indianisation of services a measure calculated to impress one that the Reforms are the rock-foundation of the British policy? Are the instructions of the Conservative Secretary that all Bills of whatever nature should be sent up by the Provincial and Imperial Governments an example of the devolution of power to Local governments and the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State—a policy definitely decided upon by the Reform Scheme, and does this also indicate that the Reforms are the rock-foundation of British policy? Is the minute control which the Secretary of State seeks to impose on various matters like the abolishing of posts in consequence of retrenchment an illustration of the acceptance by the British Government of the Reform scheme as the rock-foundation of British policy? We are afraid His Excellency has been more chivalrous in his remarks on this point rather than truthful. Last of all we come to His Excellency's threat to the Swarajists who have chalked out their line of attack by bringing about deadlocks, by obstruction and thus make the Government impossible wherever and whenever it can make. The policy has succeeded in Bengal and Central Provinces Legislative Councils and it has evidently given the cold shivers to the Viceroy. His nervousness while dealing with it was obvious. But we are sure the Swarajists would stand erect and show a tough fight in which they will have the generous support of

their countrymen. They represent the dominant idea in the nation and there lies behind them the tremendous strength of an awakened and determined people. We are afraid the threats of Lord Reading have lost their terrors and the nation has made its choice.

The speech has thus not satisfied anybody and has belied all expectations. Some condemn it as deliberately provocative; others think it barren; some call it unstatesmanlike; others say it is verbal and non-committal. Thus like a hockey-ball it is being beaten with sticks from all quarters. If as a result of this speech the Liberals and the Independents have been disillusioned and the way has been paved for the consolidation of a mighty Opposition Party we would thank the Viceroy for this blessing in disguise.

Social and Religious

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

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

ADHYAYA XI

(Continued)

सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुक्तं
हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।
अज्ञानता महिमानं तवेदं
मया प्रमादात्प्रणयेन वापि ॥ ४१ ॥
यञ्चावहासार्थमसत्कृतोऽसि
विहारशय्यासनभोजनेषु ।
एकोऽथवाप्यच्युत तत्समर्थं
तत्क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ॥ ४२ ॥

Whatever I have presumptuously uttered from disregardful negligence or affection, addressing Thee as O Krishna, O Yadava, O companion, regarding Thee merely as a comrade and unaware of Thy greatness—in whatever I may have been disrespectful to Thee in irreverent jest; while walking or reposing or sitting or at meals, when alone with Thee O Achyuta or in company,—I implore Thee, O Being immeasurable, to forgive all my errors.

पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य
त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।
न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽप्यो
लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमप्रभाव ॥ ४३ ॥

Thou art the Father of this universe of beings, moving and stationary; Thou art the object of its worship, as Thou art great and supreme. There exists none who is equal to Thee. Who can excel Thee, O Thou of power unmatched in all the three worlds ?

NOTES:

1. The Supreme Iswara can be but One. Else the universe will not be the manifestation of law and order that it is.

2. Guru—may mean also Teacher (शास्त्रोपदेश)

तस्मात्प्रणम्य प्रणिधाय कायं
प्रसादये त्वामहमीशमीड्यम् ।
पितैव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः
प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि देव सोढुम् ॥ ४४ ॥

Therefore I prostrate before Thee in adoration and crave Thy forgiveness, O adorable Lord! As a father forgiveth his son, as a friend his dear friend, as a lover his beloved, even so shouldst Thou forgive me, O Lord.

अदृष्टपूर्वं हृषितोऽसि दृष्ट्वा
भयं च प्रव्यथितं मनो मे ।
तदेव मे दर्शय देव रूपं
प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ॥ ४५ ॥

I am overjoyed to have seen what I never saw before; yet my mind is distracted with terror. Show me, O Lord, that form of Thine and have mercy, O God of gods and O Abode of the universe.

किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रहस्त-
मिच्छामि त्वां द्रष्टुमहं तथैव ।
तैवैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेन
सहस्रबाहो भव विभ्रमूर्ते ॥ ४६ ॥

I desire to see Thee as before wearing a diadem and bearing a mace and a discus. Assume that four-armed form, O Thou of thousand arms and of universal form.

NOTES:

1. Lord Krishna incarnated with his heavenly four-armed form as Vasudeva's son and then became an ordinary child. That is the description in the Srimad Bhagavata. Arjuna, as a supremely devoted *bhakta* and as an incarnation of *Nara*, knew the secret of the Lord's incarnation. To the ordinary world Sri Krishna appeared as an ordinary two-armed human being. Sri Madhusoodana Sarasvatī says that the Lord always appeared to Arjuna in his four-armed form. He says: एतेन सर्वदा चतुर्भुजादिरूपमनुनेन भगवतो दृश्यत इत्युक्तम् । But verse 50 below refers to स्वरूपं रूपं and verse 51 refers to मानुषं रूपं. I am of opinion—and submit my humble opinion for what it is worth—that the Lord showed to Arjuna first His *svakam rupam* i.e., His Vaikunta form with which He incarnated. He then assumed His ordinary two-armed human form—thus showing to Arjuna His blazing universal form, His glorious Vaikunta form and His beautiful human form. The Gopalaparva Thapani Upanishad describes the Lord as two-armed.

सत्पुण्डरीकनयनं मेघामं वैद्युतां वरम् ।

द्विभुजं ज्ञानमुद्रात्वं वनमालिनमीश्वरम् ॥

I may also mention here that in the Krishna Janma Khanda the Lord is described as being two-armed in His supreme form in the Goloka.

Literary and Educational.

Education in Ancient India.

By A. RAMA IYER, M.A.,

(concluded.)

And now we will speak a word or two about women's education in ancient India. From many recorded incidents and from many references in the Sastras, we can clearly infer that, in ancient times, women had all the rights and privileges of men and that they were given the highest kind of education, in order to fit them to be the *partners* of their husbands, in the fullest sense. Devahuti, Aditi, and Apala are among the most distinguished women of Vedic times. Several hymns of the Rig Veda were composed by women like Viswavara. In the Brihadaranyakopaniṣad is found a discussion between the sage Yajñavalkya and his famous wife Maitreyi; the equally famous Gargi also figures in the same Upaniṣad. There is evidence to show that in the Buddhist times also many women were proficient in the arts and sciences. The story of the dispute between Sankaracharya and the wife of Mandanamisra is well known; so too is the story of Kalidasa and Vidyottama. We are told that at the time of King Bhoja there were separate schools for the education of girls. From all this it is clear that the education of women in the old days was, instead of being regarded as unnecessary or improper, positively encouraged, and that educated women were held in high esteem in society.

Things have now changed beyond recognition. We have forgotten our glorious history and traditions; we have forsworn our old ideals, and become rank materialists under the influence of the west. Our present education is utterly soulless and uninspiring. Of course, we do not for a moment suggest that we should revive the ancient system in all its features. Of course, we recognise that change is the law of life, and that a return to old conditions would hardly be beneficial, even if it were possible. But all changes should be in accordance with the basic ideals and traditions of our nation. On no account should we disturb the moral and religious basis of our education. In our craze for modernness, we have made our education purely secular, with the result that our whole outlook on life has become materialistic. Our lives have become arid and dry; we are not now moved by high impulses and aspirations. The catchwords of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are on our lips, but the religious impulse, which alone can convert them into practical truths, is wanting. We are degenerating into soulless automatons. The only remedy for the evil is to revive the spiritual element in our daily lives, and base our education, however secular it may be in its outward aspect, on really spiritual foundations. We should realise the inter-dependence of the individual and the society; our individual welfare can be assured only by our social welfare. And we ought not to rest satisfied until we have devised a system of education which, like the *gurukuls* of old, sends out into the world men fully equipped physically, mentally, and morally, and determined to devote themselves in a disinterested spirit to the work of social and national regeneration and service.

Why English Should be Taught in our Schools.

By P. ANANTHASWAMY.

A living English writer, Mr. Edmunds, observes that the British race has a proud record of great achievements for the interest and benefit of the civilised world; and Englishmen can contemplate with pardonable pride the work of their ancestors in war and in politics, in commerce and in science, in action and in thought. Nor have their endeavours in developing their language and spreading it broadcast all over the world been less impressive than any of these. It is the speech of energetic peoples spread over wide continents; it is the voice of a great literature embodying some of man's most pregnant ideas and most lofty imaginings of the human mind. And, moreover, it is not stagnant, a mere convenience of the present; but, like everything that is English, the English language is alive, growing, developing, adapting itself to new uses and fresh environments.

ITS EXPRESSIVE AND ASSIMILATIVE YET DISCRIMINATIVE POWER.

This language, again, is neither exclusive nor rigidly conventional, but free, progressive, open to new influences, ready to welcome any desirable stranger into its fold; yet, independent, and marked by assertive idiosyncracies, hoary inconsistencies and irregularities, which neither the jeers of the utilitarian nor the learning of the pedant can expel from it. To be able to use such a language to any useful and becoming effect is a *privilege*; to wield it with powerful mastery is a most desirable distinction.

ITS COMPELLING FORCE.

But if it is a privilege to speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, it is also a necessity with us, Indians. Ever since the time Macaulay recorded his momentous Minute on Education, English has not only been the official language of India but has also permeated the most outlying villages and huts therein. There is no walk of life but is familiar therewith. Turn where we may, we find it to be the common medium of instruction. In the British Indian Empire to-day, it plays much the same part as Latin did in the Empire of the Caesars. Even those Extremists who have of late raised up the standard of a purely national education find themselves sorely baffled in ousting English from the press and the platform. When they shut it out at one door, in it rushes again by another, very much as Dame Nature does. In short, they find it a thoroughly hopeless business to ban it out of Schools, Colleges, Congresses and Conferences. In a land where sects, creeds, traditional customs, superstitions, blind fetishisms and unreasoning prejudices pin down vast masses of the population to the level of civilisation which they attained in centuries long gone by, it is the English language that acts as a powerful lever for purposes of their uplift to a far higher level which affords bright vistas into the realms of noble thoughts and cosmopolitan sympathies.

ENGLISH—THE KEY TO UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE.

At the present time, English is perhaps the most prominent of languages that can boast of a relatively exhaustive stock of universal knowledge in all departments of life, both by original productions and translations. No ardent lover of such knowledge can therefore afford to neglect or despise that language unless he can wed himself to an equally good one. But, if it is true that language, like trade, follows the flag, it is equally true that we, Indians, have no option, even if we desired to make exceptions of our-

selves to the rule, but to espouse the language that is nearest at hand, instead of flying to one that is remote from us.

THE BEARINGS OF ENGLISH ON TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Take again, trade and commerce. What do we find? As in India, so in the world at large, English is found to be the cement, at least in matters commercial. Write to a French merchant on the wines of Bordeaux or Burgundy or the silk fabrics of Lyons and he at once sets his English Department in motion to correspond with you in English and to draw on you by means of Bills and Shipping documents prepared in English. German, Italian, Belgian, Hollandian, Denmarkian, Norwegian, Japanese and Grecian merchants follow similar lines of doing business. When this is the practice of even foreign merchants, can there be any question as to the practice of merchants inside the British Colonies and Dependencies and independent kingdoms whose governments are carried on by men of English descent? If then, English has asserted its unifying influence throughout the major part of the world already, what are we to say about the vast scope that lies before it for the acquisition of almost unlimited unifying power, should the schemes now afoot for binding the whole British Empire by Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony come to fruition? What again, are we to say of those fanatics and bigots who, while almost the whole world is moving in one unmistakable direction, advise their countrymen to stay behind and thus refrain from partaking of that vast feast of prosperity which must necessarily fall due to all those who contribute to such a mighty concern as the Empire Exhibition that is yet to come off?

It is not however, material prosperity alone that is secured by extensive commercial business. Such business has a moral side too. Strange as it may seem, the commercial field is one where extremes of character meet. There are thousands of unscrupulous men who with but small capitals amass vast fortunes in the course of a few years, by sheer pluck and practices. They do not hesitate to palm off spurious articles upon the public and to argue in praise of them even in the face of the most positive proofs of their decided inferiority or utter uselessness. Not so the honest merchant who has a character and a reputation to maintain. He knows the value of give and take, of thrift and prudence, of studying the extent of demands for particular articles from time to time, of agreeable and persuasive manners both in conversation and in correspondence, of reposing confidence where it is due and above all, of a reputation for thorough reliability and stability. The more extensive a man's business is, the greater are his opportunities for acquiring the moral and intellectual equipments mentioned above. It is a matter of history that the British Empire in India has been built up on the foundations of a humble but very enterprising trade. And even now, there are, we may be sure, more individuals among the British nation who count upon British trade than those who count on the British Empire. Empires may crumble away but honest trade will remain as long as there are human wants to be supplied. If only to imbibe these lessons of practical wisdom, it would be amply worth any body's while to take to the study of English and to cast his eyes far beyond the narrow horizon that encircles his own home, and to ascertain for himself how human wants stand in far-off lands and amongst far-off peoples and how best he can minister to those wants and enrich himself the while.

Miscellaneous.

Is the Congress for Religious Reform?— II

BY G. HARISCHANDRA RAO.

continued.

(4) The policy of *Least Resistance* requires the omission of social reform. Says Mr. Justice Telang—

'And first, it seems to me to be plainly a maxim of prudence and commonsense, that reform ought to go, as I may say, along the line of least resistance. Secure first the reforms which you can secure with the least difficulty and then turn your energies in the direction of those reforms where more difficulty has to be encountered.'

Mr. Telang means that social reform provokes considerable resistance from the people themselves whereas political reform does not and that therefore the latter should be attended to at first. He accounts for the difference between the two:—

'Again, in politics, argument goes a great way; in social reform, it goes for very little, seeing that feeling and tradition are involved in it to a very large extent indeed.'

Mr. Justice Ranade in a speech at Nagpur in the year 1891 is reported to have expressed himself as follows:—

'The Congress invasion was an invasion which needed no advocate to plead its cause before them, as it had already secured their sympathies. His mission needed an advocate, for it was a delicate task—this work of social reform. The work of the Conference concerned our family interests, it touched the hearts of the people, and if not wisely carried on, it was sure to arouse opposition. His party could not adopt the role of dictatorship, and they now thought of adopting it.'

The Conference named above is the Social Conference. Even when social questions are discussed in the Social Conference, there is public resentment; how much more when they are introduced into a political institution like the Congress!

Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, President of the Eleventh Congress, at Poona, exhorted the audience as follows:

'We cannot afford to have a schism in our camp. Already they tell us that it is a Hindu Congress although the presence of our Muhammadan friends completely contradicts the statement. Let it not be said that this is the Congress of one social party rather than that of another. It is the Congress of United India, of Hindus and Mahammadans, of Christians, of Parsees, and of Sikhs, of those who would reform their social customs and those who would not. Here we stand upon a common platform—here we have all agreed to bury our social and religious differences, and recognize the one common fact that being subjects of the same Sovereign and living under the same Government and the same political institutions, we have common rights and common grievances, and we have called forth this Congress into existence with a view to safe-guard and extend our rights and redress our grievances. What should we say of a Faculty of Doctors who fell out, because though in perfect accord as to the principles of their Science, they could not agree as to the age at which they should marry their daughters, or whether they should remarry their widowed daughters or not? The Congress has now been in existence for eleven years. We have not as

yet got a written constitution though, I hope, we shall provide ourselves with one before we separate. But there has grown around us a body of usages, the unwritten customary law of the Congress, which govern our movement. If there is one principle more than another, which is uniformly accepted and universally assented to, it is this that no matter what differences of opinion may exist among us as regards religious beliefs or social usages—they shall be no bar to our acting together in the Congress, they shall not be permitted to interrupt the cordiality of our relations as Congressmen. Never was the truth of this remark more strikingly illustrated than in connection with the agitation on the Age of Consent Bill. Congressmen and Congress leaders arrayed themselves on opposite sides. Sir Romesh Chander Mitter, whose ill-health we all deplore, and who if he were better would probably have occupied the chair which I now unworthily fill, strenuously opposed the Bill; our great leader, Mr. Allan Hume, was as strenuously in favour of it. Our political opponents fanned the flames. They looked forward to an approaching schism. They were disappointed. We rapidly closed our ranks. This controversy took place in the early part of 1891; the Congress of 1891 held at Nagpur was as successful as any of the previous Congresses had been." (Congress Report, p. 15.) The italics are mine.

Now, is the Congress to exclude those *who would not reform their social customs*?

Mr. Tilak's letter to the 'Times of India,' published in the *Maharatta* of 3rd November 1895 reads;—

"One party wishes to draw to the Congress as large a portion of the public as it possibly can, irrespective of the question of Social Reform. If the masses are drawn to the Congress, it is possible that they may not lend their support directly or indirectly to the cause of the Social Conference... Every one, whether orthodox or heterodox, reformer or reactionary, should join in and support the Congress movement. A Congress in Poona cannot be regarded a success unless the majority of the people in Poona join it enthusiastically."

The party referred to is Mr. Tilak's as opposed to that, for instance, of Malabari who agitated for incorporation of social reform into the Congress or Ranade who insisted on holding the Social Conference in the Congress pandal.

Mr. Aravinda Ghosh in his preface has supported Mr. Tilak's policy as follows:—

"He, (Tilak) is no dogmatic re-actionary. But there have also been other reasons which a strong political sense has dictated; and first, the clear perception that the political movement could not afford to cut itself off from the great mass of the nation or split itself up into warring factions by a premature association of the social reform question with politics. The proper time for that, a politician would naturally feel, is when the country has a free assembly of its own which can consult the needs or carry out the mandates of the people. Moreover, he has felt strongly that political emancipation was the one pressing need for the people of India and that all else not directly connected with it must take a second place; that has been the principle of his own life and he has held that it should be the principle of the national life at the present hour. Let us have first liberty and the organised control of the life of the nation, afterwards we can see how we should use it in social matters; meanwhile let us move on without noise and strife, only so far as actual need and advisability demand, and the sense of the people is ready to advance." (Bal Gangadhar Tilak—His writings and Speeches, published by Ganesh & Co., pages 14 and 15.)

5. The so-called social reforms are not essential to political progress; their introduction, therefore, is unwarranted. Mr. W. C. Bonnerji observed:—

"I, for one, have no patience with those who say we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system. I fail to see any connection between the two. Let me take, for instance, one of the political reforms which we have been suggesting year after year, namely, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the same officer. What possible connection can there be between this, which is a purely political reform, and social reform? In the same way, take the Permanent Settlement which we have been advocating, the amendment of the laws relating to forests and other such measures—and I ask again, what have these to do with social reforms? Are we not fit for them because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries? because our wives and daughters do not drive about with us visiting our friends? because we do not send our daughters to Oxford or Cambridge?" (Mr. Bonnerji's speech as President of the Eighth Congress).

The above observations of the first President—for Mr. Bonnerji had presided over the deliberations of the First Congress—an ardent social reformer himself, must convince the most fanatic of politicians or social reformers.

Moreover, political progress is possible even where social reform is absent.

Mr. Justice Telang in a speech delivered on 22 February 1886, the subject being 'Must Social Reform precede Political Reform in India?' made the following remarks:—

"In this England of ours, this England where political reform is advancing by leaps and bounds, where political affairs attract such attention as is shown by the commotion of the General Election just closed—in this England, there are still social evils, huge and serious social evils, awaiting remedy. To them attention is not directed with any thing like the force and energy bestowed on political affairs—even until blood-shed is threatened."

Mr. Telang concluded:—

"I am only pointing the lesson taught by the contemporary history of England—that political progress can be achieved, and is being achieved before our eyes, where social evils still remain unremedied, and where they receive but a comparatively small fraction of the attention and reforming energy of the people."

Again, there may be no political advancement even where social reform is already effected. Says Mr. B. G. Tilak:—

"Some people raise this objection against our party: Why do you not effect social reform? There are many people who have effected social reform amongst themselves. Social reform is thoroughly introduced in Burma. There is one religion. There the people are prepared for any thing. Their children marry any one they like. But that country is wholly immersed in a state of dependence. There is no spirit of nationality in respect of any thing there. Then, what is wanted? We are one nation. We have a duty to perform in this world."—Speech at Ahmadnagar on 1 June 1916—(Bal Gangadhar Tilak—His Writings and Speeches, published by Ganesh & Co., p. 164.)

It is therefore clear that there is no causal connection between social reform and political reform.

6. It would be superfluous for the Congress to take up social reform; for there have already been other bodies working in the field.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji stated in his Presidential address at the Second Congress (Calcutta) that the noble education received by us must necessarily induce social reform; why should, then, the Congress bother about it? Here is his statement:—

“Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community, and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours, and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you; and we know as a fact that each community is now doing its best according to its light and the progress that it has made in education. I need not, I think, particularise. The Muhammadans know what is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they can to reform those social institutions which, they think, require improvement. There is not one single community here represented of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious, status of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually, those needful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this in which all classes are intermingled.” (Congress Report, p. 54.)

Each community, therefore, is working in the direction of reform, and, there are, moreover, the Conferences started by the reformers themselves;—if the founders had settled that the Congress was to discuss social and other questions, they ought not to have formed the Social and other Conferences.

To be continued.

Released.

By T. V. V.

The news of the release of Mahatma Gandhi would not have come as a surprise on the public. It must be acknowledged that for some time past—especially since the sudden development of appendicitis which necessitated a surgical operation on him,—the event that has now occurred has been looked forward to with eager expectation. Ever since the removal of the Mahatma to the Poona Sassoon Hospital, from the Yerrowada Jail, every little bit of news, every whisper from that quarter has been hankered after by newspaper correspondents and wired to all parts of the land; while at the seat of the Viceroyal lodge political soothsayers were busy sending forth forecasts of the approaching event of the Mahatmaji's release. Even Anglo-Indian newspapers, realising the tremendous responsibility and risk that Government were shouldering by keeping in jail the trusted leader of three hundred millions of people in a shattered state of health, struck a note of warning and advocated the release of the great man, at least for the sake of expediency, if not for anything else: Added to this with the growing demand in the country, and the daily increasing strength of the popular will, the Government could not have acted in any other way than releasing Mahatmaji.

The surprise would perhaps be that the decision was not arrived at earlier. It was originally supposed that the visit of the Governor of Bombay to Delhi, would naturally result in his getting the Viceroy's sanction for Mahatmaji's release. But when Sir Leslie Wilson returned to Bombay, and no announcement was made regarding the release, it was said that Lord Reading intended to be somewhat dramatic and wished to reserve the credit for releasing Mahatmaji to

himself; It was given out that the Viceroy would, with a gesture of grace bordering on theatrical ostentation, open the new Legislative Assembly with a pronouncement regarding the Release. But the Viceroy it appears, was not prepared to take the Legislative Assembly into his confidence. It is an open secret that His Excellency has been greatly perturbed by the present constitution of the Assembly; naturally his inaugural speech instead of going any the least way towards reconciling his legislators' attitude, much less to please them, was tuned to a pitch that was bound to grate on the ears of his hearers and provoke them.

But while His Excellency was loathe to confide in the Assembly members, he was at the same time getting nervous with the approach of the date fixed for taking up the resolution regarding Mahatmaji's release of which so many of them had given notice. Much to the chagrin of the Government even the valiant knight of Madras, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, trusted of the bureaucracy, had given his consent to vote for the release though he had on a former occasion been opposed to it. It was a foregone conclusion that the resolution demanding Mahatmaji's release would be passed by an over-whelming majority in the Assembly. That was a situation which would place the Government in a rather uncomfortable plight. Cornered as the Government would be to a point wherefrom they could not come out with their prestige unruined, it was natural that they would have wished to escape from falling into the nasty hole, that the Swarajists were digging under their feet. His Excellency the Viceroy, in the nature of the storm that was brewing in the Assembly, realised the necessity for averting the catastrophe. A blow that was in store for him and his Government. That is the most weighty reason which must have influenced His Excellency in instructing the Governor of Bombay to forthwith release Mahatmaji.

That the Viceroy, the shrewd diplomat that he has proved to be all these days of his administration in this country, must have wished to take the wind out of the sails of the Swarajya Party, may also be another reason, for the release, that has to be taken into account. The credit for the setting free of the great leader, the Viceroy was too jealous to be assigned to the Swarajya party's achievements. The first and foremost plan of the attack of that party was to force the hands of the Government to release our leader. The Viceroy supposed, that with this plank removed from the party's programme, the party may collapse. That was a consummation devoutly to be wished for from the Government's point of view; and the wish was father to the thought in this instance. With such an idea working upon His Excellency's imagination, it is not surprising that he has set Mahatmaji free. Other considerations also might have had their part in influencing the Viceroy to take the step he has taken. The fusion of the Independent and Moderate elements in the Legislature, with the Swarajists was not an event which the Government could have looked on with complacency and ease. The position of the Government would be rendered more uneasy by such joint action on their part. It was to the interests of the bureaucracy to see their alliance was not effected and the Moderates were rallied once again to their side. The release of Mahatma Gandhi at this juncture would not only create a rift among these parties but also rally the Moderates round. That is a position which the Government must have counted upon in arriving at this extreme step of releasing Mahatmaji. It remains to be seen whether the Moderates and other weaker men among the legislators would succumb to the machinations of Lord Reading's scheming head.

While on the one hand the Government has to be congratulated on their decision, it has to be pointed out on the other hand, their announcement lacks grace and sincerity because of the phrase which is added at the tail of the release order. It would have been most gracious on the part of the Government if they had accepted the necessity for releasing Mahatmaji on account of the political situation; They would not do it, but would give out that Mahatmaji was released “on medical grounds.” “On medical grounds” when he had recovered from his illness? That is a piece of political chicanery which even the most ordinary man could see through. Why not lift this veil, and show themselves in their true colour, by making a confession of

their error : But that is a thing that could not be expected of any Government, least of all the Government of India. And the Government must have felt not a little thankful to the Hon. Mr. Kharade—who it is to be feared has lost his discerning faculties—for suggesting the way out of their dilemma. The fact remains that the Government wanted to get out of the difficult position that was being created for them, with as little of their prestige lost and as much of their ground unimpaired. That probably accounts for the delay in the arrival of the decision to release Mahatma. And Mr. Kharade with the fertility of his imagination lent a helping hand to the Government by the suggestion he threw forth, by tabling an amendment "that (Mr. Gandhi be released) if in the opinion of the Medical authorities his being sent back to jail was considered as dangerous to his life" to Mr. Karandikar's motion for "unconditional release." Government took the cue from Mr. Kharade and have ordered the release "on medical grounds." At the same time, it is nothing to be wondered at that Government have not been foolish enough to take up the suggestion of another gallant member of the Council of State ; a staunch supporter of the bureaucracy through thick and thin. Sir Maneckji Dadhaboy would advise Government to release Mahatma, with such conditions restricting his movements as Government would deem fit. Lord Reading was not in such fool's paradise as Sir Maneckji. He knew that it would be as easier to bid the sun rise in the west, to restrict the movements of the planets, than ask Mahatma Gandhi to submit himself to restrictions, on his release. Mahatma had declared himself quite clear on that matter—so, his position might be clearly understood by such of those as had not understood it earlier—through his message to Mr. Sastri. "My quarrel with the Government is still there ; if I am to be released, it must not be on any false issues." Having such knowledge of the Mahatma as the Government did, it is no wonder that Sir Maneckji's counsel was not heeded to. That on the other hand Mr. Kharade was responsible to point the way out for the Government there is much reason to believe.

Whatever it be, whether it was the Government's anxiety to get out of the difficulties that were facing them, or whether it was their desire to take the wind out of the sails of the Swarajya party, or whether it was their plan to keep the Swarajists and the Moderates asunder, and rally the latter, or whether it was the risk and responsibility they were undergoing in continuing his imprisonment in his present state of health, that influenced the Government to set free Mahatma, whatever reason might have weighed with them in taking this step, it is a matter for extreme rejoicing for the nation that their leader has been restored to them. The news of his release has been received with not a little amount of pleasure and enthusiasm in every part not only of this country, but of the whole globe. We are sure that there is in India at least one I. C. S. officer and one I. M. S. officer who would have received the happy news of the release with feelings of satisfaction and joy. We refer to Mr. Bloomfield the Magistrate who convicted him, and to Col. Maddock who treated him, at the Sassoon hospital.

So Mahatma is once more amongst us. It will take some time before he would be, physically able to take up the leadership of the nation that is rightly his. What with the union of the parties in the Congress rendered at Coochada, the opposition of a strong party in the Assembly, the coming into power of Labour in England, and the release of Mahatma, the political tide of the country has reached a stage which the nation must not fail to take at its flood, "to lead us on to freedom."

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The Influence of the Press on the Development of Empire.

By The Right Hon. VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C. H.

continued.

To revert to the main course of newspaper history, the Great Rebellion and the Protectorate gave birth to several papers, which lasted for sufficient time to merit the name, but I believe that the first daily newspaper published in London was the *London Post*, in 1704, in the Augustan age of English literature, as Queen Anne's reign has been called. The very date recalls the fact that from the first the newspapers of the day had a literary quality, which has never been absent from English journalism. Addison, in the *Spectator*, and Richard Steele, in the *Tatler*, anticipated in many ways the periodicals and weeklies of our own time in the delightful essays on men and things which are so distinctive and graceful a part of English letters. I know no pleasanter form of cultured enjoyment to-day than to take from the shelves of an English library, in its fine calf binding mellowed with the rich tone of years that have passed, a volume of the *Spectator*, and read what we should call either a descriptive article or a short story from the pen of Addison, or of even one of his staff of pleasant scholars. In the British Press of to-day there is not much of this sort of writing, and the light touch and pretty fancy of the English essay has almost vanished from our pages. Perhaps our reading public is of coarser stuff, and prefers mysteries and what are called in the trade "human interest" stories, the "sob stuff" of the American Press. I think it is a pity, but pity 'tis 'tis true. It is curious to note that both in the American Colonies and in Canada, so soon as we were there, and in Parkinson's phrase "a happier calamity never befell a nation than the conquest of Canada by the British arms," the beginnings and subsequent growth of the newspaper press was very much on the same lines as in England. They are a spontaneous growth of national character and public requirements. They preserved the independent characteristics of their British model and they kept clear for the most part of Government connection and, at all events, of Government manipulation and mastery.

How different this was from the development of the Press in other countries of the world. In France, before the Revolution, the newspaper, so far as it was allowed, was under a censorship and control compared to which our Star Chamber was a liberal institution. Then came the French Revolution, and for the first time was established the principle, which has always been acted upon since, in the political life of France. Every statesman and almost every politician of note or ambition has his paper and uses it as a lever for raising himself to power and office. In his essays on "La Societe Francaise," de Goncourt says, "journalism emerged in full armour from the brain of the Revolution and from its birth it was the arena of the great battle. Child of 1789, it had no childhood. Like some rivers its source was so broad that it emerged to rule public opinion." The newspaper was the war-cry, the challenge the attack and defence, the national assembly where all the world speaks and replies, and which gives the one to the other national assembly. "It is a speaking flag, and every cause hoists its own flag."

This has meant a basic difference in the whole conception of newspaper values, and it has completely sapped and undermined the independence and the integrity of a large part of the European Press. It is true of many papers published abroad that they are in receipt of subsidies from foreign Governments, as well as from their own, and before the Great War, when European chancelleries had more money at their disposal, it was the rule rather than the exception. In Germany, what was called in Bismarck's day the "Röpple Press" meant that the papers coming under that category took their orders daily from the Chancellor and were often made, as we know from the memoirs which have since appear-

ed, to publish false and misleading reports in order to mislead public opinion, both at home and abroad. This was the maxim of the great Napoleon, who used lying despatches in the *Moniteur* to deceive the enemy by what is called "the fog of war." He had utmost contempt and hatred for those whom he called "those scoundrels of journalists," who presumed to criticise the State or, what was worse, the Army, and his Minister of Police was constantly on their tracks. To show that this tradition is not extinct, I bear of the case of some Belgian journalists at the Cannes Conference who were threatened with expulsion from France, because they had published what was, undoubtedly, a true report of something that had been said by Monsieur Briand, the then Prime Minister, but which it was inconvenient to have made known to the world.

In Great Britain there was a censorship during the Great War, and I do not believe that it would be possible to wage war under modern conditions without some sort of control, but its working was universally admitted to have been unsatisfactory, and at times even ridiculous. In the first place, you can do any thing with words, even to eating them, and almost as much mischief from a military point of view can be done by a negative as by an affirmative. If you had the perfect censor perfectly informed, it would be easy going within limitations, but when his duty is put in commission among an army of subordinates, who are often given their job as a compassionate allowance or because they are unfit for anything else, the blunders that are made become the laughing stock of the country. Then you damp down public fervour and patriotic enthusiasm, without which national wars, necessitating national armies, cannot be carried on to the bitter end. It seems to me that the best kind of control is self-control with a reserve of executive force behind it, and I hope that in future this principle may be adopted.

It is the spirit of independence which has made the newspaper Press so great a power throughout the British Dominions, and bids fair to make it the greatest power in our democratic states, John Walter, the second, had succeeded his father in the control of *The Times*, in 1803, and when he died, in 1867, the writer of the obituary in that paper could say of his career, "Whilst other men found a refuge for intellectual weakness or moral instability in pledging their faith to a statesman, a party, a theory, or a class, he never forgot that such things were made for man, and not a man for them. No sooner did he perceive that a party was irreclaimably selfish or a Minister irremediably committed to anti-national measures, to corrupt associations, or to imbecile and, therefore, injurious policy, no sooner was it evident that the temptation to power had prevailed over the public spirit of the statesman, than he promptly and openly withdrew his support that had been tendered only for the public advantage." When, in 1855, the penny daily entered history, it heralded its arrival on the same note. The *Daily Telegraph*, which had been taken over three months after its first publication as *Daily Telegraph and Courier* by my grandfather, who had always printed it, announced in its introductory leader: "We shall be bound with fetters of no party; we will be fearlessly independent, not the independence of unchecked and thoughtless attack but the independence of utterance befitting reflecting Englishmen."

To be continued.

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This book is an attempt to place before those who may not have had sufficient acquaintance with the original Sanskrit works on the Vedanta a popular presentation of the basic principles of that great philosophy in a language largely free from technicalities. To a great many of the present-day Hindus, who have passed through the press of modern English education and have been systematically trained to look down upon the ancient vedic culture, the very word 'Vedanta' has come to be repulsive. There are some however who though they do not possess any adequate conception of the Vedanta, may not be quite averse to learn, and this work is mainly intended for their use.

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THE VEDANTA—ITS ETHICAL ASPECT

BY

K. SUNDARARAMA AIYAR, M.A.

OPINIONS.

In recent years there have been many publications in English on Hindu philosophy, notably on the Vedanta. Translations have been made of great works for the Sacred Books of the East Series, and for Trubner's Oriental Series. But on the exposition of the Vedanta solely from the orthodox and traditional point of view there have been few or no books of any great authority hitherto. We therefore welcome Prof. Sundararama Iyer's valuable work "The Vedanta: Its Ethical Aspect." The learned author is peculiarly well-fitted for the task he has undertaken. He has spent over thirty years of his life as a professor trained in Western methods of study, critical and historical, and has been a Professor of History and Philosophy in several of the Government Colleges in this Presidency. Unlike Indian authors trained only in the orthodox and traditional school, he has a thorough and accurate grasp and knowledge of Western philosophy and metaphysics. The book is intended as the first part of series on the Elements of the Vedanta doctrine of Sri Sankaracharya. The Advaita student is given a thorough grounding in many preliminary topics, a good knowledge of which is necessary for a deeper study of the Vedanta. In undertaking the task of answering the questions, What am I?, Whence am I?, Why am I here?, What is my relation to the material objects and individuals around me?, Whether am I bound?, Prof. Sundararama Iyer has sought to clear the fundamental doctrines of Karma and Samsara from a great deal of the misunderstanding which has grown around them, and has also succeeded in giving a rational and, as far as possible, scientific explanation of them. He points out how belief in them has penetrated the ancient social and religious organisations of Hindus and coloured their conception of their duties to man, society and the state. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those which deal with "Karma and Service", "Karma and Self-help", and "Karma and Fatalism". The learned Professor shows how the doctrine of Karma has been confounded with Fatalism, and how belief in Karma in no way militates against the doctrine of Free Will. The Vedanta, the author says, happily combines the inevitable results of tendencies from past karma and the counteraction of present effort and thus harmonises the traditional opposition between the doctrines of Free Will and Fate.

—*The Madras Mail.*

The publications of the Sri Vani Vilas Press have made a name for themselves. The present publication has well kept the high standard and is a solid contribution to the Vedanta literature. The subject matter of the book cannot be discussed at length in the short space available, but we strongly recommend the book to the students of Vedanta.

—*The Mahratta*

It is with much pleasure that we welcome this publication which is, we believe, the almost first attempt made by a competent scholar to set forth and expound in English the true Hindu view of Karma and its place in the Vedanta philosophy, as presented in the authoritative writings which form the foundation of Vedic Religion and to compare and contrast the same with the several Ethical Ideals advocated in the West. We need hardly say that Professor Sundararama Aiyar possesses in a preeminent degree the qualifications essential for entering upon such a task. Besides being thoroughly conversant with the leading works which have been written in English on History, Philosophy, Ethics and Religion, Professor Sundararama Iyer has sat with eminent Sanskrit Pandits like the late Maha Mahopadhyaya Ganapathy Sastrial and has devoted several years to the study of the leading Hindu Scriptures and the commentaries thereon by Sankara and other great philosophers; and his work under review bears in every page ample evidence of his varied and extensive learning on the subjects in question. Prof. Sundararama Iyer presents a rare and refreshing spectacle of a modern scholar turning to the Sacred Books in Sanskrit, not for the purpose of exploiting them with a view to propound some fantastic theories in Philology and Chronology, but for the very proper and legitimate purpose of learning and expounding the essential truths of Religion and Philosophy enshrined in such ancient writings. Within the short space of a newspaper review we cannot do full justice to, nor even give an adequate idea of, the several topics of Ethics and Philosophy discussed in this interesting volume. It deserves the careful perusal throughout of every educated Hindu who has still left a remnant of faith in his ancient Scriptures and Sages.

It is exceedingly in the fitness of things that Prof. Sundararama Aiyar should employ the evening of his life to such ennobling studies on Vedanta and we hope he will be spared for several years more with health and strength so that he may devote his great knowledge and talents to the production of similar works for the benefit of his less enlightened countrymen.

The Hindu.

Divan Bahadur A. Govinda Pillai, Retired, High Court Judge: Trivandrum, writes in the *Svarajya*:—

This is a valuable contribution to the literature on Hinduism, coming as it does, from a very distinguished exponent of both eastern and western culture. Its masterly exposition of the eternal truths of Vedanta, as expounded by our revered sages, will be an eye-opener to our educated brethren of the present day who are enveloped by the materialistic culture of the west.

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