THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way"—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.

—The Voice of the Silence

VOL. XII JUNE 1941 No. 6

THE RELIGION OF THE MYSTIC

In this issue we commence a series of articles on Mysticism by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, well-known for his love of spiritual culture. He is a devout Brahamana, learned in the lore of his faith; he is also a liberal-minded seeker of philosophical and occult truths wherever these may be found, though he writes, naturally, from the stand-point of a Hindu.

Mysticism is of vital importance to the individual as it is to humanity. But a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding about it prevails in the minds of the people. The mistaken mystics have done serious harm by their vagaries to the study and the practice of mysticism; many a so-called mystic-occultist has brought discredit upon genuine mysticism, which is synonymous with true occultism. Fictitious and fanciful expositions, by the thousand, circulate in every country of the world. A forged rupee-note points to the existence of the true; one must, however, know the true in order to reject the false. But there are expounders who, if they do not write out of the depth of experience, do so from careful book-learning; among such expositions are genuine paper-notes, which are not themselves the gold coins but which represent them.

In the examination of mysticism we are confronted with a double difficulty. First, we have to distinguish between the false and the true types. Secondly, we have to discriminate between the mystic who, emerging from the sectarian's tomb, carries on himself the marks of his erstwhile mouldy beliefs, and the real mystic who, having freed himself from creedal bias, experiences and expounds universal verities which are of the stainless purity of the white light, and which make a direct appeal to the human heart because they are truths which are self-evident. There is talk of Hindu mystics and Muslim mystics and Christian mys-

tics : in reality, they are not mystics if they are sectarians. If they hold to universal values and labour for universal good, then they cannot be Hindus, Muslims, or Christians, but Mystics–Occultists–Theosophists, in the true sense of these synonyms.

Every man has two religions–first, the outer, the creed into which he is born or into which he becomes converted; second, the inner, the faith of which he is made—the mind of his heart and the heart of his mind. The first is nominal, the second real. A man is not what he calls himself but what he is. There are good and bad Christians as there are good and bad Hindus. The repetition of the Three Refuges and the Five Don't's does not make a man a Buddhist. A man is not a Rationalist because he calls himself a Freethinker. A man's real or inner religion manifests in his character and through his hourly conduct.

The upward advance of the human Ego is a series of progressive awakenings. Through religious sectarianism, through secular education, or in some other way man wakes to the truth that purpose underlies the harmony of Nature—the majestic march of the heavenly orbs, the rhythmic beating of human hearts. This awaking to the truth that Nature is not a chaos but a cosmos—a movement which is an orderly procession—and that there is a purpose which may be divined is an initiation into the mysteries; it is the conception of the mystic to be born. In his antenatal life the quickening occurs when the mystic-to-be glimpses another great truth, *viz.*, that man is the microcosm of the macrocosm. Man's face is the Microprosopus, an exact copy of Macroprosopus, the Great Countenance. Man cannot sense, feel, or know the cosmic harmony except by reference to the corresponding harmony within himself. It is not difficult for an ordinary educated man to sense that Nature is one mighty harmony. It is difficult to sense that a corresponding harmony reigns in man himself. It is most difficult, however, and an out of the ordinary experience to have a clear intimation that an indissoluble relation subsists between the oval of the human face and the ellipse of the manifested universe.

The entire cosmos is focused in the retina of the human eye. Human sight does not reach out to the distant moon; the latter reflects itself in the eye. The ordinary man does not recognize the symbolic message of this phenomenon and of kindred ones; but the mystic does. And sensing the implications of the message the mystic concludes that man and god are not two separate beings, but constitute a single state or condition of consciousness. This mental conclusion has to be experienced and realized, and so the mystic attempts the great realization—to become That which he is.

On the path of practice leading to realization the mystic encounters

two obstacles. His personal and sectarian biases, prejudices and predilections make one formidable enemy. In freeing himself from the tentacles of this octopus to rise to the plane of Truth, free and independent, he falls in the clutches of the demon called Individualism. Some people fancy licence to be liberty, and similarly, in breaking its fetters, some mystical minds err in evaluating their own experiences. Many a mystic thinks that his own psychic and psychological experiences cannot but be true. Both Revelation *(Shruti)* and Tradition *(Smriti)* have their false and their true aspects. When the fallible revelations of the mundane world which are passed off as infallible are pierced through and through, the Revelations of the World of Immortals are contacted and then heard, thought upon and at last realized. Truth of Wisdom is constant and eternal, one and indivisible, and Wise Ones—long, long generations of Them—have rediscovered it. It is the self-same truth which, cycle after cycle, the mystic-occultist finds and attaining the highest peak he exclaims : " I am verily the Supreme Brahman," " I am the Truth," "I and my Father are One."

Those who opine that Revelation and Tradition are useless err greatly, perhaps as greatly as those who fix their gaze upon " holy books " made by learners and pupil-teachers. Every true and genuine mystic experiences the same enlightenment and expounds the same truth, however varied the language of parables which each uses to convey that which is unconveyable in the plain language of men.

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MYSTICISM

I.—WHAT IS MYSTICISM ?

The religious life begins with external ritual. It is prone to search for hints of divinity in Nature, and it will seek self-expression in the company of fellow-devotees. But as it develops it is naturally thrown back on itself and seeks solitude; it tries to reach self-knowledge and searches for hints of Divinity within. But the acme of the spiritual life is reached only when the realm without and the realm within are seen to be both expressions of the One, and the searcher attains unity with the object of his search. At that stage, the striver is full of bliss, whether he is immersed in contemplation or in the service of others. He becomes, as Brierley says, " an auditory nerve of the Eternal. "

It may be asked whether such mystic spiritual experience is a reality. The pragmatic man who is lost in the maze and labyrinth of *Vishayas* or external facts of nature can never understand such a level

of realization. Wherever he turns, he knocks his head against one stone wall or another. He is, therefore, unable to cognise or to realize the infinite freedom or bliss of the Spirit *(Ātman)*.

The various theories, that religion had its origin in dreams or in ghosts, or is mere fulfilment of our wish to lessen life's sorrows, to prolong our existence and to affirm an offset to the inequalities and injustices of earthly life, do not really touch the essence of religion. Nor is religion a mere neurosis of humanity, nor a mere opiate for the people, nor a mere subjective illusion, nor is it self-hypnotism. Religion is due to the innate sense of the infinite freedom and joy of the soul. Freud may be a great thinker but he has not understood the heart of religion.

Nor is there any truth or value in naturalism or humanism. Both Nature and Man point to something deeper and higher and greater than both. Our writing of nature with a capital N or our vainglorious description of man with a capital M, as the measure and the master of things, cannot invest them with a sanctity and a perfection not their own. The sense of the infinite and immanent divinity is the deepest reality in us. As Tennyson says in *The Two Voices* :—

> Who forged that other influence
> That heat of inward evidence
> By which he doubts against the sense ?

What right have we to say with a cheap air of chuckling superiority that an honest God is the noblest work of man ? All that is mere flash of phrase and nothing more. The view of William James that " if the hypothesis of God works satisfactorily in the widest sense of the term, it is true " is an effective answer to such a view. Even if we rest religion on the pragmatic basis of finer humanity in the spheres of individual, national and international life, such values alone would be a good test of its truth. A firmer hold on life and a greater composure and harmony are noble values. But the inner urge for infiniteness is a far better proof of our infiniteness, and the best proof of all is *yogic* perception of the infinite Being and our mystical communion and union with it. Deity is not an illusion or a theory, but a Reality. Beatitude is not a postulate but an experience.

The glory of Religion is that it reveals and enables us to realize eternal reality. Its essence is the throb of personal, intimate experience. A religious system comes later than a religious realization and is of less value and has less appeal than religious experience. Mystical religion differs from institutional religion as the former relies on inner vision whereas the latter relies on rites and ceremonies, on myths and institutions. Mystical experience is religious experience of the most direct, immediate, intense and intimate type. Intuition is the inner eye of intellect, just as intellect is the inner eye of man. Mystical experience is the experience of the whole of life as irradiated by the

light divine. The scientific man and the man of the world are prone to regard it as a pathological state, as a manifestation of hysteria ! But prayer, communion and union can and do co-exist with perfect sanity of body and mind. There is a mental state which is richer than knowledge or feeling and is a fusion of both into something which transcends both. This mood of introspection and intuition is thus beautifully described by the great English mystic poet Wordsworth (*The Excursion*, Book I) :—

In such access of mind, in such high hours
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the Power
That made him; it was blessedness and love.

Matthew Arnold has said with equal charm and truth (*Buried Life*):-

A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast,
And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again
And then he thinks he knows
The hills where his life rose
And the sea where it goes.

How else can we explain our experience of divine odours and voices and visions and contacts ? As J. A. Picton says well :—

Mysticism consists in the spiritual realization of a grander and a boundless unity that humbles all self-assertion *by dissolving it in a wider glory.*

The religious experience has been beautifully described as being " in the borderland between longing and knowing. " It begins as an intimation and a hope and grows into a vision and a fulfilment. Perhaps the most charming description of it occurs in Wordsworth's famous poem " Tintern Abbey " :—

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

The joy of a rich religious experience transcends even the joy of a rich æsthetic experience. Mr. F. E. England says well in his excellent work *The Validity of Religious Experience* :—

In truth, it would seem that the more religious a man is, the more prone he is to forsake the cognitive way for the mystical.

The test of the validity of the religious experience is its immediacy and its ineffability. The great mystic Bernard of Clairvaux says :—

Great is the philosopher who seeks the eternal by means of thought; but greatest of all is he who, spurning sense and intellect, soars by direct flight to the Divine.

He hears the flute call of the Beyond. Logic must blossom into life and life must become the ripe fruit of the super-life. The phenomenon must reveal the noumenon.

It is an error to contrast Religion with Philosophy. The West did so to the prejudice of both. But India never did so. The diversity between religion and philosophy—and it is diversity, not difference—is only a

diversity of emphasis. The cognitive element preponderates in Philosophy without excluding emotion. The emotional element preponderates in Religion without excluding reason. Philosophy postulates and proves God while Religion reveals God and leads us to communion and eventual union with Him. Philosophy uses the organon of Intellect while Religion uses the organon of Intuition.

The nature of the soul is *Sachchidānanda*: Being, Consciousness and Bliss. The body and the mind are subject to the laws of determinism. The soul is self-determined, joyful and free. It stands beyond the space-time continuum and is essentially divine. It has an existence of its own beyond mere response to external stimuli. This divinity, immanent in all, draws the individualised Self into itself like a magnet. It is the "unmoved Mover drawing individuals ever onward towards himself as a lover draws the beloved."

Such a realization is not a theory but an experience of communion and union with God. The root is faith, the blossom is love and the fruit is union. We begin with "authentic tidings of invisible things," to use Wordsworth's language. But the gospel kindles love which becomes an uncontrollable yearning, which seeks and finds fulfilment in passionate, inseparable union. The Spanish mystic St. John of the Cross says :—

The end I have in view is the divine embracing, the union of the soul with the divine Substance. In this living and obscure Knowledge God unites Himself with the soul eminently and divinely....This knowledge consists in a certain contact of the soul with the Divinity, and it is God Himself who is then felt and tasted, though not manifestly and distinctly, as it will be in glory. We believe that this touch is most substantial, and that the Substance of God touches the substance of the soul. The sweetness of delight which this touch occasions *baffles all descriptions*....It is the contact of pure substance, of the soul and the Divinity.

So long as God is imagined as an extra-cosmic creator and ruler, the sense of distance between God and Man will overawe and appal us. But as soon as we entertain and ponder over the concept that God is the core of our own being and is immanent in us and in the world, while transcending both, a new sense of companionship comes to us and we feel the intimacy of a new communion and the bliss of a new union.

It is from such a lofty point of view that we must consider the concept of sin. The Semitic religions stress it. Hinduism also stresses it, and in the *Gita* Sri Krishna says that he will redeem us from sin if we believe in Him and love Him. But the idea of sin implies a Divine command and a breach of it. Such a command implies a ruler and a subject. But when God is realized as the core of our being, the idea

of sin is realized as rooted in ignorance of our true nature. Hence we reach the basic concept of *Avidyā* or *Ajnāna*. Once we know our true nature, we cannot set our lower self in opposition to our highest self. It is in fact a second and spiritual rebirth for us.

It is from this angle that we must understand Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. Desire leads to eviction from Paradise, and Love leads us into Paradise again. It is this contrast between the life of *Rāga* (desire) and the life of *Yōga* (union) that is the pivot of the teaching in the *Gita*.

Thus to be spiritual is not to be merely ethical. It is not mere righteousness or service or philanthropy, though it is based thereon, because it involves a shifting of centre from mine to Ours. It is not mere right doing or refraining from wrong-doing. It is a positive freedom and bliss, a direct communion with the Divine, an intimate union with God, an infinite and eternal thrill and ecstasy. A spiritual person will of course lead an ethical life, not from volitional choice but because of an inherent impeccability and an instinctive shrinking from a violation of the blissful love and purity of the spiritual nature. He will not turn away from *Karma* (action) but when he performs *Karma* he will do so as Sri Krishna did, *i. e.*, in the spirit of *Lokasangraha* (guiding the world aright) and in the mood of *Asanga* (detachment). The man who realizes God must learn to act just as incarnate God acts in his state of *Avatāra* (incarnation). That is the meeting point of the divinisation of man and the humanisation of God. Righteousness blossoms into holiness and the fruitage is bliss. Plato says :—

> The perfect life would be a life of perfect communion with other souls, as well as with the Soul which animates the universe.

Thus the Religious life is born as righteousness, grows into mysticism and is consummated in ecstasy. Mysticism is the corridor leading from righteousness to bliss. It is wrong to regard mysticism as mere individualism, because, though it seeks isolation for the sake of contemplation, yet the perfection of contemplation leads the spirit to God and then brings it back into the world in a new mood and with a new power. It is also wrong to confuse mysticism and magic. Magic seeks power over Nature, but Mysticism seeks communion with Nature and the realization of the common source of Nature and of Man. Magic results in a man's being bloated with desire and pride and egoism. Mysticism results in victory over desire and in being full of humility and of altruism.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

THE DRAGON'S TEETH

[Paul E. Johnson indicates in the following article a way out of the impasse humanity is now in. His message is both timely and constructive. With him, we believe that the pressing need of the hour is "a change of heart," and that no solution can be adequate unless it rises from a Spiritual Source.—ED.]

Before history, life flourished on this planet. Gigantic animals, lumbering dinosaurs and flying dragons crashed through the swamps and battled among the tree-ferns. Out of the cradle of Central Asia, as from a boiling cauldron, spread human streams of population. The sons of Han pushed eastward across deserts, over mountains, along streams and settled in the fertile plains of China. Here they made social history with a family system that knit together the passions and the interests of life in well-ordered units of mutual aid, respect and loyalty. They made moral history with civilized customs of courtesy, responsibility, benevolence, righteousness, peace and harmony.

These ancient pioneers meditated upon the way of heaven. "Heaven strives not, but it is sure to conquer it; it works patiently but is sure of its designs." They learned the power of non-violence, the steady progress of patient growth. In their dealings with each other, they practised the art of social adjustment. When buyers and sellers disagreed as to the fair price for goods, they reached a bargain by meeting each other half-way. When family quarrels arose, they were carried into the streets for impromptu public hearings, during which the neighbours became informal courts of arbitration, arriving by compromise at peaceful solutions. When conquering hordes of Mongol, Tartar and Manchu invaders swept over China, the barbarians came to admire the superior culture which returned good for evil. "The good I meet with goodness, the bad I meet also with goodness, that is virtue's goodness."

Aryans marched southward, along the Indus Valley, to build their civilization upon the beneficence of Nature under a friendly heaven. To their intimate knowledge, Nature appeared Divine, and God was "nearer than breathing, closer than hands and feet." The gulf between man and Reality narrows until the eager seeker finds himself united in holy communion with the Goal of his deepest desires. "That art thou," and all is one. In this deepening sense of religious unity, the true seer recognizes Divinity in every form of life and comes to reverence every creature as a sacred revelation of the glory of God.

The social ideal of Hindu and Buddhist civilizations has come out of their religious view that all is one. Divisions of creed and of caste are incidental and accidental, the barriers of race and of nation are the

artificial invention of men in their foolish pride and provincial blindness. In reality, there are no walls of separation, no borders of breed or of birth, but all creatures are temporary manifestations of the Eternal Reality. The business of every man is to restore this broken unity, to return from the veil of separate illusion to the open communion of universal harmony. From the deceits and despairs, the confusions and conflicts of a competitive struggle for existence man may take refuge in the peace of Divine Love.

Who hateth naught
Of all which lives, living himself benign,
Compassionate, from arrogance exempt,
Exempt from love of self, unchangeable
By good or ill; patient, contented, firm
In faith, mastering himself, true to his word,
Seeking Me, heart and soul, vowed unto Me,–
That man I love !

Another migration moved westward into the Valley of the Euphrates and along the rim of deserts to the Mediterranean and the Nile. Semitic peoples, in their economic and social dealings with one another, developed laws of justice, kindness and hospitality, framed in codes of Hammurabi and Moses to speak a common language of peaceful freedom. Idolatry and human sacrifice yielded to the recognition of a compassionate God who demanded not conquest and slaughter but, in the glorious visions of the Hebrew prophets, love and unselfish service. " He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? "

This prophetic insight culminates in a new testament centring upon the teaching and example of Jesus who loved his enemies and blessed those who despitefully used him, even when nailed upon a cross, praying " Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." A Christian movement spread outward in quest of a spiritual kingdom not of pomp and violence but of humility and brotherhood, of equality and devoted service to the infinite worth of every human personality.

But even while these spiritual seeds of peace and unity blossomed into the flowering of one civilization after another, other seeds fell upon the same soil and grew into rank evils that sorely beset our hope of a good life on this planet. The Greeks have an ancient legend of Jason who sowed the dragon's teeth, from which there sprang armed warriors who turned fiercely upon each other until they had destroyed each other in combat, and left a bloody field of death as the graveyard of their passions. This legend has unfortunately become history. Mad with battle-lust, men rush blindly on to a fatal destruction of our fairest hopes in the blood-soaked ruins of a promising civilization.

The cries for peace have not brought peace to our world. After centuries of bitter contest among the peoples of the earth the twentieth century was hailed as the dawn of sanity and of conciliation. But restless ambition for power and for conquest has sown again the fields of every continent

with seeds of vastly greater violence. Since 1914, science has been prostituted to the wholesale slaughter of life, and the flood-gates of passion have loosed a deluge of hatred to overwhelm the world in treachery and strife. China writhes under the heel of Japanese aggression; Ethiopia is shattered by the Italian military machine; Poland and Czechoslovakia are devoured by insatiable Nazi domination; Finland is overpowered by her giant neighbour. What next in this mad rush of power to destruction ?

Who will be the next victim of ruthless aggression? The smaller nations of Europe may well tremble. And, as the present conflict spreads to other continents, no nation can be secure. No group within a nation, no family or individual can feel secure while lust is unleashed and violence stalks abroad. Security has fled before the dragon's teeth. Neither life nor property, liberty nor justice can be safe where moral restraints are hurled aside in the scramble for power. Every value is at risk: not only economic and bodily values, but also values of truth and honesty, of loyalty and faithful association, of honour and character, are at stake. Everything we hold dear, every good that makes life worth living, every treasure that our fathers toiled and cherished to pass on to us, is tottering before the assaults of this hot will to power.

The present crisis can scarcely be exaggerated. We stand at the cross-roads that may lead us to a hell of destruction or a heaven of redemption. And we will have to choose for ourselves either the broad way that leads to death or the narrow way that leads to life. Yet the crisis is not between this nation or that nation, or even between political forms of government, such as communism or fascism. H. N. Spalding in his recently published *Civilization in East and West* seeks to distinguish historically the biological state, the materialist state, the moral state and the spiritual state. But what state is all of one kind ? Does not every state have a complex of contradictory tendencies, counteracting each other within its corporate life ? Each social group is composed of many individuals with diversities of interests and desires, and hardly can the most totalitarian regimentation weld these divergences into uniformity.

There is truth in the thesis, however, that materialistic desires bring life under the yoke of aggression and oppression. Those who seek the material values of property and of wealth, or far-flung boundaries defended by military armament, enslave themselves to the pride and pomp of such possessions. The deceitfulness of material riches is not only in their illusory comparative worth, but also in their deceptive display of power. The power of material gain is the loss of spiritual freedom and value. "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul ?" So long as we continue to lust after material gain and political power to dominate and to dictate the destiny of others, we are sell-

ing ourselves into slavery to that very lust which dominates our freedom and consigns our spirits to destruction. In every nation and in every individual life, this crisis holds the defeat or the success of the divinity that is within us.

Is there any way out of the impasse in which the surge of recent events has caught us? There is always an open way, even at this late hour, if we have eyes to see, and wisdom to choose. The better way is to choose the kingdom of God rather than the kingdom of demoniac power. At every moment each of us may choose heavenly treasure of the spirit or earthly gains of a material kind. Whatever the nation or the race, whatever the creed or the party affiliation, we are deciding our destiny in this crucial choice. The religious decision offers security, for heavenly treasure is subject neither to moth nor to rust nor to thieves who break in to steal. The political choice brings insecurity, fear and distrust of every rival to that tottering power. The religious way offers adventure supreme, in the sacrifice of the seen for the unseen, in the forgoing of the temporal for the eternal, in daring to trust the larger good in the face of threatening evils. The political way lures the adventurer on, from superficial gains to deeper losses, from material wealth to spiritual poverty, from selfish power to selfish weakness, from a momentary rise to an ultimate downfall.

Our crisis cannot be met by anything less than a change of heart. External reforms, better government, wiser legislation, programmes for economic justice and social welfare have their place. Yet none of them is adequate to the needs of our time. No institution or political system can save us unless we correct the ills of human nature. Economic and political problems will have to be solved but that solution must rise from a spiritual source. The way out of the jungle begins at the point where all of us find ourselves, even though we may have lost the way. The end of barbarism is the beginning that everyone can make at this moment, in his own inner choices. It is the way of repentance for our sins of greed and of lust. It is the way of decision to seek first the spiritual kingdom of God in truth and in love. Then there will be no property or position to quarrel over, but treasures of the spirit that multiply in the sharing.

The way of spiritual desire that begins with each of us cannot thereby remain a lonely enterprise. My way of seeking God must join your way of spiritual growth, and our united way of heavenly progress must meet others in their ways. Earnest travellers of every creed and nation must become joyous comrades of the common way of religious devotion to the one God and Father of us all, in whose family we are called as brothers to bear one another's burdens and to serve one another's needs. By every word of kindness, by every deed of love, by every touch of sympathy and of devotion to others' welfare we sow seeds of divine goodness that shall together outgrow and outlive the dragon's brood of strife and of destruction. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," to everyone who hath ears to hear.

PAUL E. JOHNSON

CRAFTSMANSHIP AND CULTURE IN INDIA

THE FIVE TRADES

[V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the University of Madras History Department brings out in this article some interesting facts about the admirable organization of society in ancient and mediæval India and shows craft guilds, which appeared in Europe only in mediæval times, to have been flourishing in India long before the Christian era. Economically self-contained and politically autonomous, and with a culture which more than made up in depth what it may seem to have lacked in breadth, the village democracies of this country established an all-time record for smooth functioning and for longevity. They hold a lesson for the wide and shallow culture of the machine age.—Ed.]

From the earliest times India has been a land primarily of villages, nearly seventy-five per cent. of its population living on the land and by agriculture. Every village was once a tiny rural republic, self-sufficient and self-contained. This was because agriculture went hand in hand with what we now speak of as cottage industries. It is well known that the agricultural population is thrown out of employment in non-agricultural seasons, and this means, strictly speaking, that the Indian rural population is unemployed for about six months in a year. But ancient India faced this problem of unemployment among the peasants squarely by introducing handicrafts which went a long way to supplement the agricultural industry, and which kept the rural labourer not idle but actively plying a trade which brought him his livelihood even though it was not the agricultural season. Added to this was the conception which permeated the ancient Indian folk that agriculture was a noble industry and that a certain dignity attached to it. This was more true of South India where the village system of self-government continued to flourish down to modern times. That good friend of India Sir George Birdwood speaks of a modern village in India thus :—

> Outside the entrance of the single village street, on an exposed rise of ground, the hereditary potter sits by his wheel moulding the swift revolving clay by the natural curves of his hands. At the back of the houses which form the low irregular street, there are two or three looms at work in blue and scarlet and gold, the frames hanging between the acacia trees, the yellow flowers of which drop fast on the bales as they are being woven. In the street the brass and copper smiths are hammering away at their pots and pans; and further down in the verandah of the rich man's house, is the jeweller working rupees and gold mohurs into fair jewellery, gold and silver ear-rings, and round tires like the moon, bracelets and tablets and nose-rings, and

tinkling ornaments for the feet, taking his designs from the fruits and flowers around him, or from the traditional forms represented in the paintings and carvings of the great temple, which rises over the grove of mangoes and palms at the end of the street about the lotus-covered village tank. [1]

The beginnings of civilisation are all connected with the art of agriculture. The first scenes of agricultural industry were laid on the banks of the majestic rivers, with waters flowing almost throughout the year. Speaking of our country, agriculture was flourishing from prehistoric times on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, as also on the distant Kaveri of South India. Two thousand years ago the Tamil *Tirukkural*, which takes rank with the Sanskrit *Bhagavad-Gita* and the Buddhist *Dhammapada*, had a definite statement that the principal industry of the people was agriculture, on which hung all other arts and crafts. The husbandman wanted a plough and shelter and clothing. These were supplied by the master craftsmen of the village community. To them the usual payment was made in kind. Each artisan and handiworker was entitled to a share of the grain of the village besides some perquisites on marriage and other festive occasions. When they had no work, the husbandmen joined the artisans and helped them in their crafts, and thereby helped themselves. Besides the ordinary villages there were what were known as craft villages and in these territorial units the simple but elegant industries of the village were localised. What we cannot yet achieve the ancient Indians achieved by simpler processes. In the course of time some members of the village community had to leave for a town or city in the neighbourhood where their services were required. Such settlements of these artisans and craftsmen were the nucleus for the rapid rise in India of several polytechnic cities, as they have been called. In these cities, if we can believe the evidence of the epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and of the Buddhist *Jatakas*, these various craftsmen formed themselves into guilds to protect their own interests against aggression either by rivals or by the State. Each guild was a power in itself. Each had its own laws and constitution and the State often respected these powerful and influential corporations. This was true of both North and South India. The South Indian inscriptions bear handsome testimony to the existence of such guild organisations in the different cities of South India. Though we do not hear much of the activities of these corporate organisations in North India after the period of Harsha, these institutions persisted in South India and cannot yet be said to have completely disappeared.

Whatever the territorial unit—a village or a city—the craftsmen there

1 *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 135.

were engaged in a host of cottage industries to supply the primary and secondary needs of the villagers and citizens. There were two classes of craftsmen, one group holding a status higher than the other. The superior craftsmen were known by the general name Kammara even in the *Jatakas* of the sixth century before Christ. It is interesting that this term has continued in that very sense to the present day. In South India the term *Kammalar* stands for a community of skilled craftsmen, though this expression is now more or less restricted to the community of goldsmiths and jewellers. These Kammalar have been claiming through the ages some higher social status, and have now and then been offered special privileges by the reigning chieftains of the different periods. A certain social consciousness has urged the members of this community to appeal to the Government that they might be called Visvakarma Brahmanas. They claim that they are the direct descendants of the distinguished progenitor Visvakarma, son of Vastu, the divine architect of the arts and crafts.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Craftsman* records a tradition that Visvakarman gave birth to five sons who took to different occupations and that from that time crafts became hereditary. These sons were:—

1. Manu, who represented the iron industry. The community of blacksmiths claims descent from him.

2. Maya, who took to the profession of seasoning wood and utilising it for different purposes of house-building and the like. The descendants of this son are the community of carpenters.

3. Tvastri, who was the ancestor of the group of founders and alloy workers in metals like brass and copper.

4. Silpi, who worked primarily on stone and stone architecture. The community of masons and bricklayers look to Silpi as their progenitor.

5. And lastly Visvajna, the father of all goldsmiths and silversmiths and of all jewellers in general.

In this way were born the major craftsmen and crafts of Indian villages. Notwithstanding their interesting origins as recorded by this tradition, the generally accepted notion is that while Visvakarman was the divine architect, Maya was the architect of the Asuras, though *Mayamatam* is one of the accredited texts on architecture, as also a number of Silpa sastras. However this may be, the fact remains that all these, *viz.*, the blacksmiths, the carpenters, the founders, the masons and the goldsmiths, formed one compact group of major craftsmen to begin with. In the course of time, with increasing numbers of the community, they separated into five sects determined by the occupations hereditarily followed.

As a result of frequent intercourse between South India and Ceylon from the time of the *Ramayana*, if not earlier, we meet with a number of cultural drifts from the Peninsula into the Island. According to a Sinhalese poem of the fifteenth century, the five trades in Ceylon are those of the carpenter, the tailor, the washerman, the barber and leather-worker. The fundamental fact of *five trades* has been accepted but the five in one age were not the five in another age. So we find a difference in the occupations pursued by these five groups in Ceylon. We generally read of as many as eighteen occupational castes in the Buddhist *Jataka* literature and in epigraphy, besides in Tamil literary works. These occupational castes were deemed indispensable to the village community for its moral and material welfare. They made each village a self-contained unit of the State. Each such community was a group within a group, and the ancient Indian organisation was an extension of functional democracy in its working. Though these eighteen occupational guilds had their own allotted functions and places in the village community, still there were certain superior trades, trades without which it was impossible for even the simple rural folk to get on.

The five crafts of Ceylon were not the five found in South India or even in Mysore, where these five groups are known as *Panchavala*. In Tamil inscriptions we frequently meet with *Pancha Kammalar* or *Pancha Karmikal*. Another Tamil term for these five crafts is *Anjuvannan*, which has been differently interpreted by different scholars. It perhaps approximates to the Canarese expression *Hanjamana* or the Telugu *Panchahanamvaru* or *Panchalam varu*. In the Vijayanagar period these crafts came to be known as *Panchalas* or *Panchalattar* and comprised blacksmiths, goldsmiths, brass smiths, carpenters and idol makers. That they had a corporate existence from early times is evident. The *Mahavamsa* of Ceylon records that the heads of these five trades were deputed by the State authorities to carry a message from Kitti-Siri Magha, the reigning King, to his son Prakrama. This at once demonstrates the status occupied by these trades in the social scale. Their corporate existence is further attested by the fact that they were taxed jointly and that their endowments and grants were jointly made.[1] But unfortunately during the Vijayanagar time disintegration set in. According to an inscription of Devaraya I, the Panchalas became divided into seventy-four sections. Some of these sections banded themselves together against other sections of the artisans. Disputes arose over certain rights and privileges. One such right recorded is that a member of the Pancahan group should, during a car festival

1 See *An. R. for Epigraphy*, 1927-8, paragraph 36.

and before the actual procession, go round the car with a chisel, a mallet, a nail and a sickle in his hands. Then alone was the car to proceed on a procession.[2]

The harmonious relations between husbandmen and artisans which had existed through the ages lost their cohesion and unity. One such dispute is recorded in A. D. 1555 when the agent of the Vijayanagar King had to interfere to settle it to the satisfaction of both parties. Once a rift had appeared in the lute, it continued to spread in other parts of the community. In the early half of the seventeenth century, as a result of a dispute at Kalladakuricci, Tinnevelly District, Virappa Nayaka of Madura issued a writ to the effect that the five sections of the artisan community might separate from one another.

While the multiplicity of sects in the community and the consequent divisions in their ranks are to a large extent responsible for the decay of these village institutions, the Government of Vijayanagar was also responsible to a certain extent. Rightly or wrongly the Vijayanagar monarchs concentrated all their attention on two things—one, increasing military strength to resist the Muhammadan invasion and the other, building new temples, and lavishing their wealth on gopurams and mantapams. These aims may be commendable in themselves but the rulers, in their enthusiasm to achieve their ends, drained the peasantry and drew all their wealth to the capital. This uneconomic policy led to far-flung consequences in impoverishing the rural population. Thus disintegrating influences set in, in the long established and cherished institutions, and with the impact of Western institutions, these age-old village communities crumbled. Still the villages are there, and still the different crafts are practised, not in the organised way in which they were through the centuries, but in a rather crude manner. It is up to us to revive and bring back sunshine to the decayed and decaying villages. If this is not rural reconstruction, what is ?

The value and importance of crafts lay in the fact that these crafts were hereditary, and that consequently the craftsmen were skilled goes without saying. It is wrong to say that any person is fit for any profession or occupation. Indiscriminate recruitment often leads to inefficiency, and sometimes to dismal failure. Traditions play a significant part in building up high efficiency in any occupation. The father of the family was a master craftsman under whom all the younger members learnt the craft by precept and by example. The artisan may not have been literate in the sense he had received a literary education in school. But he was a man of essentially abundant culture and he enjoyed hearing

2 *M. E. R.* 204 of 1892.

stories of heroes of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* from the village traditional story-teller, generally delivered at a public place centrally situated and usually at night after dinner. In addition to this there were occasional rural amusements represented by rural dancing and singing in which all the village folk were entertained. By learning his craft under the master craftsman and by hearing the national stories, the villager became more cultured than the so-called literate and was more patriotic and more national in outlook. He was permeated by group sentiment. He was God-fearing, religious and more social. He lived a contented life with few wants, a simple standard of living and simpler virtues.

The services of these craftsmen to Indian culture cannot be overestimated. The village economy was an organism of which these different crafts were the limbs. Each fulfilled its allotted function *(svadharma)* and contributed to the total welfare of the village and city. Among the craftsmen, the community of master-builders did much to enrich Indian art, in architecture, sculpture and painting. The different temples, massive structures in different styles of architecture scattered throughout the length and breadth of this vast Indian subcontinent, are the imperishable work of these master-builders. So also palaces and forts which adorned magnificently the ancient Indian capitals. What is amazing is the admirable continuity and vitality of our architectural craft tradition. The rich legacy the craftsmen have left behind in the shape of art treasures which are at once a source of pride and of pleasure for us evoke wonder and the respect of the whole civilised world even today. E. B. Havell pays a tribute to the Indian craftsmen who have played a significant part in the social economy of India thus:—

> Unless one realises the non-sectarian character of Indian craft-traditions it is impossible to understand either the history of art in India or its affinities with the art of Europe: how, for instance, the traditions of the art of Gandhara, originally pagan, became Buddhist under Kanishka, Christian under Constantine the Great, and Hindu under Vikramaditya in India.[1]

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

1 *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 186.

LET THERE BE PEACE IN THE THEATRE

[Huntly Carter has for the last fifty years been concerned with the true human and humane form of the theatre. The results of his research into the origin, nature and control of drama and dramatic representation have appeared in print and made their own mark.—ED.]

The theory of this article is that there is a peace power underlying the whole theatre. Conscious and unconscious veiling have prevented it from coming to the surface and exerting a powerful influence for good. Changes and events due to the present war, such as the closing of the isolated theatre in England, may have a revolutionary effect, by giving this form of theatre a new direction. They may bring the peace power into practical use, hitherto unattained. Owing to limited space, only a brief illustration of the theory can be attempted here. My main concern is with the theatre of the Græco-Roman period and the English period from the Middle Ages to the present day.

I assume there are two forms of theatre, the theatre as a whole, as an integral part of the people as a whole, and the isolated theatre that stands apart from the collective social life and serves Trusts and individual interests with unrelated bits of " box-office" entertainment. The former is the theatre in idea, the latter the theatre in fact. In the former, the whole people become players at the touch of a national or world event, and by such participation are set unfolding from a lower to a higher level of experience and consciousness, from the temporal to the spiritual, and are initiated into the truth of the unfolding. As in Russia in 1917, where the whole people were set unfolding at the touch of their national task, the economic rebuilding of Russia in Soviet form. Thus the whole theatre expresses great subjects—civilizations, cultures, social changes, and, with proper organization and use, it would stand firm against war.

So, to me, Drama and the whole theatre are one and indivisible. As I have explained in former numbers of THE ARYAN PATH,* Drama is an eternal spiritual flow. The theatre is a continuation of Drama, a child of its technical body. There are two principal forms of Peace—high and low, spiritual and temporal. The unfolding from one level of human experience to another and higher, is the safe criterion of Drama. Mr. Bernard Shaw's early plays do not unfold; they are Fabian economic criticisms and theories and disputes. The characters stand still. With Ibsen's plays it is different.

*See my articles: "Drama: The Organic Part of Human Life" (December, 1930); " A Comparison of the Hindu and the Soviet Systems of the Drama " (April, 1936) and "Spirit of Peace in Soviet Theatre " (April, 1938).

A Doll's House expresses the unfolding of Dora at the touch of her marriage life. In Mr. Shaw's plays the action is a straight line; in Ibsen's it is a spiral.

Mr. Shaw's treatment is one form of the veiling of the spiritual power in plays by the temporal power. There are many others. Malignity, misinterpretation, misconception, pretexts, criticism, censorship, theories of "decoration," have done much to deprive the play of the peace power service which it is capable of rendering the people. A striking example of veiling is that of the treatment of the dramatic life and teaching of Jesus Christ by the Apocryphal Gospels and the Canonical Gospels. The former wove a veil of discredit over the spiritual Life of Christ. The latter served to remove it.

The history of the ideas, intentions, methods and continuity of veiling is a long and vast one. It includes dramatic expression in the theatre of ancient Egypt, Asia Minor, Persia, China and India with its splendid idealism, and no less splendid democracy, and the Hindu mythology, which reminds us that every great world movement involves a threefold unfolding action—destruction, creation and conservation of the best in thought and in action. It is an unfolding that works through the agency of Siva, Brahma and Vishnu. It may be mentioned here that the Japanese dramatic unfolding action has five stages.

If truthfully told, the history might be the history of the Fall and Rise of Man. Though fragmentary, the continuation of the story might be traced in the birth, development and change of civilisations, social systems and cultures—religious, political, economic, industrial and social—since ancient Greek times. And in attempts to express their ideas, events and conditions in theatre form would be found the story of the practice of veiling the peace power in this form.

To begin with ancient Greece and its fine tradition, now so much in our thought, we have the central idea of civic culture. The Greeks were united in creating the City State. They sought freedom and perfection through democracy and Hellenism. But the civic religion–culture was not fully expressed by the theatre. The great tragedians were concerned with Fate plays, influenced by Aristotle's theory that the purpose of tragedy is to make us forget our cares and to ennoble us by the emotions of pity and of terror. The terrifying results, and other pretexts—philosophical, religious, moral—obscured the dramatic expression of the spiritual foundation upon which the Greeks sought to build their fine social system. They substituted strife for the peace power.

Rome's central idea was different, the idea of a World State and Imperialism. First came Augustus with his Commonwealth; then Caesar with world conquest; and then the

long line of Emperor dictators with their deluge of blood and spectacular representation. Two possessed redeeming features, Trajan and Hadrian. They favoured the Christians.

The great dramatic event of this period was the birth of Jesus Christ. His Life was the unfolding of Jesus the Man to Christ the God, played in the whole theatre. By the doctrine of Redemption, he sought to revive the Rise of Man which had ceased under Roman barbarism and given place to the strife of Christianity with barbarism.

Succeeding periods fall into two main divisions of changing civilizations, cultures and social forms, and their changing theatre expression. First came the long period of Catholic domination. The old theologians concerned with the central idea of a new religious " Order " appeared. They accepted the hypothesis of the reality of God and his system of government. They organized the machinery of conversion—churches, priests, ritual and theatre and form of play called Miracle and Mystery, which first appeared at Chester and Coventry in the Middle Ages. It was composed of a mixture of metaphysics, physics and morals intended to produce the perfect Man. This instrument of perfection and purification lasted about three centuries and was then killed by the scientists and their instruments; such as Galileo and his telescope. The religious period was followed by the more thrilling secular period. While the religious movement sought to respiritualise Man in the theosophical way, the secular sought to despiritualise him in a more or less positive way. It gave birth to a form of play called the Morality which, at its beginning, showed Heaven replaced by abstractions—abstract figures of vices and virtues. Implicit in the secular movement, was the idea of Man annexing the universe and trying to remake it in his own image. It touched some people deeply and animated others, but it has exerted no lasting, spiritual, peace influence.

During the wide expansion period of commerce and colonization, four rulers appeared but there was little in the actual significant events of their period to enable the theatre to show the way to peace. First came Elizabeth who, by averting war for twenty–five years, seemed to favour peace. But the theatre of her day denied it. The Elizabethan audience thirsted for bloodshed, noise, violence and strong low feeling, which the Elizabethan playwrights fully supplied. Shakespeare's tragedies were an orgy of blood. He is credited with secularism and the lowest form of patriotism, in common with his fellow playwrights. His plays are said even to reflect the Marxian theory of the material interpretation of history in the social change from feudalism to little capitalism. But it is possible that high spiritualism and peace are contained in his magic words, ready to influence civilization as soon as released by

proper representation. Then came Cromwell and his idea of Commonwealth. Puritanism came and the theatre was banned.

With Charles the Second may be associated licentiousness and monopoly. The theatre was not galvanised into new life by any of the big essential events of the Merry Monarch's life, but degraded and nearly destroyed by the patent monopoly which in 1660 he granted to Killigrew and Davenant. It conferred upon two playhouses, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, the sole right of playing Shakespeare's and other legitimate plays. The result was a bitter struggle for nearly two centuries, between the patentees and the independents, which called forth entertainment of the lowest type. The monopoly was abolished in 1843. Stagnation succeeded, followed by Tom Robertson's low comedies into which may be read the prevailing theory of socialism of their time. Pinero appeared with his criticisms of upper- and middle-class bourgeois society, and later with crude imitations of the Ibsen problem play.

With Ibsen and the "Free Theatre" arose a large body of economic and social reformers, concerned with problems of economic and social life which the revolutionary events of the nineteenth century had produced. All sides of Man's descent to Hell under the bad social conditions produced by the Industrial Revolution and the "Financial Age" were treated. Ideas and theories and criticism of new paths to regeneration were discussed. The Fabians with their path to a new economic "Order"; the Sociologists with their path to a new Scientific "Order"; the "Art of the theatre" people in revolt against realism and machinism and seeking a remedy for these in the isolated playhouse, a system of staging and schemes of "decoration." The sociological movement made the strongest approach to peace with its purpose of creating the city and the citizen beautiful upon a civic-scientific ground. Its dramatic representation consisted of the historical evolution of learning. The unfolding of Man and of his mind through the ages shewn in historical pageants and masques.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century with its many conflicting theories and starts at a "new age," there have been at least five shattering world convulsions and accompanying changing theatre representations, to seize and to hold the mind of Man. And at least five conflicting ideologies, each claiming superiority over the other in the titanic struggle between democracy and dictatorship for the overlordship of the Will and the overlordship of the common Man. The convulsions have been the Great War, the Russian Revolution, the World repercussions of the Revolution, the after-war political, economic and social anarchy and preparations for war, and

the present World War. The ideologies are Democracy, Communism, Fascism, National Socialism and Catholicism. All subjects fit for the reflection of the truth of war and peace, and of the conversion of Man to the way of lasting peace through temporal and spiritual harmony.

How has the theatre been used to attain this urgently desirable end ? During the Great War the isolated theatre fell entirely into the power of the big Money Men. They used it for low exploitation purposes—propaganda and gross sex immorality. To counter the awful effect of the latter the public were given banned plays of sexual reform by Brieux and Ibsen (*Ghosts*). There was a general failure to do the finer work of the nation by cultural means. The wrong cultural education of the soldier; the neglect to organize the artists to express the idea of war as a peace measure; the strange utterances of public men like Mr. H. G. Wells bitten with the mistaken idea of a " War to end War "; the tendency of journalists and fictionists to take charge of foreign affairs, of surveys, reviews, explanations of current thought and action, of events, interpretations and forecasts :—all this and more was evidence of the veiling of the peace power that lay in this war.

As though to prove the presence of peace came the remarkable revival of spiritualism with its purpose of getting people to look beyond the veil, as expressed in the play of that name. Then there was the Russian Revolution with its working model of a whole theatre, and the example of the whole people building the life and labour of an economic society, and its avowed peace purpose. The repercussions of this new ideology spread far and wide. It touched the workers of all nations and animated them with the idea of a people's convention and that of a workers' theatre to express it. While the isolated playhouses were reflecting the experiences of the returning soldier (not without a hint of war aversion) and the neurasthenia of the post-war society, the grave rearming of Germany burst upon the civilized world and put plainly before all a vision of coming strife. To the intelligentsia and to Labour, Fascism promised slavery. To avert this they expressed anti-Fascism in the Left playhouse but used experimental literary and poetic forms that veiled their actual liberation intentions. War became inevitable and the journalists took to handling the situation. And war began. The isolated theatre closed. Under the pressure of an economic campaign by its owners and supporters it reopened slowly. Then came the air raids and it closed again, and receded to the background of cultural expression, leaving a lunch *Ballet* and a *Matinée* Shakespeare to remind us that though war has closed the wrongly conceived theatre it has opened the path to the building of the rightly conceived one,—the after-

war theatre that shall promote lasting peace. There are many who are willing and ready to participate in the immense task of reorganising the theatre to reflect the great peaceful phases of unfolding spiritual, social and cultural life. The promised NATIONAL THEATRE has a peace policy. Let the National Theatre be a peace offering. And let there be peace in the whole theatre with the whole people to express it.

HUNTLY CARTER

DHARMA

"The Buddhistic Conception of Dharma" by Dr. P. T. Raju, which appears in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute* for April–July 1940, is an analysis of the several connotations of the term *dharma* in Buddhism. He is convinced of the fundamental agreement among them and between them all and the Hindu concepts. The Buddhists hold that the highest reality is the Law of the universe, transcendental and inconceivable, at once the law or "Oughtness" and the source of all and the form, the distinctive qualities, of anything. Dr. Raju explains that "things are not ordered according to a law which is distinct from them, but that the two are identical...and so the ordering is really a self–ordering." There is no distinction between the particular and the universal; the universal that is common to all particulars is *ipso facto* their law. "The final unity of nature is the law of all laws." Dharma means literally "that which holds" and the Dharmakāya, which has been defined as the absolute Nirvanic state, is represented by the Buddhists as maintaining the universe by being its Ought, that towards which the whole universe should move.

> It is not a mere ideal; it is its true nature. That is, it is its law even in the descriptive sense of the word....We find in the idea of the Dharmakaya the equation of the universal to law and that again to the Ought.... We can trace a line of thought even in Western idealism tending towards this idea. And unless this identification is made, the much longed–for reconciliation between the sciences of life and those of nature cannot be accomplished.

Plato made that identification, Dr. Raju declares; "his ideas are really ideals." In destroying that identity the positivistic conception of science and of its laws introduced chaos into philosophical speculation. "Philosophy having lost connection with life has become intellectual gymnastics." This is nowhere more evident than in the profitless discussions of many Western Orientalists who, ignoring Buddhism as a way of life, weave webs of words out of its metaphysics.

It was not to provide pedants with intellectual diversion that Gautama gave up everything that men hold dear to seek and to find the truth, but so that men might live by it and so might escape from misery and sorrow.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPETCS

[F. R. Moraes in this article lays the blame for India's chronic communal problem where it undeniably belongs—at the door of dogmatic religions. True Religion—and whatever there is of truth in any creed—is a binding force. Religious exclusiveness or separatism is, in every case, a morbid symptom, proof positive that the priest has been at his destructive work upon the truth which the Prophets have proclaimed.—Ed.]

Communalism as a form of social organization is not peculiar to India. Wherever men have congregated, in plains or cities, in towns or scattered villages, throughout the long story of mankind, the urge for communal organization has existed. Particularly in what H. G. Wells calls " the isolated pockets of mankind, " those remote regions, like islands or oceans or deserts or mountains, cut off from the rest of humanity, Man has tended to differentiate into distinct species and to propagate a multitude of his kind.[1] In its crudest form one sees this in Tasmania. Here, till the discovery of the island by the Dutch in 1642, men lived in the early Paleolithic stage, solely because geography had cut them off from the rest of mankind for some 20,000 years. The Greek City States provide another example. Within each of them, sheltered by a girdle of hills, a community grew with its own individual characteristics and institutions, so that Spartan, Athenian and Theban were races apart.

But as humanity progressed and mankind overcame the obstacles of geography, the tendency to coalesce became more pronounced. The nomad in Man has never died. With the conquest of Lydia by the ancient Persians, the Greek world turned its face from domestic problems to foreign perils, and the rise of the Athenian Empire saw the foundations of European civilization being slowly laid. The intermixture of races, of conquerors and conquered, of immigrants and settlers, produced many varied strains. As H. A. L. Fisher writes : " Purity of race does not exist. Europe is a continent of energetic mongrels. "[2]

China emphasises the same lesson, but in a more striking form. Her civilization has contrasting facets, but in her cultural heaven there is room for many mansions. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in a recent speech referred to this characteristic.

China is a good example: her civilization makes room for many sects but sectarian or religious views even when

1 *The Outline of History*, by H. G. Wells, p. 133.

2 *A History of Europe*, by H. A. L. Fisher, p. 12.

widely different have never been able to deal a blow to the integrity of China's social condition. [3]

It is here that the communal spirit in India differs markedly from its counterpart in many other countries. In India, communalism—an otherwise ordinary problem—has assumed the proportions of a phenomenon. Time, far from assuaging, has only aggravated inter-racial strife in this country. The march of progress has touched the externals of indigenous life; for the most part ideals and ideas remain unaffected. Where affected they are, more often than not, tainted with the virus of strong separatism.

China, like India, has a large Muslim population. The number of Chinese Muslims is some sixteen million, concentrated largely in the north-west. Like India, China has known a period of Muslim rule. Over China, as over India, once swept the hordes of Genghis Khan, and in China, this Mongol conqueror founded the Yuen dynasty, which lasted a hundred years, from 1260 to 1365. Oddly enough, Chinese Muslims figure prominently in business. In China they have a saying: " A Tibetan can eat a Mongol, and a Chinese a Tibetan but a Huei-Huei (Muslim) can eat the lot. "[4] As in orthodox Islamic communities elsewhere, the Chinese Muslim women are veiled.

Yet unlike some Indian Muslims, Muslims in China do not claim separate nationality. It is interesting to note that the famous Eighth Route Army, the pride of the Communists, numbers many Muslim soldiers in its ranks. At least two of China's provinces—Tsinghai and Ningsia—are ruled by Muslim Governors. Chinese Muslims may be jealous of their culture, but they are willing, and indeed anxious, to regard it as part of the multi-coloured pattern of Chinese civilization. As in ancient Greece and in modern Europe, politics is practised in China as a strictly secular art, far removed from the ritual of religion.

Why has communalism received so vicious an emphasis in India ? To find an answer it is necessary to examine some of the socio-cultural aspects of our country's history. Put in a nutshell, the answer is that social conduct in India is largely regulated by religious feeling. In Europe, Society and Religion are kept apart. In India the two are almost inextricably intertwined and religion permeates social conduct to the almost total exclusion of secular influences.

No institution has contributed more to the separatist spirit than the age-old system of Caste. It is no exaggeration to say that the social paradox which is Hinduism, has created the political paradox which is India. Rooted in the endless divisions which characterise India's social and political life, is the caste system which has dominated Hinduism for nearly four thousand

3 *The Visva-Bharati News*, Vol. IX, No. 8, p. 60.

4 *Journey into China*, by Violet Cressy-Marcks, p. 295.

years. If Hinduism today is a house divided against itself, it is largely because of this factor. Caste, by stimulating the spirit of separatism, has created cleavages and has clamped on Hinduism a minorities problem of its own.

The phenomenon extends to communities like the Indian Christians, who are converts from Hinduism and who often retain the caste system. Dr. J. H. Hutton, who carried out the All-India Census in 1931, gives several interesting examples of caste among Christian converts. "The Christian communities of India," he notes, "....show sects as multifarious as those of Hinduism."[5] Dr. Hutton expressly exempts Roman Catholics from this category but it is well known that the virus of caste has also affected Catholic communities, notably in South India.

Caste in the ethnic sense is unknown to Islam. Yet among Muslim converts, like the Khojas and the Bohras, relics of Hindu customs persist and the separatist tendency is marked. Till very recently the Hindu, laws of inheritance applied to both these communities. Dr. Hutton, in his Census Report, mentions an interesting example of caste among Muslim converts and also cites several interesting ambiguous sects which observe both Hindu and Muslim ceremonies. They are to be found all over India.

Thus, the Nayitas of Malwa worship Ganesh as well as Allah, use Hindu names and dress and observe Hindu festivals. The Hussaini Brahmins who are "more or less converted to Islam" retain Brahminical practices and claim to eat only with the Sayyids among Muslims.[6] This is an interesting example of the survival of caste among an Islamic sect, but it would be misleading to suggest that this type of social taboo is in any way general among Muslim converts. On the other hand, the bulk of these converts do retain their pre-Islamic organization so that one may legitimately describe some of them as Hindus socially but Muslims by religion. Dr. Hutton gives several examples, but the compass of this article does not allow for further details.

Sikhism also shows some taint of the caste system. Though originally dissenters from Brahminical Hinduism, the Sikhs display today the same sectarian traits which characterise Hindu society. As Sikhism crystalised, the older orders and subsects like the Akalis, the Kukas, the Sanwal-Shahis, the Nirankarias, the Sewanpathis and the Hindalis developed more or less on caste lines. So we have within Sikhism castes like the Ramgarhias (or carpenter caste) and the Nebs, also known as Ahluwahia, who are potters. So strong is the caste system that conversion has hardly altered its main lineaments.

5 *Census of India, 1931*. Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 383.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Of the disintegrating influence of caste, Indian history provides numerous examples. Early in India's history one sees the antithesis between the Hindu and the Muslim outlook. Unlike Hinduism, " a mighty forest with a thousand waving arms ",[7] Islam preached monotheism and, with its strongly marked religious characteristics, remained apart. Hinduism, it is true, was as a whole unaffected by the Islamic impact. On the other hand, Hinduism, which had found little difficulty in absorbing invaders like the Greeks, the Sakas, the Kushans and the Hunas, failed to assimilate Islam within its fold.[8] A crusading religion, Islam sought to fix its impress by forcible conversion. In this it partly succeeded, though it is notable that voluntary conversion to Islam was also common among the lower order of Hindus, who thus sought to escape the tyranny of the caste system. Today, reaction against caste Hinduism has led Hindu minorities like the Untouchables, the Scheduled Classes and the non-Brahmins to make common cause with the Muslims in clamouring for protection and safeguards against the Hindu majority.

If, in adversity, caste has proved an insurance against alien influences, it cannot be denied that, in more normal times, it has been used as an instrument of tyranny and oppression. By exalting the Brahmin it has reduced millions of Hindus to a position of permanent inferiority; others, like the " Untouchables," it has banished outside the pale of society, though happily Hindu leaders are waking up to the necessity of eradicating its less desirable manifestations. The pervasive influence of caste has spread from Hinduism to other creeds, and has infected India with the germ of separatism. Within Hinduism it has created several *imperia in imperio*.

Religion in itself creates no cleavage between Hindus and Muslims. It is a notorious fact that communal riots are confined largely to urban centres and rarely occur in rural areas. The Muslim villager today often consults the Hindu astrologer and even propitiates the Hindu gods. Conversely Hindu peasants often join Muslims in venerating the tombs of *pirs* or saints.[9] Dr. Hutton gives an interesting example of a tribe who are Mathia Kunbis by caste and an offshoot of the Leva Kunbis; in the census they seem to have been returned as Hindus.

They are said to follow the *Atharva Veda* which is perhaps more magical than religious, and they worship at the tombs of Muslim saints at Pirana and elsewhere, from which they get the alternative name for their sect, and they observe as their sacred book a collection of the precepts of Imam Shah, the Pir of Pirana; they observe the Ramazan, repeat the *kalima* and bury

7 *The Hindu View of Life*, by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, p. 59.

8 *India*, by H. G. Rawlinson, p. 243.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 244.

their dead with both Hindu and Muslim prayers. On the other hand they keep the *holi* and *divali* and their marriages are conducted by Brahmins, so that they appear, on the whole, to be Hindus socially but rather Muslims by religion.[10]

At the same time it must be admitted that differing religious practices are often the most immediate cause of communal disorders. While the Hindu reverences the cow, the Muslim practices cow slaughter in connection with Bakri Id. Again, Hindu music played through the streets on the occasion of a procession or marriage may take place at a time when Muslims are at worship in a mosque on the route; not seldom this leads to communal rioting. A further complication is that Muslim and Hindu calendars do not follow the same system of reckoning; Muslim religious festivals are fixed by reference to a lunar year which does not correspond with the adjusted Hindu calendar.[11] Consequently it may sometimes happen that an anniversary of Muslim mourning synchronises with a day of Hindu rejoicing. In such cases communal disorder is most likely. The fact that a peaceful Mohurram is considered "news" by the Press, indicates how easily communal passions can be inflamed on religious occasions.

Clearly such differences can only be resolved by good-will and readiness to compromise. Unfortunately, these are the qualities most conspicuous by their absence in India. Both communities must be prepared to be more accommodating in their religious observances. Here, the suggestions made by the Unity Conference of 1927 may be considered. These were that, in the first place, no community in India should impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality, be guaranteed to every community and person. Hindus should be at liberty to take out processions but they should refrain as far as possible from playing music before mosques, so as to avoid communal clashes. Similarly Muslims should be at liberty to sacrifice or to slaughter cows in the exercise of their rights in any town or village in any place except in (*a*) a public thoroughfare and (*b*) the vicinity of a temple. Muslims should also, as far as possible, refrain from leading cows in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice and slaughter.

On some such lines an understanding on these religious and social issues may be reached between the communities. Given good-will this is not impossible. But good-will is essential.

Another cause for cleavage between Hindus and Muslims is their separate historical backgrounds. This still colours their outlook. On both sides, memory creates a barrier. With Hindus remains a lingering fear of Muslim domination, while in Muslims survives the hope that this dominion will some day be revived.

Obviously these feelings can only be dissipated, first, by creating confidence between the two communities and, secondly, by emphasising not the points of difference but the points of contact. The second must lead to the first.

F. R. MORAES

10 *Census of India, 1931* Vol. I, Part I, p. 380.

11 *Indian Statutory Commission Report*, Vol. I, p. 26.

INDIA'S DILEMMA: ONE NATION OR MANY?

[Khwaja Mushtaq Ahmad is a young journalist who believes that India is fundamentally one. In this article he traces the interaction and subsequent fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures.—ED.]

One nation or many? Unity or diversity? These are the questions perturbing us here in India. With the endorsement of the Pakistan scheme by the Muslim League, ideas of separatism and of pseudo-nationalism have found a "National Home" in the mind of Mr. Jinnah. These claims are mostly based on the assumption that the present unity between the Hindus and the Muslims is artificial, because it began with the advent of the British power and is not deeply rooted in Indian traditions. It is therefore imperative that we should turn inquiringly to India's past to seek the verdict of Indian history.

The forces of disunity derive their strongest support from the belief that the Islamic conquest of India is associated with imperishable memories of ruthless cruelty. It is forgotten that Islam came to India after being refined by the Persian and the Hellenistic influences, with which India had been associated in the past; and that in its Indian environment this force cannot have been as aggressive as is generally believed.

Even the fierce invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna cannot disprove this fact. For these raids have a non-religious aspect which is conveniently overlooked. According to Professor Habib, a Muslim historian of Mahmud,

> they were not crusades but secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold.....The Ghaznavide army was not a host of holy warriors resolved to live and die for the Lord. It was an enlisted and paid army of professional soldiers accustomed to fight Hindus and Muslims alike.

Thus, immediately after the invasion of Mahmud, there were a number of liberal Muslim thinkers who made attempts to understand and to interpret the civilization and the culture of the Hindus. The great Al-Buruni wrote a book on India which stands out as a unique contribution, showing almost a modern sense of toleration. He learnt Sanskrit and was in a position to act as an interpreter between the conqueror and the conquered. Such liberal tendencies in the tenth century of the Christian era are astounding indeed and they must have cemented the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims.

After the conquest it was not possible for the Hindus and the Muslims to remain in separate water-tight compartments, as is generally supposed. We should remember that the Muslim rulers frequently entered into defensive and offensive alliances with neighbouring Hindu Rajas against their co-religionists.

This was equally true of Hindu kings, who many times sought the help of the Muslims to oust their Hindu rivals. These inter-communal alliances implied that Hindu and Muslim soldiers would fight shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy, would lead a common camp life, and would share peril, hazard, joy and vexation, as comrades during the course of the battle. These pacts, thus, were bound to leave behind them glorious traditions of political fellowship between the Hindus and the Muslims—traditions which beckon us to build our national structure on these foundations.

And just as the ruling despots provided opportunities for the meeting of diverse elements in the upper classes, similarly a number of saints and mystics in the medieval ages brought about cultural fellowship between the Hindu and the Muslim masses. The fact that the disciples of these spiritual leaders generally came from both the communities, shows the extent of their achievement. There are instances of Muslim spiritual leaders having Hindu disciples and *vice versa*, and this tradition survives to this day.

The ascetic mysticism of India became richer by contact with the philosophic and Sufistic mysticism of Persia, which came in the wake of the Islamic conquest. It began with the Muslim saints like Chishti, Baba Farid of Pakpatta and Gesudaraz of Gulberga, and was heartily welcomed by the Hindus, who found in it an invigorating impulse.

Baba Farid had the following exalting message for Man :—

Man, thy reality is hidden from thyself.
Know'st thou that morning, noon and eve
Are all within thee ? The ninth heaven art thou,
Though from the spheres into the roar of time
Thou dids't fall erewhile. Thou art the brush that painted
The hues of all the world—the light of life
That ranged its glory in nothingness.

Such a message was bound to have a profound influence on Hindu thought. It gave dignity to man as an individual and stirred him to be better than he was. We find it fully echoed in Ramanuja, who worked out a doctrine of the Vedantist school which rests on the central conception of a personal God and insists on salvation by faith and adoration, *i. e.*, by Bhakti. The doctrine demanded the elimination of caste and creed. It enabled the Hindus to think on the same lines as the Muslims with regard to the unity of God, spiritual experience and the brotherhood of man.

What is more, the doctrine was also a forward movement towards monotheism. It found its most vigorous expression in Ramananda who took a bold stand against caste and idolatry. Instead of seeing God in the temple, he and his followers discovered that He lived eternally in the heart of man.

These mystic tendencies developed separately in the beginning in the two communities. Kabir, the arch-mystic, provided a common point for this activity and to this day he is claimed by Hindus as well as Muslims. He recognised " no diffe-

rence between Ram and Raheem, Kaba and Kaileh, Quran and Puran, and inculcated that Karma is Dharma." His teachings reflect the general desire for synthesis in religion which characterised medieval India. "To that love am I a sacrifice, by which caste, colour and family are set aside." This medieval latitudinarianism is at its highest when he says "A Muslim's ideas of Nimaz no more differ from a Hindu's ideas of Puja, than does the gold in a bracelet from the gold in an ear-ring."

Thus came about, in the words of Dara Shikoh (the Mughal prince with Hindu inclinations), "the mingling of the two seas." This other-worldly activity had effect on the Hindus and the Muslims. To the former, under the yoke of a foreign conqueror and suppressed by caste and creed, it offered dignity and individuality. To the latter, suffering from worldly vanity and the intoxication of political power, it gave humility and self-oblivion. Thus two unequal units came to possess the same moral and material status and the same outlook on life.

The foreign historians of India are wrongly unanimous in claiming Akbar the Great as a solitary champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. It is doubtful whether Akbar could have achieved his heart's desire without a genuine will of the people to understand and to tolerate each other. He is regarded as the cause of Hindu-Muslim contact. Actually he was a magnificent consequence of that inter-communal activity which began irresistibly with the conquest of India by the Muslims. He was successful because his dreams were not mere whims and fancies of an Eastern despot. Rather they were translations of the feeling and sentiments of the people at large who were enthralled by the concept of cultural nationalism.

Akbar's achievement was a historical phenomenon which occurred because the Muslim conquerors did not live in India as mere rulers, lavishing love on some northern clime from which they had come. No doubt, the wealth of India had allured them. But they spent that wealth in India only, and lived as Indians, giving their best and, at the same time, accepting what was best in Indian civilization.

During these centuries of voluntary co-operation, Islam had a dominant influence on Hinduism—an influence which is, unfortunately, not acknowledged by the Hindus today. Almost all the present progressive movements in Hindu India are attributed to the impact of the West; but the fact is that the impact of Islam had already done a good deal in this direction. Today, for example, India is struggling for Constitutional Democracy of the Western type; but Islam had already given her the ideal of Social Democracy. Long before the impact of the West, Islamic influence had created the intellectual background

in favour of the ideas of equality and of human brotherhood. It had simplified the excessive ritualism and ceremonialism of Hinduism; and, as we have seen, it had knocked the bottom out of the idolatrous practices prevailing in India. Shankaracharya transplanted the Islamic idea of revealed truth to Hinduism. No wonder then that these influences found a concrete expression in the birth of the Arya Samaj, which now professes to derive inspiration from the West, and is militantly pitted against every vestige of Islamic influence.

The affair, however, was in no way one-sided, and Islam gave to Hinduism as much as it received from it. It is wrong to imagine that Islam has always remained the same —though ideally speaking that would be a very desirable thing. Everything has depended on the interpreting mind. Thus the Arabs and the Persians, owing allegiance to the same faith and having the same formal foundations, have raised different moral structures according to their genius. The Indian converts to Islam also realized that they had found a new framework for their metaphysical speculation which could be adopted without in any way changing the immemorial customs of their antiquity. The new faith could not change the environment which governed their existence.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that Muslims influenced the basic points of Hindu religion, and in return borrowed the manners and the customs of Hindu civilization. The contact gave the Muslims a sense of the immanence of the world and of "Life beyond life," thus creating a revolt against rational orthodoxy. Gradually they also imported the joint-family system with its good as well as its evil consequences. The interesting marriage ceremonies and conventions which gave a picturesque element to the Hindu marriages, also coloured the austere Muslim customs. This was bound to happen, for the Hindu converts to Islam had the natural tendency to retain their age-old manners. They had many relations who continued to live as Hindus and thus provided a purely Indian environment for the converts. Thus the worship of the village godlings went on as before, animistic beliefs continued to exist, and Hindu festivals were observed by the Indian Muslims. Even today Hindu origins are echoed in the attempts of illiterate Muslims to avert evil spirits by means of amulets, and in the custom among Muslim women of seeking healing from shrines in case of illness or trouble.

The Muslim conquerors, in many cases, married Hindu wives. The influence of such marriages must have been great indeed. All available evidence shows that these wives were allowed to perform all their religious rites. It is quite natural, therefore, that these alliances gave each a true understanding of the other,

and were great cementing forces between the two communities.

Costume and dress can best indicate the type of civilization prevailing at a particular time. In India under the Sultans, the Persian garments persisted; but with the gradual intellectual and cultural amalgamation, there came about a synthesis in matters of dress also. Mr. Percy Brown in his book on *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, says :—

Gone is the rakish high-peaked cap, the kullah of the Turkman, and in its place is the closely bound turban, or the *chira* of the Indian Rajput. Gone is the free grown beard of the orthodox Mussalman, and in its place is the shaven chin with the side-whiskers of *gulmuh* of the Muttra Hindu.

The Muslim costumes were imitated with equal zest and vigour by some Hindus. The most authoritative evidence of this lies in the existence of the Kayasthas, a caste often regarded by the Hindus as half-Muslim. The members of this group served in the Mughal offices, and were influenced by their Muslim bosses in matters of dress and equipage. In many parts of India they still dress like Muslims in their long-flowing *achkans* and pyjamas. Some are also said to memorize passages from the Kuran.

This is the story of our civilization and in this lies the secret of our national solidarity. One is led to ask what happened to this slow and steady growth after the advent of British power in India ?

It will do us no good to jump to the conclusion that the British power has malignantly endeavoured to drive a wedge in our national structure, in order to perpetuate its sway over India. To say so is to give undue credit to British statesmanship and to overestimate our weaknesses. We may be nearer the mark if we attribute the present state of affairs to the influence of the West, and to the forces which have electrified Europe with belligerent sentiments. Like the West we too have begun to think in terms of economic and political nationalism. These modern but foreign forces have eclipsed our memories; and we seldom think of our glorious heritage of cultural nationalism. The West has taught us to intellectualise our quarrels, and to go on quarreling without end. But it is sheer injustice to give dignity to these quarrels by seeking to justify them historically, and by saying that Hindus and Muslims have always remained aloof and hostile.

KHWAJA MUSHTAQ AHMAD

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

A SINGER AND MYSTIC OF SIND *

[Readers of THE ARYAN PATH know how frequently we present side by side the reactions of different minds to the same important volume or proposition. Especially do we like to bring into juxtaposition the Eastern and the Western points of view. The opinions of the Hon. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji and of Mr. Hugh I'A. Fausset on this study of a great eighteenth-century mystic poet of Sind complement each other very interestingly.—ED.]

I

This work will attract attention in Bombay, if for no other reason, from the fact that its author is well known and highly respected in this Province. He is a member of the I. C. S., holding high office and evincing great interest in matters of literature. The attention so aroused will be intensified on learning that the work has occupied much of the author's leisure for the last twelve years. No one who glances over its pages will need to be assured that it has not been lightly undertaken, nor will it long be a secret that its writing has been a labour of love. It is dedicated to the people of Sind in verses which are in themselves an invitation or a summons to a closer study.

Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit was, according to tradition, born in 1689 and died in 1752. The dates are not quite certain and the fact that these dates make the life of the mystic and poet of the same length as the Prophet Muhammad's, may make inconvincible persons think that the dates ought not to be taken too literally. Mr. Sorley complains that there is no satisfactory account of Shah Abdul Latif's life, yet he has with the expenditure of great industry been able to put together abundant material as to the life, character and times of the poet. The reader of this volume will be equipped with all that is needed for a complete appreciation of the poems.

The poet was a scion of the most illustrious religious house of Sind. There exists a dargah marking the tomb of his great-great-grandfather, Syed Abdul Karim (*fl. c.* 1600). Many descendants of famous saints get intoxicated by the fumes of ancestral sanctity. They have become worldly-minded and given themselves up to a life of ease and comfort. But Shah Abdul Latif continued throughout his life to be an ascetic of the most attractive kind produced by Islam. His life was quiet and contemplative, singularly continent and abstemious, gentle, kind, compassionate and generous. In his prime he wore a beard and was a well-set-up, handsome man of average height with fine black eyes, an intelligent face, a noble forehead. Deep and solemn thought seemed to emanate from his eyes. Early in life he cut himself off even from the haunts of other holy men and founded a village of his own at a place called Bhit (sand hill). Here he was surrounded by

* *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit: His Poetry, Life and Times. A Study of Literary, Social and Economic Conditions in Eighteenth Century Sind.* By H. T. Sorley, D. Litt., C. I. E., I. C. S. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 18*s.* or Rs. 12/6)

sheets of water and rich green scenery, not common in the arid land of Sind but well reflected in little touches in his poems. It is noteworthy that the very considerable quantity of verse that he produced contains no reference to political events even of such catastrophic importance as the conquest of Sind by Ahmad Shah Durani, or eight years earlier the sacking of Delhi by Nadir Shah and the making of Sind a tributary to Persia. His education (in spite of popular tradition to the contrary) it is clear made him familiar with Arabic and Persian. His poems contain subtle references to the *Quran*, to the *Masnavi* of Jalaluddin Rumi, to the mystical poems of Jami, and to other similar writings. Though his poetry is steeped in Islamic traditions, a pathos for humanity in general exudes from his verses so as to appeal to all alike, and he is looked upon as a teacher no less by Hindus than by Muslims. He may be said to have attained the ideal of Saadi who advises such a life that at the end of it Hindus and Muslims might vie with each other to do honour to and show their veneration for the remains of the deceased at the burning ghat or the cemetery: but Shah Abdul Latif attained this position while he was living, and those who gathered to hear his poems and considered themselves as his disciples included followers of all religions. All were willing to submit themselves to the magic of his words and to respond to the call of his mystic appeal.

He is pronounced by Mr. Sorley to be incomparably the greatest man whom Sind has yet produced in imaginative art. His poems are reported not to have been authoritatively transcribed by himself. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century they seem to have been before the public mostly as songs orally transmitted by reciters one to the other, although they do seem to have been collated by scribes and formed during the lifetime of the poet into formal collections. Amongst such collators or editors Bilal and Inayat were themselves poets. Some of the verses of the latter as well as of Lakhmir and Funejo have been inserted or quoted in the *Risalo* as it exists today. The late Mr. Dayaram Gidumal in *Something About Sind* by Sigma, 1882, p. 41, relates an anecdote about the *Risalo*, to the effect that when Tamar and Hashim, favourite disciples and secretaries of the poet, brought him the complete *Risalo*, he turned over the pages and observing that the frequent laments of Sasui were no better than a safety-valve for the peccant humours of the flesh, flung it suddenly into the Kirai Lake. His secretaries are reported to have expostulated with him, on which he allowed them to rewrite the whole from memory. " If a story of this kind, " observes Mr. Sorley, " has any authenticity at all it can be no more than a stupid magnification of some trivial incident. But it is more likely to be a legend intended to build up the tradition of the inspired delivery of the poems which were reduced to writing with difficulty after they had been declaimed. " In the bibliography that Mr. Sorley provides, several editions of the complete collected poems are mentioned. These editions seem, however, to be careless compilations and contain much extraneous matter. The credit of the first scholarly attempt to edit the poems is awarded to a missionary gentleman, Ernest Trumpp, who

published the *Risalo* in 1866. Other editions of the complete *Risalo* followed. But Mr. Sorley has preferred to translate the abridgement or anthology entitled *Risalo-jo-Muntakhab*, which consists of twenty-seven poems of very unequal length selected from the *Risalo* by Kazi Ahmad Shah. This selection seems to be adequately representative of Shah Abdul Latif's poetry. Scholarly work in connection with the poems has later been done, notably by Shamsul-Ulima Mirza Khalich Beg and Mr. H. M. Gurbaxani. Mr. Sorley has taken advantage of all this, and added to it a great deal of what can be gained by surveying mystical poetry in England as well as in Persia—poems written by Donne and Blake and other English poets as well as Jami, Rumi and Fariduddin Attar.

The volume thus contains a verse translation of the *Risalo-jo-Muntakhab*, together with a great mass of historical and literary material. Taken altogether, the volume is not only a monument to the poet but a notable and instructive example of the manner in which a great national poet may be approached and studied.

Few lovers of poetry would try to resist the temptation to absorb all the material placed before the reader in this volume.

Those who peruse it carefully will be rewarded by being brought into close contact with a body of verse, not very large, but sufficient to illustrate and justify the very lofty claims that Mr. Sorley has to make for the poet. We are also introduced to a refined personality, to whom we willingly concede the first place in the imaginative art of Sind. We are made to appreciate the entire sincerity of thought and the supreme skill with which the ordinary language of country folk is employed for describing and reflecting upon situations that arise in everyday occurrences and common lives or form part of the folk-tales of Sind. These simple materials are steeped in the mystical teachings of Islam, so that the most trivial occurrences of daily life are clothed in solemn reality and deep meaning. A wealth of imagery based on the observation of the day-to-day life of peasants and village folk enriches all the descriptions. The diction is spontaneous and succinct, yet allusive and rhythmical. A deep sense of poetry pervades the choice of words. The words in some way reconcile lofty etherealized religion with the modes of thought and ways of common people. There is a lyrical impulse, in part controlled and directed, in part supported and exalted by the prevailing system of music and of reciting and intoning or singing poems or songs—" a secret, " to use the words of Imam Ghazali, " consisting in the relationship of measured airs to the souls of men, so that the airs work upon them with a wonderful working. " No great originality of thought intrudes. But the religion and philosophy current amongst the highly cultured is brought to the hearts of those who are hardly literate. After we have allowed ourselves to enter into the spirit of these poems, the simple and lowly subjects forming the poet's materials lead us to thoughts not so much about a girl who is wandering over mountains and deserts in search of her lover, or a boatman weighing anchor or loading cloves, cardamoms and stores of cloth, or a camel lingering and lengthening

out his pace, or a heavy drenching shower; but we find our hearts and souls concerned with the splendour and beauty, with the oneness and majesty of God, with the unity of experience and the mystic union of man and the divine, with love as a key to understanding how God and man can meet, with truth to be attained by studying the promptings of one's own heart and not by looking outside of it. We find ourselves musing with Donne :—

> But we know ourselves least : mere outward shews
> Our minds so store
> That our souls no more than our eyes disclose
> But forme and colour. Only he who knows
> Himself knows more.

Or perhaps we think of the words of Iqbal whose touching beauty even translation cannot altogether destroy:—

> By Science the world is subjected to the writ of man, but alas, no syllable of the mystery of being reaches my ear. At last my eyes—worshippers so far of the outward show—are opened, and lo! I find it in the recesses of my heart, a dweller.

The interpretation of Shah Abdul Latif's poetry forms not the least valuable part of this work. In its course the author is led to an examination, critical and æsthetical, of the conception of poetry, and to an encounter with the problem, " What enables us to decide that a certain composition of language is poetry and what differentiates good poetry from bad poetry ? "

Readers for whom this work is primarily intended will no doubt find the consideration of mysticism as an emotional attitude of man towards God, or as a fusion of intellect and emotion, the most attractive part of the volume. The mystic's adventure is explained as a definite form of enchanted life, requiring an arduous process of remaking character, as a psychological state in which he feels himself out of himself and experiences the sensation of being absorbed into a greater unity or whole, into a universality of mind. It is spoken of as a state of high emotion or exaltation induced by thought, and as a product of a vivid conception itself arising out of the wonder of beauty or out of a burning conception of a universal soul, or the play in life of human emotions, or arising out of man's unconquerable will, or it may be attained by experiencing a personal contact with the divine : by bringing our higher consciousness of the beyond—a consciousness that is ordinarily dim, although this consciousness is part of our nature as human beings—into relation with the other contents of our mind : and then the feeling comes over us that the veil obscuring the vision of delight and fulfilment is momentarily lifted : we feel :—

> A presence that disturbs us with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns
> And the round ocean and the living air
> And the blue sky and in the mind of man ;
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought
> And rolls through all things.

Mr. Sorley is well advised in illustrating every step in his thesis by citations from his version of the *Risalo*. This process is frequently vivified by quotations from English and Persian poets. We must content ourselves with a single quotation. Unaided by such deep knowledge of mystical poetry as Mr. Sorley places at our service, a reader may come across such lines as

the following and pass them by without feeling any attraction towards them :—

Diach the King hath yielded up his head :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)
And left his kingdom and the queens he wed :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)
He found acceptance under Allah's door :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)
His million numbered needs fulfilled, told o'er :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)
With bowstring song his head the singer sought :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)
His works, oh sisters, to good ending wrought :
(To God, to God a sacrifice.)

But Mr. Sorley enables us to read these seemingly crude, almost repulsive, words in an atmosphere charged with mystic splendour and an altogether different sense from the literal enlightens our soul. Literally taken, the lines speak of a musician who in order to obtain the reward offered for the head of King Diach by his enemy so works upon the King by music, that he is willing to yield up his head. The poet does not mince matters. He tells us roundly: " The singer drew the knife and plunged it deep within Diach's skull. " But in the light of mysticism, the promised reward, the music, the yielding of the head, all have a significance entirely different from the literal and the sordid. So understanding it all, we have a feeling that may not unfittingly be compared to that of a watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken. The momentum that the words of the refrain gather at each repetition may be felt rather than heard when a dozen or more reciters utter them in unison, with the whole of the enthused audience joining in as with one voice. With a little practice, the resounding repetitions, the dozen reciters, the crowded audience joining in the refrain, can all be supplied by the mind which in itself is found to be its own place.

Not only readers of poetry and those for whom the attraction of mysticism is sufficient to make them submit themselves in some small measure to its power will feel grateful for this volume. The gratitude of the whole Province of Sind must be due for the interpretation of its great poet.

Before concluding this review, we feel bound to refer to some details in respect of which the volume may, it is suggested, be improved. The ultimate object of the volume is to introduce the reader to the poet through a translation of 27 selected poems comprising not more than about 3500 lines of poetry. An ancillary purpose is to make clear the kind of people amongst whom the poet lived and the historical background of his age. The first part of the volume is devoted entirely to this ancillary purpose. Yet it extends over 176 pages of closely printed matter, including many citations (printed in very small type) from such records as the Secretariat Inward Letter-Book and Public Departments Diary. Seven pages devoted to an account of the life of the poet are immersed in this matter. It is suggested that a better course would be to print these seven pages as a short preliminary and to incorporate therein the net result of the examination of the history of Sind. This could be done in a " life " extending over a score of pages.

The very valuable research work on the history of Sind deserves a volume by itself. Printed as the preliminary part of this work, its real importance is apt to be overlooked. There must be few persons like the author who can

combine intense interest in two such diverse subjects as poetry and historical research. Hence two reasons make it undesirable to print these two classes of matter together as the contents of one volume. Those for whom the research is intended would not look for it in a volume primarily concerned with poetry. Those who seek to become acquainted with a new mystical poet would be disappointed and driven to despair by the unpoetical details of historical research.

A minor grievance arises of the inconsistency in the title by which the three main parts of the volume are referred to—occasionally as " books " and occasionally as " parts " and on p. 209, l. 3, as " volume. " This is somewhat confusing, for the third book is itself divided into three parts. Again, there is no consolidated list of contents. The contents of Book I are set out on pp. 3 and 4. These pages refer to the index of Parts I and II (or Books I and II), though the list is confined to the contents of Book I. Then the list of contents of Book II is on page 198. Then follow, on pp. 299, 308, the lists of contents of Book III but in a form quite different from the lists on pp. 3–4 and 198. Consequently the scheme of the volume (which becomes apparent after some little trouble) is greatly obscured. This is the more deplorable as in fact the book is very carefully planned and no conscientious reader will be able to discover anything in the nature of confusion in the mind of the author. But confusion is caused to the reader not by the substance of the work but by the absence of those typographical aids from which so much guidance is ordinarily sought and obtained.

With reference to the second book, the criticism, comparison and commentary contained in it would be much more helpful if there were cross references to the quotations from Book III and corresponding references to Book II in Book III. Some abridgement would be possible and repetition saved if part of Book II were thrown into the shape of introductory notes similar to those on pp. 343, 361, 392, 402 etc. If some foot-notes were added to the poems, Book II could be brought into closer touch with the poems, and the volume would be reduced in size. Could there not be some marginal notes and more captions, so as to visualize the scheme of the work ?

If any reader of this review is inclined to think that the matters mentioned in the last few paragraphs are too small to deserve notice, our only reply might well be that " these little things are great to little man. " But we have another, an ulterior, reason for introducing some fault-finding in this review. Inability to find faults is often taken as a sure indication of general mental incapacity. We desire to safeguard the more important parts of this review from this insidious danger.

FAIZ B. TYABJI

II

The subject of this exhaustive study lived from 1689 to 1752 and produced in the collection of mystical poems known as the *Risālo* the only classic which the language of Sind can boast in the realm of deeply imaginative literature. Hitherto his poetry has remained a closed book to all but those acquainted with the Sindhi language. Dr. Sorley's aim has been to introduce English readers to it by translating it into English verse and to explain, by reference to the historical and social environment of the age in which the poems were composed, something of their message and meaning. The life of Shah Abdul Latif is, Dr. Sorley claims, an epitome of the age in which he lived, and he considers a deep understanding of the kind of people amongst whom he lived and the historical background to be essential to an understanding of his genius. Consequently his book is quite as much " a study of the literary, social and economic conditions in eighteenth century Sind," to quote its subtitle, as an appreciation of the poet himself. Indeed the poet is frequently in danger of being submerged in the background which Dr. Sorley builds up with such indefatigable industry, whether in the record of the Moghul and the Kathors age in Sind which forms Part I of his book or in the many-stranded web of influences, Arabic, Persian, Baluchi, Urdu and Hindu which he weaves in Part II and his account of Islamic mysticism and the practice of Sufism. Nor, when he comes to the poetry of his subject, is he content to examine its qualities in detail and to let it speak for itself. He also expatiates at length on the nature of poetry and mysticism with frequent comparisons with and quotations from English poets and mystics, but with a tendency to generalise overmuch and occasionally rather crassly, as when he writes that " the form of poetry has no relation to its meaning or significance." He excels in fact less in penetrating insight than in the comprehensive grasp of every facet of his subject, so that his book is a richly informing history of the people who dwell in the Lower Indus Valley, of their pastoral culture, to the study of which he brings none of the self-righteous superiority so often in the past typical of Western writers, and of the blending of Muslim and Hindu thought which the special conditions of Sind favoured. Shah Abdul Latif was uniquely the representative poet of his country because neither learning nor mysticism separated him from the common people. He was essentially a lyrical poet, whether he was singing of the love of God, of Sind moral life, or retelling in a form more lyrical than narrative the folk stories of his people. A lyrical poet is the hardest of all to translate and Dr. Sorley admits the impossibility of reproducing the brevity and succinctness of the Sindhi text. But his renderings are generally faithful to the original and do catch something of its spirit as well as conveying its content, if without much poetic distinction in themselves.

HUGH I' A. FAUSSET

Preparation for Citizenship. By SOPHIA WADIA with a Foreword by RABINDRANATH TAGORE. (International Book House, Bombay. Re. 1/-)

This book consists of the three Mysore University Extension Lectures which were delivered by Shrimati Sophia Wadia in September, 1937. It deals with a theme which would be of perennial value and absorbing interest at all times and in all climes but is now and here a factor of urgency, a matter of life and death, an imperious surge of spiritual passion. As Rabindranath Tagore says in his own inimitable way in his Foreword to the work :—

> Her clarion call to the State and the Citizen to contribute co-operatively to bringing into being SELF-Rule, in which diversities of gifts and graces of the Spirit but enrich one another as well as the whole of humanity, is timely.

The message of Shrimati Sophia Wadia is indeed most timely, because wisdom should be our only guide to happiness and is the only reliable " creator of a new order."

Shrimati Sophia Wadia has realized the real heart of Democracy much better than most of the previous thinkers on the subject. Much of the bitter failure of Democracy in the past has been due to wrong concepts of Democracy. We have all been prone to mistake the instruments and the technique of democracy for its heart and soul. She rightly urges that it is a spiritual principle. She says well: " Democracy is a spiritual institution, like Religion. Therefore when an attempt is made to give it a materialistic form it becomes a dangerous and corrupting influence." She says with equal insight and appositeness: "The present chaos is *not* due to the war; this chaos and the war itself but reflect the forces of anti-democratic ideas." Democracy is a spiritual passion of an entire people for freedom. A material passion will be selfish and acquisitive but a spiritual passion will be altruistic and creative. No true democracy will ever pass into an empire. No nation which loves freedom for its own sake will take away the freedom of any other nation. The real antidote to material democracy is not Dictatorship but spiritual Democracy.

We must take our hats off (I have no hat but my reverence is all the same) to Shrimati Sophia Wadia for saying with rare vision and courage: " What is the real basis and foundation of democracy ? It is to be found in the *Upanishads* and the *Gita*." *Swâraj* (which is a better word than Democracy) fixes our attention on *Swa* (self). The real nature of *Swa* is not *Kama* (Passion) but *Prema* (love). Man is not a social animal but a God in the making. Indian thought emphasises spiritual equality and inculcates spiritual socialism. The true purpose of education is self-rule—*i. e.*, a life of co-ordination and integration and harmony.

The next two lectures work out this great and fundamental truth vividly and variously. The greatest dangers today are the State Mysticism of Fascism and Nazism and the mechanisation of life by Communism. The citizen does not exist only for the State. He exists for humanity and for God as well. He realizes himself in and through the State; and the State exists in and for him. The State and the Individual are governed by the Law of Interdependence and Unity.

Shrimati Sophia Wadia rightly warns us against competitive individualism as well as against the herd instinct. She says with telling brevity and convincing wisdom:—" The State is the school of the adult. " Our professions must be inspired by the noble service motive and not by the sordid profit motive. Real *Swarajya* must be *Dharma Râjyâ*.

Equally great is the Duty of the State to the Citizen. Each larger realm of being must exact a loyalty which must fulfil and transcend the lower loyalty to a smaller realm of being. Patriotism must fulfil and transcend communalism, and love of Humanity must fulfil and transcend love of Nationality. A bad son will not be a good citizen. A bad citizen will not be a good humanitarian.

Thus Shrimati Sophia Wadia has made us realize that Democracy is the Soul of Life and that at the same time Spirituality is the Soul of Democracy. We are thankful to her for emphasising what we are prone to forget in these days of hurry and of greed.

Let us remind ourselves of the great words of the American Declaration of Independence: " We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness, that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.*"

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Saint Thomas Aquinas. By GERALD VANN, O. P. (Hague and Gill, Ltd., London. 6s.)

The author shows St. Thomas in the best possible perspective, and reveals the important place he occupied in medieval philosophy. More than any other thinker's, St. Thomas's philosophical writings deserve to live for ever, he says, because they exhibit a profound synthesis of varying eternal currents of thought which tend to recur in metaphysics. It is true that our knowledge of the physical world will undergo change, as indeed it has done during the past two centuries and more, but the eternal structure of experience, which is metaphysical, is bound to be valid for all time. It is this super-temporality of metaphysics that marks the writings of St. Thomas.

More than any single thinker of medieval times, St. Thomas, according to the author, has striven to furnish reason and revelation with validity in their respective domains. The autonomy of reason is all-important in physics, as revelation and intuition are in metaphysics; but in both spheres revelation and reason collaborate to lead to certitude. The two are not contradictory but complementary. Philosophy which seeks to understand reality as one whole through reason would not need to end in scepticism, if it laid less stress on the rôle of reason as counteracting intuition, and more on the unity of the universe. Nor need revelation legislate on matters pertaining to the sphere of physics, of reason and of perception. This solution of the unity of reason, revelation and intuition is reminiscent indeed of the present tendency amongst philosophers to lessen the contrast between them—a contrast that Bergson built up into a contradiction.

The second synthesis that St. Thomas made was between the Eastern Christian ideals of mysticism and "deification" of the individual and the Western personalistic tendency. Religious experience remains personal experience even in the mystical union with the Infinite. It is significant that St. Thomas, like his compeers in Sri Vaishnavism, which was active about the same time, understood this twofold enjoyment of the Infinite to be the secret unity of the finite and the Infinite Being.

An anthropocentric culture such as our own is a direct consequence of rationalism which refused to think all-sidedly. The importance of the religious experience has only of late been recognized. A theo-centric view such as that propounded by St. Thomas—not dissimilar to that of ancient Hinduism—may restrain, if not actually canalize, the unleashed unwisdom of our sciences. But one is not sure whether conditioned reflexes or God will prevail at the present moment; one cannot be sure whether the restless humanism of man will not seek other bases than God. If it did, it would not be false to itself, though such an attempt would be fraught with great disaster to culture as such. An all-sided transformation of man is possible only in and through the consciousness of the Divine immanent in and transcendent to the process.

The present volume will undoubtedly hasten understanding of the synthesis that is needed acutely at the present crisis in civilization. Our knowledge has yet to draw its vitality from ancient thinkers of the middle ages, for we have not moved ahead of them in many matters.

K. C. VARADACHARI

"A Declaration on World Democracy" is the explanatory subtitle of a statement by seventeen thinkers recently published at New York by the Viking Press under the caption *The City of Man*. It is not a symposium but the result of joint deliberations by an unusual group which includes a number of European expatriates—Thomas Mann for one—but is unmistakably American in its composite point of view.

The designation of the American "Committee on Europe," out of which grew the deliberations here summarized, has a ring of condescension which only the obvious sincerity of the collaborators' concern can excuse. Their rather naïve assumption of America's paramount responsibility for the saving of the world is balanced by a genuine contrition that democracy, which had been "a strenuous unity of thought and action, a rule for life and death," had been allowed to begin "disintegrating into a routine of liberties and comforts."

> Poverty and insecurity remained, but our mechanical prowess, with its millions of gadgets, was the answer to the ancient needs of man.

Convinced that "the emergency of democracy must be the emergence of democracy," they attempt a redefinition of democracy and its aims. Many of the principles which they lay down are unexceptionable, including religious tolerance and economic justice, but the phrasing is prolix and sometimes infelicitous; one is sure that several of the signatories could have done better single-handed! Briefly, the solution they propose is "one Brotherland for all," the "City of Man"—"the Nation of Man embodied in the Universal State, the State of States."

E. H.

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"_____ *ends of verse*
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's address at the celebration of his eightieth birthday at Santiniketan on April 14th deserved fuller reproduction than the Indian Press in general accorded it. It has been published in a pamphlet form under the caption *Crisis in Civilization*. Surely no more vigorous indictment of Imperialism has ever flowed from an octogenarian's pen! Dr. Tagore's complete disillusionment with Western civilization in general and with British rule in India in particular is the more tragic and bitter for the early enthusiasm to which it succeeded. He had associated the highest conception of civilization with the character of the English which he had come to respect through their literature but, alas!

> Then came the parting of ways accompanied with a painful feeling of disillusion when I began increasingly to discover how easily those who accepted the highest truths of civilization disowned them with impunity whenever questions of national self-interest were involved.

Even now, for the sake of C. F. Andrews and his kind, he clings to his faith in those individual Englishmen who by their nobility redeem their race. But he shows no quarter to those responsible for the conditions in India at the present day, with "such hopeless dearth of the elementary needs of existence." He charges the British with "criminal and contemptuous indifference to the crores of helpless Indian people." He regards as even worse what he declares has been a deliberate policy of sedulously encouraging "communalism and provincialism and lack of mutual faith," resulting in a disunity which it is now sought to father on Indian society itself.

> The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind them!

And yet the Grand Old Man of Indian letters does not despair. He hopes yet that day will once again dawn from the East, that in our poverty-stricken country a deliverer will be born whose "divine message will go forth to the world at large and fill the heart of man with boundless hope." He closes his message on an impressive note, recalling a truth proclaimed by the Indian sages, a truth that more than one among the Western peoples needs to take to heart :—

> By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root.

"Religion is Politics and Politics is Brotherhood" declared Blake. A few Methodist missionaries in India believed that too and acted accordingly, with such resulting impairment of their

"missionary effectiveness" in the eyes of their Mission Board as occasioned their peremptory recall. A brochure entitled *A Missionary and His Pledge*, published by Professor P. A. Wadia of Bombay and sponsored jointly by himself and Shri S. Natarajan, Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, recounts the story of the missionaries who, in November 1939, signed the Kristagraha Manifesto arraigning "the will to power over others as responsible for the violence in the world" and calling for the repudiation of the whole conception of domination by strong nations of any part of the world.

That the church authorities should have outdone the Imperial Government itself in solicitude for the latter's prestige should occasion no surprise in the light of the past record of Indian missions. A prominent Christian, Shri Bharatan Kumarappa, writing in THE ARYAN PATH for June 1935, condemned the average missionary's attitude to the national aspirations for political freedom as one of apathy and indifference, if not one of open hostility. And, as this brochure brings out,

> Either by silence or by speaking out against the evils, Christianity is always influencing politics in the profoundest sense.

Whatever might be said of the stand of the ecclesiastical authorities as repudiating in effect the teachings of Jesus, it can be justified at least on the sound pragmatic precept that he who pays the piper calls the tune. On the other hand, there is no honourable retreat from a stand dictated by conscience and the recalled missionaries have kept faith with their principles. Before he left Muttra last August the Rev. Mr. Ralph T. Templin declared:—

> Christ has been brought to India dressed in imperial robes. It was not possible to recognize the lowly Nazarene. The whole structure of missions, so far as it is founded upon arrogance and racialism and the participation in dominance is a denial of the Christ and all that He stood for.

It is significant that Mr. Templin sees in "the non-violent soul of India" the brightest star of hope in this dark hour.

> India has that to offer to the world which I do not find in the same degree anywhere else. A broken and gasping world will shortly cry out in despair for this synthetic principle to bind it into unity again.

We bid Mr. Templin Godspeed as he carries his evangel of non-violence to heathen America and to the Disunited States of unhappy Europe.

This is a very useful brochure. On many an occasion reference to it will prove helpful. It is available for Rupee One from the Office of *The Indian Social Reformer*, Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay.

That an actual unholy alliance, however nebulous, does exist between Christian missions and Imperialism should need no fresh proofs in the eyes of any student of history. The "*mission civilisatrice*" is Imperialism's most hypocritical defence. The mission drive is part of it. The Report of the Near East Christian Council Inquiry into "the cause of the 'relative sterility' of efforts for the conversion of Moslems," which is quoted by the Rev. Henry H. Riggs in *The Moslem World* for April, contains a reflection the naïveté of which is matched only by the sadness of the truth which lies behind it—the intimate connection between missionary effort and political domination.

The sad history of the conflict between Islam and Christendom, past and present, makes it inevitable that the Moslem should see in our missionary zeal, merely a part of the imperialistic arrogance to which he has become accustomed; and with his mental equipment we cannot expect him to distinguish between the political and the spiritual elements of imperialism.

We cannot indeed, and many who do not have a Muslim "mental equipment" experience the same difficulty. But the next sentence of the review shows an attitude as rare as it is hopeful, because self-knowledge is the beginning of wisdom :—

It is a very sobering thought for all of us to reflect that possibly, if we could see our spirit as it actually is we might find that the Moslem is not altogether wrong in sensing a spiritual arrogance in our efforts to bring him to leave his own group and join ours.

Dr. Sudhir Sen of the Viswa-Bharati Economics Research, whose paper at the Second Conference of the India Society of Agricultural Economics, Lahore, is summarized in *The Bombay Chronicle* for 15th April, recognized that factory industries so far had been mostly of the work-robbing type and had aggravated the dislocation in rural areas and placed the village artisan in a precarious position. But while he stressed the importance of cottage industries he saw a place in the economic structure for small industries, where machines were "indispensable or very much more efficient than manual labour." Small factories scattered throughout the country, away from the centres of congestion, are admittedly better than large plants and intense urban centralization of industry, but by what control mechanism are they to be kept small and prevented from forming in their former rural setting the nucleus of a new congested area ?

India's economic salvation is bound up with the cottage industries but their strengthening calls for enlightened effort to widen the artisan's margin of profit. Important among the ways by which this aid can be given are an organization to supply raw materials at a low price; an efficient marketing organisation and, last but by no means least, "propaganda and education of the consuming class."

It is doubtful, however, whether even factory industries as small as those visualised by Dr. Sudhir Sen would seem acceptable to Shri J. C. Kumarappa, who challenges vehemently, in the April issue of *Gram Udyog Patrika* (Wardha) the slogan "Industrialise or Perish" raised in effect by the advocates of centralized industries for India. "The thoughtful among us," he declares, "are realising that industrialisation and armaments are no remedy for poverty and political subjection." It requires only a rudimentary knowledge of economics to realize that India presents conditions the reverse of those favourable to large centralized industries, which demand large capital and relatively little labour. We have here, as Shri Kumarappa points out, little accumulated wealth and an abundance of labour. In no country can a sound industrial system rest on any basis that does not offer every willing pair of hands a chance to earn a living wage. In India, with its wide-spread dire poverty, the wholesale reduction of the openings for employment would be not only most unwise and inhumane but positively dangerous. The workers can be dis-

placed by machines only at the cost of disastrous economic and social dislocation. " Industrialise *and* perish " would be a more veracious if a less alluring slogan.

We see before us in the European debacle highly industrialised nations falling like autumnal leaves in a storm. Industrialisation has been no salvation to them.

The problem, as Shri Kumarappa brings out, has not only its material and social but also its cultural bearing. No true friend of India or of culture could take the stand expressed in Sir George Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi* (1904) :—

However much Indian art may be injured or individuals suffer, progression, in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilisation, must be allowed free course.

A most hopeful exhibition was held in Chicago last summer. The American Negro Exposition, described in the Autumn 1940 issue of *Common Ground*, depicted not only the remarkable positive achievements of this under-privileged group in the three-quarters of a century since they have been on a nominal equality with their former masters but also the peaceable but determined stand they are taking for the rights which they are denied in a nominal democracy. It is good to learn of their picketing, in the national capital, of the motion-picture house which barred them (as all "white" cinemas in Washington would do) from the film depicting the life of their great emancipator, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." It is good to learn also how the Negroes of Miami met the cowardly attempt of the Ku Klux Klan, that extra-legal concentration of racial and religious intolerance, to frighten them away from the polls. The threat of masked Klan members waiting in automobiles outside the polling-places with dangling nooses—horrid reminders of past lynchings—was met by an increase in the Miami registration of Negro voters from 500 to 10,000 !

Is it any wonder, however, that in a country where such discriminations are by no means uncommon the president of a great university, President Robert M. Hutchins of Chicago, should have charged in his Convocation Address last year, that such principles as Americans had were not different enough from Hitler's to make them very rugged in defending theirs in preference to his. Sufficient vestiges of moral principles remained to bother them, however, making them (like other Western peoples) "like confused, divided, ineffective Hitlers."

To say we are democrats is not enough. To say we are humanitarians will not do, for the basis of any real humanitarianism is a belief in the dignity of man and the moral and spiritual values that follow from it.

In his vigorous attack on the *bona fides* of a great nominal democracy of the West, President Hutchins cited specifically the American attitude towards the Negro. Race prejudice is one of the reasons assigned also by Brooks Atkinson in *The Nation* for March 8th for the failure of the U. S. A. to achieve more than a partial democracy; the 12,000,000 American Negroes, nominally free, are "still held in economic and social bondage through the ancient evil of race prejudice." The Jews also suffer from the same cruel and unjust dislike. Is it curable, this old unreasoning prejudice, that has its roots in arrogance and fear ? Mr. Atkinson diagnoses the trouble and points to the remedy :—

Like an old canker that sleeps in the system, breaking out at recurrent intervals, race prejudice is a virulent form of ignorance. It can be fought only with knowledge and moral teaching. Although it cannot be cured in any man's lifetime it can be steadily alleviated. Teaching, which is the active form of faith, digs deeper and deeper into the consciousness of every generation.

But it depends upon what is taught. There is no race, as there is no community, without its characteristic defects and those who concentrate upon these can hardly rise to tolerance, let alone to appreciation of the noble qualities which also are always discoverable. It is sad that there is deliberate propaganda to foment racial prejudice among Americans—as sad as are the misguided efforts of bigots of one community in India to stir up disaffection between its members and those of another community—with what dire effect the recent awful riots have shown. Such strongholds of orthodox exclusiveness as the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League can of course disclaim direct responsibility for the tragedies enacted in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Cawnpore and Dacca. But have they not, by inflaming prejudice and fostering mutual suspicion, helped to lay the train of powder ready for the match of any provocative incident ?

A proposal made by the great French expatriate M. André Maurois, at the New York banquet tendered a few months ago by American authors to the exiled writers of Europe, deserves wide publicity. The title of the many-volume saga of M. Jules Romains, who shares the exile of M. Maurois, furnished the latter with his text: "Men of Good Will."

Men of Good Will are to be found in all the existing fraternal organizations. Why are these not enough, it may be asked. Take, for example, the International P. E. N. Club, with friendliness as its watchword; it is certainly a body of Men of Good Will and its influence has been a positive force for good. But P. E. N. membership is open only to leading writers and editors and fortunately, important as these are in the formation of the public attitude, there are countless Men of Good Will who are not of their craft. Such men and women there are in every country. They are the hope of the world. Unorganized, however, they are no match for the regimented and drilled forces of evil. M. Maurois, like ourselves, sees " no reason why efficiency should be the monopoly of wickedness." The plan that he suggests is worth considering—the formation, in the free world which we all hope will emerge after the storm, of an " Order of the Knights of Peace. "

There would be no uniform, no assembly, no speeches, not even an annual luncheon, but every knight would know that, in all countries, he could always find, in an emergency, a few men: politicians, professors, soldiers, writers, carefully chosen, scrupulously honest, very influential amongst their own people, who, while being absolutely loyal to their country, would be free of all personal ambition, would do their best to ascertain facts and clear misunderstandings.

Men of Good Will, however, are not confined to the natural leaders. They are to be found in every walk of life. If the order of the Knights of Peace would inscribe upon its banner " The Brotherhood of Man, " it should be possible to enlist under that ensign every friend of the human race.