

NETAJI Collected Works V

Subhas Chandra Bose

NETAJI RESEARCH BUREAU · CALCUTTA

Subhas Chandra Bose

NETAJI COLLECTED WORKS

Volume 5

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FOREWORD

We are priviledged to release the fifth volume of Netaji's Collected Works on the occasion of the one hundred and twentyfifth birth anniversary of Netaji's father Janakinath Bose who was born on 28 May 1860.

We record with deep sorrow the passing away of our valued friend and comrade and a distinguished member of the Editorial Board Abid Hasan Safrani while work on this volume was in progress.

We confess that there has been a rather long time lag between the publication of the last volume and the present one. Several reasons account for this. First, since the publication of the fourth volume entirely new and voluminous material of exceptional historical value were passed on to the publishing department by the Research Division. These included Netaji's prison notebooks and diaries from Burma and a fairly lengthy monograph by him on the boycott of British goods, the first English publication that he authored in late twenties. There were in addition a host of other new fascinating material on a whole range of public questions. The arrival of such new material necessitated a fresh planning and editing of the fifth volume which was originally meant to take us well into the thirties. A complete reorganisation of the entire material in our hands and plenty of translation work had to be carried out which took considerable time. Secondly, owing to severe financial constraints of a project drawn up seven years ago, the publishing department had to cut down severely on its expenses and make do with minimum part-time staff. Thirdly, the power crisis continued to hold up and disturb press work at every step. Nevertheless, in spite of circumstances over which we had no control, we have been able to bring out five volumes in English in five years since the release of the first volume by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1980. It is also a matter of satisfaction that during the same period two volumes each in Bengali and Hindi have been published.

Netaji's prison notebooks from Burma started with 'Random Thoughts' which have been translated from the original Bengali. The thoughts may be random but are wide-ranging and deep. His extensive notes in his own hand on the books he read in Burmese prisons occupy one hundred and fifty pages of this volume. They are a revelation. We have endeavoured to preserve in all respects the style and manner of his notes including the marginal notings page by page. The reader will not only learn about the nature and extent of his studies but also how he read the books and what reactions and thoughts they provoked in his mind. The canvas is enormous—the subjects he studied with such diligence include history of nations like Ireland, history of European civilisation, history of revolutions, social organisation, memoirs, comparative history of Asia and Europe, psychology and crime, eugenics and national decay, physical deficiency and dietetics, the conflict of colour in human relations, etc, etc. In his notes he even kept copies of poems which moved him deeply.

Among his prison notebooks we found a piece in Bengali entitled 'Mantra-Vichar' based on his study of a treatise—'Purohit-Darpan'. This piece we found to be untranslatable and have therefore published in the original Bengali in the Appendix.

Of the very many articles, speeches and public statements included in this volume there are some very significant and noteworthy ones. 'The Dreams of Youth', 'The Call of the Motherland' and 'The Fundamental Question' are translations of some of his finest compositions in Bengali of the late twenties. Among the speeches will be found the presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference in 1928 dealing with ideological questions which are relevant even today, his address at the All India Youth Congress in 1928, his speech at the Rashtra Bhasa Sammelan held in Calcutta in December 1928 and finally his speech at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress while moving his amendment to Mahatma Gandhi's political resolution.

The monograph on boycott of British goods is in the

nature of a research paper based on compilation of statistical data started in 1927 and completed in the beginning of 1929. Research students, historians, political workers and readers in general will find in it plenty of information and material for deliberation on one of the cardinal features of our freedom struggle.

I am very thankful to Dr. Leonard A. Gordon and Dr. Sugata Bose for their assistance in reorganising the material for this volume and putting them in order. Mr. Srihari Gangooly has been in charge of reading the proofs, preparing the index and seeing the book through the press. Mr. Naga Sundaram has continued to give valuable archival support and Mr. Kartic Chakrabarty has carried the entire burden of typing the manuscript. To them we extend our sincere thanks. Messrs Ananda Press & Publications Private Limited have once again done their best to maintain the high standard of the series by their whole-hearted cooperation and technical support.

We acknowledge again with appreciation the financial support of the Government of India, Ministry of Education & Culture in this project.

As we now go forward with the work of the sixth and the following volumes we seek the blessings and assistance of our countrymen in carrying forward the project to its fulfilment.

Jai Hind
Sisir K. Bose

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28 May 1985

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ILLUSTRATION

Frontispiece : Portrait taken after return from Burma in 1927.



Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika 26 July 1923.

Sir,

It is high time to raise one's voice in protest against the manner in which public meetings are being conducted. A meeting was held on the 18th July last at Mirzapur Park and it was expected that the organiser or organisers of the meeting would invite all the prominent leaders then resident in Calcutta. I know that Srijut Das was not invited to the meeting on that occasion till I arrived at the meeting and suggested to one of the prominent organisers that he should go and invite Srijut Das. Unfortunately the public are not aware of these unpleasant facts and they consequently draw their own conclusions.

On Monday the 23rd July I saw in the "Servant" notices of meetings to be held on the 25th and 26th July in connection with the Turkish peace celebrations. I found my name appearing as one of the conveners. Unfortunately for me, my fellow conveners did not think it necessary even as a bare act of courtesy to inform or consult me about the meetings before sending the notices to the press.

This morning another notice appeared in the "Servant" cancelling the meeting on the 25th and announcing that two meetings would be held on the 26th July. This notice, too, had my name as one of the signatories but no one cared to inform me before sending the notice to the press that this important change in the programme was being made.

I consider it absurd to hold two public meetings on the same day and at two different places. Further, it is still more absurd to hold a public meeting on a working day at 2 p. m. in the afternoon at a place like the Town Hall when another meeting is going to be held on that day elsewhere at 4.30 p. m. for the same purpose. I would therefore request my fellow conveners to cancel the meeting at

2 p. m. in the Town Hall and have one meeting in the evening in some park and have all the speakers then. I hope my appeal will not be in vain.

Subhas Chandra Bose

38/2 Elgin Road
24. 7. 23

Statement on the South Calcutta Sevak Samity

19 December, 1923.

Since its formal inauguration in August last, the South Calcutta Sevak Samity at 44, Chaul Patty Road, Bhowanipur has been making steady progress. The Industrial Branch comprises several departments of which the weaving department has a record of above two years' work behind it. Shirtings and Coatings produced on its looms today are really very fine in their textures and designs. Ever-since it came into being the Industrial Branch has always preferred getting one's cloth woven out of one's own hand-spun yarns. Thus it was able to keep a good number of "Charka" going in South Calcutta. The Dyeing and the Tailoring departments are showing signs of gradual improvement.

The Social Service Branch is rendering immense service. At present, 16 families of different localities of South Calcutta are being maintained from the weekly collections of rice. The families maintained are supplied with "charka" and cotton to spin yarn. They are also supplied with paper to make "Thonga". These works are compulsory for them except those who are physically unfit for work.

Contributions of about Rs. 931 have been received as also many valuable books for the library of the Samity.

RANDOM THOUGHTS*

(Compiled from Netaji's prison note-books from Mandalay, Burma, 1924—1927.-Ed.)

Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay in his *'Bibidha Prabandha'* (varied essays) says that Christianity and *Gourio Vaishnavism* are of the same nature. One of the reasons is this that Vaishnavism originated in Bengal during Muslim rule and Christianity spread in Europe when the Roman Emperors were ruling there. One of the reasons why the Brahmos are in favour of Vaishnavism is that it is similar in character to Christianity (it is universally known that the Brahmo Samaj was influenced by Christian religion).

My idea is that both Christianity and *Vaishnavism* are *Vakti* oriented. This is why they have similar characteristics.

According to Bhudeb Babu in the South the spread of Ramanuja's ideas led to the regeneration of the *'Smartachara'* of the Aryans. Similarly the spread of *Vaishnavism* in Bengal led to the rise of Raghunandan.

Some examples of communal factionalism :—

(1) the Shaivas, the Shaktas and the Vaishnavas have their different puranas—in the *skanda purana Shiva* is supreme. In the *Padma Purana* Vishnu is the Lord Himself ; *Brahma* and Shiva are considered to be just His qualitative aspects ; *Bhagabati* is *Vishnu Yogamaya* or *Vidya Shakti*. In the *Kalika purana Brahma, Vishnu* and *Maheswara* are the children of *Adya Bhagabati*.

(2) The war between Shiva and Ram ; a war between *Shrikrishna* and *King Vana*.

(3) The advent of Islam during the sectarian struggle among the Christians.

(4) The appearance of Jesuits during the dispute among the Protestants.

* Translated from the original in Bengali

(5) The rise of *Sufism* during the conflict between the *Shias* and *Sunnis*.

(6) The appearance of Buddha during the conflict amongst the *Pancha Upashakas* (During the ascendancy of the Buddhists the *Pancha Upashaka* came into some sort of compromise. It was then that six systems of Indian philosophy originated and *Sadhana* according to the Tantrik rites started. As a result of this unity a new line of Kshatriyas came into being and Buddhism was defeated. The triumph was followed by another wave of conflict—as proved by the creation of new Upapuranas and the Srimat-Bhagavat and the conflict between Hindu kings. After the Muslim conquest the secret Sadhana of the Tantriks started again.

The root of Hindu civilization and culture is Vedic. Any religion or social thinking which denied this origin was not accepted by Hindu society for long. The main causes of the failure of Buddhism are probably (1) To deny the Vedas completely and the failure to synthesise with the ancient religion and civilization of India. The orthodox Hindus designated the Buddhist "Nastika Veda nindak". (2) Not arriving at any sort of compromise and understanding with the Brahmins. During the ascendancy of Buddhism in India many lower caste people could come into prominence—for example, Gandha Baniks, Doms, Bagdis etc., which made the upper caste people, specially the Brahmins, very angry. Later the Buddhists accepted the God and Goddesses of the Puranas and the Upapuranas after transforming them but they never tried to bring about a synthesis with the Vedas and the Vedic culture. The Buddhists captured the imagination of the people by making a sort of compromise with the Gods and Goddesses of the Puranas (the Aryans carried out a synthesis between the two cultures by raising the status of non-Aryan Gods and Goddesses). But having failed to synthesise with the Vedic culture they could not bring the upper-caste people to their side. Before the spread of Buddhism the status of Hindu society

was like this—on the one hand the upper-caste elite was rooted in the Vedas and Vedic culture and on the other hand the common people held on to many Gods and Goddesses. We can have an idea about these Gods and Goddesses from the Puranas and Upapuranas. Undoubtedly the Buddhists could draw the lower caste people to their side but in culture or in intellectual performance these (lower caste) people could never compete with the higher caste people. The Buddhists were defeated by the intellectual superiority of the upper caste people led by the Brahmins.

Had the Buddhists been more mindful of preserving fully the power of the Kshatriyas and cared less about building *Viharas* and increasing the number of *Sramana Vikkhus*, then they would have been able to claim unchallenged domination of the society and the restoration of Brahmanism would not have been so easy. Due to the conflict and struggle between the Buddhists and the Hindus the Indian nation was weakened. With the restoration of Brahmanism came caste-consciousness. This caste-consciousness came like a flood and the feeling of nationhood and social consciousness were washed away. In Bengal the virile and courageous sects like Doms and Bagdis who were responsible for the consolidation of Buddhism were downgraded in their caste status and as a result they naturally lost all interest in protecting the country and the society. This may be the reason why Muslim conquest proved to be such an easy affair.

The pre-Buddhist civilization in India was actually Brahmanic civilization.

Buddhists failed to realise the depth and extent of this Brahmanic influence. In countries where Buddhism came to stay no community as influential and intelligent as the Brahmins existed. Had it been so, Buddhism could not have established itself unless it arrived at some compromise with them. From the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Puranas, Tantrika literature etc., we come to learn by what clever means the Brahmins could establish their mastery in society.

Going through pre-British Bengali literature we find that those who nourished Bengali literature in many ways did not all belong to the upper castes. A perusal of Dinesh Babu's (Dinesh Chandra Sen.—Ed.) "Banga Bhasha O Sahitya", makes this point very clear. Many people belonging to the so-called lower castes enriched the folk literature. This proves that during that period there was a vital link between society and literature. It is found that in the British period, votaries of literature were mostly from the upper castes, at least they were English educated. The present Bengali language is Firengi Bengali and the present Bengali literature is largely Firengi Bengali literature. That is why this literature is confined to a handful of English-educated Bengalees. This literature has not had wide currency amongst the people in general and this literature has not been nurtured by representatives of the people in general. This is why modern Bengali Firengi literature is somewhat superficial and appears to be sort of unreal ; it has no intimate relationship with the life of the society. It lacks a vital link with society. This link with life—which has been severed under English influence—has to be restored again. Once again literature must reflect the joys and sorrows, aspirations and ideas and even the existing qualities and drawbacks of present-day society. Then our literature will become something live and people as a whole, irrespective of class, will be able to appreciate the beauty and grandeur of our literature.

In the way themes like *Manoshar Bhasan, Mangal Chandi* etc., found their place in literature and thus got wide currency among the populace, similarly modern themes should be written and propagated among the people. In this regard the model of 'Gambhira' music prevalent in the district of Malda is worth imitating.

In the continent of Africa only two religions are preached at present—Christianity and Islam. Why should Hinduism not be preached there ? Sister Nivedita maintained that Hinduism must be aggressive. Swami Vivekananda was of the same opinion and with this idea he

preached religion in Europe and America. If Hinduism is preached in Europe or America then they might change their views about the Hindus—Indian philosophy might influence Western philosophy—and the glory and prestige of Indians might go up. But people over there will never adopt Hinduism. On the other hand if Hinduism is preached amongst the Africans, they may adopt Hinduism. And if they adopt Hinduism they will do so in thousands.

The question may arise : what do we gain from this ? Firstly, what is gained by preaching the truth is always there. Secondly, Africans not yet civilized or only half-civilized will be fully civilized in the light of Hinduism and civilization. Thirdly, by being aggressive Hinduism will acquire further strength and as a result of being preached in a different country will be compelled to shed many of its prejudices and dogmatism. India will attain a higher place in the comity of nations. If two hundred lakhs of Africans embrace Hinduism then undoubtedly the influence of the Hindus and of India will be quite powerful in Africa. If India wants to be a world power then the preaching of Hinduism will facilitate the process. Barring countries where Islam is the predominant religion, it is India that has preached religion and brought civilization everywhere in Asia—why should it be different in the case of Africa ?

As a result of racial conflicts the Africans will not be inclined to accept Chistianity in the future. After being converted to Christianity people usually become anti-national and imitator of alien ideas. Because of this the Africans, if they cannot have any other religion, will be compelled to embrace Islam. Conversion to this religion will also be of benefit to them. They will not be carried away by alien ideas, on the contrary they will become more powerful and organised.

Is it not a matter of fascinating experiment to see how far in what manner the acceptance of Hinduism by other nations will lead to their improvement ? 5.5.26

The land which lies to the east of *Prayag* has a seperate culture since ancient times. Though this culture has

been influenced by Aryan Vedic culture, yet this culture has a distinctiveness of its own. The land which lies to the west of *Prayag* was the land of true *Brahmanya Dharma.* But the religion of the land to the east was based on egalitarian ideas. Repeated and serious attempts were made to bring this land under full influence of *Brahmanya Dharma* and with this aim in view *Sagnik* Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas were imported. But this eastern land never accepted the Vedic religion wholly and here the rigidity of the caste system is much less.

In this land religions competing with *Brahmanism* arose —Buddhism, Jainism and Bengal Vaishnavism. Due to the emergence of such religious movements in the later period the influence of Brahmanism declined here considerably.

The centre of this culture was formerly *Magadha* or *Mithila. Patliputra* was the capital. *Magadha* was dominant during the whole Buddhist period. Later when the influnce of *Magadha* decreased then the centre of culture shifted from *Magadha* to *Gour*. Even after losing its importance *Magadha* was for a long time the centre of culture. Not very long ago if one wanted to learn Sanskrit and the Shastras well, one had to go to *Mithila.* Later when the system of *Nabya Nyaya* was introduced at Nabadwip then the reputation of Nabadwip went up. It is a matter of historical research why the culture of *Magadha* declined and decayed. Whatever might have been the real reason it can be easily understood that those who were the backbone of society and those who carried the lamp of culture in their own hands and spread its radiance all over the place, were eliminated. With their elimination the culture of *Magadha* too came to an end and the dominance of *Magadha* ended. *Magadha* was the very gateway to the eastern region for the people of the north. So whoever wanted to conquer the eastern region had to wage war against *Magadha.* Many battles took place between the northerners and *Magadha* so that Brahmanism could spread over the eastern region. When in the post-Buddhist period Sankaracharya re-established Brahmanism Buddhist Vikkhus and Sramanas were victims of much torture. During

that period many brilliant men of *Magadha* were eliminated also. After that during the Islamic period *Magadha* was again and again the scene of many political upheavals. All this caused a decline in the population of *Magadha.* And Aryans from North-West and tribal and aboriginal people from the South came to settle down in *Magadha.* Because of these reasons it is now difficult to discern the old culture of *Magadha* in Bihar.

Gour was for a long time the centre of culture. Afterwards many subcentres of culture grew up, for example, Bikrampur, Chandradwip, Nabadwip, Kulingram, Saptagram, Tamralipta etc. In between Prag Jyotishpur became the centre of culture. For some time Kalinga too became a centre of culture. Just like Nabadwip, Purushottwamatirtha too gained prominence as a centre of culture. When *Gour* came under the domination of the Muslim nawabs Kalinga was still an independent country and the king of Kalinga attacked *Gour* and defeated the Muslim ruler of *Gour.*

The culture of these Pancha Gours (Five Gours) was fundamentally the same. What was it ? Broadly speaking, this Gauriya culture was a product of a kind of synthesis between the Tantra, Vaishnavism, *Nab*ya *Nyaya* with the Vedic culture. At present the centre of this culture is in Bengal. But who can tell whether in the future the centre of this culture will not be in Puri or Gauhati ?

Those who believe in the superiority of this culture should devote themselves to more historical research in this regard. To them Pataliputra, Gaur, Nabadwip, Purushottawama, Kamakshya etc., are holier than places of pilgrimage. So everybody should visit these five places of pilgrimage.

9.5.26

How is an empire established ? By what qualities can a nation get out of its own narrow limits and establish itself in this world by dint of its courage and heroism or spread knowledge and enterprise ? The greatest element in character is love of adventure. Driven by this love of adventure can man travel to distant lands and assert him-

self. With this greatest element other qualities mingle. Western nations were driven by love of money and the desire to establish trade and commerce to travel to distant lands and found empires. The desire to preach their religion inspired the Buddhists and the Islamic nations to travel to distant lands. Buddhists preached their religion in the non-violent way, relying on their own character and knowledge and were successful. So they did not have to establish empires and they did not develop the desire to establish empires.

The goal was—cultural conquest. Later the Christian missionaries moved from country to country with the aim of preaching their religion. Of course in most cases the Christian missionaries had either direct or secret connection with politics. The Islamic nations in accordance with the dictates of the Quoran and following the ideals set by Hajarat Mahammad himself preached their religion with their own prowess. They had therefore to establish empires for the purpose of spreading their religion. Besides, unlike the Buddhists, Islam does not disregard secular life and its pleasure. Thus, money-hungry, pleasure-seeking, powerful, courageous and vigorous nations having accepted Islam there was simultaneous dissemination of Islam as a religion with the establishment of empires.

Even after taking into consideration all these factors the fact remains that the predominant element which goes to the making of an empire is—love of adventure for its own sake. Not only for establishing empires but also for self-defence a nation must be aggressive. No nation can be aggressive if it lacks love of adventure.

So we must see to it that love of adventure is instilled into the hearts of the Bengalees nay Indians. One cannot have this spirit by being penny-wise and calculating. One must learn to be fond of adventure without any thought of loss or gain. Those who try to walk from Calcutta to Peshawar or try to reach Rangoon from Calcutta through hills and dales should always be encouraged. They should also be encouraged who try to swim twenty to thirty miles at a stretch or try to travel a long distance on a boat rowing

all by themselves. A person who drives in a motor car from Calcutta to Kashmir should also be encouraged. We must try to make the Bengalees learn to do hard manual labour and come to love hard work. Only by undergoing hard physical strain will heroes be created. Once heroic men fond of adventure are created, a new nation will come into existence. Mr. Parag Ranjan Dey who travelled from Calcutta to Rangoon on foot alone through mountainous terrain is a man whom every Bengalee should respect. Is there a Bengalee who does not feel proud when he reads about him?

Apart from this, efforts should be made to rouse in the whole nation the desire to excel in every kind of sport and physical feats. Of course we should pay more attention to our national games viz. wrestling, lathi-play, dagger play, ha-do-do etc. But why should we not try to excel in every kind of sport and physical exercise? There is great glory in defeating the English in their own kind of games. So we must try to excel also in such games as tennis, football, cricket, hockey, boxing etc. We should remember that games like tennis, football etc., have now become international; therefore by playing such games we are not going to lose our national identity.

This very spirit of adventure is also needed in the realm of knowledge. Many relics of Buddhist civilization have been and are being discovered in Central Asia. In this work Germany, England Russia, France, Belgium and even Japan have taken part (Modern Review, June 1926.). But where is India where Buddhism was born? Our attitude is "why bother about such odd things and spoil our comfortable life? What is the good of roaming about the deserts of Central Asia?" The fact is that we do not have the thirst for knowledge. Once the thirst for knowledge is roused, a man really goes mad. Then, in complete disregard of gain or loss, personal happiness or unhappiness, he moves from one corner of the earth to the other in search of Knowledge. If necessary, he undergoes all kinds of physical strain, faces all kinds of dangers and wanders through forests infested with dangerous animals and dry deserts

devoid of life. One who has developed the thirst for knowledge, even in ripe old age, throws away domestic pleasure, comfort and tranquility, like Tennyson's Ulysses, and rides turbulent seas in search of unknown lands. This is what Tennyson's Ulysses says :

"I cannot rest from travel, I will drink.....
Life to the lees.
Old age hath yet his honour and his toil ;
Death closes all ; but something are the end
Some work of noble note may yet be done.
Come my friends
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off and sitting well in order smile.
The sounding furrows ; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset and the baths—
Of all the western stars, until I die."

To achieve greatness in this world such men are needed as are devotees of knowledge, who are not calculating but fond of adventure, those who love the world ; they try to realise the infinite through the sense of beauty, smell, sound and touch. Only those who do not admit any limits to knowledge either in the outside world, in the inner world of man or in any sphere of life, can in this world become wise, happy and self-confident.

The end, 10.5. 1926.

Students nowadays appear to be getting sicklier day by day, suffering from dyspepsia, growing shorter, and becoming lifeless. Is this impression true ? Most probably so. Is the kind of patriotic feeling which prevailed amongst the student community ten years ago still alive ? It is very difficult to answer this question. But it is true that nowdays students are gradually becoming "good boys'." "Good boy" will not achieve anything. That he who is "good" at studies eventually attains prosperity—is an utterly wrong ideal. Another saying, *'Chhatranang adhhayanang Tapah* (The only preoccupation of the student should be studies) is not wholly true, it is half truth. The highest duty of the student is to be a real man. To have more education is

very essential and in that context studies can be accepted as a kind of *Tapasya*. But without attainment of health, character-building, social service and national work during student life, you cannot have a complete and clean human being.

Can anything great be achieved by those who by devoting all their energies in occupying top positions in examinations come out of educational institutions completely broken in health ? Young men must enter life with unimpaired health, strong physique, unblemished character, and armed with full power and energy. Their education will not end in the university, it will only begin there. Self-education must not stop and must continue through all his activities of life. So those who take university degrees to be the highest point of education and who neglect to work for the fullest manifestation and all-round improvement of life just to secure high position in examinations, scholarships and medals cannot be classified as anything other than misguided, worthless and useless beings.

Along with the deterioration in health it appears as if the vivacity of life is disappearing. This state of melancholy is getting worse owing to poverty and the blandishment of the superiors. I have observed that in university campuses of Europe when students walk in the streets they are full of spirit and enthusiasm as if they are dancing about (the same is true of women). Their faces are beaming with joy and they are bubbling with energy. They do not care a fig for the world—they are prepared for the struggle for life. But what about us ? We suffer from starvation, we lack health, energy and enthusiasm, we are even devoid of any sense of joy. Our faces are darkened by the gloomy shadow of joylessness. Our students are gradually becoming more and more 'Bhadraloks'. Nowadays 'Bhadralok' students are gradually giving up such manly practices—as swimming across the river, climbing fruit-bearing trees, snatching fruits and eating them, going out on picnics, walking long distances—20/40 miles in groups, playing lathi, wrestling etc. But I say—if you lose *Ananda* what are you left with ? *ANANDA* marks the beginning of creation, it is the inspiration of *Ananda* that promotes good deeds. That is why I

am tempted to quote the poet of poets Rabindranath :

Samasta timir veda karia dekhite haibe
ek purna jyotirmoy ananta bhubane.

(Piercing all darkness we must have a vision of the fully effulgent one radiating light that permeates the whole of infinity.)

Those who are recommended by society as "good boys", are actually nothing but good-for-nothing beings.

They cannot and never achieve anything either in this secular world or in after life. They somehow go through a drab life attending to petty daily chores and go along the conventional path throughout their lives blindly like a flock of sheep. In their prosaic life there is no taste of the new, there is no spontaneous heart-warming laughter and no recklessly emotional self-sacrifice. To them life is a big burden but they are so utterly impotent that they are not able even to throw the burden away from their shoulders. Unless these so-called "good boys" are eliminated the Bengalees will not be real men—a new nation will not come into being in India. One must learn to love what is new, one must be crazy about the unknown, one must work for self-expression in freedom and under the open sky by demolishing whatever is fossilized hindrance to life. Bengali youngmen and students must once again learn to be 'wayward'. Have we ever cared to gauge the inner qualities of the boys rejected and thrown out by their parents. The sin of ignoring such boys has resulted in a lifeless and maimed society. Those "wayward" young men who have for lack of opportunities, been compelled to join the band of hoodlums—have not such boys established empires in the history of other countries ? What was Lord Clive of England ? Was he a "good boy" or was one of the "wayward" ? What was Sivaji of your own country ? What is really the history of the forefathers of the big Maharajas and Zamindars of Bengal ? Was not Francis Drake, who knighted and placed in the glorious list of persons who established the British empire not an ordinary pirate ? If today in India we did not have peace of the graveyard then, who knows, Bengali editions of Lord Clive, Frances Drake and Sivaji might have emerged from amongst these "wayward" men.

In 1926 a big British students' conference was held in Cambridge. In that meeting there was discussion as to what should be the profession of students. In the course of the discussion Mr. Kenneth Bell, a professor of Balliol College, Oxford said, "The only career worth having is a career of adventure and I am perfectly certain that the right thing is to regard life as an adventure and a tremendously long one at that." These words are true to the letter. But is there any professor amongst us who can speak in such terms ? This love of adventure is the best element in English character. For the lack of this we as a nation are devoid of strength, handicapped, lifeless and unmanly. Not to speak of loving the unknown, we are actually mortally afraid of it. As a result, we are deprived of the pleasure which the unknown can give. We never get crazy for the unknown and cannot give up what has been known to us for long—men, things or a path. This is why we lack in our life inspiration of the new and so we are prematurely old. Aspirations worthy of the youth, viz., to see unknown lands, to come to know unknown people, to read books yet unread and to gather new knowledge must be awakened in this dying nation and thus a new lease of life given to it.

The English have taught us that in the pre-British era there was no peace or order—the British have brought them about. It is said that the greatest contribution of England is establishment of peace—"Pax-Britannica". Having heard it repeatedly we have come to believe this claim. But what the English have established in India, is it peace or coma ? (apparently both look the same). As a matter of fact we are chained down from all sides by law. And under the pressure of this terrible bondage we are gasping on the eve of unpending death. Where is the freedom, where is the *Ananda* that existed in the pre-British period ? Go to the remotest villages, climb on to the top of the mountains, sail across the surging waves of the Indian Ocean, penetrate into the deepest of forests, go wherever you wish, you will find the demoniac representatives of the British crown proclaiming the glory of the law. There is not even

one piece of land of one arm's length in the whole of India which is not under this law and which is inaccessible to these watch-dogs of the British. No, it was not so in the pre-British period. We have been disarmed by the Government for our own good on the ground that if we had weapons we would be fighting and quarrelling with one another. As a result we are startled by the sound of the gun, we faint when a thief enters with a dagger in his hand and we run away to save ourselves leaving the women folk at the mercy of God when our houses are raided by dacoits. We have completely given up the practice of lathi-play and wrestling either due to fear of the police or for the sake of so-called gentlemanliness. Those in society who are endowed with strength and courage, who are fearless have no way out at present other than to take to the path of goondas. Even when we find amongst our own compatriots qualities which are necessary for winning wars, which can provide a nation with new ideals and enable us to establish empires, we are not in a position to make a good use of such qualities. As a matter of fact, because of this peace of the graveyard prevailing in India, we Indians today have become so powerless and unenterprising. Today, even if there is the wish and the power, Indians cannot simply set up a state or even part of a state by their own strength and intellect. If they even make an attempt to do so, instead of enjoying the world they will land themselves in prison. Nowadays only those make progress in life who are impotent, slavish and timid. The result is that today we do not enjoy life. We have lost all initiative and interest. Life has no romance left in it—and nothing extraordinary can happen in our life and today it is just a big but prosaic affair. 11.5.1926

Letter on Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das to Hemendra Nath Dasgupta*

Mandalay Jail,
20.2.26

I do not feel confident enough to write anything publicly about the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. I do not think I shall ever be able to do so. My personal relations with him were of such a deep nature that I do not feel like talking about those things except with those who are most intimate with me. Moreover, he was so great and I consider myself so small in comparison that I have not yet been able to fully realize how versatile was his genius, how large was his heart, and how noble was his character. With my limited powers of head and heart and my poor language it would be impudent on my part to attempt to say anything about that great soul. But one has to do ever so many things at the request of friends although one might have neither the desire nor the ability to do so. In fact, I am making this humble attempt only at the request of my friend Srijut Hemendranath Das Gupta. It would make a volume if I were to write all that I have known about him from personal association, or if I were to attempt an analysis of his life and work as far as I could understand them. I have neither the capacity nor am I in a mood to write at any considerable length. I shall only say a few things in response to a friend's request.

I am not aware of a good many things regarding the Deshbandhu's chequered career. Perhaps I do not know even all the facts that have appeared in the biographies so far published. Only for the last three years of his life did I associate with him and worked as one of his followers. During this brief period I might have learnt a world of things from him; but one does not know how to value a thing so long as the thing is there. Particularly in the case of the Deshbandhu I had persuaded myself that he would be living for a few more years and that he was not

* Translated from the original in Bengali.—Ed.

going to die till his earthly mission had been fulfilled. The Deshbandhu was a great believer in horoscopes. Although I was no believer in those things, still it would not be wholly correct if I were to say that I was not partially infected with his faith in his own horoscope. So far as I remember he had told me several times that he was destined to undergo two years' exile in a foreign land. On the termination of the period of exile he would return in full glory. Government would come to an understanding with him and he would be installed in power ; not till then would he die. I had told him at that time that I would be always willing to go into exile with him. To tell the truth, after my own exile I very often remembered the reading of his horoscope and was afraid lest he should have to come here too. But who knew then that far greater misfortune would befall Bengal, and, for the matter of that, the whole of India.

* * * *

I had my last meeting with him in Alipore Central Jail. The Deshbandhu was not keeping well ; he had gone to Simla for a few days' rest but came down to Calcutta immediately on receipt of the news of our arrest. He came twice to Alipore Central Jail to see me, and we met for the last time on the eve of my transfer to Berhampore Jail. At the end of the talk, I touched his feet and said, "Perhaps it will be long before we meet again." "Oh, no," he said in his characteristic cheerful voice, "I am going to have you released very soon." Alas, who knew then, I would not meet him again on this earth ! Every little detail of that last meeting, every word that he had spoken made a deep impression on me and it will remain with me throughout my life. The memory of that last meeting is practically my only treasure in life.

Many have tried to find out the secret behind his tremendous hold on our masses. As one of the Deshbandhu's followers I would like to point out one thing which accounts for his great influence. I have seen how he could love people irrespective of their failings and shortcomings. His love came as a spontaneous flow from within his heart without ever taking into account the qualities or faults of the person concerned. He could easily draw towards him people whom we usually shun and hate. People of all kinds used to be attracted to him so that his influence extended to all spheres of life, like a whirlpool in the sea he could draw into his fold numerous people from all around. I know of numerous instances where people literally slaved for him. Even those who did not yield to his great learning, people who remained unimpressed by his eloquence, or even unmoved by his tremendous sacrifices, would yet feel the irresistible attraction of his great heart. His followers and co-workers had become like members of his own family. He could have staked everything for their good and welfare. Give your own life for others, and others will lay down their lives for you. This was exemplified in the life of the Deshbandhu. There was nothing his followers would not do for him. They would ungrudgingly go through any suffering and hardship for his sake. Of course, there was actually no occasion for sacrifice of life, * but barring that, it could be said of his followers that they gladly went through all kinds of sufferings for him and even felt proud to have done so. The Deshbandhu knew it very well that on his non-violent soldiers he could depend under all conditions. I feel proud to say that till the last day of his life these non-violent soldiers of his carried out his commands unflinchingly in the face of all risks and dangers.

This disciplined and fearless band of followers made some of our so-called leaders feel jealous of the Deshbandhu, although, I think, they themselves yearned to have a similar band of workers under them. But I do not think they were ready to pay the price for it. Unless you know how to love your followers how can you expect them to make sacrifices for you ? The Deshbandhu never made any distinction, like ordinary men, between what was his own and what belonged to others. His house had become

* Some workers actually died while engaged in Congress work in connection with Tarakeswar Satyagraha.

almost a public property. Everybody had free access everywhere—even to his bedroom, and all people had equal claims to his worldly possessions as well as on his generous heart. He not only loved his followers but was even prepared to court insults on their account. One day a near relation of his found fault with one of our workers on account of certain lapses on his part and said, "I hate him." The Deshbandhu was evidently hurt. "Well, you may ; but I don't hate him. That's my difficulty." On many an occasion he quarrelled with outsiders on behalf of his co-workers. Several times this happened in my presence, and I saw how great was his love for his followers and how he courted insults for their sake.

Those who did not know the inside story used to be astonished at his tremendous power of organization, and astonishing certainly it was, for what the Deshbandhu did was absolutely new in the field of Indian politics. The organization that he had built up was solid as a rock, and I can say very definitely that at the root of it all was the bond of love that existed between the leader and his followers. With his immense capacity for loving people, irrespective of their merits or demerits, and by virtue of his extraordinary tact he succeeded in bringing together people of different tastes and different ways of thinking. Numerous people used to help him in private although they neither belonged to his party nor subscribed to his views.

Many of our so-called leaders have openly characterized the Deshbandhu's followers as being servile to him. I do not think anybody who was ever present at our discussion at the Deshbandhu's residence would corroborate this charge against us. How could I call those people servile in temperament when I found them expressing their views in a most fearless and outspoken manner during these discussions ? Fierce differences of opinion arose between the leaders and the followers and not unoften wordy battles were fought. At times the Deshbandhu used to lose his temper ; but he never really got displeased with an outspoken member of the party. On the contrary, we often felt he paid much too close an attention to a dissentient voice.

Of course it was true that in spite of difference of opinion his followers never behaved in an indisciplined manner, nor did they ever in revenge launch an attack on the leader and subsequently join the enemy's camp. Difference of opinion there might be, but once the issue was decided by vote, the course adopted was to be followed by everybody. Loyalty to a party or to a community is no new thing in India. Indians first received this teaching from Lord Buddha two thousand five hundred years ago. Even to-day the following Buddhist prayer rings throughout the world—

I dedicate myself to the Buddha ;
I dedicate myself to the Dharma ;
I dedicate myself to the Sangha.

In fact, no great undertaking, whether religious or political, is possible in this world without party organization and party discipline.

I know of another charge brought against him. It has been said that moving as he did in the vortex of politics the Deshbandu had to associate with people without education and culture. From 1921 till his death the Deshbandhu had come into contact with numerous workers. I do not know that he considered these people to be uneducated and uncultured. At least, he never gave any indication of it in his ordinary dealings with them. Free from vanity as he was, and exceedingly modest by nature, he might have successfully concealed his real feelings towards them. I have definite recollection of at least one incident. After his release from jail he was given a great ovation at a meeting organized by the students of Calcutta. In the address that was presented to him mention was made of his great qualities of head and heart and of his tremendous sacrifice for the cause of the country. The Deshbandhu was deeply touched by this spontaneous expression of love and affection by the youths of the nation. His was a spirit ever fresh and young. So the message of the youths easily touched the chords of his heart. When he rose for a reply to the address he was overwhelmed by his own feelings. Completely ignoring his own sacrifices and sufferings, he began to

speak about the sacrifices of the youths of the country; but he could hardly proceed with the speech. Overpowered by emotion his voice was choked. He stood silent and motionless, and tears ran down his cheeks. The idol of the youths wept and the youths wept too.

I cannot imagine how he could consider those people unworthy of association for whom his love was so great and sympathies even greater.

Of course those who worked with the Deshbandhu and are still serving the cause he held dear, have no inflated notion of their own learning, or culture, or social status. I hope they will continue to be as humble and modest as they used to be.

The last letter I received from the Deshbandhu was written from Patna. That letter is my most treasured possession today. It gives a clear indication of his mental agonies caused by the wholesale arest of his trusted followers. How intense was his pain could be realized only by those who came into contact with this great-hearted man.

I had the privilege to be in the same jail with him for eight months in 1921-22. For a couple of months, we were in the Presidency Jail occupying two adjacent cells, and the remaining six months we were in one big hall along with several other friends in the Alipore Central Jail. During those few months I used to look after his personal comforts. We did the cooking too for him in Alipore Jail. I consider it a rare privilege to have had the opportunity of serving him for those eight months. Prior to my arrest in December 1921, I had worked under him only for three or four months. During that brief period, I had not had the opportunity of knowing him very intimately. But during the eight months I spent with him in jail I came to know him realy well. There is a saying in English, "familiarity breeds contempt," but of the Deshbandhu, at least, I can safely say that having known him most intimately my love and admiration for him increased a hundredfold. I think many will bear me out in what I say.

The Deshbandhu had an endless fund of humour and fun in him. This came as a revelation to me during those

jail-days. He used to keep us in excellent spirits by his incessant sallies of humour. In the Presidency Jail, a Gurkha soldier kept guard on us, bayonet in hand. One morning it was found that the Gurkha soldier was replaced by a Hindusthani sepoy with a baton in his hand. "Well, Subhas", he called out, "so, at last a flute replaces a sword. Do they really think, we are quite as harmless as that?" There was never any conscious effort in his humour. It flowed out as spontaneously as a mountain torrent. I want to refer specially to this particular trait in his character, because I think that Bengalees as a race have not a very high sense of humour, in comparison with the other races of the world.

With a little sense of humour a man can keep up his spirits even under most adverse circumstances. You will fully realize the truth of this if you ever happen to be in the stifling atmosphere of a jail. The Deshbandhu's humour was of such simple and innocent type that it never made us feel ill at ease in spite of our difference in age and status.

He was vastly read in English and Bengali literature. Of the English poets, he was a great admirer of Browning, many of whose poems he knew by heart. In jail, we very often found him reading the works of Browning. His ordinary talk and even his jokes were interspersed with literary quotations so that sometimes I missed the point unless he explained things for me. He was forgetful about many things, but in matters literary his memory was prodigious. By introducing a literary flavour in his daily life he made literature an object of perennial intesest—a thing to be enjoyed and appreciated by all.

Once the Deshbandhu borrowed a sum of Rs. 10,000 at an interest at 9 p.c. from a certain relation of his. He could not repay the amount within the specified time, so the creditor's attorney came to see him to get the hand-note renewed. The Deshbandhu was then in Alipore Jail, and we were with him. His son Chiraranjan too was there. He told us that nobody in the family was aware of that particular debt. The relative for whom he had borrowed

the money was now worth several lacs ; but the Deshbandhu readily put his signature to a new bond. There had been numerous cases in which he incurred debts for others without the knowledge of his wife and children.

I have seen people who never lost an opportunity of speaking ill of the Deshbandhu, though running to him for help in times of difficulty. One of those people once came for a loan of Rs. 200/-. The Deshbandhu said, "I have got only Rs. 600/- with me, how can I give you Rs. 200/- ?" But the gentleman insisted, and our Deshbandhu at once gave him the money without further argument. This happened after his release from jail

During the eight months I spent with him, I had the occasion to know him throughly well, but never did I notice either in his speech or action one single thing that smacked of pettiness. He had numerous oponents in the field of politics ; but he never had any grievance against them ; on the contrary, he was always ready to help them if his help were needed.

His time in jail was mostly spent in studies. With the intention of writing a book on the national problems of India he had ordered a large number of books on politics and economics. Sufficient materials were collected and he had started writing the book but could not finish it while in jail. Once he was out, he found himself in the midst of ceaseless activities and never could finish the work he had set his hands to. During those days, I used to have long discussions with him about our political and national problems. In no sphere of life—whether it were politics, economics or religion—was he ever in favour of following set doctrines. It was his belief that our society, our politics, and our philosophy would in the natural course be evolved out of our cultural heritage and our pressing national problems. Hence he could never countenance any struggle or conflict between classes and communities. In this respect he was opposed to the doctrines of Karl Marx. Till the last day of his life it was his hope that all our differences could be resolved by concluding pacts between different religious communities, so that all

Indians, irrespective of race, caste and creed, would come forward to join the fight for Swaraj. Many used to ridicule his idea of bringing about unity through pacts. Unity, they said, depended on real sympathy for each other ; it could not possibly come through bargaining. The Deshbandhu used to argue that human society itself was based on pacts and compromises, and that man could not last a day on this earth without mutual understanding. Whether it be in family life, in friendly circles, in community life, or in the political field, men could not possibly live as social beings unless they came together in a spirit of compromise though possessing different tastes and views. All over the world trade and commerce are carried on through pacts and contracts. The question of love and affection does not come in there.

I do not think that among the Hindu leaders of India, Islam had a greater friend than in the Deshbandhu. Still it was this Deshbandhu who came forward to lead the Satyagraha movement at Tarakeswar. Hinduism was extremely dear to his heart ; he could even lay down his life for his religion, but at the same time he was absolutely free from dogmatism of any kind. That explains how it was possible for him to love Islam. Let me ask, how many of our Hindu leaders can declare on oath that they do not hate the Muslims ? On the other hand, how many of the Muslims leaders can likewise say that they do not hate the Hindus ? In religious belief, the Deshbandhu was a Vaishanavite ; but people of all faiths had a place in his large heart. We might settle our disputes through pacts but he did not believe that that was only the means of securing cordial relations between the Hindus and Muslims. It was his intention, therefore, to bring about a lasting Hindu-Muslim entente through a kind of cultural synthesis. While in jail, he used to have frequent discussions with Maulana Akram Khan regarding the points of affinity between the two cultures. If I remember aright, Maulana Sahib had agreed to write a treatise on the cultural unity between the two great communities.

That Swaraj in India meant primarily the uplift of

the masses, and not necessarily the protection of the interest of the upper classes, was a matter of conviction with the Deshbandhu. I do not think of any other front-rank leader of our country preaching that doctrine with as much emphasis as he did. Swaraj for the masses is not a new thing in the world. Europe preached this doctrine long ago; but it is comparatively new in the field of Indian politics. Of course, thirty years ago Swami Vivekananda spoke in that vein in his book entitled "Bartaman Bharat", but that message of the Swamiji was never echoed from our political platforms.

The things which the Deshbandhu went on preaching ever since his release till the last day of his life had been deeply pondered over by him while he was in prison. Sometimes he used to discuss those things with us. The question of entering the Councils was decided upon there, and only after prolonged discussions could he win us over to his point of view. There was a good deal of party wrangling inside the jail over this controversial issue. The idea of bringing out a daily paper in English was also mooted there. Unfortunately, some of his most cherished wishes are yet to be fulfilled.

I cannot help mentioning another thing in connection with his jail life—his love for the convicts. When we were in Alipore Jail, a convict named Mathur used to work in our ward. Mathur was what in jail language is called a Purrano Chor (old thief). Perhaps it would be wrong to call him a mere thief, he was a dacoit. He had eight or nine previous convictions. But like many more of his class he was otherwise a very simple-hearted person. After working for a few days Mathur grew very attached to the Deshbandhu, and he started calling him 'father'. The Deshbandhu, too, grew very fond of him. Gradually this man was drawn towards us all. As he sat massaging his feet, Mathur used to tell him the story of his life. Before his release the Deshbandhu asked Mathur to come to his house after he was set free, and never again take to dacoity. Mathur was really glad to hear this and promised not to revert to his old ways of life.

On the day Mathur was released the Deshbandhu sent a man to the jail gate to bring him home. Mathur was with him for three years. As his personal servant, he travelled from one end of India to the other. Being an old convict he was for sometime shadowed by the police. But they left watching him when they found he had actually taken sanctuary with the Deshbandhu. The policemen used to say, "Ah, the Deshbandhu has made a man of this wretch." I had expected that Mathur would never again go astray; but when after the Deshbandhu's death I made enquiries in one of my letters about Mathur I was informed that during the Deshbandhu's stay in Darjeeling he ran away with a large number of silver plates and dishes from the Russa Road residence. This strange story reminded me of Les Miserables. I still believe, if Mathur were all the time with the Deshbandhu, he would have by no means fallen a prey to temptation. He must have commited the theft under a momentary impulse of weakness but, I am sure, if the great man were living to-day Mathur would again return to him in tears, and throw himself at his feet. God alone knows what will now happen to Mathur.

Everyone will wonder how a man can at once be a big lawyer, a great lover of men, a devout Vaishnava, a shrewd politician, and a conquering hero. I have tried to get a solution of this problem through anthropological studies. I do not know if I have succeeded in my attempt. The present-day Bengalee race is an admixture of Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian blood. Each race has some peculiar characteristcs of its own. Hence, when there is an admixture of blood, here must be an admixture of racial characteristics too. Due to this admixture of blood the genius of the Bengalee is so versatile and Bengal's life so colourful. The religiosity and idealism of the Aryans, love of art and devotionalism of the Dravidians, intellectuality and realism of the Mongolians have all very happily blended together in the Bengalee character. That the Bengalees are intellectual and emotional at the same time, at once realistic and idealistic, imitative and creative is due to this admixture of blood. If the blood of a particular

race runs through your veins you must have imbibed from birth some characteristics, something from the culture of that race.

Those acquainted with Bengal's history and literature will admit that in spite of its belonging to Aryan culture, the culture of Bengal has assumed a distinct form of its own. Swami Dayanand's Arya Samaj movement swept the whole of Northern India, but how was it that he could not get any footing on the soil of Bengal ? And why do thousands of educated Bengalees adore and draw inspiration from Ramkrishna Paramhansadeva, the devotee of the goddess Kali ? Why does the system of Dayabhaga prevail in Bengal ? Why did Buddhism, driven out from everywhere, find its last refuge in Bengal ? Why did Navanyaya, or New-logic, originate in Bengal ? Why did not Bengal accept Shankara's Mayavada ? Why, after Buddhism was ousted from Bengal, did Achintya-Bhedabhedavada rise up as a protest against Shankara's theory ? No sooner do we raise these questions than it begins to be clear that Bengal's culture has something uncommon and unique about it. On its cultural side three strains are visible—(1) Tantra, (2) Vaishnavism and (3) Navanyaya and Raghunandan's Smriti. On the side of Nyaya and Smriti, Bengal has a close kinship with Aryavarta ; through Vaishnavism she maintains a life-line with the south, while through the tantras she has a relationship with the races living in the Tibetan, Burmese and Himalayan regions.

The pursuit of Nyaya has helped the Bengalee to be logical and argumentative. It was this racial characteristic in the Deshbandhu which had made him a formidable barrister. The logician and the advocate both are dealers in logomachy. I do not know if he had ever studied the ancient Nyaya systems of India, but he was well grounded in Western logic. He could argue like some great Nyaik Pundit and had also the gift of devastating his opponents by torrents of eloquence. I have no doubt that he would have been a famous logician had he been born a few centuries earlier in Nabadwipa.

It was Bengal's Vaishnavism and Dvaitadvaitavada (a

form of qualified Monism) that saved him from agnosticism, and through dry Vedanta led him finally to the path of Love. As a philosophical doctrine he accepted Achintya-Bhedabhedavada as the most genuine one. Though in many ways an ascetic, asceticism was not a part of his religion. God and His Lila (Creation, Doings) are equally true ; the world is not false because God is true. So in order to attain to God there is no need of annuling the world of the senses. God's Lila is eternal and its stage is not only in the world outside but also in the heart of man. Man's soul is an eternal Vrindaban* and there the Lila of God with His Jiva (created being), of Krishna with Radha, is for ever and ever. He is the Lord of Delight and He is enjoyed and approached through all that is delightful. It is obvious that a man who holds such views cannot be a negativist. Indeed the Deshbandhu had accepted the world and the human life in its fullest. He believed that with the help of Dvaitadvaitavada all the contradictions of life could be resolved and harmony attained. That is why Vaishnavism became the last refuge of his life. In his conversations and lectures he would often point out that he should not view politics, economics, philosophy and religion in isolation. They are intimately related to one another and our life would miss its completeness if we left out any of these.

The philosophy which had thus resolved the conflicts of his religious strivings, had also succeeded, in its practical aspect, in establishing a relationship of love and friendliness with all and sundry. As he had achieved a synthesis in life, in the sphere of action also he could unite men of various tastes and temperaments. Since there was nothing false, nor a sham, in his own make-up, he could never stand such a thing in others.

If, in the course of our discussions in jail, we ever referred to his indiscriminate generosity, he would at once retort by saying, "You think I am an utter fool and that people cheat me. Well, I know everything ; it is my duty to give, and I do that. It will be for Him to judge, not me."

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* The name of the place of Krishna's Lila in the traditional story.

It was the influence of the Tantras which have taught the Bengalees to worship Shakti, or Power, and that must have made the Deshbandhu a hero of extraordinary prowess. Of course, he had never done any Sadhana (religious practices) of the Tantric school—at least I know of none. But I do not accept that one cannot be strong unless one does such Sadhana as Kulachar, Virachar, Chakranusthan, etc. The essence of the Tantras is the worship of power. According to them, the ultimate reality is Adya Shakti (Basic Power), that which creates, upholds, and destroys, that is Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswar. The devotee worships that Basic Power in the image of the Mother. It is because of the deep influence of the Tantras that the Bengalees as a race are devoted to mother, and this is also the reason why they love to worship the Supreme Being in the image of the Mother. People of other races and religions (such as the Jews, the Arabs, the Christians) worship God as father. Sister Nivedita thinks that in those communities, in which men occupy a more important position than women, people naturally contemplate God as father. On the other hand, in societies where women have precedence over men, people learn to worship God as Mother. Anyway, it is well known that the Bengalees love to think of God, —and why God alone, even Bengal and India—as Mother. We think of our country as Motherland, but the correct English expression is Fatherland, and our use of 'Motherland' is rather faulty from the point of view of English usage.

Most of our great writers afford illustrations of this mother-cult in their writings.

Bankim wrote :—

"Hail O Mother ;
Well-watered, fruitful, cooled by the western breeze
Green with crops, O Mother ;"

Dwijendralal sang :—

"When that Mother India emerged out of the blue waters of the Sea."

And Rabindranath sang :—

"Oh my mother-land let me lay my head at thy feet."

The above instances reveal the influence of the Tantric conception of the Mother. The Deshbandhu was a votary of the mother-cult. In family-life his devotion to his mother is quite well known. In Alipore Jail he used often to give us readings from Bankim Chandra. He was extremely fond of the three different images of the mother as painted by Bankim. He used to go into ecstasies over these descriptions. One could easily feel the depth of his emotions to see him in that state of ecstasy. His journal "Narayana" contained discussions on both Vaishnavism and Saktism. The few articles on Durga Puja published in that journal are full of profound thoughts.

The influence of the Tantras is apparent even in his daily life. Everyone knows of his great reverence for his mother and his belief in women's education and their emancipation. He did not at all accept the view of the Sankarites that women are the gateway to hell. Both in his thoughts and practical life we see the influence of the Tantras in the most pronounced form. In the Deshbandhu were embodied the finest elements of Bengal's culture and tradition.

Both his virtues and failings were peculiar to the race he belonged to. The greatest pride in his life was that he was a Bengalee. That was why he was so much loved and adored by the Bengalees.

He often used to say that what makes the Bengalee is a compound of his good and bad points. He felt wounded if any one made fun of or satirized the Bengalees as being emotional. It was, he thought, a matter of pride, and not of shame, that we are susceptible to emotions.

That Bengal has a certain distinction, which has expressed itself in her landscape, her literature, her folk-songs and her character. I do not think that any one before the Deshbandhu had expressed with such emphasis. True, these ideas were not his own. Thinkers like Bankim, Bhudev and others had initiated them in the fields of culture and literature and the Deshbandhu followed their lead. All the same, I am bound to admit it was through his deep realization of these tendencies, and for his attempts in the pages of the "Narayana," and through other means to

spread these ideas, as well as for the money and labour he spent on original research in these subjects, that the Bengalees must always remain grateful to him. I for myself can say that it was from him and his writings that I have learnt about this uniqueness of Bengal.

The question has been raised if culture is one or diverse. There are those who say that they are one and without difference—these are the Monists. There are others who think that culture includes racial characteristics, hence there will be difference of cultures—these are the Dualists. But the Deshbandhu was Dualist-cum-Monist. Culture is both one and many. Even if it is basically one, it is through the utmost variety and multiplicity that unity expresses itself. As there are many trees in a garden and various flowers bloom on the different trees, in the same manner does human society develop different cultures. And as the garden is complete with its many trees and flowers, so does a number of cultures make the Culture of Man. Thus every race developing its own culture also develops the culture of mankind. It is not possible to serve humanity at large by leaving aside or by neglecting one's own national culture. The fulfilment of the Deshbandhu's nationalism was in international amity ; but he did not try to develop a love of the world by doing away with love for his own land. But his nationalism did not lead him to exclusive ego-centricity.

In his love for the nation the Deshbandhu would not forget Bengal, nor in loving Bengal would he forget the nation. He loved Bengal with all his life, but the love was not confined to the four corners of the province. I have it from his non-Bengalee colleagues that within a few days of their coming to know him, they were attracted by his great heart. The Maharashtrians loved and respected him with the same ardour as they did Tilak Maharaj, for the people of Maharashtra too received from him equal sympathy and affection.

The Deshbandhu used to say that Bengal should be the vanguard of the Swaraj movement. In 1920, Bengal had lost her lead of the movement. But thanks to his untiring

efforts and labour, in 1923 she won it back. With the death of the Deshbandhu that lead has again been lost for Bengal. God alone knows when she will recover that position.

Another frequent statement of his was that if any Indian movement has to be worked in Bengal it must have the stamp of Bengal on it. If satyagraha has to be launched in Bengal it must first be made suitable for the province. Those who have intimate experience of actual conditions as they prevail cannot but endorse this opinion.

Everyone has wondered at his strange influence over the masses and even with the so-called rich class. Some have tried to analyse it to get at its secret. Whenever he adopted a course of action he made it real. The mantra, "Either I succeed in my resolve or I perish", was engraved on his heart. Whatever path he would choose he would pursue it with unabated vehemence and none could stop him. Like the mounting sea waves, he would rush after his ideals, driven by own force, drowning all dangers and difficulties. The wails of the dear ones, or the words of caution of his followers, were powerless to call him back. From where did he receive this Divine Power.? Is this "Sakti" to be had by the true efforts, or "Sadhana" ?

I have already said that in spite of being a devotee of "Sakti", the Deshbandhu had never worshipped Power according to the Tantric rites. He was large-hearted and his aspirations were immense. "In the Great alone is bliss, what is small cannot give happiness"—this was, so to speak, his soul's message. Whatever he desired, he desired with all his life, mind and utterance. He would go mad over it. The utmost impediments were unable to frighten him or force him to withdraw. Like Napoleon Bonaparte who, seeing the Alps standing before him, had said, "There shall be no Alps," the Deshbandhu also wholly ignored difficulties and obstructions. All those who know with what little capital he had launched on the publication of the "Forward," and of his attempts to capture the Council, will bear this out. If we ever spoke of difficulties he would scold us as incorrigible pessimists. It had also become my task to bring up before him the risks and dangers ; so he

would often refer to us as "You young old men". Those who think that the Deshbandhu was a moderate by conviction, but in the company of and under pressure from young people acted as an extremist, do not know his temparament and character. In fact he was ever new and youthful,—he had an instinctive understanding of the hopes and aspirations of the youth. He could sympathize with them in their joys and sorrows. He liked the company of the young, and they too did not like to part company with him. It is for all this that I have elsewhere called him the King of the Youth.

His countrymen know of his sacrifices, his vast erudition, his tact, and like things,—there is little to be said on these scores.

I will end this letter after I have mentioned another reason for the extraordinary influence which he wielded. I have hinted at it earlier. It was the Deshbandhu's constant experience that through all his actions he had succeeded in establishing Vaishnavism which was very much part of his religious life. Thanks to a fine synthesis between his ideal and his practical life, his entire being was getting progressively saturated with this synthesis. Thanks to this, he came to look upon himself as merely an instrument of God's world-play. As a result of inner purity, which follows the pursuit of action without caring for results, man loses the awareness of the ego. And when the ego is transcended he becomes an instrument for the expression of the Divine Will. Then ordinary human beings cannot withstand the energy and magnetism of a person so inspired. That is what had happened with the Deshbandhu ; towards the end of his life, even his fiercest opponents, when they were face to face with him, seemed to collapse. The conviction was also growing on his countrymen that wherever Mr. Das would be, victory also would be there as a matter of course.

People do not probably know how he had tried to get work done by people of so many different types. These will be known only when his inspiration will have borne fruit. The inspiration from ideals was ever his, and all

those who came in contact with him were equally energized. Whatever the occasion, in life as in death, asleep or awake, the Deshbandhu had one thought, one dream—service to the nation, and that service a step in his religious striving.

If in speaking of the Deshbandhu's life we forget to mention another person,—his wife—then little will have been said. That goddess, embodying service and serenity, removed from public gaze, always stood by his side like a shadow, if we leave her out of account a good deal is then left out of the Deshbandhu's life. She who, in the height of luxury had never forgotten the Hindu ideals of feminine modesty, humility and service, who amidst the deep gloom of danger had never failed to render the support of a devoted wife, always holding up the ideal of faith and equanimity—in speaking of that goddess my language fails me. The Deshbandhu was King of the Youth. His devoted helpmate was their mother. After the Deshbandhu's death she is not merely Chiraranjan's mother, or of the young men only,—to-day she is Bengal's mother. The highest offering of the Bengalee heart is laid at her sacred feet.

In the course of his defence of Sri Aurobindo in the Alipore case, the Deshbandhu had said in rich and powerful language :—

"He will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, the prophet of nationalism, and the lover of humanity. His words will be echoed and re-echoed....."

Do not these words apply, to-day, to the Deshbandhu himself ?

x x x x

ANALYSIS OF BOOKS READ*

Book—1

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Ireland a Nation
(Robert Lynd)
The History of Civilization in Europe
(by Francois Guizot)
Revolution of Civilization
Social Organization by Rivers

Ireland A Nation

By the same author

(by Robert Lynd pub. by Grant Richards Ltd. St. Martin Street, London)

Chap. VI, p. 53.

Sinn Fein lit. "ourselves alone."

(1) Old and new masters
(2) If the Germans conquered England
(3) The book of this and that
(4) Rambles in Ireland
(5) Home life in Ireland
(6) Irish and English

"The basis of the policy is national self-reliance. No law and no suit of laws can make a nation out of a people which distrusts itself"—Arthur Griffith.

S. F. opposed both to Constitutional Nationalism and to Fenianism.

S. F. regarded Fenian methods as impracticable though not immoral—hence difference only in method.

S. F. regarded attendance at Westminister as immoral and parliamentary methods as wrong—hence difference in method and in principle.

P.S.O.' Hejarty is a leading S.F. writer.

S. F. while sharing most of the ideas of the Fenians had the advantage of being an open movement which a priest of burgess could join without committing himself to violent courses. Secret societies were disliked both by the clergy and the middle classes.

S. F. though confused with physical-force Nationalism was in reality a passive resistance movement. "If S. F. objects to physical force, it is because it objects to failure."

Parnell worked with the Fenians after he was driven from the leadership but he was an anti-separatist

The failure of the Home Rule and the governmental oppression after the Dublin rebellion turned this thought of men to Sinn Fein. Also this was which stimulated national aspirations. "One cannot preach a crusade for liberty without scattering abroad ideas of liberty."

"The war made Sinn Fein definitely republican xx. The rank and file of the movement were always republicans. The leaders are now republicans as well."

Gaelic League founded in 1893.

According to O'Hejarty S. F. was not merely or mainly a political movement. Its policy more constructive than separatist. It is the child not of Fenianism so much as of the Gaelic League. "The death of Irish civilization seems to him (the S. Feiner) an even more appalling tragedy than the death of Irish liberty." xxx Sinn Fein in the noblest of its aspects is but a nationalist adaptatios of the saying—"The Kingdom of Heaven is within you." "It is founded on a belief that each nation has a sort of inner light fidelity to which alone save it."

S. F. view—Ireland a historic nation with the same rights to independence and self-expression that England or France has.

Orthodox S. F. is protectionist and may continue so in a self-governed Ireland but Labour may find itself in the opposite camp on this point. S. F. at present contains both reactionary and progressive elements and might conceivably develop in either direction. At present it is neither conservative nor democratic, neither clerical nor anti-clerical, neither labourist nor capitalist.

The Insurrection of 1916.

Mathew Arnold held that "the celt is a per-

son always ready to react against the despotism of fact." (Prof. A.C. Haddon however holds that there is more celtic blood in England than in Ireland). When Home Rule Bill was introduced, Sir Edward Carson demanded not only that Ireland should not have immediate Home Rule but that the H.R. Bill should not be passed into law while the war lasted. A compromise was effected—H.R. Bill was passed into law but the law was not to come into operation till this war was over.*

* there was to be an amending bill at the end of the war.

The Carson revolt and the gun-running exploit at Lavre succeeded because the Government gave in. But with Carsonism there also triumphed the idea of physical force. In South Ireland arms were first introduced into politics in Dublin by unskilled labourers. There was a six month labour strike before the war and before this strike was crushed, the Irish citizen army came into existence. About the same time the National Volunteers also came into existence. At first Redmond was indifferent, but later on he took charge of them. When war broke only Redmond offered the services of this force to the British Government but the offer was not accepted. Nevertheless several members objected to the offer being made. They broke away and organised the "Irish Volunteers" under the presidency of Prof Mcheill, a Home-ruler in politics. Causes of the 1916 revolt suggested :—(1) German plot (2) mad policy of the impudent leaders (3) the belief among the rank and file of the volunteers that Government were going to disarm them. (4) the belief among the Volunteers that Ireland was going to be tricked out of Home Rule. Author believes in 3 and 4.

The document published a week before the revolt giving a detailed plan for the suppression of the volunteers has been proved to be a forgery.

Repression transformed condemnation of

this insurrection by Irishmen into horror at the Bloody assize which followed it :

"Songs of Peace" Francis Ledwidgs

Lament for Macdonagh, Plunkett and others :—

The Black birds

I heard the Poor old Women* say :
"At break of day the fowler came.
And took my blackbirds from
their songs.
Who loved me well through shame
and blame."

* Ireland.

"The Irish insurrection was not a success until fifteen men had been shot and one hanged for it." A corporal in the British army wrote poems in praise of these dead leaders.

Historians of the Revolt :— W.B.Wells and N. Marlowe

These historians mention the following causes of the revolt :— (1) External stimulus and support (2) war spirit (3) atmosphere of anger and despair making for unrest owing to suppression of the strike, the conduct of Carson etc. (4) overtaxation of Ireland.

Ireland paid for Irish expenditure plans £ 5,000,000 annually as an Imperial contribution.

The historians think along with other writers that the rank and file did not know anything about the affair even on Easter Monday morning. In the council, the labour element helped to make a small majority in favour of immediate action.

The historians refuse to believe that Casement came to Ireland to prevent a rising. The author is inclined to believe it. Casement, he says, did not plead this at the trial because he did not want to publicly dissociate himself from those who had died for his ideals.

The historian says :—

"The most conspicuous defect in the mili-

tary organization of the volunteers was the lack of efficient staff work but in this department the resources of Germany were called in aid. x x x"

Chap I. Lord Carson's volunteers were trained by a German, his arms came from Germany. Baron Von Kuhmann was over in Ulster before the Great War. Carson went to Germany not long before the war and lunched with the Kaiser.

Chap II. Gaels arrived in Ireland as conquerors in 1700 B. C. During many centuries of Gaelic rule, Ireland was a nation with one king, one language and one code of laws. King Niall of Ireland was killed while invading England in A. D. 405. In 428 A. D. his nephew king Dathi was killed in Gaul near the Alps (Prof. Burney says that he fought for the Romans against the French).

Legend Gaels were the descendants of Gadelius who married Scota. daughter of Pharaoh and was compelled to fly from Egypt owing to siding with the Hebrews.

St. Patrick (a slave in his boyhood) came to Ireland as a missionary in 432 A.D. In the 6th cent : after, Ireland became a land of many schools, foreigners from the continent came to Ireland for their education.* Irishmen founded schools and monasteries all over Europe and in Carthage. Scotus Erigene, the scholar, was an Irishman and taught at the court of Charles the Bald. Besides an imaginative literature, Ireland had fine workmanship in gold and enamel.

* eg. Dagobut II, King of the Franks.

Bet : 8th and 11th cent. Norsemen and Danes invaded Ireland and began settling. Brian Born, king of Munster finally freed Ireland from the Danish yoke by his victory at Clontorf on April 23, 1014 where he was

also killed. His reign was one of the golden period of Irish history. Unfortunately no man of genius succeeded him ; nevertheless 1½ cent. of national revival followed his death. There was considerable literary activity and the school of Armagh grew into a national university. The weakness of Ireland as a state was due to :—(1) too much individualism (2) ambitious provincial kings with an elective system of monarchy. Owing to this weakness Henry II of England after getting a "full" from Pope Adrian IV (an Englishman) invaded Ireland. (From the time of Adrian IV, the Popes have been partial towards the English monarchy and unfriendly towards Irish and Scottish independence. This is probably because they wanted the support of England in their struggles with German emperors, in the Crusades and in other difficulties.*

Old books :— Book of Kells, Ardagh Chalise Cross of Cong Tara Broosh Prose romance of Finn and Cuchullain.

° Vide "A History of the Irish Dominicans" by Father M.H. Maciner.

Norman conquest of England and Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland compared. The Norman by taking up residence in England became nationalized, as also the Norman Government. The Irish did not become the subjects of a residential Norman king whom they could have nationalised but were treated as the enemies of an absentee Norman King. Hence Anglo-Norman Government always remained an anti-national institution. This would not have happened if Henry II had permitted Strongbow to conquer Ireland and become the first Norman king.

Of India

The Anglo-Norman invaded Ireland in 1168, 1169, 1171 A.D. on an appeal for help from Mac Murrogh, a dispossessed king of Leinster.

Chap III (1) Policy of Henry II—to smash national unity as symbolised by the High-kingship and to foment disunion among the Irish princes. Bishop of Waterford when asked by Edward I of England why the quarrels among Irish chieftains were not suppressed said—"in policy he thought it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another and that would save the king's coffers and purchase peace to the land; whereat the king smiled to bid him return to Ireland."

(2) Edward I.

Not only the Irish but the English settlers also quarrelled amongst themselves. The latter were prohibited by law from settling down as friends of the Irish.

(3) The English settlers were gradually becoming Irish in dress and in names.

Till the time of the Tudors, England issued edict after edict against the laws, customs, language, education and trade of Ireland. English colonists were forbidden to those with Irishmen. Henry IV prohibited Irishmen by law from going to Oxford, Cambridge or elsewhere for education. Nevertheless Irish trade continued as usual and Irish scholars visited all the universities of Europe.

(4) This gave visits the rebellion of Silkin Thomas..

Henry VII sent Sir Edward Poynings in 1494 to Ireland to wreck the independence of the Anglo-Irish part. By Poynings' Law, the Irish Parlt: was prohibited from originating laws without the consent of the English king and the Privy Council.

(5)

In 1541 Henry VIII called upon the Irish Parlt : to sanction his title of **"King of Ireland"** in place of the former title "Lord of England," This Bill was read to Parlt : both in English and in Irish.

(6)

Queen Mary debased the currency of Ireland but this currency was excluded from England. She continued her father's policy

of denying the tradition. All rights of Irishmen to their lands or to elect their chiefs, who were turned into hereditary English barons. Irish dress and speech were proscribed.

(7)

Lecky says that in Elizabeth's reign the Irish were suppressed with ferocity. Fonde says that Sri Peter Carew murdered women and children and Sri Humfrey Gillbert treated Irishmen like sagave beasts and wiped out whole families. Assassins were hired to poison Irish Chiefs eluding capture.

Books written at the time:—
(8)
(1) History of Ireland by Keating
(9)
(2) Annals of the four masters by O' Clergy.
Name of the Poets
(1) O' Higgin
(2) O'Hussey
(3) Ward
(4) O' guive.

After the flight of the Earls in 1607, Lowland Scots and Englishmen were planted in Ulster and in Leinster.

Cromwell who invaded Ireland in 1649 fought more honourably than the Elizabethan ravagers but he too wanted to uproot the Irish nation. His slaughterings at Waxford and Drogheda have made his name a thing of horror. During Cromwell's time, thousands of boys, women and children were sold as slaves in the West Indies. Sir William Pelty calculated that bet : 1641 and 1652, one-third of the population died of plague, famine or in war.

(10)

Sarsfield surrendered Limeric to the Williamites conditionally viz., that religious freedom should be granted to the Irish. Owing to the insistence of the Extreme Protestants, treaty of Limerick guaranteeing religious freedom was regarded as a scrap of paper. Hence Limerick is known to all Irishmen as the city of the Broken Treaty. "Remember Limerick" henceforth became a battle-cry with the Irish people.

(1) in 1316

Irish Revolt :— (1) Under Edward Bruce (brother of Robert Bruce) who was crowned Edward I of Ireland. Bruce was ultimately

defeated and beheaded.

(2) (2) During the reign of Richard II.

(3) Owing to increasing fusion of the Irish and the English settlers, the latter resolved in 1408 "that the statutes made in England should not be of force in this kingdom, unless they were allowed and published in this kingdom by Parliament."

(4) The English in Ireland sided with the White Rose against the Red and accepted first Lambert Simnel and then Perkin Warbeck as their king.

(5) Rebellion of Silken Thomas, an English settler, in 1534.

(6) Under Shane O'Neill—who fought England for 16 years till his assassination in 1567

(7) Hugh O'Neill defeated the English in 1598 at the battle of Yellow Ford but was defeated at Kinsale in 1602.

(8) Owen Roc O'Neill rose in revolt in 1641—won at Benburb in 1646—but died in 1649.

(9) The Jacobite war began at Derry in 1688 and ended with the surrender to Williamiter at Limerick in 1691.

Chap. IV.

The New Irish Nation

The Irish Privy Council in 1710 actually proposed that any unregistered priest or friar found in Ireland should be castrated.

There was a contrageous Pension system whereby any recorded royal mistress or scamp in need of a salary in England was charged to the Irish funds.

The Penal Laws aimed at destroying the national life of Ireland and the English Parlt : at destroying the Irish manufactures. In spite of the penal laws and priesthunters, Irishmen went to study for the priesthood at Paris and Louvain and came back to serve mass to the people in lonely

places and in disguise. But the manufactures were destroyed beyond recovery and when the Industrial Revolution came, Ireland was impotant to meet the new situation.

1. In Trafford's time, attempts were made to suppress the Irish woollen trade.

2. Later on, the export of Irish woollen goods to the colonies was prohibited and preventive duties were levied in England.

3. In 1699, the Westminister Parlt : Prohibited by law the export of Irish manufactured wool to any country whatsoever.

Owing to this destruction the harbours on the West coast of Ireland did not develop as seaports for export and import trade.

The Cattle acts of Charles II's reign had destroyed the Irish trade in livestock and provisions with England.

5. A heavy blow was struck at Irish shipping and foreign trade by prohibiting the import of any goods from the Colonies wh : had not been first landed in England.

6. The export of Irish glass to any country whatever was prohibited as soon as it was found that a thriving glass industry had grown up.

7. Irish silk manufacture and Irish gloves were excluded from the English market.

Effect on Catholics and Protestants.

The Catholics excluded from industry wanted to fall back on the land, but their lands had been already expropriated. The Irish Protestants emigrated. Irish Americans fought in the American war of Independence and Irishmen also enlisted in the army wh : went over from the continent to fight for America.

National Reconstruction in the 18th century

1. Poets and musicians sprang up by Carolan, Owen Roc O Sullivan.

2. Irish schools sprang up.

The author of Irish Protestants Nationalism was William Molyneux. He wrote a primer on Irish constitutional liberty expousing the independence of the Irish Parlt : wh : was burnt. Swift also condemned alien Government and said—"we are in the condition of patients who have physic sent to them by doctors at a distance, stranger to their constitution and the nature of their disease.

During the American War, for fear of French invasion the Irish Protestant Volunteers were armed. By the strength of these armed men Government was forced to repeal the Commercial Code in 1780. Backed by both Protestants and Catholics Grattan demanded legislative independence for Ireland. They demanded the ancient Irish Parlt.—viz. King, Lords and Commons—King George to be the king of Ireland. The English ministry yielded and in 1782 a Renunciation Act was passed at Westminister declaring that the "Right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws created by his Majesty and the Parlt. of that king dom (Ireland) in all cases whatever..is hereby declared to be established and ascertained for ever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

The Irish H. of Commons had 300 members of whom 200 had less 200 persons to elect them in their constituency.

Grattan's Parlt. continued from 1782 to 1800. The Irish ministers appointed by the king were in reality the agents of the English Cabinets and were not responsible to the Irish Parlt.

Work of Grattan's Parlt :

1. The Judiciary were made independent of the Executive.
2. The Catholics were given the right to acquire freehold property.

Wh. did not come till 1829 in England.

3. In 1792 and 1793, the Essentials of the Catholic emancipation* were carried through. The franchise was extended to them. Learned professions, army appointments, appointments as magistrate and grand juries were to a large extent thrown open.

In 1783 the leaders of the Volunteers demanded a radical reform of the House of Commons but the representatives of the Rollen borroughs were (Ulster Presbyterians joined in this movement heartily) not willing. This refusal led to the revolution of the United Irishmen in 1798, which was influenced to a great extent by the French Revolution.**

*Responsible critics maintain that the English Government deliberately facilitated this revolt in order to find an excuse for the union.

**

**

Pain wrote a book—"Rights of man", wh. became the Koran of Belfast.

The revolution was put down with ferocity. General Abercromby, the Commander-in-chief of the forces said of them, "Every crime, every cruelty that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks has been transacted here." Lecky the historian says, "the executions xxx were far less horrible than the indiscriminate burning of houses and slaughter of unarmed men, and even of women, by the troops."

The Irish Parlt. found the bulk of the money and the troops for the suppression of the revolt—nevertheless Pitt and the English Cabinet wanted to tear up the Renunciation Act. The Irish Parlt. was bribed to pass a unionist resolution. This resolution was carried by a majority of one only. It is said that only 7 members voted for the Union from disinterested motives. Archbishop Troy and the Catholic Bishops supported the Union on the understanding that the Catholics would at once be emancipated. But Pitt did not redeem this promise. (Castlereagh and Clare spent about a million

sterling in buying over the patrons of pocket boroughs, promising Rs. 7,500 for each of this 84 seats to be disfranchised).

In his last speech against the Union Grattan quoted the following words of Romeo to Juliet with reference to Ireland :—

"Thout art not conquered ; beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And deaths pale flag is not advanced there."

Chap. V.

Byron said of the Union—**"the Union of the shark with its prey."**

Dr. Johnson said to an Irishman :—
"Do not unite with us ; we would unite with you only to rob you."

Ruin in the nineteenth century.

A. Population in 1800—of Great Britain—10,500,956
Population in 1800—of Ireland—5,395,456
Population in 1900—of Great Britain—36,999,940
Population in 1900—of Ireland—4,458,775

The union did not bring about an economic equality between England and Ireland as Pitt, Castleragh and others had foretold.

B. Ireland instead of importing capital for her development, began to export capital. Landlords flocked to London instead of Dublin. After 1817 when the two exchequers were amalgamated, the treasury became absentee.

C. In 1819-20, Ireland paid £ 5,256,564 as revenue and got back only £ 1,564,880. In 1911 Lord Macdonnell calculated that in 99 years (England) had in this manner got from Ireland a net profit of

£ 325,000,000 excluding the cost of Irish administration.

D. In 1800 in Dublin—91 woollen manufacturers and 4,938 hands
In 1840 in Dublin—12 W.M. and 682 hands employed.
(Acc. to Prof. Kettle the prime cases of it's economic downfall were :—(1) overtaxation and (2) withdrawal of capital.
In addition to this, during the 19th cent : population fled, fields went out of cultivation, people were evicted, thousands perished by famine, language and national culture sank into decay—Ulster wh : was nationalist at the end of the 18th cent : become unionist by the end of the 19th cent :)

E. Bet : 1829 and 1858, 23 Irish land-reform bills were introduced and were rejected at Westminister (while 35 Coercion bills were introduced and passed during the same period)

F. When Catholics were emancipated in 1829, a large number of them (viz. the 40 shilling freeholders) were disfranchised. Landlords who had hitherto let out their lands to 40 sh. freeholders after dividing them up—in exchange for their votes—now refused to do so. Small farmers were thus reduced to a miserable condition.

Bright remarked that more human beings perished in Ireland during the famine than had fallen by the sword in any war England had ever waged.

G. The famine of the forties carried away 729,033 persons acc. to the estimate of the Registrar General. About 200 persons—it is estimated—also died in ships while trying to escape.
(The famine was regarded by Irishmen as Government-caused. Only the potato crop had failed and there was

abundance of corn and cattle in 1846 and 47. If Government had prohibited the export of foodstuffs—as they had been advised—the famine could have been prevented. In order to pay rent to the landlords, foodstuff were expor-- ted. Further, Peel took the opposite step of removing the import duties on corn —with the result that the price of corn fell and the corn farmers were ruined. But the price did not fall sufficiently low to enable the famine-stricken to buy).

Fenians

The Fenians rose in the sixties. Like the united Irishmen they were republicans. They had an organization in America and had members in the Irish Police and British army. Their rising in 1867 failed, but two things followed :—

1. Irish Protestant church was disestab- lished.
2. First land Act was passed. With the failure of Fenianism, rose the Home Rule movement.

String of Failures :—

1. Failure of Emmet in 1803 (United Irish- men ?)
2. Failure of young Ireland in 1848. (Leader O' Connell ?)
3. Failure of Fenianism in 1867.
4. Failure of the Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt and Parnell (Butt was a federalist with Conservative instincts. Par- nell wanted the restoration of Grattan's Parlt ; but was satisfied with Gladstone's Home Rule Bill)

O' Connell wanted the repeal of the Union.

"Ireland instead of being permitted to

make her own laws has been forced to re- sort to lawlessness in order to obtain sui- table laws from what she regards as an absentee Parlt." "English partisan historians found Ireland a nation and left her a ques- tion."

Epilogue p. 235

P. 236— "England in Ireland is admittedly in the position of a housebreaker. There is no de- fence except that the thing has become a habit. Strategical reasons may have been some excuse in the old days before men fought to set the world free from Prussia- nism xxx. The moral sense of the world will no longer endure strategical reasons as an excuse for Imperial crimes."

Lloyd George declared that England wd : not have an Irish Republic and he told the Convention which sat under Sir Horace Plunkett that they must not ask for Domi- nion Home Rule. Lloyd George also said that an Irish referendum was impossible owing to the difficulty of deciding the area for the referendum. But he had no difficulty in deci- ding the area three years earlier in the case of the Convention.* England refused to allow the Irish question to go before the Peace Conference or a Conference of the Premiers and statesmen of the British Empire. Regar- ding the appeal to the Peace Conference, England was deaf not only to the demands of the Sinn Feiners but to the appeal of the Irish soldiers who fought in the British army in the war against Germany.

"Irishmen at the present moment are in revolt against the shame of living in a con- quered country. Republicanism is simply a determination to undo the conquest of Ireland.

* The area then was the whole of Ireland.

A largely signed petition on behalf of ex-officers and ex-soldiers was submitted to the Peace Conference.

P. 240

The Ulster question

"The Ulster question is an invention of British statesman. xxx If she (i.e. Ulster) has been anti-national in recent years, she has been so in close collusion with British statesmen". A writer in the New Statesman declared that even in the post-war threat to levy war on England, Carson was given his cue from inside the Cabinet. "The obstacle of Carsonism was not only rapturously engineered but rapturously financed from London. Political Ulster was made in London and it is gross hypocrisy to pretend that it is mainly an Irish problem."

The nationalist minority in Ulster is greater proportionately than the Ulster minority in Ireland. Excluding Belfast, there is a nationalist majority in Ulster. Outside Belfast 50.016% of the population are Catholic and 49.084 are Protestants. All Catholics are nationalists but a great number of the Protestants are not Unionists. In the 4 predominantly Unionist countries of Ulster, 30% of the people are nationalists. The entire Ulster Unionist population on the other hand is 20% of the population of Ireland.

The traditional policy of the British Cabinet has been one of war on Irish patriotism and rewards for Orange sectarianism. Most of the prominent Unionists have all along been rewarded by the British Government and Lloyd George, too, has heaped honours on the fomenters of the Anti-Irish strife.

Unionists like Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck and Major Hills have been favourable to Irish freedom of late. Northcliffe supports a dominion form of Government for Ireland—in some respects an advance on the Asquitian scheme.

Voices of the New Ireland

(1) P. H. Pearse. P. 182

The collected works of P. H. Pearse with an introduction by Father Browne.

Renunciation

Naked I saw thee,
O beauty of beauty,
And I blinded my eyes
For fear I should fail

I blinded my eyes,
And I closed my ears,
I hardened my heart
And I smothered my desire

I turned my back
On the vision I had shaped
And to this road before me
I turned my face

I have turned my face
To this road before me
To the dead that I see
And the death I shall die.

The Rebel

I am come of the seed of the people,
the people that sorrow,
That have no treasure but hope,
No riches laid up but a memory
Of an ancient glory.
I say to my people that they are holy,
that they are august, despite their
chains,
That they are greater than those that
hold them, and stronger and purer,
That they have but need of courage, and
to call on the name of their God,
God the unforgetting, the dear God that
loves the peoples

For whom he died naked, suffering shame.
And so I speak.
Yea, ere my hot youth pass, I speak to my people and say :
Ye shall be foolish as I, ye shall scatter not save ;
Ye shall venture your all, lest ye lose what is more than all ;
Ye shall call for a miracle, taking Christ at his word.
And for this I will answer, O people, answer here and hereafter
O people that I have loved, shall we not answer together ?

The Wayfarer

The beauty of the world hath made me sad,
This beauty that will pass ;
Sometimes my heart hath shaken with great joy
To see a leaping squirrel in a tree,
Or a red lady-bird upon a stalk,
Or little rabbits in a field at evening,
Lit by a slanting sun.
Children with bare feet upon the sands of some ebbed sea, or playing in the streets of litle towns in Connacht,
Things young and happy
And then my heart hath told me :
These will pass,
Will pass and change, will die and be no-more,
Things bright and green, things young and happy ;
And I have gone upon my way
Sorrowful.

Criticism

"He (the author) harmonized his life with his principles to the last logic of dying for them." Father Browne says Pearse "will appeal to the imagination of times to come more than any of the rebels of the last hundred and thirty years x x x. His name and deeds will be taught by mothers to their children long before the time when they will be learned in school histories."

Pearse edited the Gaelic League paper "The Sword of Light." He was chiefly an educationist.

One of the class-rooms in his school was decorated with the names of the great Irishmen of their past, all or nearly all of them, figures of rebellion. The inside of his school was painted, one fancied, as to be a sort of temple of Irish heroism.

In the collected works his earnestness has now been intensified into passion. His faith has become exalted into mysticism. His plays and poems are prophetic of suffering. He has now begun to believe in the necessity of bloodshed, no less than in the necessity of the Irish language. He accepts the traditional ideal of an Irish Republic, conceived by Wolfi Tone in sympathy with the French Revolution and endorsed by the Fenians within living memory, and life presents itself to his vision as an altar of sacrifice to this ideal. He becomes a sort of evangelist crying in the wilderness that for Ireland without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. He makes himself the preacher of a holy war on behalf of freedom. He summons the young men of his time to live xxx in the spirit of Christian Bushido. He becomes a visionary and foretells battlefields. He can scarcely see the present world for the flashing of swords on the day of destiny. The two most interesting of his plays, singer and the king —are visions of self-sacrifice in battle. In the former the curtain falls on the hero as

he goes out against the Gall (the foreigners) with the cry : "One man can free a people as one man redeemed the world. I will take no pike. I will go into the battle with bare hands. I will stand up before the Gall as Christ hung naked before men on the tree !"

In the WAYFARER he meditates sadly on all he was so passionately to renounce. It is not of his own renunciation he is thinking, however, but impermanence of all lovely things—the theme of so much of the world's poetry. He thinks last of all—he was always specially moved by the ways of children.

The poems about freedom cannot be accused of being sentimental. They are exultant, high-voiced, passionate, like the improvisations of a bard. One can almost see the hand sweeping the strings as one reads the opening lines of The Rebel. "I am .....glory." One can see the hushed audience, tense with emotion, as the evangel proceeds to its rapturous confession of faith x x x. Pearse believed that the full measure of Irish freedom could only be won if he and his contemporaries were ready to die for it.

The bard of old was half rhapsodist and half poet, and that, I should say, is the nearest one can get to as exact description of Pearse as an author. His stories scarcely count, they are too much lacking in the detail of life x x x. But the poem and plays have the voice of a man tortured with circumstance—a man across whose face breaks the light of an apocalyptic faith. I confess I see more error than truth in the faith in redemption by bloodshed. But these plays and poems are beautiful with a far finer faith than that—faith in the destiny of the poor and the oppressed, and in the power of self-sacrifice to

redeem the travailing world.

Voices of the New Ireland

(2) Mrs. J.R. Green P 190.
(3) A.E. P 197.
(4) T.M. Kettle P 213.
(5) Dora Sigerson (Mrs. Shorter) P. 222.

Mrs. J. R. Green

Books

(1) Irish Nationality
(2) The Way of History in Ireland (an essay rather)
(3) Making of Ireland and its undoing
(4) The old Irish World
(5) "The Trade Routes of Ireland"—(probably an essay in "The old Irish World")

From **Lynch** the author of Cambrensis Eversus to Dr. Joyce, authors have written Irish history from the Irish point of view but these have not found favour with the universities. Mrs. Green bids fair to do for Ireland as a whole, the Ireland of Art Macmurrough and Margaret O' Connor and the O' Neills what Lecky did for the restricted Ireland of Swift and Grattan. In "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing" she has shown how the trade and culture of Ireland were destroyed by the civilizing agencies of Dublin Castle. In "The Trade Routes of Ireland" she has shown that the original Irish path to Europe was apparently not through England at all but directly overseas to Spain and Southern France and Scandinavia. Her great gift to the continent was not commerce but learning and religion. Irish monasteries

Every one who spoke Greek on the Continent at the time of Charles the Bald was either an Irishman or taught by an Irishman.

built by Irish money spread all over Europe. In the middle ages, spanish coin was almost the chief currency in Ireland, so great was the trade with Spain.

A.E.

A.E. the Editor of the "Irish Homestead"—weekly organ of the Irish co-operative movement.

Parnell was a destroying angel : Mr. Russell is a creative idealist. Parnell devoted his life to the siege and assault of that lonely castle of injustice known as foreign Government. Mr. Russell has set himself to lay the foundations of a sociable world wh : the sons and daughters of God may inhabit without shame.

Books
(1) The Renewal of Youth.
(2) Cooperation and Nationality.
(3) Religion and Love.
(4) Ideals of the new Rural Society.
(5) Nationality and Cosmopolitanism.
(6) The Candle of Vision.
A.E. is a painter, poet, journalist, mystic and politician

"The secret of Mr. Russell's appeal is fairly obvious. His whole work x x is an expression of a divine vision—the vision of the republic of God—here built in the heart of an individual man and exhibiting itself as a heroic life, and there built in the heart of a whole people and exhibiting itself as a heroic civilization x x x. His mysticism is allied to the genius of the earth and the common day and he aims at illumining agricultural cooperation with some thing of the light of Heaven".

Gleanings :—

"Every word which realy inspires is spoken as if the Golden Age had never passed. The great teachers ignore the personal identity and speak to the eternal pilgrim" (The Renewal of Youth).

"The soul of Ireland has to be kindled and it can only be kindled by the thought of great deeds and not by the hope of petty parsimonies and petty gains" x x x. "The true significance of the movement promoted by Sir Horace Plunkett is that it is an attempt to build up a new social order in Ireland." (Cooperation and Nationality)

Irish rural civilization has, he sees, been ruined by a number of causes. And Ireland has not been given, as other countries have, an alternative civilization of the towns. The Irish countryside has become a desert of grass and songlessness. A.E. sees that the appeal for the salvation of Ireland must be not to Government but to the national will and soul. We are now witnessing, he says, "the tragedy of the decline and fall of the human will in the people. The will is growing powerless to act without partnerships with its fetish or idol—the state. x x x The effect of the policy of our present public men is to turn the Irish into a race of economic babies, with their lips for ever nuzzling at the nipples of the state." (Cooperation and Nationality).

A.E. desires to build the cooperative commonwealth first in the hearts and then in the countryside of Ireland. He wants to see a newer Athens given to the world not in terms of the city but in terms of the Country.

The men in any rural district, united together, could make the land they live in as lovely to look on as the fabled gardens in the valley of Damascus. They could have fruit-trees along the hedge rows and make the country roads beautiful with colour in spring. This has been done in many a rural commune on the continent and there is no reason why it shd.: not be done here. Only let us get our men together, get them organised and one improvement will rapidly follow another. For all great deeds by races, all civilizations, were built up by the voluntary

efforts of men united together. Sometimes one feels as if there were some higher mind in humanity which could not act through individuals, but only through brotherhood and groups of men. Anyhow the civilization wh : is based on individualism is mean and the civilization based upon great guilds, fraternities, communes and associations is of a higher order. If we are to have any rural civilization in Ireland it must spring out of co-operation." (Cooperation and Nationality)

A.E.'s theory of literature will not allow of trafficking with ignoble types. His theory of painting is as unethical as Whistler's ; his literary creed is nearer Tolstoy's.

In his essay **"Nationality and Cosmopolitanism"** he seems to hope for the coming of an Irish literature wh: will hold up heroic types for the imitation of the people. "The literature of a people is for ever creating a new soul among its people." He sees no chance of anything good coming to Ireland from the pursuit of decadent European models wh: only disclose the old wolfish lust hidings itself beneath the golden fleece of the spirit. This is a protest against Yeats who wrote **The Autumn of the Body** to recommend French example to the Irish. As for English literature A.E. writes :—

"English literature has always been more sympathetic with actual beings than with ideal types and cannot help us much. A man who loves Dickens, for example, may prove to have a great tolerance for the grotesque characters wh: are the outcome of the social order in England, but he will not be assisted in the conception of a higher humanity ; and this is true of very

many English writers who lack a fundamental philosophy and are content to take man as he seems to be for the moment rather than as the pilgrim of eternity as one who is flesh today but may hereafter prove divine, and who may shine at last like the stars of morning, triumphant among the sons of God."

It is less the literary critic that speaks in these sentences than the builder and maker of the Golden Age in Ireland. A.E. is a patriot who amid all his indignation dreams of Ireland such as Blake dreamt of England. Few voices so eloquent in the field of social prophecy have been heard since Mazzini's and Ruskin's. He says further :—

"The country side in Ireland could blossom into as much beauty as the hill sides in mediaeval Italy if we could but yet rid of our self-mistrust. We have all that any race ever had to inspire them—the heavens overhead, the earth underneath and the breath of life in our nostrils. I would like to exile the man who would set limits to what we can do, who would take the crown and sceptre from the human will and say, making out some petty enterprise as the limit. Thus far can we go and no farther here shall our life be stayed". He summons his fellows to the Promised Land in ascents like these :—

"We in Ireland shd : not live only from day to day, for the day only, like the beasts in the field but shd. think of where all this long cavalcade of the Gael is tending and how and in what manner their tents will be pitched in the evening of their generation. A national purpose is the most unconquerable and victorious of all things on earth.

It can raise up Babylon from the sands of the desert and make Imperial civilization spring from a score of huts—and after it has wrought it will, it can leave monuments that seem as everlasting a portion of nature as the rock. The Pyramids and the Sphinx on the sands of Egypt have seemed to humanity for centuries as much a portion of nature as Errigal or Benbulben or slieve Gullion has seemed a portion of nature to our eyes in Ireland."

Candle of Vision

"Genius ! there is no stinting of this by the keeper of the Treasure House. It is not bestowed but it is won. You man of heavy soul might if be willed play upon the lyre of Apollo, that drunkard be God-intoxicated."

He believes that imagination is but a means of recovering our lost citizenship and consciousness of that starry world. "I am convinced that all poetry is, as Emerson said, first written in the heavens." Did not Blake also claim that the authors of his poems were in eternity x x ?

P. 213
(4)
Books :—
(1) The Day's Burden.
(2) The Ways of War.

T.M. Kettle

He loved style as he loved philosophy. They were the 2 stars wh: for him lightened the gloom of a disastrous world. x x He could on the same evening live for the hour like an epicurean and meditate on eternity like a monk x x. He gave one the impression of a man of strong nature but of sorrowful will. He never doubted that life was a tragedy. He demanded of it, however, that it should be a well-written tragedy, with wit flashing out of the darkest thunder clouds

and with a constant recurrence of good lines for such loomed figures as were to perish in the 5th act. "Good lines and a timely exit"—we find the phrase and the philosophy in "The Day's Burden".

The ways of war.

Said kettle : The war had degraded Europe into "a sort of malign middle term bet : a lunatic asylum and a butcher's stall.' He (i.e., Kettle) believed, however, that Germany had gone crusading on behalf of the Gospel of the Devil. Kettle goes on to say "England goes to fight for liberty in Europe and for Junkerdom in Ireland." Some people are always trying to explain as though she were a puzzle among the nations. There is nothing in the matter with Ireland except human nature. If you prick her she will bleed.

Kettle on Nietzsche.

Nietzsche's writings he sums up as "a long-drawnout Metaphysics of bullying." He speaks of N. as "that Sinister Quixote who made cruelty his sacrament and who was yet so humanly dear in some of his moods. x x x x Not since Lusifer, was so much light to dark ends. Not since Diana was great in Ephesus were such beautiful image cast or carven in the service of a false worship. He made German dance as before him only Heine had done. 'I have an idea', he wrote, 'that with Zarathustra I have brought the German language to its point of perfection'. The boast is probably true. The devil was always a good stylist and it is not inappropriate that when his gospel is at its worst, his prose shd: be at its best."

The ways of war.

"There are no inevitable wars", Kettle said, "or rather the only war inevitable is a war against aggression and aggression itself is never inevitable".

P. 222.

Books

(1) *The Sad years.* with introduction by Katherine Tynan.
(2) *Progress.*
(3) *Road of the Refugees.*
(4) *An Old Proverb.*
(2), (3) and (4) are probably poems not Books Also (5) *The Dead Soldier.*
(6) *The Comforters.*
(7) *The Black Horseman.*

° Katharine Tynan in the preface to "Tre Sad Years"

(5) Dora Sigerson (Mrs. Shorter)

Swissburne and Francis Thompson praised Dora Sigerson and Meredith spoke of "the eternal post in that wise creature". She was a born poet not made. She achieved art through artlessness. "She was so full of artistic impulse and achievement of many kinds and she arrived at so much art without any apprenticeship that the word "genius seems not inapplicable to her. The gifts came to her out of the air so to speak; real gifts and nothing acquired" *There is a quality of freshness in her poems that x x makes one feel that she wrote them as naturally as she talked, without pause, blot or afterthought. x x x Her face, Katharine Tynan writes, "had some curious suggestion of the Greek Hercules. She was singularly beautiful, with some strange hint of storm in her young beauty. x x She was full of joie de vivre despite the hint of tragedy in her beauty."

She was from her girlhood a friend of lost dogs—

When the European war broke out, she wrote of the implacable earth and her victims :—

"Lo; I am athirst," sighed the
brown earth,
"Grant me red wine to spend."
"As it was in the beginning," said
the great hills,
"And shall be to the end."

After the 1916 affair in Dublin she wrote "The Dead Soldier." She became the prophet as it were, of the passion of a people. Ireland has often been accused of weeping too persistently over her dead. How infatuated were those Statemen who gave her new dead to weep over! She, more than anyone else has sung the national lament of the dead

The Dead Soildier.

insurgents :—

Look! they come the triumphant army!
Over you hill see their weapons peeping.
Still I spoke not, but my wheel sent turning;
I closed my eyes, for my heart was weeping,
my heart was weeping for a dead soldier.
"Who is he who looks towards we?"
' 'Tis no man, but a gay flag flying."
Red was his mouth and his white brow thoughtful,
Blue his eyes, how my soul is crying,
My soul is crying for a dead soldier.
"Kneel ye down, lest your eyes shd: dare them
Kneel ye down and your beads be saying."
"Lord, on their heads thy wrath deliver."
This is the prayer that my lips are praying,
My heart is praying for a dead soldier.
Best cheer the path of the men victorious,
For he is dead and his blade lies broken.
His march is far where no aid can follow,
And for his people he left no token;
He left no token, the dead soldier.
The way of the sword a man can follow,
See the young child with his gold hair gleaming
When falls the oak, must the acorn perish
He lifts the blade and his eyes are dreaming;
He dreams the dream of the dead soldier.

———

Every broken and defeated people in Europe has poetry expressing just such passions.

Chap XIV.

Former flag of Ireland—Green. Present flag orange-white-green tri-colour. National anthem "The Soldiers "Song" Parnell

always hated green as an unlucky colour.

Chap. XVI.

The Witness of the Poets

Ledwidge — Died fighting for
Kettle — England

Ledwidge author of "Last Songs". Important poems in the book are "Currabwu" and "The Dead Kings".

Macdonagh
Pearse — died fighting against

James Stephens :—Author of "Reincarnations" adaptations from the older Gaelic poets. Translation of O'Rahilly's poem "Inis Fa'l" runs as follows :—

"Now we may turn aside and dry our tears,
And comfort us, and lay aside our fears,
For all is gone—all comely quality,
All gentleness and hospitality,
All courtesy and merriment is gone ;
Our virtues all are withered every one,
Our music vanquished and our skill to sing :
Now may we quiet us and quiet our moan,
Nothing is whole that could be broke, no thing
Remains to us of all that was our own."

Examples
Anonymous

Pearse :—Author of "Songs of the Irish Rebels" being translations of old Gaelic songs.

"The world hath conquered, the wind hath scattered like dust
"Alexander, Caeser and all that shared their sway,
"Tara is grass, and behold how Troy hith low,
"And were the English, perchance their hour will come."

"Pirates rule in the place of princes,
In comfort, in ease, in luxury, in spacious palaces.

Full of strength, full of goods, full of words, well-feasting,
Uncouth, jabbling, greedy, cynical.
The aim and desire of the crew is,
However they may make peace with our people,
To play with those that accept terms from them,
The tricks of the redoubtable cat with the mouse !"

According to Pearse, Irish hate of the English is "a scarcely less holy passion" than "Irish love of nature and of Nature's God."

Sir Samuel Ferguson.

Yeats said in his youth that Ferguson was "the greatest poet Ireland produced, because the most central and the most Celtic." He was the author or original poems as well as a translator. The following is an extract from a translation of a poem by O' Gnive the Bard of the O' Neill written about 1580.

The downfall of Gael

"We starve by the board
And we thirst amid wassail—
"For the guest is the lord,
"And the host is the vassal.
"Through the woods let us roam,
Though the wastes wild and barren,
We are strangers at home ;
We are exiles in Erin !
And Erin's a bark
O'er the wild waters driven !
And the tempest howls dark
And her side planks are riven !
And in billows of might

Swell the Saxon before her—
Unite, oh, unite !
Or the billows burst o'er her.

Chap. XVII.

A beautiful peom "In praise of may" translated by T. W. Rolleston. The following books or anthologies are available :—
(1) "Ancient Irish Peotry" by Dr. Kuno Meyer
(2) The Poem Book of the Gael by Miss Hull.

* "Literature in Ireland."

Thomas Macdonagh* liked to think of the Irish literary movement as a sort of rebellion. He says the note of the new literature in Ireland is a note of pride of self-reliance, almost of arrogance. x x The Gaelic Revival has given to some of us a new arrogance. I am a Gael and I know no cause but of pridimit. x x My race has survived the wiles of the foreigner here. It has refused to yield even to defeat and emerges strong today full of hope and of love with new strength in its arms to work its new destiny, with a new song on its lips and the words of a new language. x x x This arrogance is a sign of events, of vitality and so here is good."

This Chapter "A Note on Irish Literature" is a resume of the History of Irish Lit :

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by Francois *Guizot* Sisley's Ltd., London.

The History of Civilization in Europe

1st Lecture.

History of European Civilization—part taken by France in the civilization of Europe —Two leading facts constitute civilization :—(1) the development of society (2) the development of the individual—the history of civilization may be considered under 2 points of view.

2nd Lecture.

Unity of ancient civilization—variety of

modern civilization—its superiority—condition of Europe at the fall of the Roman Empire—Preponderance of towns—The Christian Church—the clergy exercising municipal functions—the barbarians—they introduce into the modern world the sentiments of personal independence and the devotion of man to man—Summary of the different elements of civilization in the beginning of the 5th cent :

3rd Lecture.

Object of the lecture—all the various systems pretend to be legitimate—what is political legitimacy ?—Co-existence of all systems of Government in the 5th cent :— instability in the condition of persons, properties and institutions—there were 2 causes of this, one material, the continuation of the invasion—the other moral, the selfish sentiment of individuality peculiar to the barbarians—the germs of civilization have been the necessity for order, the recollections of the Roman Empire, the Christian Church and the barbarians—attempts at organization by the barbarians, by the towns, by the Church of Spain, by Charlemagne and Alfred—the German and Arabian invasions cease—the feudal system begins.

4th Lecture.

Obj : of the lecture—necessary alliance between facts and doctrines—preponderance of the country over the town—organization of a small feudal society—influences of feudalism upon the character of the possessor of the fief and upon the spirit of family—hatred of the people towards the feudal system—the priest could do little for the serfs—impossibility of regularly organizing feudalism :—
(1) no powerful authority (2) no public power. (3) difficulty of the federative sys-

tem—the idea of the right of resistance inherent in feudalism—influence of feudalism favourable to the development of the individual unfavourable to social order.

5th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—religion is a principle of association—constraint is not of the essence of Government—conditions of the legitimacy of a Government :— (1) the power must be in the hands of the most worthy (2) the liberty of the governed must be respected—the church being a corporation and not a caste, fulfilled the first of these conditions—of the various methods of nomination and election that existed therein—it wanted the other condition, on account of the illegitimate extension of authority and on account of the abusive employment of force—movement and liberty of spirit in the bosom of the church—relations of the church with princes—the independence of spiritual power laid down as a principle—pretensions and efforts of the church to usurp temporal power.

6th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—separation of the governing and governed party in the church —indirect influence of the laity upon the clergy—the clergy recruited from all conditions of society—influence of the church on the public order and on legislation—the penitential system—the development of the human mind is entirely theological—the church usually ranges itself on the side of power—not to be wondered at ; the aim of religions is to regulate human liberty—different states of the church from the 5th to the 12th cent : (1) The Imperial Church (2) the Barbaric Church, development of the separating principle of the 2 powers—the monastic order (3) the feudal church ; attempts

at organization ; want of reform ; Gregory VII—the Theocratical church ; regeneration of the spirit of enquiry.; abailard-movement of the boroughs—no connection between these 2 facts.

7th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—comparative picture of the state of the boroughs at the 12th and the 18th cent.—Double question :—(1) the enfranchisement of the boroughs—state of the towns from the 5th to the 10th cent :—their decay and regeneration—communal insurrection—character—social and moral effects of the enfranchisement of the boroughs (2) internal Government of the boroughs—assemblies of the people—magistrates—high and low burghership—Diversity of the state of the boroughs in the different countries in Europe.

8th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—Glance at the general history of European Civilization—its distinctive and fundamental character—epoch at which that character began to appear—state of Europe from the 12th to the 16th cent :—character of the crusades—their moral and social causes—these causes no longer existed at the end of the 13th cent :—effects of the crusades upon civilization.

9th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—important part taken by the royalty in the history of Europe and in the history of the world—true causes of this importance—two-fold point of view under wh ; the institution of royalty shd. be considered :—(1) its true and permanent nature —it is the personification of the sovereignty of right—with what limits—(2) its flexibility and diversity—European royalty seem to be the result of various kinds of royalty —of barbarian royalty—of imperial royalty —of religious royalty—of feudal royalty—

of modern royalty, properly so called and of its true character.

10th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—attempts to reconcile the various social elements of modern Europe and to make them live and act in common, in one society and under one central power (1) attempt at theocratical organization—why it failed—four principal obstacles—faults of Gregory VII—reaction against the domination of the church—on the part of the people—on the part of the sovereigns (2) attempt at republican organization—Italian republics—their defects—Towns in the South of France—Crusade of the Albigenses—Swiss Confederation—Boroughs of Flanders and the Rhine—Hanseatic league—struggle between the feudal nobility and the boroughs (3) attempt at a mixed organization—states-general of France—Cortes of Spain and Portugal—English Parliament—Peculiar state of Germany—ill success of all their attempts—from what causes—general tendency of Europe.

11th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—special character of of the 15th cent :—progressive centralisation of nations and Governments—(1) of France—formation of the national French spirit—Government of Louis XI (2) of Spain (3) of Germany (4) of England (5) of Italy—origin of the external relations of states and of diplomacy—movement in religious ideas—attempt at aristocratical reform—Council of Constance and Basle—attempt at popular reform—John Huss—Regeneration of lecture—admiration for antiquity—classical school or free thinkers—general activity—voyages, discoveries, inventions—Conclusion.

12th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—difficulty of distinguishing general facts in modern history—picture of Europe in the 16th cent :—danger of precipitate generalisation—various causes assigned to the reformation—its dominant character was the insurrection of the human mind against absolute power in the intellectual order—evidences of this fact—fate of the reformation in different countries—weak side of the reformation—the Jesuits—analogy between the revolution of religious society and those of civil society.

13th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—general character of the English revolution—its principal causes—it was more political than religious—the 3 great parties in it :—(1) the party of legal reform (2) the party of the political revolution (3) the party of the social revolution—they all fail—Cromwell—the restoration of the Stuarts—the legal ministry—the profligate ministry—the revolution of 1688 in England and Europe.

14th Lecture. Obj. of the lecture—difference and likeness bet : the progress of civilization in England and on the continent—preponderance of France in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries—in the 17th cent : by reason of the French Government—in the 18th by reason of the country itself—of the Government of Louis XIV—of his wars—of his diplomacy—of his administration—of his legislation—Causes of his rapid decline—of France in the 18th cent :—Essential characteristics of the philosophical revolution—Conclusion of the course.

———

1st Lecture. P. 3. "I think we may say that France has been the centre, the focus of European civilization. I do not pretend x x x that she has always and in every direction marched at

the head of nations. At different epochs, Italy has taken the lead of her, in the arts ; England, in political institutions, and there may be other respects under which, at particular periods, other European nations have manifested a superiority to her ; but it is impossible to deny that whenever France has seen herself thus outstripped in the career of civilization, she has called up fresh vigour, has sprung forward with a new impulse and has soon found herself abreast with or in advance of all the rest. And not only has this been the peculiar fortune of France, but we have seen that when the civilizing ideas and institutions wh : have taken their rise in other lands have sought to extend their sphere to become fertile and general, to operate for the common benefit of European civilization, they have been necessitated to undergo, to a certain extent, a new preparation in France ; and it has been from France as from a second native country, that they have gone forth to the conquest of Europe. There is scarcely any great idea, any great principle of civilization, which prior to its diffusion has not passed in this way through France.

"And for this reason : there is in the French character something sociable, something sympathetic, something which makes its way with great facility and effect than does the national genius of any other people, whether from one language, whether from the turn of one's mind, of manners, certain it is that one's ideas are more popular than those of other people present themselves more clearly and intelligibly to the masses and penetrate among them more readily : in a word, perspicuity, sociability,

sympathy are peculiar characteristics of France, of her civilization and it is these qualities wh : render her eminently fit to march at the head of European civilization."

P. 11. "The idea of progress, of development, appears to me the fundamental idea contained in the word civilization." (this includes the development of social activity as well as individual activity).

P. 14. x x "Not merely on its first appearance but during the first stages of its existence, Christianity in no degree addressed itself to the social state ; it announced aloud that it would not meddle with the social state ; it ordered the slave to obey its master ; it attacked none of the great evils, the great wrongs of the society of that period. Yet who will deny that Christianity was a great crisis of civilization ? Why was it so ? Because it changed the internal man, creeds, sentiments, because it regenerated the moral man, the intellectual man."

Of Swami Vivekananda's mission.

P. 20. Is society made to serve the individual or the individual to serve society ? Guizot thinks with M. Royer-Collard that "after he (man) has engaged himself to society, there remains to him the noblest part of himself."

History of Civilization may be written from the point of view of the internal man or of society. Guizot lectures from the later point

P. 24. of view. Principles of European civilization—justice, legality publicity, liberty.

—

2nd Lecture.

1. Ancient Egypt was permeated by the theocratic principle.
2. India — same.

P. 26, 27. 3. Commercial republics of Asia Minor, Ionia, Syria and Phoenicia were based

on the democratic principle. The conclusion is that ancient civilizations have a character of unity in their institutions, ideas and manners,* a strongly preponderating force governs and determines all. The co-existence and the combat of different principles have never in the histories of these peoples been more than a transitory crisis. The result has been a remarkable simplicity in most of the ancient civilizations.

* and literature also.

In Greece the simplicity of the social principle has resulted in a rapid development and early decay. In Egypt and India simplicity has led to a stationary condition. In modern Europe all principles of social organization, all social arrangements co-exist and press one against the other—as do powers spiritual and temporal, elements theocratic, monarchial, aristocratic and democratic. These various forces are in a state of continual struggle. Yet no one succeeds in stifling the others. Modern Europe presents us with diverse examples of political systems and social organizations thriving simultaneously. In the ideas and sentiments of Europe too there is the same variety, the same struggle. The same character reveals itself in modern literature which though inferior to ancient literature in artistic form and beauty is far more rich, vigorous and many-sided. Though inferior to ancient civilization in a particular development of the arts or letters, European civilization is incomparably richer.

In Europe liberty has been the result of the variety of the elements of civilization and of the state of struggle in which they have constantly existed.

Rome was in its origin a municipality.

There was at this time no country i.e., to say the country was wholly unlike that which at present exists.

The Government of Rome was the aggregate of municipal institutions. The Latin people consisted of a federation of Latin towns. The history of the conquest of the world by Rome was the history of the conquest and foundation of a number of towns—the country did not exist. Rome left nothing but immense monuments stamped with municipal character. The isolation and independence of these cities necessitated a unifying Empire.

P. 34 and 35.

In Gaul, in Spain, everywhere to the West you meet nothing but towns. x x x Rome has left us nothing but immense monuments, stamped with municipal character and great roads wh : reach from one city to another. Municipal character of Rome promoted unity, made conquest easy—but maintenance was difficult after establishment of empire owing to lack of cohesion among towns. The Empire introduced unity and combination by means of a network and hierarchy of fuctionaires. This administrative despotism and military organization helped Rome to resist dissolution and disruption. When barbarian conquest proved irresistible, some emperors tried to see whether hopes of general liberty, a system analogous to that wh : we now call representative Government would not succeed better than administrative despotism.

P. 36.

Vide Rescript of Emperors Honorious and Theodosius the younger to the Prefect of the Gauls at Arbs in 418.

The provinces and towns refused the benefit ; no one would nominate the deputies, no one would go to Arles, the place suggested for the meeting of the representatives. Centralization and unity were contrary to the primitive character of that society ; the local and municipal spirit appeared at the downfall of the Roman Empire,

as in the cradle of Rome. Rome bequeathed 2 ideas :—(1) municipal idea (2) empire idea together with a uniform civil legislation.

At the time of the fall of Rome in the 4th and 5th cent : there was a well-organised Christian Church with its institutions and magistrates. But for this church, Christianity would have sunk amidst the dissolution of the Empire in Rome—as it did in Asia and N. Africa under the invasion of the Moslems. The Christian Church conquered the barbarians and became the connecting link bet : the Roman and barbarian worlds.

Between the municipal system of the Romans and that of the middle ages, the municipal-eclesiastic system interposed. The preponderance of the clergy in the affairs of the city succeeded that of the ancient municipal magistrates and preceded the organization of the modern municipal corporations.

P. 46. Three benefits of the Christian Church :— (1) Moral influence. (2) divine law. (3) separation of Church and state— or rather the independence of the Church in relation to the state.

Had the Christian Church not existed the whole world must have been abandoned to purely material force. The Church alone exercised a moral power ; it spread abroad the idea of a rule, of a law superior to all human laws. It effected a separation of temporal and spiritual power. This separation is the source of the liberty of conscience. It originated in the necessity imposed on the Christian Church of defending itself against barbarism.

The Barbarians

P. 47.

P. 48.

The barbarians were all Germans except some slavonic tribes—the Alani. The Goths were more advanced and had milder manners than the Franks—but they were otherwise in the same stage of civilization. The taste for an adventurous career, full of uncertainty, inequality and peril ; the pleasure of individual independence ; the pleasure of enjoying oneself with vigour and liberty, amidst the chances of the world of life—these were the elements of their character. "The pleasure of feeling oneself a man, the sentiment of personality, of human spontaneity in its free development, notwithstanding an alloy of brutality, of materialism, of dull stupid selfishness—is a noble and moral sentiment which draws its power from the moral nature of man. This sentiment was introduced into European civilization through the barbarians. Liberty in ancient civilization meant political liberty, the liberty of the citizen—not personal liberty.

Their character and the secret of their success.

M. Thierry in "The History of the Conquest of England by the Normans" bear out this view of barbarian character.

° What about the Greeks ?

Another element in barbarian civilization —military clientship—based on fidelity of individual to individual and loyalty of follower to his chief. This gave rise to the submission of vassal to suzerain—which was the basis of feudalism. In the ancient republics there was no relation between individuals and individuals but bet : individuals and the city.

of the barbarians :— personal liberty & military clientship.

The fall of the Roman Empire was followed by a conflict bet : 3 societies :— (1) municipal society (2) Christian Church (3) barbarian society. This conflict was responsible for the slow progress of Europe but also accounted for the diversity of its growth.

Development of the Christian church— 3 stages. P. 42.

First stage—Christian society—a simple association of a common creed and common sentiments. No system of doctrines, no rules, no discipline, no magistrates.

Second stage—growth of doctrines, rules, discipline and of magistrates. The voice of the body of a faithful prevailed in the matter of the choice of functionaries, adoption of rules, discipline. The Church Government and the Christian society were not yet separate. One kind of magistrates were called "ancients" who became **priests**; another kind inspectors or superintendents who became **bishops**, a third kind—**deacons**—who took charge of the poor and of alms distribution.

Third stage—growth of a clergy who were distinct from the people—had their own riches, jurisdiction and constitution—and formed a complete society with all the means of existence. The clergy ruled the faithful almost without control. The bishops and the priests also became the principal municipal magistrates. In the code of either Theodosius or of Justinian, there are numerous regulations wh : remit municipal affairs to the bishops and the clergy.

3rd Lecture.

Four schools of publicists :—

(1) Monarchist (Abbe Dubos). The German kings inherited all the rights of the Roman Emperors. The acquisitions of the aristocracy were encroachments upon monarchy

(2) Aristocratic (M. de. Boulainvilliers). After the fall of the Roman Empire, the conquerors who formed the nobility, possessed all powers and rights, kings and people despoiled them of their domain. ***Aristocratic organization—and not monarchy—was the true and primitive form of Europe.***

(3) Democratic (Abbe de Mably). Society belonged to the association of free men to the system of free institutions. Nobles and kings enriched themselves with the spoils of

primitive freedom.

The proper view seems to be that power was not the exclusive possession of any one of these parties.

(4) Theocratic. In view of her divine title, society belonged to the church. She alone was the queen of European civilization won over by her labours to civilization and truth.

The above 4 elements of European civilization pretend to have possessed Europe, but neither of them predominated. When a social form predominates, it is not so difficult to recognise it e.g., the prevalence of the feudal system in the 10th cent : The barbarian epoch was a chaos of all elements, a universal turmoil. The causes of this chaos were :—

(1) **Material**—the continuation of the invasion. The Thuringians, Saxons, Danes pressed on the Franks from the Rhine and they were in turn forced to enter Italy through Switzerland. In Gaul the Merovingran dynasty gave place to the Carlovingran*. In the South the Moslem Arabs began their conquests upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean.

*Charlemagne rose out of this dynasty.

(2) **Moral**—individual selfishness. Between the 5th and the 8th cent ; the sentiment of individual liberty took the form of brutish selfishness.

Strife and chaos existed :—

(1) in the relations between different classes of men—e.g. free men, vassals, freed men, slaves.

(2) in the instability of the conditions of tenure.

Royalty was partly elective and partly hereditary.

(3) in the institutions of loyalty, aristocracy and democracy, wh : were co-existent.

Causes of the termination of Barbarism :

(1) the inner nature of man and the law of Progress.

(2) Glamour of Roman civilization

(3) The Christian Church.
(4) Appearance of great men.

Attempts to terminate barbarism :—

(1) Drawing up of the barbaric laws wh : up till then were unwritten.
(2) Revival of the municipal system in Italy and South Gaul.
(3) Through Christian influence, the principle of the equal value of men in the eye of the laws was established in the law of the Visigoths in Spain, where all men whether Romans or Visigoths were subject to the same law.*
(4) Efforts of great men—above all of Charlemagne.

* This was contrary to the practice of the barbarians, whose legislation was not real or territorial but personal i.e., confined to members of their own race.

None of these attempts succeeded.

Nevertheless by the 10th cent : the following achievements had been gained :—

(1) The invasion on the north and on the south had been arrested (this directed human activity towards sea-roving—as in the case of the Normans)
(2) Gradual establishment of settled conditions. Feudalism began to rise from the bosom of barbarism. Europe had to learn its earliest social form and organization (Feudalism) from the Germans.

Political Legitimacy

P. 56, 57, 58

Political legitimacy is evidently a right founded upon antiquity, upon duration ; priority in time is looked upon as a foundation of right, as the proof of the legitimacy of power.

At the origin of all powers, says Guizot of all without any distinction, we meet with physical force. Yet no powers want to con-

nect themselves with another kind of legitimacy—that of reason, justice and right.

THE ARAB INVASION

P. 64.

"The invasion of the Arabs had a peculiar character. The spirit of conquest and the spirit of proselytism were united. The invasion was to conquer a territory and disseminate a new faith x x. The power of the sword and that of the word, with them, were in the same hands. At a later period, this character determined the unfortunate turn taken by Massulman civilization ; it is in the combination of the spiritual and the temporal powers, in the confusion of moral and material authority that the tyranny which seems inherent in this civilization originated. This I conceive to be the cause of the stationary condition into which that civilization is everywhere fallen. But the fact did not make its appearance at first ; on the contrary it added prodigious force to the Arab invasion. Undertaken with moral passions and ideas it immediately obtained a splendour and a greatness which was wanting to the German invasion ; it exhibited far more energy and enthusiasm and far differently influenced the minds of men.

4th Lecture.

Elements of civilization :—(1) Development of the individual (2) development of society.

"The civilization of our country has this peculiar character, that it has never wanted intellectual greatness ; it has always been rich in ideas, the power of the mind has always been great in French society ; greater, perhaps, than in any other. We must not lose this high privilege ; we must not

Greatness of France.

fall into the somewhat subordinate and material state which characterizes other societies. Intelligence and doctrines must occupy in the France of the present day at least the place wh : they have occupied there hitherto."

The Revolution of Civilization
Contents

I. **The Nature of Civilization**
   1. The meaning of life
   2. Intermittent Civilization
   3. Sculpture the definite Test
   4. The Great Year

II. The Periods of Civilization in Egypt

III. The Periods in Europe

IV. The Fluctuations (Egypt and Europe contemporary—length of period—curves of Egyptian and European art)

V. Relations of Different Activities

VI. **The National View of Civilization** (The highest and lowest conditions. Period in other continents. Phase belonging to folk and not to Land.
   Breaks between periods
   Diagram of periods
   Stages of Government)

VII. Conditions of Civilization
   (Advance through strife
   Causes of Period
   The Future)

Other Books by the Author

(1) Personal Religion in Egypt before christianity
(2) Egypt and Israel
(3) Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt

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Chap I. (Meaning of Civilization)

P. 5 Civilization is an intermittent or recurring of recurrent phenomenon. "Its recurrences should be studied and the principles wh : underlie its variations shd : be defined."

The method of study is **comparison**

Of the many subjects available for comparison throughout the ages, sculpture is the best, because it is available for a longer peiod.

The Great Year :—the growth and fall of civilization **Berossos,** the Babylonian, wrote of the Summer and writer of the Great Year. **The Etruseans** spoke of the Great Year as the period of each race of men that shd : arise in succession. Their own Great Year of 1100 years came to an end in 87 BC. (See Plutarch's **Sulla**)

Chap VII (Conditions of Civilization)

P. 125. **"There is no advance without strife.**
Man must strive with nature or with man if he is not to fall back and degenerate. The harder a nation strives, the more capable it will be. x x x x The northern nations accustomed to striving against climate thrive vastly where they get into easier countries. x x Hence all migration is from colder to warmer climates ? And within the same country, as in England at present, there is a steady flow of families pushing South.

What about India ?

Civilization is evolved by a continual strife of ideas, ideals and personalities. In the case of any subject, as freedom of expression is attained, there is no more strife with difficulties and decay sets in. "The accumulation of capital in every form diminishes the need for striving. x x x The easier life is rendered, the more easy is decay and degradation. The maximum of wealth must inevitably lead to the downfall."

P. 126.

Causes of Period

What determines the spring, summer and

autumn of the Great Year ?

(For the effect of these changes in Western Asia and Greece, read proceeding of R. Geog. Soc. 26th May 1910— Mr. Huntingdon's statement)

(1) Periodical changes of climate. The American Expedition of Turkestan has brought to light regular cycles of wet and dry climate there. Such changes precipitate on the richer lands the pastoral races who live on lands too dry for agriculture. Increased dryness accompanies an age of migration. Famines some times precede and follow such movements. Examples—

(a) The Hyksos movement from the Arabian plains was followed by famine in Syria and 7 years' famine in Egypt.

(b) The Arab movement started from a great famine in A.D. 600, followed by famines in 866, 873, 929, 966, 970, 1025, 1055, 1065, 1201, 1264, 1295.

This however does not account for—

(1) the regular phases already described

(2) a race keeping to its own phase when it has passed into a country of a different phase, as noticed.

Factors in the Determination of Period

(1) There is a normal rate of change produced by the process of the human mind.

(2) Different activities grouped closely together in ancient times are now separated by several generations (probably because each subject is more elaborately developed now and absorbs all the best intellect for a longer time).

One generation —30 yrs. Each man has 10 ancestors a century ago apart from related marriges—and hence has 1 millions ancestors in 6 centuries 10 millions in 7 centuries and 100 millions in 8 centuries. Thus in 7 or 8 centuries in an ordinary sized country the full maximum number of different ancestors are blended and every strain of one race has crossed with every strain of the other.

(3) Rise of a new civilization is condition by the migration of a different people. Mixture of two different stocks takes time. The complete crossing to two races produces the maximum of ability. This is the period of maximum ability beginning 8 centuries after the mixture and lasting for 4 to 5 centuries in the different subjects. This is the **basal cause** of the length of period.

A dry period and famine may however precipitate a migration which cuts short a civilization as in period VI.

The Future

The widening apart of the stages means that wealth of improvements can be accumulated later in each stage. The maximum of wealth in Europe promises in our own state to reach to near the end of one period, **when an entire mixture with another race will be requisite. We do not see any tendency to shorten the stage of growth in the successive periods.** So that the production of a new European Art and its subsequent activities cannot be expected for many centuries.

There is no prospect of the people of the whole world being blended together—because (1) the conditions of climate will always make men black or white.

(2) the conditions of the countries will always separate pastoral, agricultural and manufacturing communities.

The present rate of speed which is paralel to the diffusion which must have taken place on the development of shipping is the effect of a sudden facility. It will tend to diminish as suitable conditions are found and established.

P. 131. "Yet if the view becomes really grasped that the source of every civilization has lain in race mixture, it may be that eugenichs will, in some future civilization, carefully segregate fine races and prohibit continual mixture, until they have a distinct

type which will start a new civilization when transplanted. The future progress of man may depend as much on isolation to establish a type as on fusion of types when established."

Chap. VI

The National View of Civilization.

(26) The highest and lowest conditions.

P. 106

Greatest Feature		Collapse in Europe
IV	Power of Construction (IV Dynasty)	Extermination of the Conquered (?)
V	Foreign Connections (XII Dynasty)	Destruction of males only (?)
VI	Utilising of natural Products (XVIII Dynasty)	Slavery (Dorians)
VII	Cataloguing of Nature (Roman)	Taking Share of property (north races)
VIII	Utilising natural Forces (Modern)	

(27) The Period in other continents

Civilization in the Tigris and Euphrates system was very old. It probably dates from 12,000 B.C. and at least from 6000 B.C. The most notable rulers from the artistic point of view are :—

The 50ft. of ruin below that, if it grew at the same rate, would imply a beginning in 1200 B.C.

Mesopotamia

Enneatum	4450 (?)	
		— 700 (?)
Naramsin	3750	
		— 1650
Khammenabi	2100	
		— 1460
Name of King	**B.C.**	**Years**
Ashurbanipal	640	
		— 1460
El Mamun	A.D. 820	

The first period is quite uncertain

The average of the 3 defined periods in 1520 years wh : is not far from the 1320 years' average on the Mediterranean.. The time by wh: the Eastern period anticipates the Western is :—

East	West	Difference
B.C. 3750	3450	300
B.C. 2100	1550	550
B.C. 640	450	190
A.D. 820	1240	420
	Average	365

P.108.

The Eastern phase on the whole keeps 3½ centuries in advance of the Mediterranaean varying from 2 to 5½ centuries.

"These results give some insight into the general meaning of historical conditions. The impression that civilization always comes form the East is due to the East being a few centuries ahead of the West in its phase. Thus on the rise of a wave, the

East is more civilized : while on the fall of a wave—which does not attract attention—it is less civilized."

"The cause of the constant struggle between the East and the West is likewise seen to be due to the difference of phases.

P.109. If Mesopotamia and Europe were in the same phase there would be a balance of power as there is found the Mediterranean, when even a political ascendancy does not involve a change of population. But with Mesopotamia always leading, it is bound politically to overrun the West a few centuries before the rise of the West in each period. **The Mediterranean was almost an Arab lake** at the time of El Mamun ; Persia dominated all the civilized mediterranean in the sixth century B.C. Yet, on the whole, the West more usually controls the East, because from the time of its maximum during the gradual decline of each period, it is always on a higher plane than the East."

India "In some other cases also the period from one wave of greatness to the next can be traced. In India, Asoka had the greatest power known in ancient times including all India (except the southern lip) Kashmir, Afghanistan and Beluchistan. This rule was at its height in 250 B. C. The next great age of rule was on the completion of the Mogul Empire. (A.D. 1550). **The interval is 1800 years."**

Mexico "In Mexico, the highly civilized **Maya** kingdom is traditionally stated to have been founded in the 10th cent. B. C. On its fall

P. 110. it was succeeded by the Toltecs, also highly civilized, in the 6th cent. A. D. The interval is 1500 years."

"Thus the period of a civilization is :—

Period of a Civilization		**Period**
	1. Mediterranean average	— 1330 years
	(or, omitting the first	— 1500 years)
	2. Mesopotamia	— 1520 years
	3. India, one period	— 1800 years
	4. Mexico, one period about	— 1500 years

The length of the period is practically alike in different parts of the globe suggesting that it is **due to human constitution rather than to external causes.** The phase, however, varies greatly.

(28) **The Phase belonging to folk not to land**

"Thus apparently in the case of the Etruscan in Italy and of the Greek in the East

P. 13. and certainly among the Arabs in Spain, it is seen that **the phase of an intrusive people is that of their source and not that of their new region.** The phase of civilization is intercut in the people and is not due to the circumstances of their position.

Etruscans. The Etruscans were foreign to Italy and they brought with them a civilization which was not that of the Mediterranean or of Western Europe. The Etruscan civilization was in a phase that was some centuries before that of Greece and Rome. Their great civilization shown by engineering works, great fortress cities and richly painted tombs, all vanished before the Imperial period. The most curious feature of Roman history is the disappearance of the civilization of Etruria. Etrurian sages themselves put their period as 1100 years, ending at 88 B.C. as quoted before. Their greatest power was about 600 B.C. and was that of the phase of Mesopotamian civilization.

For 3 or 4 centuries the Greeks in Bactria

Bactrian Greeks.

show a civilization higher than the native. Persia was far more advanced than Greece at 500 B.C. and probably at 400. For the Greek therefore to retain a superiority to the Eastern, implies that he kept his own phase, wh : was 2 or 3 cent : later.

Spanish Arabs.

In the case of the Arabs in Spain the dates of political power, literature and decay conform entirely to the Mesopotamian phase and are contrary to the European. Political power came earlier and reached its height when Abder Rahman reached the middle of France in 732. By 1144 a democratic system set in, overthrowing rulers frequently by the power of vox populi. In 970 A.D. Al Hakem filled a palace at Cardova with books sought from the entire known world. There were 600,000 volumes catalogued and in order. Arab historians say that the Arab kings in Spain had elaborate gardens, literary academies, funds for endowment of learned men and the attraction of scholars from all parts of the world.

P. 113.

"When the phase of each group of civilization has been further defined, **it may be possible to use the phase of civilization as a criterion of the source of an invading people** x x x. Possibly the phase clings to a race for ages."

"In connection with this, it may be noted how **the conquest and settlement of each country of Europe by Rome is reflected in its later history.** The order of Roman influence was Italy, Spain, France, England, Germany ; and this is the order of political power of these countries in the last few centuries."

(29) **The Breaks between Periods**

"Every civilization of a settled population

P. 114.

tends to incessant decay from its maximum condition, and this decay continues until it is too weak to initiate anything, when a fresh race comes in and utilises the old stock to graft on, both in blood and culture. As soon as the culture is well-started, it rapidly grows on the old soil and produces a new wave of civilization. There is no new generation without a mixture of blood, parthenogenesis is unknown in the birth of nation."

Examples :—

We here take 450 A.D. as the main date of mixture.

1. The break between the classical and mediaeval periods VII and VIII is most familiar. Between A.D. 300 and 600, fifteen different races broke bounds, belonging to half a dozen different stocks (see Migrations, Huxley Lecture 1906). "The beginning of the classical period VII and the close of the Mykenaean (VI) has been partly understood from recent discoveries. The old tradition of the "Return of the Hera Kleidai" is placed about 1200 B.C. The Cretan Civilization is supposed to have been swamped during the alliance wars on Egypt, 1194 B.C. The Egyptian connections with Greece by dated objects all cease at this date. Hence 1200 B.C. may be taken as the date of the main change."

P. 115.

"The breaks from the middle Cretan (V) to the Late Cretan of Mykenaean (VI) and from the Early Cretan (IV) to the middle Cretan (V) were at approximately the dates of the breaks in Egypt but cannot be otherwise dated from Greek sources."

"In Egypt the change from period VII to VIII is particularly definitely fixed by the Arab invasion in 641 A.D. After the main body, other tribes of Arabs came in, down to the 9th century." x x x

"The break of the VIth period is not

well defined in Egypt but was made up of various immigrations, starting the VIIth period with Easterners, 950 B.C. Ethiopians, 750 B.C. and Libyans from then onward."

"The VIth period was brought in by the Hyksos migration 2600 B.C. There had been a filtering in of Eastern people before and 2 Mesopotamians even became kings of Egypt; also there was probably a constant flow of further immigrants as exemplified by Terak and Abram, about 4 or 5 hundred years later." x x x x

"The Vth period is indicated by the collapse of Egyptian work after the VIth dynasty; and the appearance at the close of the VIth dynasty and onwards of foreign button seals which are connected with the Cretan products 4000 B.C."

"The IVth period of the pyramid builders apparently began with the 3rd dynasty. There is continuous decline in work down to the close of the IInd dynasty and early in the IIIrd; yet by the end of the IIIrd dynasty there had arisen the finest Egyptian art. The break indicated by the change of dynasty is doubtless the coming in of the new period. This is dated to 5000 B.C."

P. 117. "The rise of the IIIrd period is last in the darkness of the predynastic age. The highest point of the sculptor we have shown (by the hawks) to belong to Zer 5400 B.C. Before that there was 150 years to the beginning of the 1st dynasty and 350 years of kings before that (dynasty O) making 500 years recorded before the age of the best sculpture." x x x The invasion dates, when a new period of civilization is started may be compared with the sculpture phases

thus :—

Period	Invasion	Growth	Sculpture
III	6000 ?	600 ?	5400 B.C.
VI	4960	150	4750 "
V	4000	550	3450 "
VI	2600	1050	1550 "
VII	1200	750	450 "
VIII	450	800	1240 A.D.

"It is obvious that the pyramid builders came in upon the early dynastic people abnormally soon; taking only 150 years to rise to a fresh maximum. We know so little of the historical conditions that we can not see the meaning of this. **Perhaps it shd; rather be regarded as a double maximum** of one period, divided in the same way as the classical age was parted into a Greek and a Roman maximum.

(30) **The Diagram of Periods**

(The complete diagram at the end of the book viz. Fig. 57, is missing). **Lessons** :—

P. 119. "The first striking feature is the much wider spread of the phases as the periods descend. This means that there are less intervals of barbarism between the civilization and that the civilization phase in each period is longer at each recurrence. This is in accord with the common idea that the world is getting more civilized as the ages go on, in

P. 120. spite of the crushing fact that in many kinds of civilization, the successive recurrences show no improvement. Egyptian construction is as good in the IVth period as anything done in the four later periods. Art is as good in the IVth or VIth or VIIth as it has ever been later, though differing in its nature. **Thus while the best work in art is no better in successive periods, the total amount of**

civilization is greater, because it is longer. The gain is in quantity and not quality."

(2) "Another result of this widening out of the phases is to separate the best period of each form of culture. Thus in the early days the arts of sculpture and painting, mechanics and wealth were all nearly contemporaneous. Hence there was artistic mechanics, executed by wealth. But as the phases space out further, the art is decadent before the mechanical ability is free and before the wealth has grown. Hence the increasingly tasteless use of wealth by the late Mykenaean, the Roman or the modern man. A strange feature of these successive periods is the sudden raid of northerners that breaks through to the south of Europe in the midst of the most flourishing age and leaves no permanent trace." **Examples :**

(a) 1527 A.D.—Raid on Rome and its sacking by the Germans under the Constable de Bourbon.

(b) In 390 B.C. the Kelts laid Rome waste and in 179 they plundered Greece.

(c) In the late Minoan II period or 1500 B.C. was the great catastrophe of the destruction of the Palace of Kuossos, apparently by barbarians.

(d) The middle Minoan II period about the 12th Egyptian dynasty on 3300 B.C. is cut short by a general catastrophe.

"Thus in four successive periods x x x x we see that southern Europe at its brightest has been suddenly clouded by a northern strom which has left no permanent change."

"The principal conqueror of each period has arisen at the same phase.". .

Stages of Government

(1) At every invasion by a new people there must be strong personal rule. The holding together of the invaders, the decisive subjection of the invaded will require an autocracy. This period lasts from 4 to 6 centuries.

(2) The next stage is an oligarchy when leadership is still essential but the unity of the country can be maintained by **law** instead of by **autocracy**. This stage varies in length —in Greece and Rome about 4 centuries, in mediaeval Europe about 5 or 6 cent.

(3) **Democracy** wh: lasts for about 4 cent. During this time wealth continues to increase. When democracy attains full power, the majority without capital eat up the capital of the minority and civilization steadily decays. The consumption of the resources of the Roman Empire from the 2nd cent ; when democrary was dominant until the Gothic kingdom rose on its ruin is the best known example.

Chap II
P. 11

The Periods of Civilization

Egyptian civilization—8 successive periods each separated by an age of barbarism or decline before and after it.

1st Period
Prehistoric.

Painted pottery (cups and vases). "In this remote age there is proof of the rise of ornament from natural imitation, the development of it as pure ornament and its decay in unintelligent copying."

2nd Period
Prehistoric.

A new order arises, the older pottery ceased to develop new types. **Flint work** is the special art of this age. Other arts are slate work, ivory work etc.

3rd Period
O—IInd
dynasties.

The distinctive art of Egypt begins in this period. Hieroglyphic writing was being rapidly developed from the ideographic stage. By the time of **Mena** who founded the 1st dynasty, carving was emerging from the

archaic stage, though not yet free. "The beginning of the 1st dynasty is archaic, the early middle is the finest age and from that onwards there is only a little fluctuation in the decay."

IVth Period 3rd—6th Dynasties

The great age of the Pyramid builders at the close of the 3rd dynasty. Interval of 130 years only in the lists bet : the king whose work is the worst (Neterkhet) and the almost perfected art of Sneferu.

The careful working of detail separately, without treating it as part of a whole to be blended together is the essential mark of *Archaism*

The changes in the art of sclupture agree with the state of the architecture, which rose to its greatest accuracy of work and bold handling of immense masses in the generation wh: saw the statue of Nefert.

Vth Period VII-XIVth Dynasties.

This period opens with a minute attention to detail like the archaism of the pre-persian sculptures of Greece—Rise rapid, full beauty attained in the 12th dynasty. The whole rise occupied not more than 1½ cent: By the latter part of the 12th dynasty, there was a manifest decline.

VIth Period XVth-XXth Dynasties.

This age best known owing to profusion of remains, especially at Thebes. In the 18th dynasty there were several stages with different styles. The foreign conquest, which brought in Syrian influence, changed the type (best example Tahutmes III). The great break of the naturalism of Akhenaten and the revulsion from it, closed the dynasty.

VIIth Period XXIst-XXXIIIrd Dynasties.

The XXVIth dynasty excelled in portraiture. The depth to which this art (viz, relief) sank may be guessed from the head of a Roman statue (fig 25) wh: is by no means the worst of its kind. Greek and Roman art was too incongruous to be a prop to Egyptian design and the old passed away for ever.

VIIIth Period The Arab.

How base the style became is painfully seen in the coptic sculpture (fig 26). The influences upon it was the decayed classical and the Persian art ; and it is curious how the geometrical style of the Arab art is anticipated in the straight lines and mechanical curves of the coptic figures. In architecture the only work as in the citadels and fortifications of Cairo was contemporary with that of the Norman. The gate Bab-el-futuh was built in 1087, the period of the tower of London and Malling Abbey.

Chap III

The Periods of Civilization in Europe.

IVth Period The Egyptian age.

This period contemporary with the IVth period of Egypt. Remains parallel to the first three periods in Egypt still lie in the 21 ft. of neolithic remains at Kuossos.

Dr. Evans is a great authority on Cretan archaeology.

Most important remains of early cretan age were found at Mochlos (not published yet) object from Tholos Hagia Triada show the earliest rise of figure carving. The figures are like those of the Egyptian Prehistoric age, period II having no arms, the legs ending in a point.

Vth Period Middle Cretan age.

Main feature—development of polychrome painting on vases and coloured glazed ware. The period begins with rude figures of men and fishes and founding of the first palace at Kuossos. There is a steady growth of naturalism and at the end of this period there is the shrine of Kuossos. A general catastrophe ended the period.

VIth Period Late Cretan Age.

Art of this period rivals that of the classical age. Examples—steatite* vases, fresco and relief work, gold cups and architecture also. This splendour suffered a catastrophe in the Dorian invasion. Those centres which were not occupied by the Dorians, as

Cyprus and some cities on the mainland such as Althens, retained the decayed forms of their old arts.

New art began in the dipylon vases. Rich spirals of the older art give way to fret patterns and geometrical decoration take the place of the free design of forms in action. Fresh styles of architecture arise and Asiatic influences supply new motives. About the VIIIth cent. B.C. sculpture advanced to its most expressive stage and almost its highest technical perfection (examples—statues of maidens on the Acropolis at Athens). To this succeeded the perfect freedom of work, in the figure of the piping maiden upon the end of the Ludovisithrone. The great mass of Greek sculpture fell off from this standard during several centuries. Then next come the still lower Roman copies of Greek work of weaving banality.

VIIIth Period

The northern immigrants brought new ideals with them into the mediterranean world ; and an entirely different style arose, which in its vertical lines and lengthy figures recalls the preclassical work of Italy and the Athenciated style of celtic animals. About 1245 A.D. the height of perfection was reached. Then the art (in stone and bronze and seals of kings) began to decline. "Thus we see in early branch of sculpture and engraving how the latter part of the 13th cent : was the turning point when complete mastery was attained—and how continual was the decay after that time. The Renascence was but the resort of copying an earlier period owing to the decay and loss of the true style of the VIIIth or mediaeval age of Art. The history of copying—good, bad or indifferent—does not concern

us here. x x x x

Chap IV **The Fluctuations**

VIIIth Period

Egypt and Europe Contemporary

The dates of the best-known buildings are as follows :—

East (Egypt) **England**

The massive Fortifications

Cairo Gates—1087-91

Tower of London—1078

New Castle—1080

The beginning of lighter style

Cairo Citadel—1183

Dome of the Rock—1189

Canterbury Choir —1180

Lincolin Choir —1186

End of good enrichment

Mosque of Sultan Hasan Cairo — 1362

Trinity College —1350 Cambridge

Gloucester Choir —1350

Overloaded Decorations-pendentives

Tomb of Kait Bey—1474

Palace of Yeshbek — 1476

Crosby — 1470

St. George's Windsor — 1476

VIIth Period

In this period the Egyptian phase was half a century or a century before the Greek

phase, doubtless due to the much large amount of older models known to the Egyptian. In Greece architecture was strong before 600 B.C. (Corinth, Selinus), fully developed by 500 (agrigentum). Sculpture did not develop well till 500 B.C. and did not lose its archaism till 450 B.C. In Egypt the new style of sculpture under Greek influence was strong by 550 B.C. and fully developed by 525 at the Persian invasion.

VIth Period

East Archaism disappears in Egypt about 1550
West B.C. free style is reached by 1500 and decadence is clear by 1300. At **Kuossos** the highest point of the period was reached about 1500 B.C. The Tell-el-Amarua pottery of 1370 B.C. belongs to the decadence in Crete.

Vth Period

During this period the phase was the same in Crete and Egypt within 2 or 3 centuries. The middle stage in Crete is linked with the middle of the XIIth dynasty in Egypt.

IVth Period — Ist Period

The later stage of this period is linked with the VIth—VIIIth dynasties in Egypt.

The 3rd period in Egypt has wh: seems to have been imported from Crete where it is found in the "sub-neolithic" or stratum immediately on the neolithic level and before any palace buildings.

The Ist and IInd periods of Egypt are yet to be sought in the 25th. of ruins of the neolithic age at Kuossos or 15ft at Phaistos.

Length of Period

The best defined position in the development of art is the close of the archaic age in sculpture when a perfect harmonising of the several parts is first reached. We may take the close of the archaic at the follow-

ing dates :—

		Interval
VIIIth Period A.D. 1240		
	—	1690
VIIth Period B.C. 450		
	—	1100
VIth Period B.C. 1550		
	—	1900
Vth Period B.C. 3450		
	—	1300
IVth Period B.C. 4750		
	—	650
IIIrd Period B.C. 5400		

Thus the average period is 1330 years.

Curves of Egyptian and European Art.

Egyptian The 3rd period is intermediate in quality bet : the IVth and the Vth periods. Its art is as good as the IVth and much better than the Vth ; but its architectures inferior to either. The VIth period is rather inferior in everyway to the Vth. The whole excellence of the VIIth period is derived from copying. The VIIIth period has no sculpture in Egypt but only architecture and metal work. It may be put as equal to the 7th.

P. 87. The lower curve at the beginning is that of European art wh: rises to be the higher at the end. As all architecture and sculpture since 1500 has been mere copying, the last four centuries have been omitted. "For my own part, **I should regard this VIIIth period as declining like the others, without taking into account an entirely artificial archaistic revival of the last 50 years, wh: has no root in the feelings of the majority and will die like all mere fashions.** No doubt in Hadrian's time they worshipped archaistic Minervas, as the revival of beauty. All

this, however, is only a personal opinion wh: I do not care to defend."

The mediaeval wave is ranked as intermediate in value bet : the Mykenaean (VI) and the classical (VII), the crest of the former being put as equivalent to 50 B.C. The Mykenaean wave is put at the level of the Antonines.

The fall of classical work was uniformly continuous from about 400 B.C. to 200 A.D. The rapid descent comes later after Commodus or Serverus as the coinage shows. And the coinage also shows how A.D. 600-800 was the bottom of all in art. x x **The mediaeval was but little below the classical level.**

In the earlier periods (III, IV and V) in Europe there are no figure sculpture but vase decorations.

Chap V.
P. 94.

Relations of different activities.

Subjects in the VIIIth Period

Other evidences of civilization appear later than that of sculpture. **Sculpture and architecture** go closely together in all ages.

(1)
1240 Bamberg Sculptures.

In sculpture, turning point of freedom at 1240. In architecture freedom attained with Salisbury Cathedral begun 1220 and consecrated 1258.

(2)
1400

Painting follows. Freedom from archaism was attained about 1379 by Altichiers and Jacopo D' Avanzo—and by others about 1450. (hence 150 to 200 years after sculpture).

(3)
1600

In **Literature**, Bacon and Ben Jonson are at the turning point (about 1600 A.D.)

(4)
1790

in **Music** Haydn steps freely in his symphonies for the 1st time in 1790. Beethoven rarely shows archaism from 1796 onwards.

(5)
1890

In **Mechanics** Baker's Forth Bridge has attained freedom from needless restriction (Brunels tubular bridge preceding this, though new, was by no means a perfect adaptation). 1980 is thus the close of archaism.

(6)
After 1910

In **Science** and **Wealth** the close of archaism may be put down after 1910.

VIIth Period

The turning points of the civilization of the VIIth Period may be put down as follows :—

Sculpture	—	B.C. 450
Painting	—	" 350
Literature	—	" 200
Mechanics	—	0 B.C.
Science	—	A.D. 150
Wealth	—	" 200

	VIth Period	Vth Period	IVth Period
Sculpture	B.C. 1550	B.C. 3450	B.C. 4750
Painting	" 1470 (?)	" 3400	" 4700 (?)
Literature	" 1350 (?)	" 3320	
Mechanics	" 1280	" 3270	" 4650 (?)
Science			
Wealth	" 1180	" 3250	

We may now review all the stages of civilization together, taking the earlier **phase**, that of sculpture, as the **zero** of each period.

	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV
	1240 A.D.	450 B.C.	1550 B.C.	3450 B.C.	4750 B.C.
Sculpture	0	0	0	0	0
Painting	160	100	80	50	50 (?)
Literature	360	200	200	130	—
Mechanics	550	450	270	180	100 (?)
Science	650+	600	—	—	—
Wealth	650+	650	370	200	—

Thus the order of development of the successive phases of each period is usually the same though the intervals lengthened in the later ages.

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Social organization

(The History of Civilization series)

London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd. New York ; Alfred A. Knopf INC. 1924.

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Chap I.

Social structure can be studied from 2 points of view :—

1) Static, analytical (concerned with societies as they are)
2) dynamic, historical (concerned with how societies have come to be what they are)

Two-fold Study

1) Structure of groups.
2) Function of groups including (a) relation bet : individuals (b) relation bet : groups.

Social Groupings

1) Domestic
2) Political (Government county council, municipality etc).
3) Occupational
4) Religious
5) Educational
6) Societies or clubs (In primitive or rude societies there were **secret societies** in which knowledge of particular arts was not divulged).

Associations like guilds, trade unions, employers' associations etc., occupy a middle position between nos. 3 and 6. Social grouping can be divided into

a) **Voluntary**, like societies and clubs etc.
b) **involuntary** like family etc. (I am not a member of any family by choice but am born into it).

Family—Small social group consisting of parents and children.

It may be used more widely to include relations of the father and mother also. In a *bilateral group relatives through both the father and the mother are included ; in a **unilateral** group, relatives through either only are included. **Unilateral** may be of 2 kinds :—

° Group. For a member of the *bilateral* group, Rivers uses the term *kindred*

1) Patriarchal or patrifineal e.g., Indian joint family ; also joint family of Ditmarschen, Norway etc.
2) Matriarchal or matrilineal e.g., "Taravad" of the Nayars of Malabar*

The grouping **Household** is somewhat different from the other groupings. It sometimes includes members of the **kindred** also but does not include members of the family (e.g., sons or daughters) who have separated and set up independent establishments.

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* Vide "A Treatise of Hindu Law and Custom" by J.D. Mayne (Madras 1914)

Clan Moiety and Tribe

Chap. II

Defn: of clan*

"An exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are held to be related to

one another by some common tie, it may be belief in descent from a common ancestor, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory.

Clan is a unilateral group. It resembles **joint-family** (patrilineal or matrilineal) more than the **kindred**. The difference bet : a **joint family** and a **clan** is that members of a joint family can trace their relationships to one another and express them genealogically. This can not be done by all members of clan because **Clanship due to common totem or common territory is not based on relationship**.

Clan in Scotland corresponds more with tribe. Lang and Frazer use **kin** for **clan** and Americans use **gens**. The word **gens** is however used for the patrilineal variety of the group by Americans and clan for the matrilineal.

* See *Anthropological Notes and Queries* (London) also "The handbook of folk lore" p. 295 (London 1913)

The taravad of *Malabar is an example of a joint family rather than of a clan.* (The taravad is matrilineal)

Clan and Totem

In some places in Melanesia it is believed that members of a totemic clan are derived from totem. In other places it is believed that they are descended from a man or woman connected in some way with the totem.

Clan Totem and Territory

A totemic clan may be confined exclusively to a particular area or may be inhabiting the same area along with other totemic clans as in the majority of cases.

In some clans, the totemic bond is absent, the essential tie being habitation of a common territory without any evidence of a totemic bond. It has been suggested that

(** Clanship due to common totem or common territory is not based on relationship.)

the territorial clan is a localized totemic clan wh: has lost its totem—but this view is not accepted. **Probably** in all territorial clans the real bond is belief in common descent rather than habitation of common territory—because we find that in some cases membership of the clan does not depend on actual habitation but on the place to wh: a person or his ancestors originally belonged.

Is there any correlation between the mode of descent and the nature of the bond uniting the members of a clan ? Rivers seems to think (though information is still defective) that local grouping is connected with patrilineal descent (as in Mabuiag Island in Tones Straits) and absence of localization with matrilineal descent as in Melanesia). In the case of patrilineal descent wives go to live with their husbands, while in matrilineal descent children are brought up in the houses of their mothers—hence local grouping in the former case and scattered distribution in the latter.

Totems—3 kinds
1. animals
2. plants
3. inanimate objects. (Stars, rains etc.) In British Guiana a clan has more than one totem. This is termed linked to totemism.

Totemism

The most frequent form of the clan is that in which all the members believe in their relationship to one of the three species of objects. Of these three, animal totems are most frequent. The nature of the relationship of the clan member to the totem varies in different places and may be as follows :—

In Australia some animal is said to be connected with men and the other with women. The difference between kinship and clan relationship based on belief in common ancestor is that in the former case relationship

(1) Common descent from the totem as in Melanesia.

(2) the members of the clan are descended from a man or woman who was in some way connected with the totem. (Totemic tie of this sort gradually passes into the belief that the bond of union is descent from

can be traced genealogically —while in the latter it cannot be so traced

a common ancestor).

Totemism is a form of social grouping wh: in its usual form has both domestic and religious functions. (p. 26)

Functions of the Clan

1) *Political* P. 27

The clan plays an important part in the political constitution of the community at large. The clan has its own council composed of the older generation of males wh: transacts business. The clan elects its own chiefs and can depose them without any reference to the council of the larger unit of wh: it forms a part.

2) Occupation P. 26.

There does not seem to be a case where the clan follows a special occupation. Specialized hereditary occupation are associated either with the family or with special groups like **caste**.

31 Property P. 25.

Limited common ownership

(a) In **Isle Ambrim (New Hebrides)** uncultivated land belongs to the clan or village in common but cultivated land belongs to a kindred group consisting of blood relatives on the father's side and the sister's children of a man (Descent is through father and clans are on a territorial basis).

(b) In **Melanesia** the property of the group just mentioned is common and every member can use it. A non-member has to ask the permission of one of the group if he wants to use it. The privilege of asking this permission belongs to every member of the **clan**. (This probably indicates the former existence of a more diffused system of ownership).

(c) In **North America** there are intermediate stages bet: individual and common ownership. Common ownership where it does exist is vested in some form of the joint family rather than in the clan. (The

Aztecs are pointed out as a case of clan-ownership—but Rivers does not uphold this.)

4) Religions.

(a) In most forms of totemism, there is a definite reverence for the totem specially when it is an animal. Injuring, killing or eating it, provokes the wrath of a higher power.

(b) In other forms the totem is purely a symbol or emblem and does not imply belief in a higher power.

(c) In Australia members of the totemic clan are believed to have the power to multiply the totem-species with the aid of rites.

Dual Organization

In **Melanesia**, **Australia** and **North America** Communities are divided into 2 divisions, called moieties, wh: have an important function in the regulation of marriage. The dual system is combined with a local grouping wh: is the unit determining social relation other than marriage.

The moieties are sometimes hostile to one another and regard one another with dislike. There is also a belief that moieties have different physical and mental characters—in some cases one of the two moieties being regarded as superior to the other in social estimate.

There is a form of social organization resembling the dual system e.g., where the society consists of two classes—chiefs and commoners.

There are cases intermediate bet: the 2 kinds of social organization e.g., in Isle Vanua Lava in Fizi.

The Todas have 2 main groups wh: are endogamous and have relations resembling the Indian castes.

A dual exogamous system may come into existence through the dying out of all but 2 exogamous clans of a society wh: once possessed a large number. This system among the Gonds of Central India may have arisen in this way.

Examples (1) Melanesia. Matrilineal descent*— **a person belongs to his or her mother's moiety.**

The dual organization transcends the boundaries of tribes or island communites. The names of moieties agree in island which have little in common in other features of social organization. This is true of Melanesia and Australia.

ANALYSIS OF BOOKS READ

1. Ex-Kaiser's Memoirs :— (1878-1918)
2. Asia and Europe by Meredith Townsend
3. Psychology and Crime by Munsterberg
4. The Criminal Mind by Dr. Maurice de fleury
5. National Welfare & Decay by Macdougall
6. Physical Efficiency by James Cantlie

Ex-Kaiser's Memoirs 1878-1918

Chap I Bismarck

Points of Difference bet: Bismarck & Ex-Kaiser William :—

1. Wm. did not fully approve of the Treaty of 1878 for which Bismarck was in a measure responsible.

* With some exceptions e.g. in *New Caledonia* there is patrilineal descent.

2. Did not approve fully of the German Constitution which fitted in with Bismarck's position as an autocratic chancellor.
3. Wm. considered the foreign office to be too much dominated by Bismarck—men with independent ideas could not be trained there.
4. Wm. did not fully approve of Kaltur Kampf in which, again, the land of Bismarck was visible.
5. Bismarck did not have what Wm. considered to be a sound colonial policy—he wanted to use the colonies more for barter than for purposes of trade.
6. Bismarck did not sufficiently grasp the necessity of having a Navy for protecting the colonies—and trade with the colonies.
7. Bismarck did not pay sufficient attention to England—his attention was confined to Continental Europe.
8. Wm. is of opinion that if in 1878, Bismarck had allowed the Turky to occcpy Constantinople—England would have been drawn into the war against Russia—and an Anglo-Russian understanding wd: hereby have been prevented (In 1886 Bismarck offered Constantinople to Russia, as also Dardanalles but the Emperor Alexander III scornfully refused the offer.)
9. After Wm. became Emperor, he was Pro-Turkish in his sympathies but not Bismarck who was anti-Turk.
10. Wm. as Emperor quarrelled with Bismarck i.e., progressive measures.—especially in socialist legislation. Bismarck was opposed to the Emperor's convening a State Council with representations of owners and workers for discussing labour questions—and also to the convening to the International Socialist

Congress at Berlin.

It appears to me that Wm. is anxious to show his sympathy for Labour in this book —e.g., he says—"I however wished to win over the soul of the German working man and I fought zealously to attain this goal."

Asia and Europe

by Meredith Townsend

Publishers :— Archibald Constable & Co. 2. Whitehall Gardens 1901.

Preface

"The struggle between Europe and Asia is the binding thread of history ; the trade bet : Europe and Asia is the foundation of commerce ; the thought of Asia is the basis of all Europeans. but the fusion of the continents has never occurred and in the Author's best judgement will never occur."

"The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
Then plunged in thought again."

Matthew Arnold.

** "Crossed with Arab or Hindoo, he (the negro) may have a future but uncrossed there is some source of failure in him—probably a defect of power to accumulate thought, which will leave him far behind."

"The suave and humorous American will possibly become the most popular of white men with Asiatics. xx Nevertheless the American will not rule the Asiatic. The fissure bet: the two races is very wide and as yet has proved unpassable. The American can never like anyone not of his own colour, he will never mix on a footing of equality with other.. x x x Lastly the American has no interest in conquering Asia x x x x he does not believe sovereignty absolutely essential to trade."

x x x x

"It will be easier for America to acquire influence in Asia by protecting her from conquest than to begin conquering."

(e.g., in China)

Introduction.

Attempted conquest of Asia by Europe :—

Also French and Portuguese

(1) Alexander of Macedon (2) Romans (3) Crusaders (4) Russia in the 17th century (Russia in Asia) (5) England in the 18th century (India)

"The white races in obedience to some law of which they know nothing increase with amazing rapidity and in Europe which is not a very fertile continent there is not enough wealth to go round." x x x

"These trades again must be protected by sovereign rights over the markets."xxx

"If Europe can avoid internal war or war with a much aggrandized America she will be by A.D. 2000 mistress in Asia and at liberty as her people think to enjoy. I am unable with such light as I have from history to believe that this effort, the fourth within the historic period, will be permanently successful, the genius of the continents being too distinct.

Attempted Conquest of Europe by Asia.

1. A section of the Mongols over ran Europe up to France and on the plain of Chalons nearly overthrew the Romans.

2. Arabs defeated Eastern Rome and Persia, extirpated the Vandals of North Africa, conquered Spain. Later, they drove the pick of the European army out of Palestine.

3. The Mongols conquered China, India and Russia and were about to defeat Australia.

4. The Turks defeated the Eastern Roman Empire and threatened all Central Europe.

Persian invasion of

("The Turk by the consent of all who

Greece not mentioned here.

have observed him, is the best individual soldier in the world")

Difficulty of Conquering Asia

Total population of Asia about 900 millions.

1. Size of Asia and the difficulty of penetrating and garrisoning the Continent.

2. There are in Asia 80 mill. of potential soldiers, one-fifths of whom can use arms.

3. Asia is not an uncivilized continent.

Europe's attempt

"I doubt if the attempt will succeed and-certainly it will not succeed without the infliction of a vast amount of misery, for which Government by Europe may or may not be a compensation."

Indian Banking

"I myself recd. for 10 years thousands of native hoondees or cheques every year. xx I never knew one dishonoured. I once asked the manager of the greatest European bank who I knew was making great remittances in native cheques to Bombay, if he were not occasionally afraid of such paper". "No more", he said "than I am afraid of the Bank of England notes." I may add that Asiatic bankers seem to have defeated forgery and that they have devised a system of insurance for river traffic called in India "beema" which works excellently well.

Failure of Asia

"No doubt they have halted everywhere in their march towards mastery of nature. Some strange fiat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the brown men and the yellow men to eternal reproduction of old ideas. x x x x They are in fact civilized peoples though their civilization has been arrested, perhaps by the adoption of a belief not unknown in Europe, that perfection has been attained and that the path of wisdom for all, whether thinker

or artist or artisan, is incessant repetition." x x x x

"The Asiatic is the slave of superstition" x x x "The grand-whip of hunger by which it has pleased Providence to impart energy to the human race, is borne in Asia contentedly and produces instead of murmurs a ceaseless industry, monotonous indeed, but of which no one ever complains."x x x

"They have accomplished little in science except astronomy being x x x x wanting in enlightened curiosity and they have neglected history with a carelessness, which in view of their reverence for the past, it is most difficult to explain. They do not as a rule travel, and are little interested in travellers' observations, which indeed they usually disbelieve." xxxxx

Does this fact explain Hindu-Muslim differences ?

"That want of the power of sympathy is the root of all evil in him, the ultimate cause of all the tyrannies, the massacres and the tortures which from the first have disgraced Asiatic life" x x x "He (the Asiatic) cares for his family, his caste, his clan and sometimes his profession, but of his neighbour he is little more regardful than one dog is of another."

(In Asia) "Man desire their neighbour's property as elsewhere but the haunting pain because others have and I have not, is not in Asia a moving force."

Why Turkey lives

Of all Asiatic conquerors of Europe, Turkey has had a prolonged life in Europe for the following 3 reasons :—

1. The unrivalled force displayed through ages by the descendants of Othman, the Tartar chief from Khorassan.

2 In Turkey, apart from creed, ability is the only qualification for the highest service ;

there is no obstacle of birth or cultivation or position standing in any man's path. Even slavery is no barrier. Equality with the faith which is a dogma of Islam has in Turkey been a reality as it has been in no other Empire on earth and has provided its sovereigns with an endless supply of the kind of ability they need. The Sultans have rarely promoted, rarely even used men of their own house—which is the Persian dynastic policy—have hated and at last destroyed the few nobles of their Empire.

3. The Turkish rulers are tormented with no hesitations in applying force as a cure for all things. The man who resists is to die or purchase life by submission.

A typical Asiatic

(Maharaja Dhuleep Singh son of Ranjit Singh)

Sikh Army

"With its master at its head, that army defeated the British and but for a magnificent bribe paid to its general (vide Cunningham's History of the Sikhs) would have driven the English from India and place the child Dhuleep Singh upon the throne of the Peninsula to be supported there by Sikh, Rajput, Mahratta and Beharee." x x x*

"The will of an asiatic, once fairly roused, closes on its purpose with a grip to which nothing in the mind of an European can compare. x x x x The man is like one possessed and cannot, if he would, change his own self-appointed course."

* Also "Asia and Europe" P. 309 "Tej Singh who sold victory as General Cunningham reports for £ 220,000/-"

The Arabs of the Desert

The Arabs of the desert are not progressive while those who go abroad are so in many spheres of life. What is the reason? It is not any defect of intellect or want of force of character. It is not energy that is wanting to him. 'Buckle' might say, it was his geographical position, but that did not prevent him from conquering half the Roman world. It is his creed? In what does his creed differ from that of the jew except in certain precepts which should send the Arab forth to conquer, not seclude him in the island of the desert? Is it his poverty? About all other men we say, and say truly, that poverty is a stimulus to advance, that clans of brave man able to fight will not remain poor. It is his individualism? That is but pushing the question a step backwards" x x x

"We suppose the secret must lie x x in some charm which the life he leads, with its exemption from wants, and from changes and from uncertainties has for him."

Asiatic Patriotism

"We do not believe that as a rule patriotism is as strong in Asia as in Europe. Its influence there has been superseded in part by other ideas; by the claims of religion x x by the feeling of race x x and by the passion of loyalty in the technical sense which constantly leads Asiatics to postpone everything, even independence to the interests of a dynasty" xx x The Asiatic's mind is full of bewildering cross-lights, of feelings about his creed and his history, and his hates and his personal interests which if they conflict with patriotism often prove the stronger. But to say that is to say he is morally weak or intellectually crochety not to say he is unpatriotic. x x x Patriotism with him is not an over-mastering idea. He has too many notions about destiny and about the sanctity of power as granted by God and about the necessity of obedience when exported by adequate force to be a Washington or anything like a Washington.

Fanaticism in the East

"The English middle-class of today is singularly free from fanaticism." x x x x

"When Californians attack Chinaman, or English labourers pommel Irishmen or Marseillais artisans wound Italians, Englishmen explain their conduct by race-hatred or trade-Jealousy or political feeling; but when Arabs in Alexandria kill Europeans, they attribute the outburst to fanaticism." x x x x x

"Every Eastern creed, Christianity included, with the solitary exception of Confucianism, puts the interest of the next world above the interest of this and calls upon its devotees to obey the Divine Law, even when such obedience is unsafe or contrary to the dictates of common sense." x x x "The virtues of those three creeds" (viz., Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity)" tend to self-abnegation and therefore except under most unusual circumstances x x x they excite no hostility. The virtues of Mohommedum are however of a different kind. There is in Mussalman countries religious enthusiasm, sometimes rising to fanaticism, that is breaking loose from the control of the judgement. x x x Their fanaticism such as it is, is not an overmastering impulse but only a passive belief and but little helpful when the hour of danger arrives." x x

what about Hindu enthusiasm for prevention of cow killing ?

"Massacre in the east does not proceed from fanaticism, but from the cause which recently induced French artisans to attack Italian artisans—a boiling dislike of strangers, who speak another tongue, act on other rules and are horribly in the way. Of course the hatred of the Asiatic for the European is much more bitter than anything we find in Europe, though the Rus-

?
What about "Blackie" ?

sian hatred for the Jew is akin to it; because the European in Asia unlike any other stranger in the world takes the top place, tries to drive the majority his way.

Race-Hatred in Asia

"If we are to take facts as evidence it might fairly be said that the less the white and the coloured races come into contact with each other, the less is the development of race-hatred, which only tends to become dangerous when they are interspersed and mutually comprehend one another's strength and weakness."

x x x "It is in reason rather than Association that protection against race-hatred should be sought and would x x impress upon all Europeans in Egypt as well as in India x x x a change not of habits but of manners.

?

Will England retain India ?

"The English think they will rule India for many centuries or for ever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the empire wh: came in a day will disappear in a night." x x

Manpower

"If the Prussian conscription were applied in India, we should, without counting reserves or Landwehr or any force not summoned in time of peace have two and a half millions of soldiers actually in barracks, with 800,000 recurits coming up every year—a force with which not only Asia but the world might be subdued."

Acc. to Gibbon the population of the Roman Empire was 120 millions.

x x x "To support the official world and its garrison x x x there is, except Indian opinion, absolutely nothing. x x x If the brown men struck for a week, the empire would collapse like a house of cards and every ruling man would be a starving pri-

There was a proposal before 1901 for having a negro army to garrison India.

soner in his own house." x x x There is no nation or tribe or caste in India which is certain in the hour of trial to stand by the white man's side which has so to speak elected him as ruler ; which were the garrison defeated or withdrawn could be trusted to die rather than the empire shd : fall. x x x x And the Empire hangs in air supported by nothing but the minute white garrison and the unproved assumption that the people of India desire it to continue to exist. x x x

Indian Dislikes and the origin of Discontent

The Sikhs once made an offer to Lord Canning

x x "The Pax Brittanica, the universal peace, beneath which India sleeps and the benefit of which from the European point of view, it is impossible to exaggerate. Not only does it prevent invasion but private war and armed violence of every kind." x x x The immense mass of the peasantry who benefit most directly by the British ways of ruling are, it must be remembered an inert mass. They are the stakes in the game not the players. It is for the right of taxing them that all Indian revolutions, wars x x x have occurred. x x x x It is the active classes who have to be considered and to them one rule is not and cannot be a rule without prodigious drawbacks. One of these of which they are fully conscious is the gradual decay of much of which they were proud x x x of Indian Art, of Indian culture, Indian military sprit. Architecture, engineering, literary skill are all perishing out, so perishing that Anglo-Indians doubt whether Indians have the capacity to be architects though they built Banares ; or Engineers though they dug the artificial lakes of Tanjore. x x x And the last and greatest one of the total loss of the interes-

tingness of life. It would be hard to explain to the average Englishman how interesting Indian life must have been before our adven. x x x The whole continent was open as a prize to the strong. x x x x A brigand for Sivajee was no better, became a mighty sovereign. A herdsman built a monarchy in Baroda. A body-servant founded the dynasty of Scindiah. A corporal cut his way to the independent crown of Mysore. The first Nizam was only an officer of the Emperor. Ranjit Singh's father was what Europeans would call a prefect. x x x x x Life was full of dramatic changes. x x x For all this which we have extinguished we offer nothing in return, nor can we offer anything. We can give place x x x but place is not power under our system." x x x

*Tennyson's Passing of Arthur— "For now I see the true old times are dead. When every morning brought a noble chance, And every chance, brought out a noble knight."

Yes, we do see around us several people who would have made their mark under these conditions but who either wither away in an unfavourable atmosphere or become criminals.

This interestingness of life was no doubt purchased at the price of much danger and suffering x x The land was full of violence. Private war was universal x x x I question, however, if these circumstances were even considered drawbacks. They were not so considered by the upper classes or Europe in the Middle ages x x I do not find that Texans hate the wild life of texas or that Spanish Americans think the personal security which the dominance of the English-speaking Americans would assure to them is any compensation for loss of independence. I firmly believe that to the immense majority of the active classes of India, the old time was a happy time ; that they dislike our rule as much for the leaden order it produces, as for its foreign character ; and that they would welcome a return of the old disorders if they brought back with them the old vividness and so to speak, romance of life."

"The great mutiny was not a mutiny but

a revolt in which the armed class as was natural, took the leading share. The proclamation of the effete dynasty at Delhi—a proclamation accepted by Hindus as well as Mussalmans—showed its true object which was to restore the India which had been before the arrival of Europeans. x x The history of the Mutiny carefully studied is to my mind irresistible evidence of Indian dislike for white rule."

How the End will come

"If we are to take the history of Asia for our guide, the British dominion in India should be overthrown by external violence exerted by some Asiatic people ; just as the Alexandrine Empire was overthrown.

Publishers T. Fisher Unwin

Psychology and Crime (Hugo Munsterberg)

Introduction

Psychological Laboratory first started in Leipzig by Wusdt. Second Lab : started at Freiburg by his student Munsterberg. Stanley Hall and Cattell brought it to America.

Applied Psychology has a bearing on the following fields of practical life viz., Education, Medicine, Art, Economics and Law.

The following psychologists have endeavoured to apply Psychology to Law—Binet Stern, Lipmann, Jung, Wertheiman, Gros, Sommer, Aschaffenburg.

Prevention of Crime

"No man is born a criminal." Example of a hardworking man who was sent to hospital for treatment following an accident. There 1/8 grain of morphine had to be injected to induce sleep. The habit thus developed until he had to use 30 grains of the poison daily. Munsterberg cured him by

suggestive treatment. "Organized Society injected it into his system—a small dose only but enough to make the craving for it irresistible, and when it had grown to ruinous proportions society was ready to despise and to condemn him." x x x "And when it has destroyed the whole man, then society goes heroically to work with police and Court and punishment."

(America) "It is claimed that this country spends annually 500 million Dollars more on fighting the existing crime than on all its works of charity, education and religion."

Italian (x Lombrosos' theory that criminals are born as such is now exploded)

"From the psychological point of view, it is utterly vague to speak of a criminal disposition as if such a term stood for a unified mental state."

(There may be cerebral localization for simple tone sensations or simple colour sensations but not for the whole perception of a thing—neither for complex states built up from emotions, volitions and ideas.

The counter idea may be of a social character (e.g., thought of punishment) or a religion or ethical ideal.

"The non-criminal, the correct life, is always the result of a complex interplay bet : ideas and counter ideas with the result that the thought of some unpleasant consequence inhibits the desire".x x "The temperament with strong impulses may remain still quite well-behaved if the checking ideas are unusually strong too and the faint checks may be harmless if the desires are still weaker." (If the impulses are too strong or the opposing ideas are too faint, crime may result.)

"It is not criminals that are born but men with poorly working minds" x x "There are minds which are born slow or stupid or brutal or excitable or lazy or quaint or rec-

kless or dull—and in every one of such minds a certain chance for crime is given." x x "The world is full of badly balanced and badly associating persons ; we cannot deny that nature provided them poorly in the struggle for social extistence."

In a school for criminal boys out of 200 boys, one hundred and twenty seven were deficient in their general make up either in the direction of feeble mindedness or hysteric emotion or epileptic disturbance.

85 Cases — Father or mother or both were drunkards
24 " — parents insane
26 " — " epileptics
26 " — suffering from other nervous diseases.

Comparison of female students and female criminals. In memory tests, average student remembered a series of 7 letters or a series of 8 numerals, average criminal remember 5 letters or 6 numerals.

Students discriminated 2 compass points as 2 on the right forearm at a distance of 16 mile—criminals not less than 24. If students pulled at a hook as fast as they could their energy decreased in ½ min. by 1.6 pounds and in case of criminals by 2.4 pounds. Criminals are recruited especially from the mentally inferior but society may find a place for the most stupid. "No one is predestined by his brain to the penitentiary". Where there is total inhibition—it is no longer crime but insanity. Crime is only the chance effect of pathological impulses of the diseased mind. "The irresistible impulse may be directed against one's own personality—leading to self-mutilation or suicide."

Explosions of the diseased brain do not constitute crime. "In real crime we have to presuppose that the checking of the impulse by the counter-idea would have been possible if the available energy had been brought into play. Crime is thus not a disease."

Munsterberg has discovered by experiments in his Lab: that the impressive demonstration of an action gives to the impulse of the imitating mind the maximum of force. Imitation reinforces the energy of the impulse beyond any point which his own will could have reached. (Stories of crime have therefore a bad effect on weak minds).

Influence of stimulants

Result of laboratory experiments

The reaction time test gives smaller figures under alcohol. At the same time wrong reactions appear which did not occur in his normal state. Alcohol brings an improvement of motor energy but half an hour later the muscular effectiveness is decreased. Under alcohol associations take a longer time to form and the associative processes become non mechanical. External association strongly increase with alcohol but internal ones become eliminated. Mechanical memorising is at first greatly facilitated—whereas calculation suffers from the first. There is the strongest improvement in reading—the greatest difficulty in intellectual connection.

Summary

Motor Reaction — become easier
Acts of paper — worse
Inhibitions reduced

Mechanical superficial connections — predominate

Intellectual processes — slow

Ideational interplay — suffers

Conclusion

Counter ideas awake too slowly—hasty action results from the 1st impulse before it can be checked, the inhibition of the forbidden deed becomes ineffective, the desire for rash vehement movements becomes overwhelming.

"Mere abstinence from stimulants, indeed, is no solution of the real problem." xx "The complete suppression of it leads to mental explosions which bring man again to disastrous impulses and crime." x x "A state of dullness and expectant attention is created in which the longing for contrast may intensify the desires to a point where the reaction is more vehement than under any stimulant."

Counter ideas

The fear of judicial punishment is not a sufficient counter-idea to check the criminal impulse. More important are the influences which reduce the emotional and motor powers of forbidden desires, awake regularly and strongly the social counter ideas strengthen their inhibiting influence and weaken thus the primary impulse. "There far-seeing hygiene can prevent more crime than any law." x x x "It is not the impulse itself but the inability to resist the impulse that is the real criminal feature."

To create a public life wh: is an example

and an inspiration to the humblest wh: fills with civic pride the lowest means to abolish the penitentiaries. The public welfare must give to everybody through work, through politics, through education, through art, through religion a kind of life interest and life content in wh : money is meaningless. It is from this realm that the counter-ideas must be re-inforced that automatically check the impulse to the immoral deed. Everything which strengthens family life and works against its dissolution, everything which gives the touch of sympathy to the forlorn helps towards the prevention of crime. To make them feel that they are recognised as equal means to win them over to decency." x x "There is really no condescension necessary for such acknowledgement. They arc the equal of the unpunished."

"The man who confesses puts himself again on an equal ground with the honest majority ; he belongs again to those who want health and justice ; he gives up his identity with the criminal and eliminates the crime like a foreign body from his life."

Confession

"Those who turn to the present and to the future cannot have a desire for true liberating confession. But it is different with those who have a vivid memory and whose mind is thus ever turing back to the past. x x A confession connects the present with the past and throws out the interfering intrusion of shame." "If the experiment of the phychologist demonstrate the possession of a vivid living memory, the chances are strong that a confession is to be trusted. "Short punishment for the professional criminal is useless and harmful in every respect."

living

Chap

Detection of crime

At all times innocent men have been accused by the tortured ones, crimes wh: were never committed have been confessed, infamous lies have been invented to satisfy the demands of the torturers."

"**Association experiments**" for discovering the paths of least resistance in the mind." (If the outer association prevail, I have a type of mind before me other than in the case of a preponderance of inner associations). Or the time of the connection of ideas may be measured.

Result of association experiments :

(a) Associations of dangerous world take a longer time*

(b) Dangerous word induce replies which directly implicate or implicate in the next few replies.

(c) If the whole series of experiments is repeated again, the indifferent words will bring the same replies. The dangerous words will bring different replies because. (i) an emotional disturbance has been roused by them bringing fresh association to consciousness (ii) there will be an attempt to hide the crime still further.

* There is an involuntary retardation owing to emotional influences. The retardation is not always confined to the dangerous association alone, but often comes in a still more pregnant way in the following or the next following association which on the surface looks entirely harmless

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Example of Detection

An educated young man of 18 lived in the house of an uncle. The old man went to consult a nerve specialist in regard to slight nervous trouble of the younger friend. On that occasion he confided his recent suspicion that the young man might be a thief. Money had repeatedly been taken from drawar and from a trunk, until lately he had suspicions only of the servants. He had notified the police and detectives

had watched them. He was most anxious to find out whether his new suspicion was true as he wanted in that case to keep the matter out of court in the interest of the family. The physician, Dr. Jung, in Zurich arranged that the young man come for an examination of his nerves. By means of association experiments, Dr. Jung discovered that the boy had really stollen. The boy ultimately confessed and was saved from jail by an early discovery.

A young lady was addicted to sweets and chocolates and often went without meals for the purpose. She became anaemic and nemasthenic and could not concentrate on her work for college examinations. She denied that she took sweets or missed her meals. This was however discovered by Munsterberg by means of association experiments and ultimately she made a confession.

Hysteria

Hysteria is a strangulated emotion and disappears when the forgotten emotional ideas are brought to conscious expression. One hysteric woman became mute after sunset, another could not take any food but liquids ; another was constantly tortured by the hallucination of the tobacco odour. The woman who cd : not take solid food had been obliged years before to suppress her disgust when eating at the same table with a man who suffered from an ugly disease. As soon as this starting point was consciously associated again she was ready to dine like others. The woman who could not speak at night had sat once at sunset years before at the beside of her sick father ; she had vehemently suppressed every sound in order not to disturb him. As soon as this first scene was brought back to her

mind, she regained her voice. The woman who smelled tobacco has long before heard by chance in a room of smoke that the man she loved was in love with another and she had had to suppress her emotion on account of the presence of other. As soon as she connected the smell again in consciousness with that strangulated emotion, the hallucination disappeared.

Untrue Confessions

Chap.

Untrue confessions may result from :—

(1) Possible promises or threats from other members of the community.

(2) The self-sacrificing desire to exculpate others.

(3) Persons suspected wrongly of a crime may in the face of an unfortunate combination of damaging circumstances prefer to make a false confession in the hope of a recommendation to mercy. Famous Boorn case in Vermont—the brothers confessed to having killed their brothers-in-law and described the deed in full detail and how they destroyed the body ; while long afterwards the murdered man returned alive to the village. The evidence against the suspected appeared so overwhelming that they saw only one hope to save their lives—by turning the verdict through their untrue confession from murder to manslaughter.

The melancholic patient in a mental hospital feels remorse for sins which he never committed for crimes of which he never thought before. Years ago his friend died ; now arises the illusion that he has poisoned him. The last fire in the town was laid by him ; he is guilty of the unpardonable sin.

(For the case of the Chicago murderer read pamphlet of Dr. Christison).

Case :—

On June. 12, 1906—a young unmarried woman was brutally outraged and murdered in Chicago. Her body was found by the unfortunate defendant lying face downwards on a manure pile in a barn yard. The barn was about half a block distant from his home. He had to go there to attend to his father's horse. When he observed the body he at once reported the matter to his father at the house and the father notified the police. The officers who inspected the premises found the woman's hat at her feet but could discover no evidence whatsoever of a scuffle having taken place. Purse, shopping-bag and muff were gone. Around her neck was a hard drawn copper wire, the ends being twisted together.

Youngman

Thoughtful obliging fellow often exhibited stupidity. Never sought the company of women. Was absent-minded and alternated bet : gay and morose moods. Was a carpenter. Suffered from lack of initiator.

At first denied but under pressure from the police began to confess. Everytime subsequent confession became richer in details. (His mind was in a state of dissociation when the confession commenced).

Six days before the execution he became his former self. He said that at the request a revolver was pointed at him "I saw the Kash of steel in front of me. Then two men got before me. I can remember no even than that about it." Then the consciousness was split off and he made the confession. When he regained his former self he did not remember having made any confession.

Similar cases

Munsterberg—a lady was in a nervous and over-fatigued state. The doctor bent over

This was discovered after hypnosis.

her and sharp sunlight reflected from his eyeglasses struck her eyes. She felt a shock and her consciousness was then split off.

Dr. Prince—

Discovered after hypnosis.

Case of religious conversion. Young lady suddenly changed to a state of joyful excitement and happy ecstasy from a distressed and restless state. (She had been to church in a hopeless state of mind. Her eyes suddenly fixed on one of the shining brass lamps in the church and all of a sudden there was a change.

The Criminal mind

Introduction

By Dr. Maurice de Fleury author of "Medicine and the mind" Downey and Co. Ltd. 12, York Street, Covent Garden. London.

"The modern scientific ideas concerning the criminal brain are displeasing to the great majority of magistrates and jurists and are most strenuously repudiated by those who have had no leisure to study them otherwise than superficially. These personages have been brought up in a firmly fixed belief in Free will and accustomed from their school-time to regard that faith as fundamental and indispensable to the proper working of civilized society. x x x Let it be observed also that these doctrines seem to tend towards the restriction of the role of the jurist and the magistrate, respectively and to diminish the importance of their office and rank, by regarding them no longer as judges discerning the intentions of man and appointed to punish those who have voluntarily chosen the path of evil, but simply as defenders of public order and the civic peace."

"Their repugnance is quite natural and deserving of respect and it is supported and fortified by popular feeling and the opinion of the greater number." x x x

"We instinctively refuse to regard that bestial sanguinary, hideous being here disarmed and in our power, who is so repugnant to us, as one sick and irresponsible. His aspect is not that of disease; he does not inspire pity." x x x

"It must be said in excuse for the conservative magistrates that to begin with that they came into rude collision with the exclusive, silly and false notion of the born criminal set forth by Lombrose, which was revolting to common sense. The first article of faith which they were asked to admit is blind belief in the anatomical type of the criminal, in a structure of man which implies fatality, the necessity of stealing or killing at some time or other. This was too much for the neophytes, they refused to go any farther. In vain did the disciples of Turinege School, Enrico Ferri, Garogalo, Sergi, Morselli, Ottolenghi and Virgilio multiply their most convincing works; in vain did some French savants especially those of the Lionese School replace the question upon its true ground and assign its share in the genesis of evil to the social element; in vain did philosophers such as Alfred Fonille and physiologists such as Mr. Binet give due importance to the new ideas; in vein did M. Gabriel Trade contribute the inexhaustible resources of a profound lucid and ingenious mind and the charm of an eloquent style to this discussion." x x x

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The Brain of Man

The researches of Golgi and especially those of Ramon of Cajal have plainly shown that the neuron constitutes a distinct individuality. The relations of a cell and its prolongations with surrounding cells are only those of contiguity. The nerve wave is

transmitted by contact only. The cerebral cell has the power of erecting its tentacles in moments of high vitality until they come in contact with the tentacles of a neighbour or, on the contrary, of slightly contacting them and closing itself up a little. These movements of the cellular prolongations have not been directly observed—they are therefore based on an hypothesis (Branly's hypothesis). If there is no real retraction of the collateral fibres, there is at least faulty conduction of them.

The cardinal point in cerebral physiology is the property possessed by the pyramidal cell of the grey surface of keeping images in the state of sleep and of making them wake up under the influence of an external stimulant, of a more rapid circulation or of a propagation of nerve wave from one group of cells to a neighbouring group.

Our memory varying with the instability of our nutrition is what our vitality of the moment makes it.

Physiological explanation of animality and mind

Violent impulse is a nerve wave which flows lengthwise; over-ruling reason is the same force which expands on the surface. The animal is blind reflex with oblivion of all; the mind in the free play of the collaterals and the fibres of association. *It is the total of our past sensation recognising a new sensation.

* It is comparsion, judgment, experience, in one word memory.

Memory

Memory is a very general property of organized matter and man is far from being the sole privileged possessor of it. For instance, the Amphiosus lanceolatus which does not possess a brain has nevertheless a memory and possesses a psychical life.

Again, certain steel plates having once taken the impress of a finger can reproduce it after its disappearance under the stimulation of strong light.

Personality

Our personality is nothing else than the immense total of our past sensations, kept in constant wakefulness by new sensations, plus a certain degree of nervous toxicity, of vital activity which makes us either strong or weak of mind. x x x A sound brain perceives not the unity of its person but the harmony of the parts which constitute it. x x x x To my notion none but madmen can have a royal brain, because their entire personality is concentrated upon a fixed ruling unique idea. x x

"M. Azam related the history of Felida and the redoubling of her personality. x x x x Mi Pierre Janet has given us modifications of personality by the fixed idea and by narrowing of the field of consciousness."xx

"Our brain has a zone of unconcern; beneath this lies the domain of fatigue, above is the territory of cerebral excitement. According as we come to a stop at one or other of these, we become entirely the opposite of what we were just before." x x

"We who are called good people, what is it in almost all cases that restrains us on the brink of an evil deed? What is it, I pray you if not the force of our education, the fear of social consequences human respect, dread of the world's opinion? Shall we not then ask ourselves why are not murder, theft and prostitution more frequent still among the wretched creatures who live without moral succour and, so to speak, steeped in the worst example."

Prophylaxis of Evil

1. Struggle against heredity
2. Development of Instruction
3. A moralizing education
4. Cerebral therapeutics and hygiene
5. Organization of a colonial army of Mauvais sujets."

Repression of Crime

I. Specialization of the criminal magistrates and reorganization of the Com. d' Assizes.
II. More frequent and more instructive psychological investigation of inculpated persons by medico-legal experts.
III. Creation of hospital prisons for insane criminals or great neuropaths.
IV. A wide application of the Berenger law and the system of modern prisons—the Fresneslef Rungis type—to criminals by accident ; increased severity of treatment for relapsed convicts and criminals by temperament.
V. Alteration of the means and multiplication of the number of capital executions.

Struggle against heredity

Criminals are sufferers from a disease of the cerebral cell and its prolongation, so that association no longer exists, memory does not intervene, reflex only subsists. The minute autopsy of the skull reveals that the child was born with thick meninges which irritate the cerebral surface or even with slighter lesions which hinder or cut off the communication bet : one group of cells and the other. Experiments of M.C. Firi, the physician of Bicetu show that intoxication causes these microscopic lesions and of larger lesions, facial and cranial malformations wh: are called the stigmata of degeneration.

Causes of hereditary degeneration :— Syphilis, alcoholism, absinthism, tuberculosis : attack of eruptive fever, pneumonia during pregnancy of the mother.

Stimulants

"Let your acoustic nerves have music, your eyes beautiful sights. Your skin friction with the hair glove, your lungs oxygen, ozone fresh air ; give serum to the current of your blood, a dietary to your stomach, to increase your strength and diminish your habitual melancholy in proportion. Thus may Renan's dream of a slight sort of aesthetic and moral drunkenness be realized." x x

Crime

We know beyond dispute that in countries like Italy, France and Belgium the progressive curve of crime and that of madness regularly follow the ascending curve of the consumption of alcohol. In Norway where defence against alcoholism has been strongly and rigorously organized criminality has immediately declined." x x

Plato said, "when the grandfather and the greatgrandfather of a child shall have been condemned to the penalty of death, the state ought to banish the child, for fear that he himself may become criminal."

Instruction

Victor Hugo—"To open a school is to close a prison." M. Alfred Fonillee—"the more schools there are, the fewer prisons there will be ; the greater the progress of science, the more it recognises that the criminal is frequently a mad, frequently an ignorant person."

With the spread of instruction, violence diminishes, knavery grows.

Lacassagne, Berillon, Guillot, Bowmet,

Fancher and Lombross agree in admitting that instruction cannot but make men more knavish, more skilful in ill-doing."

Motto :—

"And on the British and American people lies the responsibility for its (i.e., Western Civilization) future in a greater degree than on any others."

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Natural Welfare and National Decay

(by Wm. Mc. Dougall, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University) 1921.

Introduction

Gaeton first stirred the conscience of Europe and America on the presentation of human qualities. This book presents a case for Eugenics from the psychological standpoint and on a broader historical background.

The upper social strata as compared with the lower, contain a large proportion of persons of superior natural endowments. This proposition maintained by eugenists and supported by the writer has always been attacked by critics of Eugenics. With the aid of experimental psychology, two pupils of the writer Burt and English have confirmed this proposition.

(Refce :—"Psychology in the service of Eugenics—Eugenics Review Jan. 1914—written by the present writer).

Chap. I

The great war has solved the problem "whether in a clash of arms against some more primitive people we might not be overborne or swept away for sheer lack of nerve, of animal courage". x x x "We now know that civilization and culture even in their worst forms do not necessarily sap the moral energies of man; rather we know that trained intelligence and disciplined will can withstand the extreme horrors of war far better than the cruder more animal courage of the primitive hunter and warrior."

Who fought for the British Mr. writer ?

"Revolutions or Cycles of Civilization" or the "Parabola of peoples"—like the trajectory of a stone a long ascending curve, a flat summit and a steep decline."

Causes of the Rise of a new people.

I. **Economic** :—Changes of climate, discoveries of new sources of wealth or energy, opening up of new regions of the earth, shifting of trade routes.

II. **Biological**. This school (Prof. Flinders Petric) holds that a blending of two stocks impart vigour and variability to the new race which brings about an advancement. This effect lasts for about 1800 years.

III. **Anthropological** :—This view underrates the influence of external factors and emphasises the human factor.

Facts

(a) How cd : the economic expln. account for the growth of civilization in desert areas like the Nile and Mesopotamian region.

(b) Why were favourable areas like South Africa lying undeveloped till other people from outside conquered them

(c) How will you account for the conquest of Rome by the Barbarians ?

Causes of Decline

I. Biological (Flinders Petric). After 1800 years the effect of the blending is lost and decline sets in. (Criticism :—Recent experiments show that inbreedign is compatible with continued and even increased vigour of the stock).

II. Anthropological :—Nations grow old like individuals.

McDougall accepts the anthropological theory—"that the great condition of the decline of any civilization is the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it."

Kinds of Inadequacy.

1. The qualities may not deteriorate but the environment may become more complex and our qualities may become relatively inadequate to cope with it. Opportunities for indulging in luxury and amusement are increased.

2. Personal relations become more complex e.g., bet : labour and the employers) and higher intellectual powers are necessary for coping with the situation.

3. Greater intercourse with the world brings us into touch with new religions, codes of morality, custom, traditions etc., wh: tend to undermine the existing social fabric.

Present problems

I. Are the qualities of the rising generations such as to enable them, by dint of extended and improved education to rise to the level required by the increasing complexity of our environment ?

II. Does not progressive civilization tend in the long run to impare the qualities of the people bearing it ?

(To Problem no II, both History and Anthropology answer "Yes").

"The Aryan Race" is a myth—"a phantasy erected by racial prejudice on a basis on the study of Languages. Community of language was accepted in the face of all probability as evidence of community of race."

(Middle of the 19th century)

Mill and the Association Psychology school were in keeping with the prevailing humanitarian sentiment against the assumption of racial differences of mind and character. They believed that education could level up all men.

Introduction

Man is the main problem. The rest can be made by him.

The truth is that forms of organization matter little; the all important thing is the quality of the matter to be organized, the quality of the human beings that are the stuff of our notions and societies. "Civilizations decay because they die off at the top." x x So long as a nation produces in each generation a fair no. of persons of first rate calibre; it can carry enormous tart, without fatal decline."

Chap. II.

J.S. Mill— did not believe in any innate capacity belonging to any particular race.

Historian of the Civilization of Europe.

J.H. Buckle— man is moulded by his physical environment.

Author of "Inequality of the Races of Man." 1854.

Count Gobinean— Race-dogmastist— asserted the supremacy of the Teutonic Race.

Richard Wagner— disciple of this school.

Nietzsche— believed in a "great blond beast" of a superman.

Kaiser's favourite Anthropologist.

H.S. Chamberlain— supported Gobinean's theory in his book "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century".

The above theory of racial supremacy militated against the jewish theory of their supremacy and raised an opposition.

Author of "Modern Race Theories" "The Race Problem" 1909

Friedrich Hertz
Ignaz Zollshan

both Jews exposed. the fallacies of the German race-dogmatists.

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1. Dr. C. Woodruff (American)
2. Madison Grant —Do— believed in the supremacy of the Nordic Race—
3. De Lapouge (French) not of the Teutons or the Germans.

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1. "The Expansion of Races"
2. The Passing of the Great Race
3. Les selections Sociales

N.B. The Nordic element is not represented as strongly in Germany as it is in other countries.

Critics of Race-dogmatists

M.J. Finot—"The Prejudices of Race".
J.M. Robertson—Vindicator of Buckle.
J. Oakesmith—"Race and Nationality."
(National character is not the mere sum or average of individual qualities of characters—see "Group Mind" by the same author)

Physical stature and physical growth and intellectual stature and intellectual growth depend largely on innate constitutions and heredity. **Result of mental tests of white and coloured recruits to the U.S.A. army in all area where educational facilities were comparatively poor** (by N.D. Hirsch).

Arranged in the order of decreasing intelligence.

Table I

	White literates	White illiterates	Coloured literates	Coloured illiterates
A	2.6	.2	1.0	.5
B	6	1.4	1.4	.3
C+	12	3.3	3.1	.5
C	26	14	9	3.2
C—	23	19	19	8
D	29	37	39	33
D—	0	22	26	46
E	0	2	0	7

There is a great similarity between white illiterates and coloured literates.

Acc. to Mcdougall, the superiority of the white literates to the white illiterates is due not wholly or mainly to their schooling but rather to an inborn greater capacity for intellectual growth. Education, moreover, cannot explain the difference in intellectual growth between literates as a class and between illiterates as a class (If you reject the theory of difference in innate capacity, how can you explain the difference bet: white literates and coloured literates or bet: white illiterates and coloured illiterates).

Mental Age (the position of a very intelligent adult is expressed by the fig. 20).

Table II

	Mental Age	Difference
White literates	14.5	2.3
White illiterates	12.2	
Coloured literates	12.1	1.5
Coloured illiterates	10.8	

Conclusion :—The higher the level of innate capacity the more it is improved by education.

Of those who scored A or B in the lists at entry eight-ninths passed through the officers' training school successfully; of those who scored C—or D, seven-eighths failed; of those who scored C, 50% failed. Men who scored below C generally proved inadequate to the duties of a non-commissioned officer.

"In the main, the solidiers' inborn intelligence and not the accidents of environment determines his mental rating." (Army Mental Tests).

Chap III.

General intelligence or "intellective energy" or G factor though affected by environment and determined by heredity is an inborn or innate quality.

Table III

	Whites	Coloured	Officers
A	2.0	8	55.0
B	4.8	1.0	29.0
C—	9.7	1.9	12.0
C	20	6	4
C—	22	15	0
D	30	37	0
D—	8	30	0
E	2	7	0

(Here the literates and illiterates are reckoned together).

Conclusion :—The difference bet: the whites and coloureds is inborn. Staler wrote :—

"It is a common opinion held by the blacks as well as the whites that an infusion of white blood increases the intelligence of the Negro, while at the same time lowering his moral qualities."

Ferguson holds that the Indians of mixed blood are superior in intellectual capacity to the full-blooded Indians by one full year of mental age."

Pressey and Teter report :—"The coloured children of a given age average at about the average for white children **two** years younger." (after examining 187 coloured and 2800 white children of the same age and drawn from schools in the same area).

Are differences in intellectual capacity hereditary ?

*"Hereditary Genius.

*Biometrika (Vol III)

"Mental defects are. Galton *says that exceptionally high intelligence is hereditary. Karl Pearson *—Mental qualities are transmissible in exactly the same degree as physical qualities. H.B. English—("Mental Capacity of school children correlated with social status")—"The children of the professional class exhibit bet : 12 and 14 years of age a very marked superiority in intelligence" (over sons of skilled artisans etc.)

Does the social stratification of society correspond to a stratification of intellectual capacity.

According to Mcdougall—Yes.

Experiments of **Miss. A.H. Arlitt** of Bryn Mawr College with 191 children of American-born white parents 80 boys of Italian immigrants and 71 coloured children gave the following results. The American children belonged to different social status :—

Table IV

American of Social Status	
(1) Professional	(1)....I.Q.—125
(2) Semi-professional and higher business	(2)....I.Q.—118
	(3)....I.Q.—107
	(4)....I.Q.— 92
(3) Skilled Labour	Italian....I.Q.— 84
	Coloured....I.Q.— 83
(4) Semi-skilled labour & unskilled labour—All Americans grouped together	....I.Q.—106

I.Q. Intelligence Quotient i.e. intellectual capacity as revealed by mental testing.

Prof. Terman experimented with Italian, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants and got the following figures of the I.Q.

Spanish	I.Q. — 78
Portuguese	I.Q. — 84
Italian	I.Q. — 84
North European	I.Q. — 105
American	I.Q. — 106

***Pressey and Ralston.** Experiments with 548 children of schools in one city gave the following results :—

85% Professional group, 68% children of executive group, 41% of children of artisan group and 39% of children of labour group got a mark higher than the median (or average) mark for the whole lot of 548 children.

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*"The relation of general intelligence of school children to occupation of the father."

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*Prof. Terman's Results :—60% of American school children have I.Q. ranging from 90 to 110. Superior intelligence in I.Q. between 110 and 120 is five times as common among children of superior social status as among children of inferior social status. This group (i.e. superior) is made up largely of children of the fairly successful mercantile or professional classes. Not more than 3 out of 100

* "The measurement of Intelligence"

(very superior intelligence) goes high as 125 and only out of 100 as high as 130. In the schools of a city of average population only 1 child in 250 or 300 tests goes as high as 140 I.Q.

Out of 470 unselected children, not even one reached 120 whose social class was described as below average. Of the children of superior social status about 10% reach 120 or more. In the smaller cities of California among native born Americans the 120-140 group is made up entirely of professional or very successful business class parents.

K.T. Wangh's experiments in India, China and American Colleges :—

	SCORES			
(1) Concentration of attention (2) Speed of Learning	**Test**	**American**	**Chinese**	**Indian**
	1	75	75	62
	2	66	62	45
(3) Association Time (4) Immediate Memory		SCORES		
	Test	**American**	**Chinese**	**Indian**
	3	46	58	58
(5) deferred Memory	4	58	—	54
	5	80	—	88
(6) Range of Information	6	23	15	24

Indian students fell short in concentration of attention.

Mcdougall concludes that Indians are defective in will-power.

Chap. IV

Three Races in Europe : (1) Nordic—fair, tall in the North, (2) Mediterranean—short, dark, long-headed in the South, (3) Alpine —darkish round-headed in the middle.

Differences in Art due to differences in racial composition (after Gehring—Racial Contrasts 1908).

In all arts **classic** quality predominates in the south—romantic in the north.

Classic quality—

clearness, formality, directness of appeal to the senses, symmetry, observances of the unities of time and place, "psychical distance."

Curiosity or wonder is the essence of the romantic.

Romantic Quality—

Complexity of relations, plot, design emotions, indirectness of appeal and suggestiveness, suggestion of mystery, all prompting not so much to pure aesthetic enjoyment as to moral and mystical reflection on man and nature.

Examples

Classic temple Vs. Gothic cathedral

Italian painting Vs. Rubens, Dweer, Turner, Rembrandt.

Italian music Vs. Wagner and Beethoven

Classical Theatre Vs. Shakespeare.

Explanation of Difference between Northern and Southern Art

(1) Bouting—due to climate. North foggy and misty while south clear and sunny.

(2) Gehring

—due to divergence of mental structure—because northern (e.g., Emerson Whitman) people —even when they go to a sunny climate retain their nature.

Mcdougall believes after William James that human nature comprises a number of distinct instincts. Mcdougall further believes that races differ in the relative strength of these instincts.

The hypothesis that the instinct of curiosity is stronger in the Nordic than in the Mediterranean race seems explain facts.

Facts :—

(1) Romantic quality in Northern Art.

(2) The progress of science has been marked in the North. Greece produced philosophy and science, but the Greece then probably had Nordic blood—more over stagnation soon set in.
(3) Romans, great as they were, produced no science or philosophy.
(4) As Olto Seack points out, even in the art of war, they hardly made any progress.
(5) Roman sailors hardly penetrated to foreign countries while the poorer and less civilized northern Vikings did.

B. Another hypothesis—
Mediterranean races more sociable than the Nordic.
Mediterranean civilization was mainly an urban civilization. The herd instinct is relatively weak in the Nordic, strong in the Mediterranean. Nordic people are taciturn. The isolated home is their invention.

* "An Englishman's home is his castle."

The Art of the Mediterraneans is essentially a public art, (e.g. theatre, oratory, sculpture, architecture, poetry for public recitation) markedly objective and conventional. There worship is a public, formal ritual. The art of the north is subjective, anti-conventional and fit to be enjoyed in solitude e.g., reflective and nature poetry, novel, romance.
Third hypothesis—

C. The Mediterranean race is constitutionally extrovert,** the Nordic race introvert.**
Extrovert people are vivacious, sociable, active, free in expression, frank and sympathetic and not given to introspection. When they break down under strain they develop hysteria.
Introvert people are reserved in expression,

** So called after Dr. Jung of Zurich.

given to reflection and brooding. Where he breaks down under strain he is absorbed in internal conflicts— neurasthems

Alpine Race Slavs and Celtic people

(1) Physical—unlike the Mediterraneans they have a round head.
(2) Mental—Introvert rather than extrovert—more like the Nordic. Highly social like the Mediterraneans. Relatively weak in curiosity like the Med :

Table V

Annual suicides per million population

1. Denmark	—268	6. S. Australia	— 90
2. Scandinavia	—127	7. Wales	—52
3. N. Germany	—150	8. Ireland	—10
		9. Spain	—17
4. S. Germany	—165	10. Russia	—30
		11. N. Italy	—46
5. England	— 72	12. S. Italy	—26

Mcdougall's Theory :—
Suicide is more frequent among the Nordic people than among the Mediterranean.
Nordic people are more addicted to alcohol than the Mediterranean. Sir Archdall Reid in "Present Evolution of Man" says, it is due to the fact that the Mediterranean people owing to longer usage of alcohol have become less susceptible. Mcdougall thinks that being introspective, the Nordic people need stimulation in order to make them extrovert for the time.
Suicide prevails in an inverse relation to homicide. In South Italy, Corsica and Sardinia homicide is most frequent and it is here that the Mediterranean race predominates. Introvert people are more prone to suicide and extrovert people to homicide.

What about the Bengalis ? The Burmese seem to be more extrovert and cases of homicide are more common among them.

(But is suicide a constitutional disease or is it due to social and economic reasons ?

Mcdougall says, constitutional — because (1) men commit suicide 3 or 4 times more than women all over the world (2) It is 14 times more frequent among the whites of New York state than among the coloureds).

Ripley has shown in "Races of Europe" by maps that fair complexion and status (i.e., Nordic elements) predominate in N.E. France. Historical evidence supports this view. It is in this region that suicide is comparatively frequent. **Morselli, the Italian alienist** maintains that the Nordic race is more apt at suicide than other European races and that there is a high correlation between suicide and the use of the German language. Ripley suggests that the phenomenon of suicide is due to the fact that the Nordics occupy the regions of greatest industrial activity and prosperity, where large towns are numerous. Mcdougall's theory is that the Nordics are more prone to suicide not as an accident or owing to industrial conditions—but mainly because they are constitutionally extrovert. The element of curiosity in them may also have something to do in the matter.

What about the Slavs ?

For suicide maps of the countries of Europe consult Morselli—from whom Mcdougall takes the maps.

In England suicide is less frequent in Wales, Cornwell and an area lying to the north of London. In all the 3 areas, Nordic blood is represented less. Devonshair and Cornwell (adjoining countries) are alike in all other conditions except frequency of suicide —Devon having a higher rate. In Devon, Nordic blood is more marked than in Cornwell. Suicide reaches its highest rate in Sussex the most typically Saxon country in England.

Maps of the frequency of Divorce in Europe show that where the Nordic element predominates, divorce is more frequent. The

sociable and extrovert race where injured by the faithlessness of his or her partner, does not resort to suicide or divorce but to homicide.

Religion

Catholicism is a religion of authority, convention and ritual.

Protestantism is more individualistic and independent in outlook. Only protestants have traversed wide oceans in search of lands where they can worship God after their own fashion. Protestant nations are Northern France, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia, Finland, England, Scotland, Northern Germany.

What about Southern Germany ? Mcdougall gives the following exceptions :— Wales, Cornwall, parts of Belgium and Switzerland which shd: be Catholic but are Protestant.

The Nordic race have broken away from the religions of authority, of convention, of formal ritual of outward action and emotional display.

France and Britain

Natural conditions are favourable to both but during the course of history the following differences have appeared :

1. In conquest and colonisation France has been surpassed.
2. The English language has spread more than the French.
3. France's tenure of her colonies seems to be comparatively precarious and uncertain.

Of British rule in Palestine and Iraq with French rule in Syria.

4. French Government is more centralised ; there is more local autonomy in England.
5. Family laws and customs in France are more rigid.
6. Educational system is more thorough in France.
7. The law in France is codified—the common law of England being chaotic and made of judge-made precedents.
8. Organised activities are more centralized in France—in England there is more of

individual enterprises.

Explanation

Buckle (1) France was more thoroughly Romanized.

(2) Different operation of the feudal system in the 2 countries.

(3) The predominance of the spirit of protection in France and of independence in Britain.

How can one account for the practical, common sense of the Britisher, his realism and his unfailing diplomacy. The Nordic theory cannot explain—because the Germans have failed in diplomacy as also the French. See the way in which Iraq, Mosul and Palestine are managed by the British. The economic sense also is developed more in the British. Is all this due to their insularity. The Japanese are insular but are they so diplomatic ?

Mcdougall—the predominance of Nordic blood—in the British.

(Why have not all the Nordic races been equally advanced ? If the Nordic blood gives a Briton his restless wandering habit why does it not give the same to other Nordic races ?)

Volney, a French traveller in Canada remarks that the sociability of the frenchman in Canada handicaps him as a pioneer and colonist as compared with the Briton. On the Canadian frontier a French colonist is hardly established beyond sight of his neighbour's house. The English colonist slow and taciturn, not caring so much for company and content with his family is more of a pioneer.

Mcdougall thinks that the Nordic race possessed and possesses in the highest degree the quality of self-assertion exhibiting itself as initiative, enterprise, impatience of control. "The docility of the German people under an autocracy or bureaucracy is due to alpine blood which is somewhat less represented in the French people.

This is adopted by Mcdougall in his "Group Mind."

(Anthropologists of the school of **La Play** give an interesting account of the origin of the differences bet: the Nordic and the Alpine race.)

"It is this* which in spite of his lack of

"Group Mind." viz., Self-assertiveness

subtlety and sympathy and intellectuality has enabled him to subdue and govern the 300 mile of India."

Differences in moral qualities.

Red Indians and Negroes—Mcdougall's hypothesis

"The Negro race is pronouncely extrovert ; the red man are extreme introverts.

The black race is more strongly gregarious and sociable.

The red race is strongly self-assertive while in the Negro the submissive instinct is strong.

The Red Indians have never allowed themselves to be impressed into the social system of the dominant whites.

Viovenel and Hust in "La Courage"

Negroes have the whole range of primitive sympathies exceedingly developed. This distinguishes them from the reds and the Malays. "Shaler" says that the Negroes unlike the Reds are capable of sustained labour. Mcdougall takes exception to this in the case of Oceanic Negroes.

Moral difference between civilized and uncivilized people ? The Burmans are not thrifty at all. Indians, as Mcdougall points out, are not thrifty in their marriage and other ceremonies—but they hoard cash and ornament, Mcdougall ignores the latter point about Indians for convenience sake.

Mcdougall holds that the primitive peoples are wanting in providence while the civilized people are thrifty. The acquisitive instinct is strong in the Alpine, the Nordic race and the Chinese ; the Jews, Arabs and the Phoenicians ; less strong in the Mediterranean race ; stronger in the lowland Scots than in the Irish. This instinct acc. to Mc: is the basis of civilization and accounts for the difference in social stratification. Improvidence is marked in the Malay and the Negro.

All the peculiarities hitherto assigned to races have certain instinctive tendencies with 2 exceptions :—(1) intellectual stature and extroversion—introversion. Mcdougall thinks that beside these instincts

there are other innate inherited qualities wh: form the basis of character. Certain talents are found to be hereditary—others are found to be peculiar to certain races. The innate basis of these talents is not known e.g., whether it is a hereditary unit-quality or a complex.

Acc. to Jung, the innate basis of the mind comprises much that is a specific and differentiated. In the case of a nation, the "archetypes" are explained in their mythology and folk-lore, as well as in their dreams.

(The musical talent is more prominent in the Welsh than in the English)

Improvidence does not necessarily imply a low degree of intelligence.

Dr. C.G. Jung's theory of the "collective unconscious" carries the doctrine of racial peculiarities of the mental constitution much farther. The Coll : uncons : reveals itself chiefly in certain archetypes. The C.U. manifests itself in dreams and in states of mental disorder and colours all our thinking. The older and most fundamental of these "archetypes" are common to the human race ; nevertheless different civilization have specialized their C.U. and differentiated the archetypes into forms peculiar to itself. Jung claims to be able to discover the racial origins of his patients by studying their dreams even when the physical marks are not apparent. (Jung's view is that French cd : develop such a theory as his—bec : he is a Jew, his patients are mostly Jews and his followers are mostly Jews). Jung's theory is not consistent with the neo-Darwinian principle that acquired characters are not transmitted. But this principle is by no means accepted by the scientific world. (In Chap IV Mcdougall has shown what qualities are peculiar to the three great races of Europe. In Chap V he has applied

Mcdougall thinks that Jung's theory has not yet been finally proved—neither has it been disproved.

What are these archetypes ? How is one to abstract them from a mass of facts, either of Dream life or of mythology.

this hypothesis to the explanation of the differences bet: the different European Nations.)

Mcdougall's theory

The innate potentialities—intellectual and moral—are richer than degrees of intelligence or degrees of the strength of instincts. The development of high degree of intellectuality or moral character presupposes or hitherto undefined innate and hereditary peculiarity. "This undefined basis of moral character is perhaps of all innate qualities the most valuable possession of any human stock."

Facts wh: lead to this theory

1. The Darwinian principle of selection is not adequate to explain the development of the human mind.
2. Freud's followers find evidence of certain constantly recurring symbols in dreams and fantasies wh: necessitate the assumption of innate factors in the mind. * "I am of opinion that these primal fantasies x x x are a phylogenetic possession. In them the individual reaches out beyond his own life, into the experiences of antiquity. It seems very possible to me that everything wh: is obtained during an analysis in the guise of fantasy was once realities in the primeval existence of mankind and that the imaginative child is merely filling in the gaps of individual truth with pre-historic truth". (Freud—Gen. Introduction to Psychoanalysis)
3. The perennial interest of children in things of wh: they have had no experience but which must have figured much in the imagination of their remote ancestors (European children are interested in goblins, fairies, ghosts, wolves, bears, caves etc).
4. The existence and development of moral sentiments in children e.g., Alienists hold

that some children are by nature insusceptible of moral training. Other children have a keen moral sense from the very beginning.
5. Some nations are more truthful than other's or remarkably chaste though not deficient in the sex impulse.
6: The blending of widely dissimilar races leads to intellectual and moral degeneration. Shaler in "The Neighbour" says that an infusion of white blood improves the intelligence of his Negro but lowers his morality.

Intelligence and Morality

Prof. Terman in "Intelligence of School children" holds that there is a positive correlation bet: intelligence and morality.

There is no evidence that the European races differ in degree of intellectual capacity—but in the highest achievements in wh: intellect and character cooperate there are evidences of qualitative differences.

What about Bergson ?

French and Italian—clearness and perfection of expression, logical order, formalism, rationalism,

Why are not the English more reflective ?

English—Empiricism—appeal not to principles but to new facts.

German—reflective persistency of the introvert, love of system and organisation—lacks the clearness of the Mediterranean and the independence and curiosty of the English

Are acquired characters transmitted ? Is the innate basis of mind plastic and easily transformed ?

Darwin and Spencer — Yes.
Weismann — No.

He is bound to hold this position in order to prove the superiority of the Nordic race.

Mcdougall says that innate qualities are in the main very persistent ; modification, if any, must be very slow. The persistence of physical qualities is most impressive.

Ripley says—"the persistence of ethnic peculiarities through many generations is beyond question." Nevertheless change of habitat does produce change in racial qualities.

Life in the hills or in a complex civilized community leads to a raising of the cephalic index i.e., broadening of the skull.

Examples (1) Negroes have lived in Africa, Malayasia, West Indies, N. and S. America but their physical and mental qualities have hardly changed.

1. Same people, different conditions.
(2) Same conditions different peoples

(2) In Malayasia and the Pacific, Malays, Polynesians and Negroes have lived under the same conditions but have retained their differences—physical and mental (after A.R. Wallace).

(3) The physical appearance of the Egyptian of today tallies with the portraits of Egyptian thousand years ago.

(4) The description of the moral qualities of the early inhabitants of Europe agrees with present-day facts.

The above examples prove the persistence of certain qualities.

Chap VI

"Each people that has attained a high civilization has done so on the basis of the intellectual and moral qualities of the races wh : have entered into its composition. The combination of qualities peculiar to each race was formed and fixed during long ages of the prehistoric period compared with wh: the historic period of some 2500 years is very brief. These native qualities are the capital, as it were, with wh : a people sets out on the path of civilization. They are subject to only slow changes. x x x Each progressive people thus tends to reach the limit of complexity of civilization wh: is prescribed for it by its innate qualities ; when that limit is reached, it ceases to progress and is very liable to actual retrogression or decay."

Influences wh: change racial qualities :—

1. Reversion (a doubtful factor). Reversion to the lower ancestral type may be the result of cross-breeding. This is happening in northern Europe where people are losing their fair complexion which acc. to Mcdougall is a recent specialization. Physical regression is possibly being accompanied by mental regression.
2. Transmission of acquired qualities.
3. Selection. Civilization has more and more eliminated natural selection. Monogamy and the feminist movement have acc. to Mcdougall done away with sexual selection. Military selection and selection by towns are operative. The former either involves the death of or the comparative sterility of the boldest. The latter draws the best away from the villages and destroys their natural fertility.

The operation of the social ladder tends to produce a social stratification ; it tends to a differentiation of society into super imposed strata of unequal value. The social ladder tends to concentrate the valuable qualities of the whole nation in the upper strata and to leave the lowest strata depleted in the finer qualities. The upper strata become relatively infertile owing to late marriage, celibacy and restriction of family after marriage—"Instinct cares for the race ; intelligence save in its most enlightened forms, for the individual. Now the superior half of the population ceases to produce children in sufficient number to replace their parents while the lower half continues to multiply itself freely. The gaps in the upper strata are filled up by the best men being drained from the villages and by the operation of the social order. But these

new elements too become sterilized and there comes a time when the lower strata, denuded of their best, can no longer supply recruits to fill the gaps in the upper strata and serves as leaders in the several arts and sciences. That is the climax, the culminating point of the parabola of that people. Great Britain more than any other nation has reacted or is about to react that point. (**Emigration** and **Science** have helped to bring about this state, the latter by reducing the death-rate and thereby increasing the population of the lower strata).

Decay of England

°x x x "the qualities of those bearers are diminishing or deteriorating rather than improving." Havelock Ellis also agrees in his "Study of British Genius."

x x x "One of the most striking facts of that prolonged struggle was the failure of the nations involved to bring forth great men adequate to their needs. Did not every nation, France alone excepted, fail to produce a great commander by land or sea ? Did any nation produce a great statesman ? x x x x Does not the fact remain an illustration of the law that the demands of civilization tend to outrun the qualities of its bearers " *Acc : to Mcdougall the French revolution or the Industrial Revolution produced men of mark but not the Great War. The operation of the social ladder seems to have exhausted the potential resources in the old World. America is in no better state.

Re—America, L. Queseel says in "Race Suicide in the United States" an essay in "Population and Birth Control". "It is perfectly clear that the low birth-rate among the Anglo-american population is not the result of natural sterility but is due to a deliberate restriction of births. x x All available data combine to prove that the Anglo-American population has not merely attained its maximum, but has already begun to decline."

American Army Tests—Results

75% of the population has not sufficient intellectual capacity to complete the high-school course.

Terman's Children's Tests

1. **Border-line cases—**
   (70-80) marks—(these correspond to D and E of the army tests) 8% of the school population.
2. **Dull Normals—**
   (80-90) marks (these correspond to the D group of the army test) 15% of the school population.
3. Average intelligence—
   (90-110) marks—(Corresponds to C—, C and part of C_+ of the army)—60% the school population.
4. Superior intelligence—
   (110-120) marks—(corresponds to upper part of C_+ and B and A of the army)—15% of the school population.

8% 1. This represents the level of intelligence common among Spanish-Indians, Mexicans and Negroes.

15% 2. They are below the average intelligence of the races of Western European descent.

60% 3. The high school does not fit their grade of intelligence.

73%

Prof. J. Mck Cattell :—The Harvard graduate has on the average 7/10 of a son and the Vassar graduate ½ of a daughter.

Prof. Karl Pearson :—The prolific one-sixth of the population produces 50% the new generation in Great Britain. This one-sixth belongs to the right or inferior end of the curve.

(For facts about college women see Popenoc and Johnson's "applied Eugenics.")

C.B. Davenport—at the present rate of 100 Harvard graduates will have 50 descendants 200 years hence.

1000 Roumanians in Boston will have 100,000 descendants 200 years hence (the same is true of the mental defectives among the old stocks).

Percentage of mental defectives

Goddard—"It is a conservative estimate to declare that 2% of the public school children are distinctly feeble-minded." (They exclude those not sent to school).

Anthropologic character of the immigrants (esp. Italian) to U.S.A.

"The old World in the new."

E.A. Ross :—x x x "The mysterious decline that came upon the American people early in the 20th century was the deterioration of popular intelligence by the admission of great number of backward immigrants."

Mcdougall's Main thesis

"Our civilization is making constantly increasing demands upon the qualities of its bearers ; the qualities of those bearers in diminishing or deteriorating—rather than improving. This is called the parabola of peoples.

Examples :

Greece

Acc. to Ripley the ancient Greeks were statistically long-headed while the modern population is short headed owing probably to a predominance of slavic blood.

Decay of marriage and family life, psychological infertility of the selected classes, exile and col. internecine civil war, exportation of Greeks to Rome for clerical etc. duty by the Romans—this brought about an elimination of the first. The change in the original Greek population took place about the time of the decay of that civilization.

Rome

The civilization of Rome lasted longer because it had a broader basis. The empire drew

to its service the energies and talents of all the population of Europe. The growth of luxury and pleasure preaching of celibacy by the church, the social convention that marriage is unfashionable and a burden and the infertility of the selected classes eliminated the best strains in the population.

Spain

Expulsion of the Moors and of the Jews, the work of the Inquisition, the preaching of celibacy by the church, perpetual warfare, colonization, growth of luxury and wealth—all these sapped away the finest strains.

America

In America the progress is westwards. The centre of gravity of power has passed by the Eastern states. The middle west is claiming predominance and the day of the Far West is at hand.

Great Britain

The war (directly) and the burdens of taxation (indirectly) by destroying the patrimonies of the profession classes has done injury to the national stock.

Wanted propagation of knowledge on this subject and awakening of a sense of individual responsibility.

Conclusions

1. Have the different Indian races the qualities of the Nordic or of the Mediterranean races ? What about the Bengalis in particular ?
2. Are the Bengalis introvert ? Are they more prone to suicide ?
3. How does the law of the Parabola of People apply to India ? Are we decadent or have we again begun to ascend the upward curve ?
4. Is inter-marriage likely to benefit the future stocks and if so, what kind of inter-marriage ?
5. There ought to be a mental survey of the people of India—or at least of the students.

Physical Efficiency

London and New York G.P. Putnam's Sons 1906.

(A Review of the deleterious effects of town life upon the population of Britain with suggestions for their arrest) by

James Cautlic M.B., M.B. D.Ph.

Preface (by Sir Lauder Brunton)

There shd : be one in India.

There is a league in England called the "National League for Physical Education and Improvement."

Foreword (by Sir James Crichton-Browne M.D., LLD., F.R.S.)

The reports of the medical officers of health are of more than local interest. There shd : be a central bureau where all these reports shd : be collected and analysed and from wh: an annual statement should be issued.

Acc. to Dr. Clouston, the great influenza epidemic (before 1906) lowered the nerve energy of the British people by 30%.

"Of all races the Anglo-Saxon has adjusted itself to a wide range of climate and its adaptability is not yet exhausted."

Chap. I

Two Royal Commissions re—physical deterioration were appointed lately. The findings incline to the belief that the people of Britain are not really deteriorating.

Army statistics of measurements prior to 1874 are unreliable.

In trials of physical strength and endurance the Britisher maintains a proud record. International championships have

either to be fought in Britain or have to be wrested from British bred folk.

Amongst the upper middle class, the physique is of a high order.

The Metropolitan Police force consists of 17000 men. They must be 5ft: 9in: in height and of proportionate chest measurements and weight.

There is a reserve force of men of good physique available in the country in case of need.

In physical endurance and power of work, the British workman is ahead of all rivals.

"Even admitting that a large section of the community has temporarily deteriorated, the tendency of a race is to revert to its normal type and the progeny of even a temporarily degenerate people will under fair conditions throw back to the ancestral type."

The latest death rate amongst children under one year in England and Wales is 136 out of 1000.

The Chinese are an inbred people.

Is Britain played out? Is she going to succumb to the "hustler from the other side?"

Cantlie quotes the cases of the Chinese and the Japanese to show that the age of a civilization does not imply its decay.

Chap. II.

Does efficiency depend on Physique?

Efficiency means "intellectual ability, power to govern, to invent, to investigate scientifically, to promote useful enterprises, be they commercial, scientific or exploratory."

The physically weak man may possess mental ability of a high order but it is unlikely that their children will be so endowed. Besides, parents who are physically below normal standard are calculated to produce

children still lower in the physical scale.

Is Britain over populated

The navy is manned not by British seamen alone but by German, Scandinavian or Dutch sailors.

The presence of an apparent surplus population is but a local congestion. There is indeed room in the Empire for another 100,000 of home-bred British folk.

Infant Mortality

Diminishing birth rate is due to :—

* (1) Late marriages (2) Contagious disease (3) no family creeds (4) server and unnatural physical work for young girls (5) alcohol.

Increasing death rate is due to :—

(1) insanitary dwelling and environment (2) high rents (3) desertion of the rural districts and overcrowding in towns (4) acquired disease transmitted to one's progeny (5) irreligion and want of discipline.

Cantlie holds the view that a man and a woman shd: be entitled to a divorce shd: the no-family creed be proved against either.

Size of Families

"It was the numerous and virile population not politics and bayonets that gave us our oversea possessions."

We require at least that four children in every family shall reach adults years and this will only suffice if every man marries.

Change in Racial Customs

The ancient Celtic inhabitants of Britain were under Roman influence, largely town-dwellers. The Saxons who conquered the island favoured the rural system of life. Modern town-life is the result of the invention of machinery. Steamships, combined with free-trade, allowed imported foodstuffs

to compete favourably with home-grown food. The value of the land was thereby lowered and rural workers had to migrate. The problem now is how to maintain a healthy race of town-bred people to carry on the work of the Empire.

Owing to migration from rural to city parishes, the power and influence of the clergy has disappeared from among the new townfolk. Detection and punishment of crime constitute the only restraining influences.

Where do the people of British parentage best thrive

In no new country are the British folk showing superior physical development to that which obtained in the old home and it is doubtful if the average standard of the middle classes is being maintained.

British Isles lie bet : 50 and 60 N. Latitude. It is always in the portions of the colonies wh: approximate to the climatic conditions of the mother country that racial activity prevails. In Canada the great towns are as far south and in the United States as far north as possible. In South Africa and Australia the centre of civic activity are in the coolest or the less tropical and upland districts (In Gr. Britain the middle classes represent a proportion of the population larger than that met with in any other European country).

The physique of the railway porters of Manchester is defective when compared with that of York.

American Citizen

The physique of the people of the states who have not had a new strain of European blood for 3 or 4 generations has altered for the worse.

Australia bet : 40° and 15°5.
Victoria (Cap. Melbourne) bet : 40° and 35°.
New South Wales (Cap. Sydney) bet : 35° and 30°5.
South Australia (Cap. Adelaide) bet: 35° and 27.5°.
New Zealand bet: 35° and 48.5°.
Wellington (Cap:) South of North Island about 42.5°.

U.S.A. bet: 30° and 50°N.
New York 42°N ; Boston 44°N. ; Washington 38°N ; San Fransisco 37°N Chicago 42°N ; Philadelphia 40° ; Los Angelos 34°N.

Boston, New York Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago etc.
Canada important part bet : 45° and 40°N Ottawa 45°N ; Montreal 40°N. ; Winnipeg 50°N ; Vancouver 49°N.
Probably because York is more rural.

South Africa Cap Colony bet: 35° and 25.5° South, Natal, Orange Free State, Basutoland bet: 31.5° and 27.5°.
Transvaal bet: 23.5° and 28.5°.

China bet : 22°N and 43°N (excluding Mongolia) ; Peking 40°N ; Shanghai 32°N ; Honkong 22°N ; Canton 23°N ; Nanking 32°N.

India bet: 9°N and 35°N.
Bengal bet: 21°N and 26°N ; Punjab, Kashmir and N.W.F. province above 30°N.

Japan between 32°N and 45°N.

The Negroes live in the Southern State, nearer the Equator.

Compare with Bengal and add perfect cures for V.D. and the horoscope

Amongst the "cow boy" class in America, some of the finest specimens of physique are to be found but Cantlie regards them as a passing phase. The tendency is towards the cities and no Englander is content with agricultural or rural life. The (White) Americans as a nation are regular-featured and have a highly intellectual type of face.

In U.S.A. the Anglo-Saxon thrives up to 30 N. Lat. i.e., 20 below the most southernly point in Britain. There is a climatic limit not only in America, but also in Australia and South Africa beyond wh: the white man cannot propagate a healthy race.

Indications of physical degeneration

Production of artificial foods.
Prevalance of dental diseases.
Prevalance of patent cures for dyspepsia.
Prevalance of quack remedies for nevous Complain
Profusion of crack-brained religious absurdities

Conclusion :— Are human beings compounded of all the artificialities likely to beget a healthy race ?

The Canadian

Physique quite good but a difference in type from the parent stock is developing. Whether the alteration will be an improvement or a retrogression it is too early to say.

Summer diarrhoea is the greatest scourge ; it carries away 40% of the children born. But it does not impair physique of those who survive. Canada suffers from extremes of climate. Fine physique is likely to continue even when emigration is stopped.

Australia

Half of Australia is within the tropics and

The distribution of land and sea accounts for this difference.
1) The Antarctic ice extends further north than the Arctic ice extends south.
2) Oceanic influences to the south of the Equator modify the climate.
3) There is more land north of the Equator and less water and therefore more heat. Also the case in Bengal.

Acc. to Cantlie meat and tea constitute a bad diet. The tannin in tea combines with the albumen in the meat and forms tannate of albumen wh: is indigestible and unabsorbable.

subtropics. If Australia lay in the same altitude north of the Equator, the climate would have been quite different and it would have been impossible, acc. to Cantlie to develop a white Australia. Australian soldiers and Australians generally are thinner than the Britishers. This is due (the Australian is a cityman. A continent wh: can support 100 mill: does support only 4 mill. 33% of the population live in towns.) to the fact that unlike other people, the Australians consume more of meat and less of cereals. Beef and mutton are cheap in Australia and tea is drunk at every meal....Digestive troubles are common in Australia.

The evils of town life are appearing, birth-rate is falling and immigration is being restricted. Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney have the climate of Greece and further north the climate is sub-tropical or tropical. The indigenous white population has not yet reached the third generation. It is doubtful if an inbred population can thrive in Australia and impossible for them to thrive in N. Australia. The Negritos, Malays and Papuans did not thrive there before.

New Zealand

1. Insular Climate
2. Population largely agricultural.
3. Indigenous population—Maoris—have a fine physique.
4. The quiet reserve of the New Zealander

West End sites

Imp.

over the Atlantic possesses more ozone than any other. The North-east quarter gets some ozone from the N.E. wind but the central parts never. Cantlie tested the air for ozone on the 18th January, 1885 in London at several places simultaneously. The wind was from N.E. travelling at 1½

of whom is British and the other Boer. The Boers have remained virile even after long colonization. The British are also likely to remain efficient. The coast line of Cape Colony and Natal is not favourable for colonization. Transvaal with a high altitude is likely to be suitable.

? What about Cape Town ?

CONCLUSIONS

1. About 1846 the rural stood to the urban population at about 4 to 1. The position is not completely altered.
2. The masses are not thriving in the cities.
3. The upper and middle classes who can afford holidays, suburban houses and education out of town are superior in type.
4. 33% of the wastage going on in towns has to be replaced by recruits from the village—hence the importance of agriculture.
5. In 1801, 900,000 people were fed on foreign grain
   In 1895, 25,000,000 people were fed on foreign grain

Town and Country

Town life in England is superior to village life in the matter of dwellings, drainage, water and food but inferior in the matter of AIR. The air in crowded cities does not possess ozone—the vivifying ingredient. In

strong tone of the Americans and augurs well of his future.

Conclusion

In no country in wh: British folk have settled is the prospect of the race better than in New Zealand.

South Africa

The finest children belong to parents, one

miles per hour. No ozone was found anywhere at Brownswood Park N.E.

The healthiest section of London youths are telegraph and messenger boys who lead an outdoor life.

Why walking in streets is not liked—

The slope in the pavement if 1 in. per ft., causes one foot to be 1 in. higher than the other. This calls for extra exertion for balancing. Similarly buses have a "high" side and "low side'. Men prefer the low side, women with more rigid garments the upper side.

First suggested in 1885. In Daily Mail of the 1st Aug, 1905, a practical method is illustrated.

Cantlie has suggested the idea of bringing fresh air into cities by pipes. A few years later, Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson in his book "City of Hygeia" introduced air into the houses of his city by pipes leading from air-reservoirs outside the city.

Air

Mr. Hinckes Bird's plan for admitting air into a room by lifting the lower sash and fitting

1000 c : ft : of air suffices 20 minutes for one adult.

Relation bet : mind and body

"No one can be polite, can be ready to serve, or to do the work entrusted to his charge efficiently, if he is breathing a polluted and carbonic-acid-laden atmosphere."

Chap. V

Girls

Girls of the middle and upper classes are improving in physique, those of the masses are declining—particularly those of the domestic servant class. This is due to the insanitary conditions in which they have to work during the day and sleep at night. Women have given up working in the fields and even fruit-gathering.

Boys

Boys of the upper and middle classes are not improving like the girls but are even deteriorating. Boys are considered more

a sash bar underneath it to make the lower portion air-tight and leave a gap in the middle.

difficult to rear than the girls. Cantlie thinks that boys are insufficiently clad. The clothing of a girl bet : 4 and 10 weighs about double that of a boy of the same age. Except in hot weather in a country like England, the weight of the clothing shd : be 1 lb: to every stone in weight. A girl weighing 3 stone usually has 3 lbs. weight of clothing while a boy of the same weight has 1¾ lbs. weight of clothing. "Sailor-suits"—"Eton-jackets" etc., do not keep the body sufficiently warm near about the loins and abdomen. Norfolk jackets shd : be substituted for the Eton jackets.

Cantlie condemns the joined brace and high stiff collar : The belt shd : be worn below the level of the top of the haunch bones. In the matter of boots and shoes, high heels are bad. The centre or point of the boot shd : not be placed opposite the middle of the foot but opp : the big toe.

Chap. VI

Technical Terms.

Physical energy and its expenditure

"Foot-pound"—

force reqd : to raise one pound to the height of one foot from the ground.

"Foot-ton"—

force reqd : to raise one ton to the height of one foot.

"Foot-pound" is called the **Work-unit.**

A man weighing 11 stone daily expends 3400 foot-tons of force.

* digestion, circulation, respiration etc.

This is spent in (1) internal work (2) production of heat (3) muscular work.

In internal work or metabolism *260 foot-tons are spent in 24 hrs.

Heat is produced by muscular activity and by chemical changes taking place in our

body. In providing for the supply and maintenance of heat 2840 foot-tons of energy are spent daily.

Found out after elaborate calculation.

To raise the temperature of water by 1°F a force equal to that expended in raising 1/3 ton one foot of the ground is required. (1) and (2) stand for passive expenditure of energy. By muscular activity we have to spend 3400—(260 + 2840) = 300 ft.-tons.

Why exercise is necessary

When the 300 ft. tons energy is not expended, the body is thrown out of gear. The unexpended energy, like a restless prisoner, determines to escape by by-paths not consistent with health.

17.67 more exactly.

(17 **foot tons** of energy are expended in walking a mile on a level road, weight being 11 stone.) Cantlie holds that one hour's vigorous walk at a stretch is necessary for health's sake. Walking twice for half-an-hour each time, will not do. The rate shd : be such as to stimulate the heart and the circulation and the rate of walk shd : be gradually increased.

This exercise does not really account for the expenditure of 300ft. tons per diem but it suffices only because we normally spend a lot of energy in doing odd jobs at home and at office. It follows that if the latter is reduced one hour's walk will not suffice for the system.

If a great coat weighing 5 lbs. and a handbag weighing 7 lbs. is taken, the amount of energy expended will be 19.07 ft. tons per mile. A soldier with a 60 lbs. kit spends 24.75 foot tons in walking one mile and 247.50 in walking 10 miles.

Walking and Breathing

Ordinary Rate :—

15 respirations per minute. At each breath 32 C. in. of air are inhaled so that in one min. 32× 15 = 480 C. in. of air are inhaled.

Normal rate — 480 cub. in. per minute.

Walking at the rate of	**The air inspired amounts to**
One mile an hour	912 C. in. per minute
2 " " "	1320 " " " "
4 " " "	2400 " " " "
6 " " "	3260 " " " "

For breathing, sailor's uniform is better than soldier's jacket or civilian's waistcoat. Cantlie dislikes both braces and belts. Belts if worn should not pass over the abdomen but below the top of the haunch bone. Belt worn round the abdomen may cause hernia, piles etc. Garter worn below the knee is likely to cause varicose veins. A walk for children under 12 in company with an adult is a trying ordeal owing to the difference in the length of steps.

Hints regarding walking

1. Walking is the best form of exercise for adults but not for children.
2. Walk for one hour at a stretch @ 116 to 130 steps per minute.
3. Whatever exercise is taken, walking is a necessary adjunct.
4. Breathe thro' the nose while walking.

Running

In ordinary running the length of a step is increased from 30 in. to 33 in. and the no. of steps from 116 to 166.

A given quantity of dry albumen when burned in an atmosphere of pure oxygen engenders a given amount of degrees of heat. These have been carefully calculated and are technically termed "units of heat."

Food

1gr. dry albumen yields about 923 foot-pounds energy, 1gr. dry fat about 1847 and 1gr. dry starch about 781 footpounds energy, total 3551. Therefore 2144 grains of each yields about 3551 × 2144 footpounds energy equals to 7613,344 ft. lbs or 3388 ft. lbs. roughly 3400 ft. lbs.

Food

1. Flesh 2. Bread 3. Butter 4. Potatoes etc. 5. Milk 6. Sugar

	Amount lbs. oz.	Nitrogen grs.	Carbon grs.	Energy produced foot-ton
1)	1—0	160	1024	880
2)	1—8	120	1676	1340
3)	0—1½	.3	450	420
4)	0—12	12	588	456
5)	0—9½	10	100	79
6)	0—1	0	187	275
	4—0	302.3	4025	3450

There are 2 ways of calculating the amount of food required :—(1) to prepare a diet wh: could be reduced to 6432 grs. of dry albumen, fat and starch.

(2) to measure the quantity of solid matter excreted by an individual and deduce there-from. An adult excrets 4500 grs :, of wh: 4000 grains consist of carbon and 300 grs. of nitrogen. The diet given above contains 4000 grs. of carbon and 300 grs. of nitrogen roughly.

Nitrogen is supplied by albumen ; tissues etc., of animals. Carbon is supplied by vegetables.

If we live on flesh alone we shall get too much of nitrogen. If we live on vegetables alone we shall have too much carbon in one diet. Hence a mixed diet is preferable.

'Physical deterioration and consumption of foreign-grown foods came in together about 30 years ago. x x x **British prowess cannot be maintained on the dumped refuse of the Chicago Slaughter-houses canned for British consumption."**

1906
30
1876

Alcohol

N. Europe i.e., Scotland, Scandinavia and Russia—spirit.

Mid. Europe i.e., England, Holland, Germany, Hungary, S. Europe—beer wine.

The potency of the alcoholic beverage weakens as we approach the tropic.

Who is a chronic drunkard ? 1) The man who drinks before breakfast. 2) The man who drinks a bottle of Whisky during the day. The next rung of the alcoholic ladder is the man who requires alcohol at about 11 am.

The use of alcohol leads to gout. Gout is responsible for the birth of weak and degenerate children and for sterility. A child begot by a father in a state of chronic intoxication or born of a chronic alcoholic mother is mentally and physically deficient. It is the chronic alcoholic, whose tissues are bathed in alcohol, not the man who occasionally drinks to excess who constitutes the danger to public health.

"Alcohol in any **shape** is not a necessity for a healthy person. The man who requires alcohol to keep him up to his work x x x x is a physiological bankrupt." x x x "He had better seek a less trying employment."

form ? The law does not go for the chronic tippler but for the occasional drunkard.

Infant Food

If mothers do not nurse their infants, they will soon lose the function of the organ concerned.

No child shd : be given artificial milk till it is 5 or 6 months old. The secretions of the pancreas, by wh: starchy and other materials are largely digested are not in evidence till 5 months after birth.

Artificial food for infant

1. First month—1/3 cow's milk, 2/3 water
2. Second month—½ Cow's milk, ½ water
3. Third month—2/3 Cow's milk, 1/3 water
   After the 3rd and till the 6th month, only milk.

Sucking a "comforter" or rubber teat is injurious. It leads to a permanent deformity of the mouth, nasal passage, air passages and to collateral deformities and disfigurements. It invariably causes "Adenoids" i.e., growth of spongy tissue near the back of

nose and throat.

Breathing by mouth and by nose

Cantlie disposes of the argument that the use of the comforter prevents mouth breathing and thereby compels nose-breathing —by referring to this after effects of the use of the comforter.

The natural channel is the nose where the air is moistened and warmed before it reaches the windpipe. When the air enters by the mouth, the throat and tonsils are subjected to direct irritation, resulting in enlargement of tonsils wh: further impedes respiration.

Acc. to Cantlie the sale of comforters shd: be prohibited or regulated by law.

The "adenoids" frequently block the openings of the Eustachian tubes wh: lead to the ears ; thereby disturb the balance of air in the ears and cause ear troubles.

"Comforters" keep the salivary glands continually active instead of giving them rest occasionally. The ferment in the saliva ptyalin is wasted and is not supplied at the proper time for digestion. The secretions from the stomach glands are similarly wasted—as also the secretions from the liver and pancreas.

e.g. pepsin and hydrochloric acid.

Teeth

The early decay of teeth is due to the high temperature of our food.

Cantlie says Tea at 140° can be sipped from a spoon ; at 130° from the cup : tea below 120°F is pronounced cold by the adult. We drink our tea 20° above body temperature and our eggs and potatoes we take at 115°.

1. Breast-fed infants who get milk at 98.4°F. keep their milk teeth much longer.
2. The bottle milk is much warmer (sometimes 115°F.) for the mother or nurse, 98.4° is too cold.
3. We have accustomed the mucous membrane of our mouths to stand a temperature from 15° to 30° above body heat. The bottle-fed infant is thereby given milk 20° above the normal. This is tentamount to compelling an adult to take food at 140° or 150°F. The irritation of the mucous membrane owing to heat attracts the blood-vessels to the surface of the gums and deprives the teeth within of their normal supply of blood. Deprived of blood, the teeth grow

The aim of the dentist shd: be to produce good teeth, to lay down rules for anticipating and preventing decay and not simply to treat decayed teeth.

imperfectly and have a tendency to decay soon.

Theory of Exercise

Chap. VIII **Two Axioms**

I. Hunting and tilling were the 2 normal exercises of man and shd : be considered as the ideal.

II. The upper limbs shd : not be developed at the expense of the lower.

Germans are trained in gymnasia but not in field sports.

In the gymnasia the upper limbs are developed beyond the needs of man and beyond proportion. Few stage athletes have well-proportioned lower limbs. The Germans are broad shouldered but their lower limbs are weak and their staging and marching powers suffer accordingly.

A man's strength lies in his loins and thighs. No Greek or Roman athlete is figured in the act of "showing off" his biceps. The muscles of his thighs, hip and loins are prominent and the limbs are represented as tapering off from the thick-set trunk.

Sudden hard exercise e.g., mountain climbing, hard running, cycling tour etc., after a long period of sedentary work is bad for the heart and causes giddiness, exhaustion etc. Cycle accidents are sometimes due not to skidding but to giddiness due to the balance of circulation being upset.

If exercise at any early age is neglected, the heart muscles become too weak and may shrink beyond the possibility of being developed to normal proportions.

Why does the body decay ?

The blood vessels lose their elasticity, their walls become impregnated with lime salts and are rendered less expansible and more brittle.

Why physical exercise is necessary ?

"Our organs and muscles must be pre-

served and maintained so that they possess a reserve power in order that they can respond, without detriment, when calls are made upon them. x x x To be fit and to feel fit means the possession of reserve power for work, be the work what it may" x x x All part, muscular, respiratory, circulatory must be developed in consistent and proportionate harmony.

Sudden relaxation after a period of strenuous exercise is bad for the health. Relaxation shd : therefore be gradual. After a long holiday when people resume their normal life they feel bad, because the cessation from an increased amount of exercise has been too sudden.

Children

Cantlie approves of the method of carrying children in the mother's arms wrapped up with a shawl. This method keeps the children warm. In the perambulator, an equable temperature is not provided for the child.

Exercise

Playgrounds for children are a necessity for our town life.

Education

We do not find that the manners of the children are improving or that discipline, social and moral, and respect for parents are increasing.

The Conflict of Colour

Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd.

St. Martin's Street, London 1910.

(Being a detailed examination of racial problems throughout the world with special reference to the English-speaking people.)

by B.L. Putnam Weale

author of

Manchu and Muscovite ; The reshaping of the Far East ; The Truce in the East and its aftermath ; The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia ; The Forbidden Boundary ; The Human Cobweb etc. etc.

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Preface written in Peking, China June, 1910.

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Appendix II

Density of Populations.

(Compiled from the latest estimates available ; mainly from the statistical decennial 1900-1901)

Europe

1.	Great Britain		
	England	558	per s.m.
	Scotland	150	" "
	Ireland	136.7	" "
2.	Germany	290	" "
3.	France	189.5	" "
4.	Belgium	589	" "
5.	Holland	454	" "
6.	Italy	306	" "
7.	Spain	96.7	" "
8.	Australia	226	" "
	Hungary	154	" "

9. Russia European			
Russia	59.7	”	”
Poland	227.2	”	”
Siberia	1.4	”	”
10. Bulgaria	150	”	”
America			
1. United States (including Alaska)		—	25.6
2. Canada		—	1.48
3. Mexico		—	17.7
4. Brazil		—	5.4
5. Argentina		—	5.4
Asia			
1. India (British)		—	211
All India		—	167
2. China		—	266
3. Japan		—	320
4. Persia		—	15
5. Siam		—	35
6. Afghanistan		—	20
Australia etc.			
Australia		—	1.5
New Zealand		—	10
Java		—	600
Sumatra		—	25
Borneo		—	6
Africa			
1. Algeria		—	28
2. Cape Colony		—	8.7
3. Transvaal		—	10
4. Egypt (settled land surface)		—	950
5. Congo Free State		—	15

The great empty spaces of the world susceptible of immense development by population increase are—

1. Siberia.
2. Brazil & Argentina.
3. Canada.
4. Australia.
5. Mongolia & Manchuria.

These areas could support twice or thrice the present population of the world.

DESHBANDHU AND NATION BUILDING

[Netaji wrote this article in Shillong in May 1927. It is being published for the first time.—Ed.]

Much has been written about Deshbandhu, much has been said about him, but so much still remains to be told and written. It may well be that the principal things have not been said. Today I shall refer to one aspect of his many-splendoured life, the lack of which we particularly feel at the present time.

Deshbandhu had immeasurable mental powers and strength. All the opposing forces which appeared before him during his active life had to accept defeat in the face of his irresistible strength. He could direct his victorious forces in any way he liked and this we all know—but we must now know how he acquired such supernatural powers ? The power that surprised the British and his countrymen alike, was it inborn or was it acquired through Sadhana ?

All power is acquired through Sadhana and that is at least my belief and what is apparently inborn even that is the result of Sadhana in previous incarnation.

When Deshbandhu started practising in Calcutta as a barrister after returning from England, he was practically penniless and was weighed down by the debt that his father left him. He had just one asset, the asset of his inner self. He had the ability to plunge into work with all his being and mind. Depending only on such resources he started on his voyage on vast and tumultuous sea of life. He had his first opportunity during the Alipur Bomb case. When he took up the case he had no other thought in his mind. He not only laboured day and night but to meet family expenses he used to borrow without any hesitation and as long as the case continued he remained completely out of touch with his family. He told his family be-

* Translated from the original in Bengali.

forehand that he should not be disturbed or bothered about family problems and during that time even when his son and daughters fell seriously ill, he never went to see them. The result of such absolute and undivided devotion to duty was not far to seek. The case brought him financial loss but he was crowned with the glory of success, the outcome of which was the beginning of a very lucrative practice. From then on he never had to worry about his profession.

Throughout his life whenever Deshbandhu accepted any responsibility he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the work. Until that assignment was completed he never thought of anything else. Those who are acquainted with his entire active life can cite innumerable examples in this regard. He acquired unlimited strength by being completely absorbed in this way in work. One has to give life in order to gain it. One who devotes his mind and soul totally to any work—who gives one hundred per cent of his being to it—finds a new opening for his soul and the source of unlimited strength. He himself fails to understand how he has gained such strength. The kind of realization that one does not achieve and the kind of treasure that he cannot secure by meditation, or Pranayam or by singing holy songs, can be easily gained by him if he can devote himself totally one hundred per cent—in Nishkama Karma—work without any thought to the fruits thereof.

When in 1921 I had the good fortune of coming to know Deshbandhu, he had given up the path of enjoyment and affluence and taken to the path of sacrifice and self-denial together with his family. Even then outsiders doubted whether Deshbandhu would be able to stick to that path in a long run and when in 1922 he supported the policy of entering the legislatures, those who are opposed to him started saying that Deshbandhu would now be what he was before. But those of us who knew the inner man to a certain extent, knew also that the policy of council-entry adopted by him was not a policy of retreat and, moreover, the path of renunciation and of non-co-operation that he had adopted was for good and that

he would never deviate from it. As a matter of fact, he had not become a non-co-operater under a temporary influence. Even before 1921 he was mentally so prepared for renunciation that it did not appear to him to be at all difficult to give up his practice. He was led to the path of giving up all his wealth and of service to 'Daridranarayana' in response to the call of his 'Swadharma'. This is why even while burdened with debts, after giving up his practice he was able to resist the temptation of accepting briefs worth lakhs and lakhs of rupees as his fees. After the Gaya Congress when he could not raise even a few thousand rupees to fill his empty coffers begging from door to door then some of his followers used to say that he could meet his needs by accepting one or two briefs instead of shamelessly begging from other people. But he never listened to such advice, because to him his idealism meant more than money. And to us at that time the greatest duty was to keep the policy of non co-operation unsullied. The truth is that man can manage to meet the demands of money but money can never compensate for the want of real men. And the result obtained by setting up an example by unwavering idealism without any money, can not be obtained by spending even huge sums of money. In every country of the world and in every age idealism is rated much higher than money. Great ideals create men and men collect money but money can never by itself alone can create real men or establish high ideals.

Had he not been an idealist of high order, Deshbandhu would never have dared to march on the untrodden path of non-co-operation with hitherto unknown workers, forsaking all his old colleagues and friends and in total disregard of adverse circumstances and could not have given up a life of royal luxury together with members of his family and assumed a hermit's robe.

Such absolute self-sacrifice and love of idealism in practical life is transformed in religious life in Sri Radha's self-forgetful, self-effacing love of Krishna (iconologically the word Radha means one who worships). This is how Deshbandhu who was a very powerful man of action, a Karmavira, became in his religious faith a Vaishnava.

Apparently it is difficult to understand that how a man like Deshbandhu who was such a leading barrister, a keen logician, a tremendous orator and a great man of action—how could he be a Vaishnava. But it is known to any Bengalee if not to anybody else that it was the son of Jagannath, the leading scholar of his time, the keenest of logicians and unbeatable in debate, the scholar of scholars and a master of all subjects, who became Gouranga, the very incarnation of the God of Love. And his tears of love at the sight of Vishnupada came like a flood to sweep away the philosophical systems of Sankhya and Nyaya. If we just think for once why, how and by what means Deshbandhu became such a keen logician, great orator and leading lawyer, it will not be difficult to understand how it was possible for him to adopt Vaishnavism.

Once the tide of his life took a particular course it never went backwards. Whenever he embraced an ideal, he embraced it with all his soul and tried to fill up his whole life with that ideal. There was nothing deceptive or artificial in his life. Because of this very natural simplicity, love of truth and craving for truth he could get over the attraction of atheism and agnosticism, penetrate through the illusion of Mayavada and reach the kingdom of love. Keeping before him the ideal of universal love he devoted himself to the Sadhana of love through service to his country. By making his life itself an example he made us understand that it was not the essence of Vaishnavism to say that the path of work (Karmakanda) and the path of knowledge (Gnanakanda) as something poisonous, that one can do the sadhana of love through work and that a man who was all the time absorbed in work could also enjoy the Lila of God, provided of course his heart was inspired with the divine fire.

I have already said that Deshbandhu lost himself completely in the peformance of any duty he took up in his daily life. We saw how in 1929 he was absolutely determined to plunge himself and his family into the fire of British wrath. As long as the Civil Disobedience Movement continued he had no other thought in his mind. Then again, after the cessation of the movement when he

started preaching the Council-entry programme, he demonstrated once again his usual and deep devotion to the cause. During the Gaya Congress public opinion in India was particularly against his policy. Though most of the newspapers and journals of Bengal and of India were against him, yet by dint of superhuman labour he could get public opinion to gradually change in his favour. At the height of summer he had to travel in parts of Bombay and Madras Presidency to propagate his programme. We know that the main aim of his policy of Council-entry was to create a deadlock inside the Council and to put obstacles in the way of appointing ministers. Those who are knowledgeable about the affairs of Bengal Legislative Council are surprised how he could get salary bills of ministers repeatedly rejected. How he laboured strenuously day and night for months in order to succeed in his plays is known only to members of Swarajya party. For the service of his country he even sacrificed his own prestige. In the name of his country he did not hesitate even to beg votes or money of utterly small people. There is a current proverb—you cannot do something worthwhile if you are not free from shame, hate and fear. It is a pity that in this unfortunate country there are scoundrels who remained unmoved. Immediately before the last occasion when the battle of votes on the question of salaries of ministers took place, Deshbandhu was resting in Patna and a group of Swarajya Party men went there from Calcutta to see him and seek his advice regarding the coming battle of votes. At that time apart from Deshbandhu almost all the other members of the Swarajya party were in a pessimistic mood—and they felt that it would be impossible to stop the continuation of the ministry any more. Then Deshbandhu addressed them in words surcharged with emotion and ringing with sincerity and said, "If you fail to defeat the Government this time I shall not return to Bengali again. I want to have your promise that you will throw yourselves heart and soul into the task and that you will by all means defeat the government." The sincere and spirited words of Deshbandhu brought back hope and strength to depressed hearts. Upon their

return to Calcutta they exerted themselves day and night with all their strength. After a few days Deshbandhu himself joined the fray and finally they won.

Let me refer to another event that occurred during the Tarakeswar Satyagraha. I was at that time working in the Calcutta Corporation. During the Tarakeswar Satyagraha to raise funds for Tarakeswar Satyagraha my dear friend Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy had arranged a musical soiree one evening at the Rammohan Library hall. Deshbandhu was the patron of that function. We went there in a crowd, partly with the intention of helping the Satyagraha in our small way but mainly to enjoy the songs of Dilip Kumar and in the hope of listening to Deshbandhu speaking on art and music. He was a great art critic and master of aesthetics who had special aptitude and intentive ability to appreciate music. And so we hoped that, he would most certainly say s o m e t h i n g on art and music. Dilip Kumar in fact expressed his desire to hear something from him about art and music and requested him to speak. But Deshbandhu did not say anything on the subject. He thanked the audience for their sympathy for Tarakeswar Satyagraha and said that he had been so preoccupied with the work and thoughts about Tarakeswar Satyagraha that for the time being he was not in the position to apply his mind to art and music. Many were disappointed at this, especially myself. But then, after coming home when I thought about the matter deeply I realised that a man of his character dedicated entirely to duty and the way he was possessed with the Tarakeswar Satyagraha movement, it was quite impossible for him to divert his mind to anything else.

There is no dearth of such examples, and is there any need for more examples ? So I would refer to one other example and then stop. I have heard from Deshbandhu's near relations and associates that after our arrest the question of release of political prisoners became his only preoccupation. A near relation of his wrote to me the other day—the few months he survived after you were taken away he was in great mental agony. Anybody who came near him could feel the intensity of his suffering.

As if his inside was afire with futile anger, resentment and sorrow. So I often think—may be that is why he went away, he could not bear it any longer."...."I was thinking for the last few days, may be, had he not left us so prematurely, you could not have to suffer such long terms of imprisonment..so many sons of Bengal would not have to suffer so much; so many homes would not have been rendered dark and desolate. He would not rest he would have found a way out. These words are absolutely true. When the bill for promulgating the Ordinance was placed in the Bengal Council, Deshbandhu was ill and very weak and so he arrived in the council chamber on a stretcher. He was asked by his physician and his relations who were aware of the state of his health not to go to the council. But he said that if no arrangements were made for a car in order to prevent his going to the Council he would walk the distance whatever might happen to him on the way. Ultimately when everybody understood that he could not be stopped and that he was determined to go to the Council session on that day, arrangements were made to take him there. It would perhaps have been better for his health had he not strained himself so much on that day. But he felt so deeply for the political prisoners that it was impossible for him not to go. The larger the heart of a man, he suffers all the more. It was because of his deep love and sympathy for his followers and colleagues that he could form such a big 'Santi Sena' (Peace Corps) and become the uncrowned king of Bengal. When one thinks about the present sorry state of the Congress the question that arises in one's mind is this—how much of Deshbandhu's boundless love and sympathy have the heirs to his leadership inherited? If he wants to be the leader but if he fails to offer his whole life to the cause, how can he rouse unflinching devotion and dedication in his followers?

As he was capable in this way of throwing himself heart and soul into a cause he could command infinite strength. Man cannot have the taste of Amrita (Divine bliss) if he cannot give his life away in response to inspiration from within. I have heard that he often used to

say in jest, "Instead of setting up any memorial for me, engrave these words on a piece of stone—'Here rests a totally mad Bengali,. I am not quoting his exact words' but I think I have been able to convey their spirit. These words are really a true reflection of his mind. When he was alive, many called him mad. I too feel like calling him so because very often a man cannot be great without having symptoms of madness. Where you find complete sanity, there is only dull mediocrity.

What we need most today is—selfless and maniac dedication. For nation building the first essential is to have pure men. To be a pure man one must have the deepest devotion to the ideal. One must not take service to the country as a temporary occupation or as a pastime. For serving the country there is of course need of speeches and writings. But above all what is required is training in life. The man who is himself not pure, of what value are his speeches or his writings? Life alone can awaken life. And man can only gain a life that conquers the world only when he is prepared to renounce everything. Only one who is capable of hundred per cent sacrifice can win hundred per cent strength and love. He who wants to be a real man must be able to say:

"enechi moder deher sakati
enechi moder maner bhakati
enechi moder dharmer mati
enechi moder pran.
enechi moder srestha arghya
tomare karite dan."

"We have brought our
physical strength,
We have brought the devotion
of our mind,
We have brought our loyalty
to our religion,
We have brought our life
itself,
We have brought our choicest
offerings
To give to you"

If one fails to identify his life with the life of the nation, one cannot realise what is patriotism. The man in whom patriotism has been roused as a result of this identification of his own life with that of the nation he alone can find a new ideal and can create a new nation. The fundamental truth of all **Sadhana** is the same—to be completely absorbed in the Idea, to be inspired totally by the same Idea in life, in death, in sleep or in dream. When a man engaged in this kind of **Sadhana** of an Idea, is completely possessed by the Idea—and he is not deflected from that even for a moment, then he comes to be known as **Siddha** (perfect human being) in the world. Those who want to be builders of the nation they must succeed in this **Sadhana** and be **Siddha**. With the realization of the true image of the motherland one must sacrifice personal joys and sorrows, hopes and aspirations, as a devotee at the alter of the nation. When this self-dedication is complete, then the youthfulness of nation blossoms out in the life of the individual, there is an inflow of unending and indomitable strength into his heart. With the touch of idealism his life suddenly gets transformed. The man is surprised by his own transformation and says to himself —look what I was and what I am now !

In the last few years of his life Deshbandhu did the same kind of **Sadhana** and renounced all he had. He had nothing to call his own and he was completely free from any personal worries. Every moment of his life, every corner of his being was occupied by the demands of the nation, by the hope and aspirations of the nation. In short, he truly realised what is patriotism. That is why the tremendous and unbounded strength of the nation manifested itself through him and he appeared before the people as the indomitable lion of a man.

Today Deshbandhu's mortal frame is not with us. But his idealism, his **Sadhana** are imperishable. That irresistible will power, that complete sense of self-confidence and complete **Sadhana** must manifest themselves in the lives of innumerable men and women. As the fragrance of the flower seeks to spread out of the buds, in the same way the life force of India is crying out to express itself

out of the minds of staporous Indians.

The nation is not a matter of mere imagination, it is a patent fact. As the individual is real, so is the nation. There cannot be any nation without individuals and there cannot be any individual apart from the nation. The nation has a collective soul, a culture, a past and a future. A nation has a sense of fulfilment and of sorrow, a nation is born—a nation also dies. He who fails to realise this cannot comprehend the true identity of a nation and to him patriotism is merely an empty word. The man in whom the real sense of patriotism is awakened overcomes the constraints of narrow individualism and appears before the people as the living symbol of the awakened nation. Inspired by patriotism he dedicates his life to the cause of the motherland and thus gains a fuller life. Blessed with this new life he can stand with his head erect and defiantly declare to the world community :

"May all nations gain new life from mine and awaken".

I have this to say to young Bengal—if you want to be real men, if you want to create a new nation, if you want to bring into fruition the dream of a free India—then come, let us lose ourselves in this **Sadhana.**

Shillong
19.6.27.

TO THE CITIZENS OF NORTH CALCUTTA

Kelsall Lodge,
Shillong,
10.8.27.

Dear Sirs,

Last year, I stood as a candidate for election of the Bengal Legislative Council from the North Calcutta Non-Mohammedan Constituency. In that connection I had addressed a letter to you on the 24th of September last from Mandalay Jail. Unfortunately, the letter did not reach you. For reasons best known to them, the authorities did not think it necessary to forward the letter to the proper quarters. To my query why they had suppressed such an ordinary letter I received no reply. Moreover, most of the letters I had written to a certain individual in connection with my election never reached him at all. While I was still in detention, a certain high official of Government told me that it was Government's intention to see to it that I could by no means carry on election work from inside the jail.

But although my letter did not reach you my silent appeal from behind prison doors must have reached your hearts, so that you got me elected by a huge majority of votes, despite the opposition of a very powerful rival. When, one day, at about 10 in the night, we—myself and a few detenu-friends of mine in a small cell in Mandalay Jail—received the news of your success, my heart at once went out to you in gratitude; but it was not possible for me then to express publicly my gratitude to you. I hope, however, across the hills and rivers and jungles, the silent message of my heart must have reached you all right.

I am particularly grateful to you for one reason. At a time when I was being victimized by Government and placed in that unenviable position when even intimate friends pretends not to know a person, you installed me on that high pedestal of honour in utter disregard of the mighty wrath of the Bureaucracy. The confidence you

have thus reposed in me is not merely a personal honour to me, it is an honour shown to all political sufferers.

As a prisoner I had not had the opportunity of expressing my thankfulness to you or of consulting you on the various problems of the country. I had thought that immediately on my release I would be able to perform these two essential duties. There was absolutely no chance of my early release, but when at length I was rather unexpectedly set free, I found myself a physical wreck, confined to bed. Since my release I have not yet been able to do what as as a matter of duty I ought to have done as your chosen representative. Before I could establish contact with you I had to come away to Shillong almost against my will with the object of recouping my health. It will be some time before I can enter the field of activity although I feel slightly better than before. So I decided in the meantime to approach you through this letter. I shall never in my life forget the tremendous welcome you accorded to me after my release and all your good wishes for my speedy recovery. You have very greatly honoured me by giving me an opportunity of serving you. I only pray to God so that I may make proper use of the opportunity thus given to me. I feel honoured by your love and affection and particularly by the great trust reposed in me. My one prayer to God is that I may prove worthy of the honour you have done me.

Through your blessings and good wishes I am now on my way to recovery though it will be long before I can be fully restored to health. But physical fitness is one thing, mental peace quite another. Indeed how can one rest at ease when so many of our patriotic young men are rotting in jail without trial, when numerous men and women are going through pangs of separation from their near and dear ones clapped far away in prison and subjected to daily humiliations, when so many of our homes have been virtually turned into dreary deserts because of the enforced absence of sons or brothers, husbands or fathers, as the case may be? The Governor of Bengal has kindly informed me that even if I fail to attend the next session of the Council my name will not be struck off the

list of members. But when the question of the detenu will come up before the next session, I wish very much to be present there to discharge my duties. I do not know if my physicians will permit me to do so, still I would like to be in Calcutta for a few days at least to do what little I can as a faithful representative of my people. I have already sent notice of a few motions and questions in the hope that I shall be able to attend the session. If, however, my doctors refuse to allow me to come, I shall try to recoup my health as quickly as possible, so that I may be back in the field of public service at the earliest opportunity. I see signs of a new awakening all around me today. It is desirable that all of us should remain ready and alert so that we can respond immediately to the call of the country which will come before long in the shape of a mighty onrush of life.

I have nothing more to say. Please accept my respectful greetings.

Yours etc.

Letter to the Editor of 'International Times'
13 August, 1927.

"My attention has been drawn to a statement in your issue of the 11th August regarding myself. There is no truth in your report that I am engaged in framing a Swaraj Constitution for India. I wonder where you picked up this interesting piece of information. I thought it was generally known that I had come here solely for the purpose of recouping my health. You could have guessed that if I had been fit enough to undertake a work of the kind to which you refer I would not have been wasting precious time at a fashionable hill station when so many of my compatriots are rotting in jail. I wish newspapers would take the trouble of verifying facts before they rush to print. I have no desire to remain in Shillong a day longer when I become fit for serious work. I shall be obliged if you publish this in the next issue of your paper."

The Editor replying expressed sorrow if the news has wounded the feeling of Mr. Bose in any way. The Editor

adds that Mr. Bose is the only man in India today who can draft such a bill as will have, popular support—'Associated Press'.

The news which was published in the "International Times" (as wired by the "Associated Press") is as follows :—

Shillong, Aug 11.

The "International Times" understands that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is engaged in framing a Swaraj Constitution for India. The constitution, it is stated, will deal exhaustively with the relations with the native states under the Swaraj Government and their rulers, it is suggested, will remain as constitutional monarchs with an elected council to deal with the affairs of the state, while each of the states will have a representation in the Legislative Assembly.

The statement which will be jointly signed by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. N. C. Bordoloi and Mr. Rohini Kumar Hatibarua will be in the shape of a Federal Commonwealth Bill and will be presented to the All India Congress Committee. About fifteen or more provinces will be created on a linguistic basis in addition to the Native states which will be represented to the Federal Assembly owing allegiance to the king.

This Bill differs from Mr. Annie Besant's Commonwealth Bill in that it will include the native states and that the Assembly will have a direct voice over the affairs of the Army and the Navy. Separate electorates will be abolished forming a joint electorate.—"Associated Press".

Appeal to Rate-Payers of Ward XII on 14 August, 1927.

I earnestly appeal to the rate-payers of Ward XII to vote for the Congress candidate, Srijut Abani Kumar Dutt. No Councillor, however worthy, can effect Municipal reform or render the rate-payers any service without a compact majority party to back him, because Corporation matters are all decided by the votes of the majority. Only the majority party can successfully initiate and execute measures for the improvement of the city and benefit of

the rate-payers.

From my experience as the Chief Executive Officer, I say that without a disciplined majority party in the corporation, possessing a well-defined progressive policy, the Municipal Executive cannot render efficient service. A ramshackle Corporation does not know its own mind, has no definite policy and cannot give a lead to the executive. Hence in the local self-governing bodies in all democratic countries, including England, well-defined parties exist with distinct programmes of their own.

In Calcutta, the only disciplined party with a definite programme is the Congress Municipal Party. Therefore, all hopes of Municipal reform and improvement centre in that party. It behoves the rate-payers of ward XII to strengthen the Congress party by electing their nominee on this occasion.

The present Mayor is trying his utmost to carry out the policy laid down by our departed Leader in his inaugural Corporation speech. The election of Srijut Abani Kumar Dutt will be a vote of confidence in our Mayor, in the Congress Municipal Party, in the policy laid down by Deshbandhu and in the Indian National Congress.

Calcutta has been the stronghold of the Congress, and whether in Municipal affairs or council election or civil disobedience, has always given lead to the whole of Bengal, nay to the whole of India.

Will not the rate-payers of Ward XII rise to the occasion and uphold the reputation of Calcutta by casting all votes for the congress ?

Statement to the "Forward" on 24 August, 1927

I must confess I am disappointed at the statement made by H.E. the Governor relating to the detenus in his opening speech before the Bengal Legislative Council. If I had the faintest indication that this sort of statement would be forthcoming, I do not think I would have cared to be present on the opening day of the present session. The statement is hardly a departure from similar statements made in the past by members of Government and is a conglomeration of platitudes. I think I am giving expression to public opinion in Bengal when I say that it was expected that H.E. would take courage in both hands and undo the grievous wrong done to the people of Bengal as a whole and the detenus in particular by Lord Lytton's Government. I am sorry that H.E. makes no mention of the large number of detenus who are interned in different parts of Bengal, mostly in insanitary localities. I have always been of the opinion that internment under present conditions is in many cases much worse than confinement in jail. Consequently the hope that H.E. has held out that many of the detenus may be transferred to internment before the year is out, will hardly evoke any enthusiasm or solace. Unless future events prove to be otherwise than what I expect, the people of Bengal will have to depend entirely on their own strength and resources if the release of the detenus is to be effected or expedited.

Appeal from Shillong on 'forgive and forget' as on 13 September, 1927.

The popular victory in the Bengal Legislative Council a fortnight ago should be an eye-opener to all who have their country's welfare at heart and should set them thinking as to what the lessons of that victory are. To me it is the clearest indication of what the popular will can still achieve, if only Congressmen will restore unity within their own ranks and come to a friendly understanding with other groups and communities who at present choose to work outside the Congress fold. The time is therefore opportune for a sincere and earnest attempt to put our house in order and to establish cordial and friendly relations with non-Congress associations. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the Congress in Bengal is not today what it was in the earlier part of 1925. Dissensions have appeared within our ranks and the Congress has lost some of its veteran fighters, adherents and sympathizers.

To add to our trouble and misfortune, Bengal—along with the rest of India has been swept by a wave of bad communalism. But the signs of the times are exceedingly

hopeful. The political horizon is clearing up. We are on the threshold of a new awakening. People are sick of petty wrangles and the forces of communalism have matched a state of exhaustion. Momentous times are ahead of us. Issues of vital importance to our national life and well-being will have to be faced and solved during the next few years and only a strong and united Congress can cope with the situation that is impending. Let us, therefore, take courage in both hands and with the motto "Forgive and Forget" rise superior to all factions and communal quabbles. By the largeness of our heart and the depth of our sympathy, let us bring back to our fold all our former colleagues, and co-workers. Let us attempt even more and strive to rally those who, for reasons of their own, have up till now kept aloof or fought shy of the Indian National Congress Hindu-Moslem unity, based not on words but on genuine trust and goodwill, let us restore once again. In short, let us once more make the Congress that grand institution which was Deshbandhu's legacy when he departed from this world on June 16, 1925, and in order to achieve that object, let us explore every avenue and do all that is humanly possible, short of surrendering our fundamental priciples.

The first step towards that end is to restore unity and mutual goodwill within the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The elections to the B.P.C.C. are imminent and these will be followed by the co-option of about 60 members at a general meeting of the elected representatives. I would earnestly appeal to all Congressmen in Bengal to see to it that during the election and co-option of members, all honest, sincere and patriotic congressmen are returned —regardless of their views on particular topics, of the group to which they may belong or of the part they may have played in party factions during the last two years. So great is the responsibility that has to be shouldered during the next few years that the Congress cannot afford to lose a single worker in the country's cause. Let us enter on the new Congress year with trust, goodwill and love so that we may legitimately expect the same in return.

Statement on new tactics adopted by the Government to avoid unconditional release of detenus as on 22 September 1927.

"The "Associated Press" in a recent statement says that the Bengal Government contemplate carrying out the policy enunciated by Sir Alexander Muddiman regarding the release of detenus. Whatever action the Bengal Government may choose to take it is necessary to reiterate the public view on this occasion.

In order to avoid releasing the detenus unconditionally the police have of late, adopted new tactics. They are now interning detenus outside jail in insanitary, snake-infested remote localities including islands in the Bay of Bengal, where proper food, medical treatment and the bare necessaries of life are not available. Such internment is called in official parlance "village domicile" and both in the Assembly and the Bengal Legislative Council is referred to as "release" though this amounts to a travesty of truth. Detenus have to walk miles every-day to report at the nearest police station and scanty allowance hardly adequate for labourers, adds considerably to their hardship. District towns are so far away and district headquarters police so indifferent that in emergency detenus do not receive assistance or advice. Detenus are not permitted to associate with the local people. For example internee Srijut Jatin Bhattacharya was prosecuted for refereeing at a village boys' football match. Further if, being compelled by intolerable hardship, the deteuns, after giving due notice to the proper authorities, leave the station for reporting their grievances at a district they are prosecuted, and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment as internee Sj. Paramananda De was. In view of this, public opinion strongly condemns the sort of internment that is going on now.

The police have also adopted the policy of externing detenus from Bengal when they find that, for imperative reasons, their release cannot be prevented and they are unwilling to purchase freedom by signing bonds. Externed detenus enjoy only, nominal freedom because cons-

tant enquiries and shadowing by the police make their life miserable and owing to police activity people shrink from associating with them, as has happened in the case of externee Sj. Jiban Lal Chatterjee at Almora. The hardship of the externed detenus is increased hundredfold when as in the case of Sj. Jadu Gopal Mukherjee, the Government, do not grant maintenance allowance because, it is impossible for them to earn livelihood outside Bengal owing to the kind and importunate attentions of the police.

If the detenus are dangerous and undesirable creature, one fails to understand why the Bengal Government, should force other provinces to accomodate them. What justification, ask, is there for continuing the suspension of Habeas Corpus Act and the detention of innocent, untried citizens? The Government, will not try them because there is no case against them. We had it on the authority of Lord Lytton, when he was Governor that citizens had been imprisoned without trial, not because they had commited a crime but to prevent them from commiting crimes. Similar statements have been made by the police officers before detenus like Sj. Jadu Gopal Mukherjee so that we have now to learn a new code of criminal law.

Failing to justify further detention the police have now started picking up bombshells and broken revolvers for proving that revolutionary conspiracy still exists. In fact during the last few years, whenever there has been talk of release and whenever the Assembly or the Bengal Legislative Councill have met for discussing the detenu question, obliging gentlemen, carrying arms, have offered themselves for arrest and so-called bomb factories have suddenly been unearthed. These factories usually contain some chemicals, available everywhere and broken revolvers more danger to the user than to the person aimed at, as the police witnesses stated in the Dakshineswar Bomb case. The articles unearthed, though useless for action suffice for securing conviction. For further proving the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy ordinary cases under the Arms Act are advertised by the police in the Anglo-Indian papers as 'political cases' and in a recent pseudo-political case there figures prominently an old

police agent in the role of an approver.

During the last few years agents' provocative have, beyond doubt, been employed by the police for artificially creating a revolutionary movement in order to justify the existence of the intelligence branch, the abolition of which the Bengal Retrenchment Committee recommended some years ago. I make this statement with full sense of responsibility and undertake to substantiate the charge if an impartial Committee is appointed and the detenus and the public are allowed to give evidence without let or hindrance.

I do not suggest that the Governor-in-Council was or is in anyway a party to this game of employing agents' provocative or that all police officers were aware of or party to it. As a matter of fact this nefarious system is an exotic product, unknown in Bengal even during the Great war when there was really a revolutionary movement which the police had to fight. It is the handiwork of a few brainy police officers and certain sections of the police force have opposed not only this system but also the promulgation of the Bengal ordinance. The system has now been so perfected that crimes of political complexion can be made to appear whenever the police so desire and arms and bomb factories can be discovered as their will. When during our imprisonment, we first saw through the tactics and "modus operandi" of the police we realised that the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy could be proved and the operation of the ordinance could be prolonged till doomsday and accordingly we gave up all hopes of release. Personally I doubt if there would have been any releases up to date had not the atmosphere at Darjeeling suddenly changed owing to causes which are apparent.

During the last four or five years Bengal has passed through a phase of police Raj, the Government House having completely surrendered to Lalbazar and Elysium Row. It speaks volume in praise of the police that they were able to lead the Civil Service by the nose. This was possible by creating a panic among the high officials, including the Governor, by persuading them, that their lives would be in danger if certain people were not immediately

imprisoned.

Public grievance against Lord Lytton is that he listened only to the police version of the story, never allowed non-officials of right type to acquaint him with facts and never trusted a single Indian who was not a servile supporter of the Government. But on the otherhand, he indulged in open praise of the police and of particular police officers, in a manner so extravagant and unbecoming as to offend public sentiment.

The present policy of the Government of deputing police officers to interview the detenus for examining their mentality and offering them release, if they sign certain bonds, is exceedingly deplorable. The detenus feel that they have done no wrong and like myself, they have neither become penitent nor will ever become so. It is adding insult to injury to offer release at such a price and I beg of the Government to spare the detenus this unnecessary humiliation.

Further it is useless sending police officers to examine the mentality of the detenus because they consider the police to be chiefly responsible for their unhappy predicament and the very sight of the police officers is highly irritating to even the most sober among them. I know this from personal experience. So I believe that such interviews can only serve to embitter feelings on both sides.

It is unfortunate that when the Government take a right step they rarely act boldly and with good grace. In the present case their policy of "village internment", "conditional release", and "externment" is serving no useful purpose. Moreover, releases by driblets are not creating any impression and are not helping to ease the political tension prevailing now. If the Government are really desirous of creating a favourable atmosphere and allaying public indignation let them take courage in both hands and open the prison gates wide enough. That statement like policy, if adopted, will never have to be regretted. As long as this is not done no leader, however influential, will be allowed to talk of co-operation before the audience in Bengal."

S.C. Bose, S.C. Mitra and Dr. J.N. Dasgupta have issued this statement regarding properties of a detenu in great danger, 13 November, 1927.

On hearing that the ancestral property or Sj. Bipin Behari Ganguly, detenu under Regulation III of 1818 was in danger, we the undersigned paid a visit to Sj. Ganguly's Village home at Halisahar in District 24 Parganas on Thursday the 3rd November, 1927, in order to ascertain facts at first hand.

We found Sj. Ganguly's house in a state of disrepair and parts of it appeared to be in a dilapidated condition. The whole place was overgrown with jungle, but a portion of it had been recently cleared by some friends and well-wishers of Sj. Ganguly belonging to the same village. A part of the house was found to be occupied by Babu Jogendra Nath Ghosal, a neighbour and an employee in the Hukumchand Jute Mills. We visited Halisahar purposely on a holiday and Jogen Babu had been previously informed about our visit and had been asked by a representative of Sj. Ganguly to remain at home so that we could meet him. On enquiry after our arrival, we were told by members of Jogen Babu's family that the latter had gone to his office and was not at home but we learnt subsequently that he was at home all the time and appeared on the scene as soon as we left Halisahar for Calcutta.

Jogen Babu has been occupying Sj. Ganguly's house all the time the latter has been in jail. We gathered that he had never paid a single pie as house-rent to Sj. Ganguly or any representative of his—neither had he paid the municipal taxes. We also gathered that the municipal taxes had been in arrears for the last few years. Sometime ago Sj. Ganguly had petitioned the Government for a grant of Rs. 1000 for repairing his house. Following this, there was a police enquiry at Halisahar and we heard that the police officer entrusted with the enquiry had reported to Government that Sj. Ganguly had let out his house to a certain gentleman (viz. Babu Jogendra Nath Ghosal) who had been paying the Municipal taxes. We are not in a position to know whether this rumour about the police

report is true or not but we have no hesitation in saying that such a report—if it has been submitted by the police—is an absolutely false one and has been concocted with the sole object of repudiating Sj. Ganguly's claim for a grant for the repair of his house. We can not help remarking here that we found that there was an impression among many respectable and influential gentlemen of the village that whenever any police officer conducted an enquiry into Sj. Ganguly's affairs he did so to a very slipshod manner and took care not to consult those who could help him most with the necessary information.

We also found that Jogen Babu, not content with illegally occupying a portion of Sj. Ganguly's house, had encroached a part of the latter's land and had fenced it in with barbed wire. On a former occasion Jogen Babu had made a similar encroachment but he had been ejected by Sj. Bipin Ganguly's elder brother, Sj. Lalit Mohan Ganguly, who was then alive.

We were told that Sj. Ganguly's representatives had repeatedly asked Jogen Babu to give up the illegal occupation of Sj. Ganguly's house and the illegal encroachment on his land—but to no avail. Since Sj. Ganguly is a guest of the state now—it is the duty of the state to protect his property during his absence. We would therefore draw the attention of the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent of 24-Parganas to the illegal occupation of Sj. Ganguly's house and the illegal encroachment on his land at Halisahar.

There is another important matter to which we would like to draw the attention of the public and of the Government. Among his near relatives Sj. Bipin Ganguly had, at the time of his arrest, an elder brother, who had a wife and a son. The elder brother died in June 1924 after Bipin Babu's arrest and since his death there is no one left who could look after the family property. It is even difficult to ascertain, while Sj. Bipin Ganguly is in jail, what property, landed or otherwise, they have. From such enquiry as we have been able to conduct up to date, it appears that Sj. Ganguly has landed property in Nadia District in village Kulia in Chakdaha Thana as

well as in 24-Parganas in Naihati, Amdanga and Bijapur Thanas. In Naihati Thana he has landed property besides that surrounding his ancestral home. We have reason to believe that Sj. Ganguly has other landed property besides those mentioned above.

The settlement operations in Nadia District were completed some time ago—and it is not known whether Sj. Ganguly's property in that area was entered in his name. In 24-Parganas the settlement operation are going on now and there is no one present who can look after Sj. Ganguly's interests. Some kind friends of his are trying to do their best—but it is difficult for them to achieve much because they do not know what property he has and in which locality they are situated. Owing to this difficulty, Sj. Bipin Ganguly petitioned Government several months ago asking for leave to come home and look after his interests while the settlement operations were in progress. No reply has so far been vouchsafed and in the meantime there is danger that in his absence Sj. Ganguly's landed property may pass into other hands. We would therefore invite the attention of the Government and particularly of the Settlement Officers, to this matter.

We understand that Mr. Lowman D.I.G. of the C.I.D. visited Sj. Ganguly at Bassein Jail in Burma during the last pujah vacation when the latter told him everything about his family affairs. Mr. Lowman promised to move in the matter but nothing has been done up till now and in the meantime utter ruin is about to overtake Sj. Ganguly and his family.

The Ganguly brothers, Lalit Babu and Bipin Babu constituted a joint family and they had to maintain several dependents, besides Lalit Babu's wife and son. Since Lalit Babu's death, the family has been reduced to straits—owing to Bipin Babu's incarceration in far off Burma. A paltry allowance of Rs. 50 per month has been granted by Government for the upkeep of the joint family and this is utterly inadequate. We would like to draw the attention of Government to this matter also.—Sd/. Subhas Chandra Bose, J. N. Das Gupta, Satyendra Chandra Mitra

and Jitendra Nath Mitra.

S.C. Bose's appeal to the Congress organisations in Bengal, 22 November, 1927

At the commencement of the new Congress year I would earnestly appeal to all workers, friends and sympathisers of the Congress to take up seriously the task of overhauling and revitalizing the Congress organisations in Bengal with a view to preparing a sound basis for our future programme of work. It is necessary to do all that is humanly possible to restore friendly and cordial relations between Hindus and Mahamedans in every part of Bengal so that both communities may stand shoulder to shoulder under the Congress banner and heartily co-operate in executing the Congress programme. Congress branches that have died out have got to be revived. New centres have to be opened. While fresh life and vigour have to be instilled into the existing organisations, an appeal has to be made to every worker who may have temporarily given up Congress work to return to our fold. New workers have to be recruited in every district and the energy and enthusiasm of those who are already in the field have to be reawakened. Above all, it is necessary that the enlistment of Congress members on a large scale should commence immediately. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will meet again about the 10th of December, and I ardently hope that when members from the different districts reassemble they will be able to give a favourable report of the progress made in the above direction during the intervening period. It will be easily realised that no programme of work, however sound, can be given effect to until and unless the ground has first been prepared.

To-day there is but one problem before Bengal, namely the problem of the Detenus. This problem is merely symbolical of the much larger problem, namely that of our national servitude. All hopes of an early release of the detenus have vanished and it is clear that as long as the temporary paralysis of our national activity continues, the Government will treat our demands with contempt. Only

by a widespread and intensive national agitation shall we be able to demonstrate the depth of public feeling on this question and bring about an early release of the detenus.

The time is opportune for all groups within the Congress and all parties in the country to close up their ranks and carry on with grim determination the fight for freedom. Since the sad and unexpected demise of our great leader, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, the atmosphere has never been so favourable for joint action. I have no doubt that this golden opportunity will be fully availed of by the people of this province.

Speech on Art and Nationalism on 13 December, 1927.

At the outset I must confess that I am one of those of my countrymen who lack in art consciousness. But that is not a matter of pride for me, as a matter of fact. It is just the other way about. There is no denying the fact that there is not much love for art in our country. Of course that does not suggest that we have not a few lovers of art amongst us. But that is hardly any criterion for testing the collective art sense of a country. Unless it filters down to the masses we cannot expect all round national consciousness.

It is not necessary here nor I feel myself competent, to dilate upon the necessity of art culture in the life of a nation. But it is true, both with regard to an individual or a nation, that joy is the inevitable condition of all big creations.

My association with Dilip Kumar has enabled me to be ashamed of not possessing what I ought to have possessed. I can quite remember that while in England, being pressed by Dilip Kumar, I attended some of the musical concerts there. What struck me of all was that people had to pay for music. Demand for art and music is so great in West and even reputed artists do not get any seats unless booked earlier. I thought of my country then—how I wished that people would not get any seat even for ten rupees ?

But I could not hope then that our country would go ahead in music so rapidly as it has in the course of last

six-years. It is really an achievement of which we ought to be proud. If this speed can be kept going on, I am sure that nobody, after a decade, would be able to stick on the stigma that has been put on our art life. For this wonderful progress the credit must go to Dilip Kumar and I am taking this opportunity to intimate to him our sincere gratitude.

Apart from my personal relations with Dilip Kumar of which reference has already been made by him I must say that association with him has helped me to realise that an artist, in order to be real and great, must develop his own personality which is entirely different from the technique of art. I do not know if artists will bear me out on this point, but I feel there is room for personality in art if it is intended for the enjoyment of the general masses of people. I like Dilip Kumar's songs simply because I find in him a perfect synthesis of art and personality. When I enjoy his art I always remember that behind it there is a wonderful mind, a character. I think it is equally true of all people—poets, artists, statesmen or athletes. Development must be all-round.

The Sevak-Samity is indebted to Dilip Kumar for his many acts of help and kindness. I must tell you on behalf of the Congress that he has promised to contribute to the Detenu Fund all that may come from his first public performance. But this is very small affair. What we want to learn from Dilip Kumar is the relation between art and nationalism. A nation, like an individual is capable of being developed from all possible sides. Art, literature, factory each of these plays very important part towards national regeneration.

I am thinking of the national awakening that we observe more or less everywhere in the country. It has been suggested that it is a temporary reaction of a shock from outside like reflective action in physiology—it is just a movement important from beyond the Seas. I refuse to believe it. A movement, if artificial, cannot be all-sided. But our consciousness, considered from the standpoint of history, is a manifestation of the inner yearnings of a nation which has been visible all the country over and

especially in Bengal. Art, literature, industry—in all departments of life, Bengal is distinctly moving ahead. Each of these stimulates a nation and stimulated in turn when a nation develops on healthy lines. All of us, though working in different grooves, have this much in common that each one is striving after freedom of the soul through different channels. In this connection I should ask youngmen to think over what Dilip Kumar has said and act up to it.

The last Swadeshi agitation reminds one of the part the poets, artists and industrialists played in that great movement. The N.C.O. movement has been described as a sterile movement in as much as it did not excite the artistic life in us. It is partially true. The country has been suffering from dearth of ideas and joy. But what is the real cause? Amongst many causes two may be mentioned, viz.—(i) Economic stress, (ii) Police oppression. Our vicious system of education is practically responsible for this awful state of things. Time is certainly come for to think out the remedies and work them. It is desirable to site to what extent our poets and artists can contribute to the amelioration of this misery.

In conclusion let me appeal to Dilip Kumar that he may bring back to our country the bracing breeze of music and saturate this unfortunate land of ours with joy pure and unalloyed.

(At the request of the audience Sj. Roy singly and in chorus with his young friends and his sisters sang a few songs which drew thundering applause.

After another national song of his father was song by Sj. Roy the function terminated.)

Statement concerning Detenu's Fund on 16 December, 1927.

I have the greatest pleasure in announcing that Sri Rabindra Nath Tagore has very kindly consented to stage one of his plays in aid of the Detenu's Fund. It will be a great consolation to the detenus, their families and all who are interested in them, to know that Rabindra Nath feels very keenly for the cause of the detenus and the

public will be grateful to him for his sympathy and help.

I am also glad to announce that the entire proceeds of Sj. Dilip Kumar Roy's first public concert will go to the Detenu's fund. The public will be grateful to Sj. Dilip Kumar for his sympathy and assistance.

THE DREAMS OF YOUTH

We have been born in this world to fulfil a purpose—to preach a message. As the sun rises to illumine the world, flowers blossom in the forest to spread fragrance, the river flows to the sea with the gift of ambrosial water, we too have come down to this earth with the ecstasy and full vigour of youth to establish a truth. The unknown and mysterious purpose which makes our otherwise worthless life meaningful must be discovered—and discovered through contemplation and experience gained in a life of action.

The high tide of youth has carried us here to make everybody taste the joy eternal (**Ananda**), because we are the manifestation of that bliss (**Ananda-Swarup**). We shall stride across the earth as the very embodiment of **Ananda**. We shall rejoice out of the **Ananda** which is in us and shall also make the whole world resound with our laughter. In whichever direction we may turn the darkness of sorrow will disappear, with our life-giving touch will vanish disease, misery and suffering.

We shall inundate this vale of tears, this painful world of man with the flood of **Ananda**.

We have come with hope, enthusiasm, spirit of sacrifice and heroism. We have come to create, because it is in creation that **Ananda** lies. We shall dedicate our bodies, our minds, our lives and our intelligence. All the goodness, all the truth and all the divinity inherent in us will be manifest in our creations. We shall be surcharged with the **Ananda** that comes from self-sacrifice, and the world will be blessed by tasting that **Ananda**.

But there is no end to what we can give; there is no end to what we can do, because

"The more we sacrifice of our lives
The more powerful will be the flow of life,
Life then will never come to an end,
There is so much to say, so many songs to sing,
And so much of the life-force within me;

There is so much happiness, so much to aspire for
My life is just full of them."
Yata deva pran vahe yave pran
phurave na ar pran ;
eta katha ache eta gan ache
eta pran ache mor ;
eta sukh ache eta sadh ache
pran hoye ache bhor.

We have come with eternal hope, limitless enthusiasm immeasurable energy and indomitable courage so none will be able to resist the flow of our life. Let mountains of faithlessness and despair block our path, let the inimical forces of mankind combine and stand against us, our onward joyous march will remain unimpaired.

We have a particular religion of our own and we always follow its precepts. We are votaries of whatever is new, whatever is vital and whatever has not been tasted before. We bring newness into the old, motion into matter, novelty into maturity and the infinite into the finite. We are not always prepared to accept past experiences generated by history. Undoubtedly we are travellers to eternity, yet we always prefer the untrodden path—the unknown future is what we love dearly. We demand "the right to make blunders". Hence many do not sympathise with our nature, we appear to many as wayward and turbulent.

But in this lies our **Ananda** and in this lies our pride. Youth everywhere and forever is wayward and turbulent. Roused by unfulfilled desires we forge ceaselessly forward and we have absolutely no leisure to listen to sermons of the wise. We make mistakes, we fall in errors, we stumble but we never lose our enthusiasm and never retreat. There is no end to the turbulence we create because we are forever dynamic.

It is we who create the history of freedom from country to country. We have not come here to apply the balm of peace. We have come to generate conflicts, to spread the message of struggle and to usher in revolution. We make our appearance with the sword in our hands wherever there is bondage, wherever there is superstition and dogmatism, whereever there is prejudice or narrow-minded-

ness. Our only business in life is to keep the road to freedom free from all obstruction so that the freedom-fighters can march along that road without **let or hindrance**.

To us human life is a truth absolute. Therefore the kind of freedom we demand—without which life is utterly meaningless and to gain which we have been shedding our blood cheerfully through the ages, that freedom is all-pervasive. We have come to preach the message of freedom in every sphere and field of life. Be it sociology, economics, politics or ethics, we want to bring the light of truth, the upsurge of **Ananda** and the fundamentals of liberalism.

From time immemorial we have been singing the music of freedom. Since our very childhood the yearning for freedom has been flowing through our veins. Our cry at birth only signifies our protest against material bondage. In our childhood crying is our only weapon but when we grow into youth brawn and brain are added to our armoury. And what wonders have we been able to perform with our brawn and brain—read the history of Babylonia, Phoenesia, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Turkey, England, France, Germany, Russia, China, Japan or Hindusthan or whatever other country—you will find that on every page of history our achievements have been written in letters of gold. All emperors have mounted the throne with our help and that every emperor had to flee leaving his throne behind because we only indicated to him to do so. On the one hand we built the Tajmahal, a petrified symbol of the tear of love and on the other we made the earth purple with rivers of blood. With our united strength we have built society, state, literature, arts and sciences in different countries through the ages ; again when we have assumed the role of the 'destroyer' **(Rudra)** and started the dance of destruction—so many societies, so many empires have been reduced to dust under our dancing feet.

Now after ages we have realised our strength, we have been able to recognise where lies our **Dharma**. Who dares now to exploit us or to rule over us ? Amidst this new awakening the highest achievement and the greatest hope

is that youth has been able to assert its presence. Now that the slumbering spirit of youth is awake in every sphere of life and in life itself the red glow of youth will shine brightly. This youth movements is all-pervasive as it is universal. Today in every country of the world, especially where dark cold senility is casting its shadow the youth have come forward and are standing erect firmly and proudly. Who can tell with what divine light will they illumine the world? Oh my youthful harbingers of new life, arise, awake, the streaks of dawn are visible already!

2nd Jaistha, 1330.
(16 May, 1923)

THE CALL OF THE MOTHERLAND
(Desher Dak)

One hundred and fifty years ago it was the Bengalees who showed the foreigners the way to penetrate India. Now it is incumbent on the Bengalees of the twentieth century to expiate that sin. The men and women of Bengal must now recover the lost glory of India. How to accomplish this task in the best possible manner is the problem with which the Bengalees should be primarily concerned.

Though Mahatma Gandhi, the initiator of the nationalist movement, is a non-Bengalee, yet this movement has had its wider impact in Bengal than in the other provinces. This is my experience after touring Bihar, United Provinces, and Central Provinces.

Though the Bengalees are not quite pioneers in other fields of life, yet this is my firm conviction that the Bengalees are in the forefront in the struggle for Swaraj. I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that India is going to win Swaraj and that primarily the Bengalees have to bear the brunt in the onerous task of attaining Swaraj. There are many who lament that Bengalees have failed to be like the Marwaris and the Bhatias. I, on my part, always pray that may the Bengalees remain forever Bengalees.

Shri Krishna has said in the Gita "Sadharme Nidhanang Sreya Parodharma Bhayabaha". One should rather die for one's own **Dharma** but to change one's **Dharma** is frightful. I believe in this saying. For the Bengalees to forsake their **Swadharma** is tantamount to the sin of suicide. God has not bestowed on us wealth but he has enriched us with the wealth of life. If we lose our richness of life in the craze for wealth, then we should better forego wealth.

Bengalees should always remember that they have a distinctive place in India—why only in India, in the whole world—and they have a duty to fulfil in keeping with that position. Bengalees have got to win freedom and as soon

as freedom is won they have got to build up a new India. And that new India has to be built by the Bengalees through varied activities, in the field of literature, science, music and the arts, activities connected with the physical prowess and skill, athletics, and through charity and benevolence. It is only the Bengalees who have the power to bring about progress in every field of national life and also the instinct for cultural synthesis.

I believe that the Bengalees have a character peculiarly their own. This special characteristic of the Bengalees has been manifested in education, culture and the inherent mental make-up of the Bengalees. There is a special feature also in the landscape of Bengal. Is there not something unique in the soil of Bengal, in her rivers and dales, in her skies, in her luscious green fields and in her ponds ringed by palmyras? Has not this unique natural setting of Bengal added something to the character of the Bengalees? Having been born in a land with such a tender soil, the Bengalees are so warm-hearted! Having been brought up against this beautiful natural background, they have become worshippers of beauty. Nourished by food and water provided by their well-watered, fertile and highly productive motherland the Bengalees have been able to show such creative faculties in literature and verse.

The wave of natural awakening that swept over Bengal two or three years ago has now no doubt lost its momentum, yet in no time the tide will return. The flood gates of nationalism in Bengal will again be thrown open. That flood will reawaken the spirit of Bengal again. The Bengalees will once again be mad for freedom and stake their all for it. The country will once again gird up its loins to win freedom.

Who can tell where is that fortunate one now who will assume the role of the high-priest of this undertaking and in what sort of **Sadhana** he may now be engaged? We do not know whether Mahatma Gandhi will lead this movement or a new seer will take his place.

But we must not wait with folded hands for answers to these questions. We must be prepared from this very moments for that new awakening. We have to take to Sadhana through a comprehensive process of contemplation, introspection, deep thinking, work, sacrifice, enjoyment etc., so that when the call comes we shall be ready.

Mother Bengal demands a band of new young **Sanyasins.** Brethren, those of you who are ready for self-sacrifice, come forward. Our motherland can offer you only sorrow, suffering, hunger, poverty and the rigors of imprisonment. If you are prepared to swallow the position of suffering and poverty like the **Nilkantha** without a protest then come forward because the Country needs you. If God wills and if you eventually survive you will enjoy life in a free India. If you die in your holy task in the service of your motherland blessings of heaven will be upon you after your death. If you are real heroic sons of your motherland then come forward.

Oh you, youthful harbingers of new life, it is you who have created the history of freedom in country after country. Will you be asleep when in an awakening world the message of freedom is ringing everywhere? It is you who have for ever made "life and death" your slave, it is you who have in every country built temples of nationalism on the sacred base of sacrifice and it is you who have gladly accepted all kinds of suffering and torture and have offered service and devotion in return. You have never been after any gain, you have ever been untouched by fear and inspired with the message of freedom, you have embraced death like heroic soldiers. In recognition of your valour, your heroism and the strength of your character mother earth has put the mark of victory on your unblemished forehead.

Oh you, the youth of Bengal! I invite you to the holy task of service to the country. Come running all of you, wherever you may be and in whatever situation! The skies are reverberating with the sound of the holy conch of the Mother. There on the eastern horizon the arbiter of India's destiny has appeared in the form of the newly rising sun. Blessed with the holy light of freedom, even China, Japan, Turkey, and Egypt are now standing with their heads erect in the comity of nations. Will you still be asleep and stupefied? Arise, awake,—there is no time to

lose. The sin committed by your forefathers in the eighteenth century by way of leading the foreign traders into India must be expiated by you in this twentieth century. The resurgent national spirit of India is today crying out for freedom. So I appeal to you all to come forward, to put on **Rakhi**—the symbol of brotherhood, and be initiated in the temple of the mother with the vow that you will put an end to the shame that afflicts our mother, re-establish India again on the high pedestal of freedom and recover the lost glory of our Holy MotherIndia.

11 Poush 1332.
(December 1925)

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION
(Gorar Katha)

Just as in a human being so also in the life of a nation we find childhood, youth, middle age and old age. Man dies and after his death he is reincarnated; similarly, a nation also dies and through the process of death regains a new life. But the difference between a man and a nation is that there are nations which fail to have a new life after death. A nation whose existence does not have any significance any more, a nation which has completely lost its life-force disappears from the face of the earth or if it at all survives somehow it leads a life similar to the life of lowly creatures—living somehow biologically but no impact of its existence is felt anywhere except in the pages of history.

The Indian nation died more than once but after death attained new life. This is because of the fact that the existence of India had significance in the past and has even now India has a message to give to the whole of humanity; there is something in the culture of India which is essential to the whole humanity and if that is not accepted by mankind, world civilisation will fail to reach its true fulfilment. Not only that—our nation has something to contribute and to teach in the fields of science, arts, literature, industry and commerce to the world at large. The seers of India therefore kept alive with the utmost care the light of knowledge of India even through periods of darkness. We are their descendants, how can we die without fulfilling this national mission?

Human body is reduced to the elements but the soul of man never dies. Similarly even when a nation dies, its wisdom, culture and civilization survive as its soul; only when the creative power of a nation is gone it has to be assumed that the nation is about to die. Its activity is confined to eating, sleeping and propagating children and fulfiling a mere routine becomes its way of existence.

Even certain nation which have descended to such

a state regenerate themselves provided there is a purpose in their existence. Such a nation when engulfed by darkness somehow keeps alive the heritage of its culture and civilisation and does not lose its identity by merging itself with other nations. Then by the decree of Providence or Destiny a renaissance takes place in such a nation. Darkness gradually vanishes and the nation awakened from slumber opens its eyes once again ; it regains its creative power. Then like a thousand-petaled lotus the life-force of the nation blossoms again and manifests itself in newer and newer forms, newer and newer ideas and newer and newer fields. The Indian nation has passed through so many deaths and resurrections and that is because of the fact that India has a mission and Indian civilisation has a purpose which has not yet been fulfilled.

Only that Indian who believes in the mission of India is really alive. It is not that all the thirtythree crores of Indians are alive in the true sense of the term. As the youth of India and of Bengal have this faith in the mission of India so they are truly alive.

As I spent month after month in prison in a far-off country, this question used to arise in my mind often. What cause and what inspiration are making us all the more courageous instead of being disheartened by the burden of prison life ? I used to get the answer from within, the essence of which was this : "India has a mission and India has a glorious future ; and we are the heirs of that India of the future. It is we who are creating the history of the freedom of India and will continue to do so in the future. It is because of this faith that we are able to put up with all sorrow and suffering, can disregard the gloomy present and can demolish the cruel facts or reality by striking them with the strength of our ideas. It is because of this indomitable, and unwavering faith that the youth power of Bengal can defy death itself."

The man who has this self confidence and this sense of reverence is creative and he is entitled to serve his country. Whatever noble efforts are seen in this world, they are but the reflections of this self-confidence and creative power that reside inside man. Can that man

create anything who has neither confidence in himself, nor in the nation ?

The Bengalees undoubtedly suffer from many defects but there is one quality which the Bengalees possess and which has overshadowed many of their defects and on account of which they are respected in this world as human beings. The Bengalees have self-confidence, the Bengalees have an emotional frame of mind and imagination, and they can therefore visualise great ideals regardless of all the failings, all the limitations and failures in the material life in Bengal today. They can lose themselves completely in the contemplation of those ideals and devote themselves unreservedly to achieve what apparently appear to be unattainable. It is because of this power of imagination and of self-confidence that Bengal has produced so many dedicated men and more will be born in future. It is because of this that the backbone of the Bengalees will never give way in the face of sorrows, sufferings and tortures. A nation which possesses idealism will gladly put up with sorrows and sufferings to gain for the achievement of its ideals.

There are many who think that suffering brings only pain, but this is not true. Just as there is pain in suffering there is also an element of infinite joy in it. One who has not tasted this feeling of bliss, to whom suffering only means suffering, is overwhelmed under the pressure of sorrows and sufferings. But the man who has tasted that indescribable pleasure in sorrows and sufferings, to whom suffering is a matter of glory, instead of being defeated by sorrows and suffering, becomes all the more powerful and glorious. Now the question is, "What is the source of this joy ? Wherein lies the source of the lightening that flashes across the overcast sky in a dark night ?" To me it appears that the fountain of this joy is nothing but the love of ideals. To the man who suffers because of his selfless devotion to some great ideals, sufferings are not meaningless. To him suffering is transmitted into joy, and the nectar of sublime joy brings strength through his veins. Only he who has been able to sacrifice himself at the alter of idealism can realise the meaning of life and can have

a taste of the indwelling **Rasa** of life.

Last April while I was reading a Russian novel I heard an echo of my ideas. The Russian novelist has this to say to the Russian people through his hero :

"There is still much suffering in store for the people, much of their blood will yet flow, squeezed out by the hands of greed ; but for all that, all my suffering, all my blood is a small price for that which is already stirring in my breast, in my mind, in the marrow of my bones ! I am already rich, as a star is rich in golden rays. And I will bear all, will suffer all because there is within me a joy which no one, nothing can ever stifle ! In this joy there is a world of strength."

The man who makes 'Nilkantha' his ideal and says—the fountain of bliss is flowing freely inside me, so I can accept with all my heart all the sorrows and sufferings of the world ; the man who can say—I am taking upon myself the entire burden of suffering and misery—because that is the way to discover the truth, that man indeed has attained spiritual realisation.

Today we have got to attain that realisation. Those who want to create a new India, they have only to renounce, to sacrifice throughout their lives, to give themselves away completely and become paupers without asking anything in return. Life will attain fulfilment on the basis of total sacrifice of life itself. Votaries of such an ideal will have no treasures other than self-confidence, idealism and Ananda.

A few days ago I met a student friend and he asked me a few questions smacking of pessimism and lack of faith. The burden of his questions is that, nothing at all is going to be achieved in our country. After I had answered a few of his questions he asked me, "Is it not futile to try to enter the Council, obstruct the government and drive away the ministers ?" I answered, "Well, if you do not want to do all such things, will that not be equally futile ?" Then observing his lack of faith and lack of reverence I said, "Look, you are much younger than me, and inspired by certain ideals you have taken to path of non-cooperation. As my idealism is growing with age while in your case it

is ebbing away." Then he confessed that as a result of various troubles and tribulations during the last few years he had lost his mental equilibrium.

Now, it cannot be simply refuted that during the last two years Bengal is temporarily in the grip of pessimism and frustration. This has to a certain extent paralysed our vitality but now it is time to get rid of what is rotten inside us. There can not be a greater enemy than the one that lurks in the mind of man. So, you have got to first defeat the enemy within in the form of faithlessness and then we shall be able to defeat the enemy outside. Today the Bengalees have not to regain indomitable self-confidence. We must have faith in idealism. Our confidence in our own strength, firm belief in India's glorious future and so inspired we shall conquer the conscience of the world.

A survey of present day Bengal gives us hope for two reasons : (1) the penchant for physical culture and world travel (2) the awakening of the youth. The Bengalees had to suffer from a stigma current everywhere that they were cowards and now that stigma is no more. Even the greatest enemy of Bengalees will not now dare to slander Bengalees in that way. Every Bengalee knows who gave them the bad name and how the accusation was done away with and I need not go into that here at present. But even now the blemish physical weakness is there which the Bengalees must get rid off.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that Bengalees are now determined to overcome this drawback and organisations are being established everywhere with this end in view. If this stigma is to be wiped off for all time, the Bengalees must become strong and powerful as a nation. This aim cannot be achieved only by having amongst us a few world famous wrestlers to bring glory to the nation ; that does not lead to an improvement of the physical strength of the Bengalees in general. In judging a particular nation one should take into consideration not only its best representatives but one must have a look at the common people as well.

It is a matter of the highest satisfaction that Benga-

lees have now developed a wanderlust. Who would have believed even twenty years ago that the Bengalee would leave his home behind and would go out into the wide world on feet, on cycle, or swimming? Such yearning to see unknown lands, to trade the unbeaten track, to know people yet unknown leads to the founding of empires. Nations who do not and cannot go beyond their narrow national limits inevitably decline. On the other hand, nations, who disregarding all obstacles and the fear of death, travel all over the world, develop physically and mentally day by day and become founders of Empires. When poet Dwijendralal sang—

Amar a deshetei janma, jano a deshetei mori

(I was born in this country and I want to die here). He put before us a wrong idea. It is now time for us to declare: "Ami jabo na, jabo na jabo na ghore, bahir karechhe pagol more". (I will not keep myself confined to my home anymore, the wide world outside has intoxicated me).

Now it is time for us to leave the narrow confines of our homes and to be out in the wide world. First, we must cross over the frontiers of our land, travel across the world and discover lands still unknown and undiscovered. A nation which can perform such things gains in physical strength, courage, knowledge and experience and simultaneously goes ahead in trade and commerce and in the establishment of empires. The principal reason why the British are so advanced today and have built up a big empire is that they as a people are immensely fond of travel. Although we do not have any desire to establish an empire, can there be any doubt that travelling round the world will make us large-hearted, will add to our knowledge and experience, strengthen our self-confidence and also result in a flowering of our intellect. But to reap the maximum possible benefit out of world travel, one should not go about like the very rich modern American tourists but travel on feet, on horse-back or on the cycle disregarding all discomfort.

Another great sign of hope is that today a movement among the youth is noticeable in almost every district. This

movement is a sign of the vitality of life. Youthful minds are awake and the youth has started to realise where their duty lay and that is why so many youth conferences are being held in different places now-a-days. From time to time it is heard that young men are prepared for action but they are groping for the right road. Some say that the youth are unable to accomplish anything owing to the absence of leaders. That the youth are wide awake and are trying to appreciate their duties and the responsibilities is no small matter even though they have not found the proper leader and the right road. Now what I want to say is even if you fail to find the leader, are you going to sit idle? Create your own leaders and then go ahead and do your work. A leader does not descend out of the blue, it is the movement which creates the leader. And then, you cannot just say "Quo vadis" and remain idle holding the head in your hands,—this will not do. Try to find out the way for yourself in the light of your own conscience and intellect. The problem is not as difficult as you think it to be. Our ideal is that we wish to build up a nation that will excel in every sphere of life and will be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other leading nations of the world, in knowledge and in action, in education and in religion. So, there must be all-round awakening in the life of the nation. No sphere of life must be left out. Everybody has to choose his own field of work according to his ability and inclination. Everybody must offer to the motherland whatever power there is in him as a matter of inheritance or gift from God.

During the last twenty years Bengal has produced many seers, poets, men of letters, scientists, men of action and leaders of the people. Many among them have after completing their mission left this world leaving their countrymen in tears. Even now the void they left behind has not been filled by others. Is this not a matter of utter shame for the Bengalees? If the Bengalees are a living nation then men must come into being who can fill the void as early as possible. When a nation is really alive such emptiness does not continue for long—with the departure of the great a new generation of gifted persons come and

take their places. A nation that is engaged in dedicated work in the different fields of human endeavour never lacks proper men for different tasks. Bengal's Sadhana is yet to be all-pervading and perfect in all respects, that is why after the departure of a man of genius, or of a leader their places are not immediately taken up by others.

Unless we keep before our eyes the vision of a nation, fully developed nation, we shall never be able to achieve success and fulfilment in our mission. The life of a nation is manifold—the nation must be built-up from all directions. When a nation is infused with the vital life-force, the nation must flourish in all spheres of life. Without this, we shall have something patchy and not completely beautiful.

Young Bengal must come into its own. Without being dependent on outside forces it must be self-reliant. The task of building up a new nation has devolved on the youth. To fulfil such a responsible task the youth must stake even life itself and dedicate itself. It is a very good augury that everywhere preparations are going on for the task ahead. Shall we sit with folded arms in the face of this great undertaking? No, that can never be; so I call upon you—O you! the harbingers of new life! Come, let us approach the holy altar with this **mantram** "Mantram ba Sadhayeyam Sariram ba Patayeyam".

We shall achieve our object, else we shall lay down our lives in the attempt.

Aswin 1333
(October 1926)

Statement on 1st January 1928, being interviewed by a representative of Forward on the statement of Dr. Moorji

"Dr. Moorji has issued a long statement condemning the Congress resolution and belittling the importance and prestige of the one institution which can speak to the world on behalf of the Indian people. He has thus unwillingly done just the thing which the British Government and Lord Birkenhead in particular—would like him to do at the present juncture. The bantering tone which pervades his statement does little credit to the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. I fail to understand what Dr. Moorji or the Hindu Mahasabha or India will gain by attacking Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar or the Indian National Congress at a moment when our first and foremost duty is to strengthen the Congress and enhance its prestige.

Dr. Moorji is the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and by issuing a statement in his official capacity he seeks to give the impression that his personal views are the views of the Hindu Mahasabha. This is far from true. Though I was not present in Madras I understand that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and several eminent leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha heartily endorsed all the resolutions of the Congress, including that on Hindu-Muslim unity. For this, the Hindu Sabhas in different provinces of India do not hold identical views on such controversial questions as cow and music. It is, therefore, not fair to circulate the views of a particular leader or of a particular province as the views of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

In considering the general opinion of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the opinion of the Bengal Hindu Sabha should not be a negligent factor. In view of the population of Hindus in Bengal and the unique part they have played not only in the struggle for India's freedom, but also in the revival of Hinduism since 1857—the opinion of Hindu Bengal should be treated with greater consideration than has hitherto been done. India is a huge country extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and I strongly object to the prevailing practice of passing on as the opinion of Hindu India what can at best be the opinion of Hindus in a few provinces.

I have heard from some important and reliable workers of the Hindu Sabha that of all the provinces in India, the Hindu Mahasabha has done the greater amount of work in Bengal. If this be true, it stands to reason that the Hindu Mahasabha has a very large following in my province. But I know Bengal and I know at least some of the prominent Hindu Sabha workers in Bengal. And, I will tell Dr. Moorji very plainly that at a very modest

computation at least 80% of the workers and members of the Bengal Hindu Sabhas are nationalist to the core and they have nothing in common with the mentality and temperament which Dr. Moorji is unfortunately now exhibiting.

I am Hindu, and though I do not agree with some aspects of the work which the Hindu Mahasabha is carrying on, I sincerely admire its work in the sphere of social uplift and religious reform. But I would inspire the Hindu Mahasabha not to dabble in problems which come primarily within the purview of the Indian National Congress.

I make bold to say that the views which Dr. Moorji has announced on the unity resolutions of the Congress are not those which Hindu Bengal could endorse. If he has any doubt on this point, I am prepared to tour the whole of Bengal with him and address meetings from the same platforms. It will then be for India to judge as to who represents the Hindus more faithfully. I have thrown down the gauntlet. It is for Dr. Moorji to take it up."

Speech at Hartal Meeting on 4 February, 1928

To-day we have tasted British sense of law and order. We hear in season and out of season of Pax-Britainica, but is it the Prototype of Great Britain ?" Lord Lytton gave expression to a bare truth when he had said, "England can do no good to India at her expense".

"The 3rd of February 1928 is a memorable day in the history of India's battle for freedom. From sunrise to sunset we have had a clear vision of British character, I hope, we will not fail to have this lesson enshrined in our heart to the last day. The brute in them appears in its nakedness when there is an occasion for any least opposition from us. Language fails to give adequate expression to the lesson we have been taught. We may call it Goonda Raj, Police Raj or Military Raj."

"I am not a lawyer, I do not know what is the law of sedition. I am not in the least afraid to speak out what I regard as truth. The type of Raj as was evinced by the

British Raj today is a bigger edition of goondaism. I bear no ill-will to the English.

"To us all men are our brothers. If the British has the right to live as an independent nation we may have the same claim. The English, French, Afghans have the right to live ; why should we be denied the same right."

"The time has come when we should declare in no uncertain terms that we do no longer hold the British in awe. We have been familiar with their aeroplanes, machineguns, fixed bayonets, though not with sub-marines. I have been all along an optimist. In some respects, I think, we are superior to the English. We are the repository of strength. Though an optimist I could never think that the citizens of Calcutta could ever come out of the ordeal with so unique a success. Courage and self-reliance displayed by the young generation nay the old too, all prove conclusively how far the country has advanced. Ten years back such a tremendous success was an impossibility. 1928 and 1929 are rare opportunities which fall to the lot of a subject nation the Indians. This Commission is not a gift from the English. A compromise is sure to be forthcoming between the English and the Indians. If we be in a position to compose our differences, they would be bound to concede to our unanimous demand in toto. The fear of the Government lies in closing up our ranks. If only the five crores of Bengal stand to a man, our victory will be within our easy reach. Let this dying nation meet death not like sheep but as a man."

Fervent appeal for Workers, 22 February, 1928.

Acid Test of Desire To Be Free.

Referring to the incident of assault he said "We feel that Swaraj is coming and they feel it too very well and this is why like the drowning man catching at the straw they are making the last attempt. These assaults, these oppressions are the last chapters of the history of our slavery. It is the acid test of our desire to be free. Born in an atmosphere of slavery the belief grows deep in our minds that this life of slavery will never come to an end

and that Europe is destined to rule over Asia. Rome conquered Greece and Greece again conquered Rome. Who can say that history will not repeat itself? "I don't say", he continued, "that we shall also conquer England. They are responsible for the struggle in which we are engaged. They wouldn't allow us to enjoy that freedom and individuality which they themselves enjoy in their own country. Russia, Japan, Turkey and even that small territory of Afghanistan are free, but we, a nation of three hundred millions, are serfs at our names. It is time to tell them clearly that if they do not admit our right to be free, we shall apply all the available resources that we have at our command."

As regards the Simon Commission, he said, "it is unthinkable how a foreign nation can be the judge of another Nation. What do you think the feeling would be in England, if we send seven of our countrymen to determine the fitness or otherwise of England to rule herself? We should, therefore, reply to this insulting and humiliating challenge by putting forward the constitution, that is being made at Delhi and if they ask us to what is the standard of our freedom, our unhesitating and bold reply will be—"the will to be free."

Plea of illiteracy exposed

"It is often pleaded by the enemies of our freedom that there is ignorance and illiteracy in a large scale among the people. But what is the percentage of education in Afghanistan, in Nepal and what was it in Russia before the Revolution? How many poets are there in Turkey like Tagore, how many scientists like Bose and how far History, Literature, Fine arts and Music are developed there? Still they are free while we are slaves." "An European writer once said," Sj. Bose went on, "if a foreign nation attacks Afghanistan, every man, woman and child will rise up and take to arms to defend their country. It is their grim determination to remain free, that makes conquest by outsiders impossible. The agony of bondage should be felt by every Indian."

"How many fall victims to diseases and famine every

year? When malaria, cholera and other epidemics take heavy tolls every year and money is demanded to extinguish these scourges they plead short of funds and again, when money is demanded for flood or famine relief the impudent reply is: Government is no charitable institution. There is no remedy to all these except freedom."

Sj. Bose quoted an English Economist who said that "boycott, not only stifles an industry but it has also a lingering after effect which causes the loss of markets.

Boycott of British cloth will compel the British to ask for truce."

Speech on Boycott Meeting, 24 February, 1928.

There are only two ways open to us to enforce our claim and fulfil it. The one is armed revolt and other economic blockade. The former is impossible for us, as we are a disarmed nation. So the second and the stronger of the two is left to us. A concrete example of it was seen in the last war, when Germany though victorious and in possession of Belgium and a greater portion of France, implored to negotiate peace with France owing to economic distress. It was that continental blockade—the blockade of import of foodstuff from outside that made Germany surrender. Now, the greater portion of the five crores of people in England, has to depend upon trade and commerce with India for its livelihood. And if we can use this formidable weapon of boycott against them there will be civil Revolution in England and the authorities will be compelled to ask for truce. According to modern science of warfare, this tactics has been declared to be the best and the most effective. So, is it not rather easier to direct this weapon against them, only by sitting at our home?

Unique competition

We are now practically feeding the people of England by purchasing their articles. Is it not better or rather desirable to encourage our own industries and help our

own countrymen and thus help to develop our National Industry and commerce as far as possible? At present we are even handicapped in this respect also, for instance, it is very difficult for an Indian to obtain money on credit from the Imperial Bank, for business, while a European, will get on mere asking. If however, anybody, starts a business, say manufacture of matches, a European concern will at once set up another and will destroy it by selling at a far lower price, though at considerable loss. Even that great Indian concern as the Tatas had to suffer greatly owing to such competition, and Sir Dorab Tata had to run to Delhi for help. Can helplessness go farther? The unemployment problem, which is at present a zest to the society, cannot be solved unless there is Industry and commerce on our part on a very large scale and there is no remedy to all these unless Swaraj is obtained.

Youth's responsibility

In this national crisis it is the duty of youngmen to work for the country. We have the best weapon and if we get the best workers—the youths of the land, then it is certain that we shall attain our goal in as short time as possible, and the duty of our womanhood is no less important. It is they, who still rule our homes even in these days of our degeneracy and if they are determined to help the national cause and to boycott British goods, it is sure, the male members in the families, will submit and this scourge will be driven from every home. This opportunity now presented to us, will never come to us again and when the time for compromise will come it is not the loyalists, as Baldwin said, who will be our plenipotentiaries, but it is the boycotters—the soldiers in freedom's battle, that will be sought to speak on the nation's behalf.

And when actually such an occasion arose during the Prince's visit in 1921, it was not Lord Sinha, who was sought for, but it was Deshbandhu whom Pandit Malaviya went to meet in Jail after 7 p.m. when the doors

were closed. So, if we steadily stick to this policy, for sometime at least, our goal will be reached.

Speech on City College scandal protest meeting, 2 March 1928.

A charge is generally levelled against us. That it is we who generally provoke the youths of the country —a charge, which I have every reason to believe is beside the point at this moment. But the time is not far off when they will need provocation from us. Many are eager to know how do I regard this movement. It need not be told that I am at one with the youths of the country in freedom's battle. I shall lay down my life at the feet of the hopefuls of the country in any movement that draws its inspiration from them. It is gratifying to note that Bengal has been seized with a new awakening—a new outlook on life. The present movement launched on by the students of City College as sequel to the arbitrary action of the college authorities in riding rough shod over the religious susceptibilities of the Hindu students has my warm and unstinted support. It is up to us to see that it is running in proper channel.

I for my part am not hostile to any honourable compromise that the authorities may deem fit to arrive at although it would be simply hoping against hope.

The City College affair is after all easy of solution. The attempt that is being made in certain quarter to pass it off as something complex is in reality nothing but making a mountain of a mole-hill.

I am reluctant to thurst my religious conviction on other Hindus as we are tolerant to a great degree and this toleration has not unoften its' tendency towards inaction and inertness. It passes my comprehension how the Brahman gentlemen of light and leading could stoop so low as to force on the Hindu students their own religious faith.

Appeal to public for funds, April 21, 1928

The Lilloah workers have manfully stood their ground for 42 days. Far from there being any inclination on the part of the Railway authorities to concede to the legitimate demands of the workers or agree to remedy them, an announcement has just been made, that 2,600 workers will have to be thrown out of employment in the interests of economy and efficiency. This along with the tragedy at Bamungachi clearly indicate that the authorities are in no mood for settlement. The workers will have either to win their victory or to go back to work unconditionally. The latter is unthinkable, the former is not possible without the sympathy, support and help of the public. We appeal to the public to come forward with help for relief to the distressed workers, to do their bit for the workers in their fight against capital backed up by all the resources of the State. Contributions may be sent to Sj. Ramananda Chattopadhyaya, 2-1 Townsend Road, Bhowanipur.

Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, 3 May, 1928.

Friends, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the high honour you have done me by requesting me to preside over the deliberations of the Sixth Session of the Maharashtra Provincial Conference. You are probably aware that I did not at first venture to accept the kind invitation, but by referring to the old relations between Bengal and Maharashtra some of my friends touched a most tender chord in my heart. The appeal then proved to be irresistible and every other consideration had to stand aside.

Before I proceed to place before you my view with regard to our present policy and programme, I would like to raise some fundamental problems and attempt to answer them. It is sometimes urged by foreigners that the new awakening in India is entirely an exotic product inspired by alien ideals and methods. This is by no means true.

I do not for one moment dispute the fact that the impact of the West has helped to rouse us from intellectual and moral torpor. But that impact has restored self-consciousness to our people, and the movement that has resulted therefrom and which we witness today is a genuine Swadeshi movement. India has long passed through the traditional period of blind imitation—of reflex action, if you put it in psychological language. She has now recovered her own soul and is busy reconstructing her national movement along national lines and in the light of national ideals.

I agree with Sir Flinders Petrie that civilizations, like individuals grow and die in a cycle fashion and that each civilization has certain span of life vouchsafed to it. I also agree with him that, under certain conditions, it is possible for a particular civilization to be reborn after it has spent itself. When this rebirth is to take place, the vital impetus, the elan vital, comes not from without but from within. In this manner has Indian civilization been reborn over and over again at the end of each cycle, and that is why India in spite of her hoary antiquity is still young and fresh.

The charge has often been levelled against us that since democracy is an Occidental institution, India, by accepting democratic or semi-democratic institutions, is being Westernized. Some European writers—Lord Ronaldshay for instance—go so far as to say that democracy is unsuited to the Oriental temperament and political advancement in India should not, therefore, be made in that direction. Ignorance and effrontery could not go further. Democracy is by no means a Western institution; it is a human institution. Wherever man has attempted to evolve political institutions, he has hit upon this wonderful institution of democracy. The past history of India is replete with instances of democratic institutions. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his wonderful book, 'Hindu Polity', has dealt with this matter at great length and has given a list of 81 republics in ancient India.

The Indian languages are also rich in terminology required in connection with political institutions of an advanced type. Democratic institutions still exist in certain

parts of India. Among the Khasis of Assam, for instance, it is still the custom to elect the ruling chief by a vote of the whole clan ; and this custom has been handed down from time immemorial. The principle of democracy was also applied in India in the government of villages and towns. The other day while visiting the Varendra Research Society Museum at Rajshahi in North Bengal, I was shown a very interesting copper-plate inscription in which it was stated that civic administration in the good old days was vested in a committee of five, including the Nagar Sreshthi (i.e., our modern Mayor). With regard to village self-government, it is not necessary to remind an Indian audience about the village Panchayats—democratic institutions handed down to us from days of yore. Not only democratic but other socio-political doctrines of an advanced character were not unknown to India in the past.

Communism, for instance, is not a Western institution. Among the Khasis of Assam, to whom I have referred, private property as an institution does not exist in theory even today. The clan as a whole owns the entire land. I am sure that similar instances can still be found in other parts of India and also in the past history of our country.

I think it necessary at this stage to warn my countrymen, and my young friends in particular, about the attack that is being made on nationalism from more than one quarter. From the point of view of cultural internationalism, nationalism is sometimes assailed as narrow, selfish and aggressive. It is also regarded as a hindrance to the promotion of internationalism in the domain of culture. My reply to the charge is that Indian nationalism is neither narrow, nor selfish, nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideals of the human race, viz., Satyam (the true), Shivam (the good), Sundaram (the beautiful). Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more, it has roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and, as a result, we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of India art.

Another attack is being made on nationalism from the point of view of international labour or international Communism. This attack is not only ill-advised but unconsciously serves the interests of our alien rulers. It would be clear to the man in the street that before we can endeavour to reconstruct Indian society on a new basis, whether socialistic or otherwise, we should first secure the right to shape our own destiny. As long as India lies prostrate at the feet of Britain, that right will be denied to us. It is, therefore, the paramount duty not only of nationalists but anti-nationalistic Communists to bring about the political emancipation of India as early as possible.

I have already hinted that I plead for a coalition between labour and nationalism (I am using 'labour' here in a wider sense to include the peasants as well). It has to be admitted that though we have passed resolutions from the Congress platform time and again regarding the desirability of organising labour, much has not been achieved in that direction.

If we view the programme of the Congress during the last few years we shall find that only in our Khadi programme have we been able to offer to our masses something which means bread and butter to them. Khadi, I am glad to say, has brought food to thousands and thousands of hungry mouths all over India. Given money and organization there is plenty of scope for pushing on Khadi. There are lakhs and lakhs of poor Indians living on the verge of starvation to whom Khadi can offer a means of subsistence, But the appeal of Khadi cannot be universal. We find from bitter experience in some parts of Bengal that as soon as the masses are a little better off, their Charkhas lie idle and that the peasant who gets a better return from paddy or jute cultivation refuses to cultivate cotton.

Except when Congressmen have joined the Kisan movement, as in the U.P. or have taken up the question of jute cultivation, as in Bengal, or have undertaken a campaign for nonpayment of taxes in order to resist illegal taxation or oppressive legislation, as in Gujarat, we have seldom been able to make a direct appeal to the economic

interests of the masses. And until this is done—human nature being what it is—how can we expect the masses to join the freedom movement ?

There is another reason why I consider it imperative that the Congress should be more alive to the interests of the masses. Mass consciousness has been roused in India, thanks to the extensive and intensive propaganda undertaken during the non-co-operation movement ; and the mass movement cannot possibly be checked now. The only question is along what lines this mass consciousness should manifest itself. If the Congress neglects the masses it is inevitable that a sectional—and if I may say so, anti-national movement will come into existence and class war among our people will appear even before we have achieved our political emancipation. It would be disastrous in the highest degree if we were to launch class war while we are all bed-fellows in slavery, in order that we may afford amusement to the common enemy. I regret to say that there is at present a tendency among some Indian labourites to belittle the Congress and to condemn the Congress programme. This recrimination should cease and the organised forces of labour and of the Congress should join hands for furthering the economic interests of the masses and promoting the cause of India's political emancipation.

Friends, you will pardon me if for one moment I ask you to lift your eyes from the realities of the present and attempt to scan the future that looms before us. It is desirable that we should search our hearts in order to find out what it is that we are running after, so that we and our succeeding generations may grow up in the light of the ideal and shape our course of action accordingly.

Speaking for myself, I stand for an independent Federal Republic. That is the ultimate goal which I have before me. India must fulfil her own destiny and cannot be content with colonial self-government or Dominion Home Rule. Why must we remain within the British Empire ? India is rich in resources, human and material. She has outgrown the infancy which foreigners have been thrusting upon her, and can not only take care of herself but can function as an independent unit. India is not

Canada or Australia or South Africa. Indians are an Oriental People, a coloured race, and there is nothing common between India and Great Britain from which we may be led to think that Dominion Home Rule within the British Empire is a desirable consummation for India. Rather, India stands to lose by remaining within the Empire. Having been under British domination so long, it may be difficult for Indians to get rid of the inferiority complex in their relations with England. It may also be difficult to resist British exploitation so long as we remain an integral part of the British Empire.

The usual argument that India without the help of Britain cannot defend herself is puerile. It is the Indian army—much more than the British army—which is defending India today. If India is strong enough to fight the battles of England outside her borders—in Tibet, China, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Flanders—she is certainly strong enough to defend herself from foreign aggression. Moreover, once India is able to free herself, the balance of power in the world will save India, as it has saved China. And if the League of Nations becomes a living organization with some sanction behind it, invasion and aggression will be a thing of the past.

While striving to attain liberty we have to note all its implications. You cannot free one half of your soul and keep the other half in bondage. You cannot introduce a light into a room and expect at the same time that some portion of it will remain dark. You cannot establish political democracy and endeavour at the same time to resist the democratization of the society. No, my friends, let us not become a queer mixture of political democrats and social conservatives. Political institutions grow out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go, and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The status of women should also be raised and women should be trained to take a larger and a more intelligent

interest in public affairs.

While I do not condemn any patch-up work that may be necessary for healing communal sores, I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for our communal troubles. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another because cultural intimacy will pave the way towards communal peace and harmony. I venture to think that the fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapprochement. As things stand today, the different communities inhabiting India are too exclusive.

In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy, and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. This sort of education is useful in another way, in that it helps to rouse our economic consciousness. The dawn of economic consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim Zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests be, and once they understand it, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.

One of the most hopeful signs of the time is the awakening among the youth of this country. The movement has spread from one end of the country to the other end, as far as I am aware and has attracted not only young men but young women as well. The youth of this age have become self-conscious; they have been inspired by an ideal and are anxious to follow the call of their inner nature and fulfil their destiny. The movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul, and on the course of this movement depends the nation's future. Our duty, therefore, is not to attempt to crush this new-born spirit but to lend it our support and guidance.

Friends, I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organization of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail; it will create for you a new India—and a free India—out of the failures, trials and experience of the past. And, believe me, if we are to rid India once for all of the canker of communalism and fanaticism, we have to begin work among our youth.

There is another aspect of our movement which has been somewhat neglected in this country—the women's movement. It is impossible for one-half of the nation to win liberty without the active sympathy and support of the other half. In all countries—and even in the Labour Party in England—women's organizations have rendered invaluable service. There are various non-political organization among women in different parts of the country, but I venture to think that there is room for a country-wide political organization among them. It should be the primary object of this organization, which will be run by women alone, to carry on political propaganda among their sex and to help the work of the Indian National Congress.

Our benign rulers and our self-appointed advisers are in the habit of lecturing day after day on our unfitness for Swaraj. Some say that we must have more education before we can hope to be free; others maintain that social reform should precede political reform; still others urge that without industrial development India cannot be fit for Swaraj. None of these statements is true. Indeed it would be far more true to say that without political freedom—i.e., without the power to shape our own destiny—we cannot have either compulsory free education or social reform or industrial advancement. If you demand education for your people as Shri Gokhale did long ago, the plea is put forward by Government that there is no money. If you introduce social legislation for the advancement of your countrymen, you find Miss Mayo's cousins on this side of the Atlantic arrayed against you and on the side of your social die-hards. When you are working yourself to death in order to bring about the economic and indus-

trial regeneration of India you find to your infinite regret and surprise that your Imperial Banks, your Railways and your Stores Departments are least inclined to help your national enterprises. You pass resolutions in your Municipalities and in your Councils in favour of Prohibition and you find that the Government meets you with a stonewall of indifference or hostility. I have no doubt in my own mind that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the sovereign remedy for all our ills. And the only criterion of our fitness for Swaraj is the will to be free.

How to rouse the national will within the shortest possible period is, then, the problem before us ; our policies and programmes have to be drawn up with a view to this end. The Congress policy since 1921 has been a dual policy of destruction and obstruction ; of opposition and consolidation. We feel that the bureaucracy has entrenched itself in this country by erecting a network of organizations and institutions and by appointing a hierarchy of officials to run them. These are the seats of bureaucratic power and through them the bureaucracy has a grip on the very heart of the people. We have to storm these citadels of power and for that purpose we have to set up parallel institutions. These parallel organizations are our Congress offices. As our power and influence increase through the organization of Congress Committees, we shall be able to capture the bureaucratic seals of power. We know from personal experience that in districts where Congress Committees are well organized, the capture of local bodies has been possible without any difficulty. The Congress offices are, therefore, the forts where we have to entrench ourselves and whence we have to stir out every day in order to raid the bureaucratic citadels. Congress Committees are our army, and no plan of campaign however skilfully devised, can succeed unless we have a strong, efficient and disciplined army at our command.

Friends, you will remember that when, after the Gaya Congress of 1922, there was a tendency among a large section of our countrymen to concentrate wholly on the constructive programme to the exclusion of everything else, Deshbandhu Das pointed out in the manifesto of the

Swaraj Party that it was absolutely necessary to keep up a spirit of resistance to the bureaucracy. He firmly believed that without an atmosphere of opposition it was not possible to push on the constructive programme or to achieve success in any other direction. But this basic principle we often seem to forget. "Non-co-operation is barren"—"opposition has failed"—"obstruction is fruitless"—these are catchwords which mislead the unwary public. The most tragic element in our character is that we do not look ahead ; we are easily upset by failures. We lack the dogged tenacity of John Bull, and unlike him, we cannot therefore fight a longlasting game.

I have often been asked how the end will come, how the bureaucracy will ultimately be forced to accede to our terms. I have no misgivings in this matter for I have already had a foretaste of what will come. The movement will reach its climax in a sort of general strike or country-wide hartal coupled with a boycott of British goods. Along with the strike or hartal to bring about which labour and the National Congress will heartily co-operate, there will be some form of civil disobedience because the bureaucracy is not likely to sit idle while a strike is going on. It is also possible that there may be non-payment of taxes in some form or other, but this is not essential. When the crisis is reached the average Britisher at home will feel that to starve India politically means economic starvation for him. And the bureaucracy in India will find that it is impossible to carry on the administration in the face of a country-wide non-co-operation movement. The jails will be full as in 1921, and there will be general demoralization within the ranks of the bureaucracy, who will no logner be able to count upon the loyalty and devotion of their servants and employees. There will be a paralysis of the administration and possibly of foreign trade and commerce. The bureaucracy will consider the situation as chaotic but, from the point of view of the people, the country will be organized, disciplined and determined. The bureaucracy will then be forced to yield to the demands of the people's representatives, for saving themselves from unnecessary trouble and anxiety and for res-

toring their trade with India.

Our immediate task is among other things to make the boycott of the Simon Commission complete and effective. We, Congressmen, have never accepted the pernicious preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919. This Act has been forced down our throats but we have never owed willing allegiance to it; in fact we have tried our level best to non-co-operate with it. We take our stand on the sacred and inviolable rights of men, and the principle of self-determination. We maintain that it is for India to frame her own constitution according to her needs, and it is for Britain to accept it in toto. This procedure has been followed not only in the case of countries that have won back their independence but in the case of the self-governing dominions within the British Empire including the Irish Free State.

The counterpart of this boycott, in fact its positive aspect, is the framing of a national constitution. The All Parties' Conference has taken this matter in hand and all lovers of India should wish the Conference complete success. The Secretary of State for India has in a fit of pompous pride challenged India to produce an agreed constitution. If there is a spark of honour and self-respect left in us, we should take up the gauntlet and give a fitting reply by producing a constitution.

I shall not tire you with any details of the constitution that should be drafted. I shall leave that task to our constitution framers and shall content myself by referring to three cardinal points. These three points are as follows :

(1) The Constitution should guarantee national sovereignty, i.e., the sovereignty of the people. What we want is government of the people, by the people and for the people.

(2) The constitution should be prefaced by 'declaration of rights' which will guarantee the elementary rights of citizenship. Without a 'declaration of rights' a constitution is not worth the paper it is written on. Repressive laws, ordinances and regulations should be unknown in a free India.

(3) There should be a system of joint electorate. As a temporary arrangement, there may be reservation of seats if that is found necessary. But we should by all means insist on a joint electorate. Nationalism and separate electorates are self-contradictory. Separate electorates are wrong in principle and it is futile to attempt to build up a nation on a bad principle. We have had a bitter experience of separate electorates, and the sooner we get rid of them the better for us and for our country.

In order to enforce our national demand, it is necessary to take such steps as lie in our power, because a mere appeal to the sweet reasonableness of Britishers will be of no avail. Weak and unarmed though we are, Providence has in His mercy given us a weapon which we can use with great effect. This weapon is economic boycott, i.e., boycott of British goods. It has been used with great effect in Ireland and in China. It was also used to great advantage during the Swadeshi movement nearly 20 years ago and partly during the non-co-operation movement. Boycott of British goods is necessary for the revival of Swadeshi and for effecting our political salvation.

It is also necessary that, while the political fight is going on, some of us should take up the work of village reorganization. In a vast country like ours there is room for a variety of talent, and scope for diversity of temperament.

We must all be pained to notice that our masses, and particularly our labourers, are at present passing through a severe economic crisis. Drastic retrenchment is going on in the different Railways, and particularly in the railway workshops. I understand that several crores worth of railway materials are imported from Great Britain for our Railways whereas these could easily be manufactured in India if the workshops were extended. If an attempt were made to manufacture these goods in India, far from retrenching the existing labour staff, the administration

would be able to provide employment for many more. But here again the interests of the Britishers and their industry have to be safeguarded at the cost of poor India.

It is the bounden duty of all Indians, and of Congressmen in particular, to come to the aid of labour in their hour of trial. Let us try and help them with all the means at our disposal.

Friends, we have reached a most critical stage in our nation's history and it behoves us to unite all our forces and make a bold stand against the powers that be. Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder and say with one heart and with one voice that our motto is, as Tennyson said through Ulysses, "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to

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Statement bearing upon the City College affair, 18 May, 1928

I am glad to find that attempts are being made to bring about a satisfactory compromise between the authorities and students of the City College. But the suggestions which have appeared in to-day's papers do not appear to me to be on the right lines. It is no use restricting the freedom of worship of either the image worshipping Hindus or of the Brahmo Hindus. I would rather urge that freedom worship be extended to both. The relation between the Brahmo Samaj and the rest of Hindu society bears no analogy to the relation between Hinduism and christianity or between Hinduism and Islam. I look upon the Brahmo Samaj as a section of Hindu society. This belief of mine is confirmed by the present attitude of most of the prominent members of the Brahmo Samaj. It is now customary for the Brahmos to call themselves as Brahmo-Hindus and prominent Brahmo gentlemen have been taking a prominent part in the Hindu Mahasabha. It, therefore, behoves the Brahmo-Hindus to treat the image worshipping Hindus with great toleration and respect. Since the attitude and mentality of the Brahmo Samaj has undergone considerable change during the past ten years, I think we can expect a similar change in their treatment of their

image-worshipping co-religionists.

I do not desire to enter into the controversy between the authorities and the students of the City College. It will suffice to say that from the legal point of view the students are in the right. This statement of mine will be borne out by a reference to the trust deed of the City College and of the Ram Mohan Roy Hostel. But I will not trouble myself. With the legal aspect of the problem I desire to plead for toleration and respect. So far the intolerance has been on the side of the authorities. If the authorities had shown greater tact, less vindictiveness and more toleration, no trouble would have arisen at all. However, it is not too late to retrieve the present position. I have put the broad issue before my Brahmo-co-religionists and shall await a response.

Lecture at Opera House on the Mission of Young India, 22 May, 1928.

"The Mission of Youth" is to create a new world for themselves and for humanity. Not every movement conducted by the youths do I deem as the youth movement but that which is born of an inner awakening and inspired by a new faith and visions of the society of the future. The mission of youth is the first to dream of a "kingdom within ye" and next to strive for its realisation in social and national life. I believe in the mission of youth for it is in the company of youth that the best in us finds expression. But the Indian youth is not sufficiently self-conscious. It has not grasped the full connotation of the movement. There is as yet but imperfect perception of Indian mission in the world. I hear the remarks from my young friends that our leaders have failed to give a proper lead. It is the duty of the youth to look around to study the needs of the situation and then take the work of reconstruction on hand and thus give the lead. Look around what created modern Italy. Surely the dreams of Mazzini and his band of co-workers and co-dreamers. What forces are moulding the destinies of Germany, Persia, China and other countries today? The dreams of their youth. One

shortcoming of the Indian, I repeat, is that it is not sufficiently self conscious.

"India's mission to-day is two-fold (1) to solve her political, economic and social problems and (2) to make her contribution to the world civilization and to the solution of the world problem. To carry out this mission the Indian youth must be conscious of India's historic past and must dream about her splendid future. And there must be burning desire to transmit these dreams into reality and to give expression to these ideals in collective life. The dominant ideals to-day, as I see them, are the federation of self-governing nations in political sphere and the federation of cultures in cultural sphere. And the world problem to-day is to bring about the federation of man and a synthesis of cultures. India can make her contribution to the solution of this problem only when she has solved her national problems.

"For a successful solution of her national problems the Indian youth must be fully conscious of the underlying unity of Indian society and the continuity of her civilization. As I visualise it, the Indian civilization is a mighty river flowing down the banks of the time reinforced at various intervals by different culture streams. From Kashmir to Cape Comorin, from Bengal to Gujrat it is one civilization. There may be outward diversities. Our histories have told us they are different. But we have to unlearn many things from history we have been taught by our alien historians. We have but to look to our past and develop a historic consciousness to realise the greatness of our civilization, its achievements in art, philosophy, religion and sociology. There is nothing Hindu or Muslim about it. It is the result of confluence of cultures. Look at the vision of Taj in moon-light and realise the beauty of the mind that conceived it. One of our Bengali novelists has exquisitely described it as "tears crystallised in stone" and if only the Moghuls had left nothing more behind them than the Taj I would be grateful to them. And what will the British Government leave behind them, when their domination is over ? Nothing but jails with their ugly walls and hideous rooms.

"It is in harmonising different angles of view of synthesising different cultures that the special mission of India lies. Europe had tried to solve it, but how ? What is the record of England and other countries in Africa and Asia and where are aborigines who had come under the civilizing influence of Europe ? How is America solving her Negro problem ? India had avoided that path and had attempted to solve it according to her lights. Harmonising of different ethnic groups was sought to be achieved through Varnashrama Dharma. But conditions have changed to-day and we need a higher and more scientific synthesis."

"So carry the torch and set ablaze the whole country with sacred fire of revolution, nationalism and patriotism. No power on earth much less the power of Great Britain can quench that sacred flame."

Statement concerning detenus, 8 June, 1928.

I interviewed Sjs. Bepin Behari Ganguli and Surendra Mohan Ghosh at the Alipore Central Jail this afternoon. Both of them are living in an uncertain state of mind as they do not know what is going to happen to them. Bepin Babu's landed property is lying scattered about in different parts of Nadia and 24-Parganas districts. The settlement operations are going on and he wants leave from Government in order to look after his landed property which will in his absence pass into other hands. The money which his brother bequeathed at the time of his sudden death as well as the Capital which he invested in sugar-cane pressing industry in Bankura District are also about to pass into other hands if they have not already done so. It will also be necessary for Bepin Babu to take legal proceedings in some cases in order to save his property. For all these reasons it is necessary for Bepin Babu to go home on leave once as soon as possible. I see no reason why the Government should not accede to this request if they are unable to release him now.

Bepin Babu is still suffering from dyspepsia and insomnia and looked somewhat emaciated when compared with

what he looked on the last occasion.

Suren Babu looked very much pulled down. His present weight is 97lbs. He is still suffering from throat trouble and slight temperature in the evening and the morning. He told me that he had been getting the temperature since he was at Yarveda Jail.

I asked him to bring this to the notice of the Superintendent at once. Inspite of his physical condition Suren Babu, I am glad to say, is very cheerful and appeared to be in the best of spirits.

Letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Telegraphic Address
"Bipiseesee"
Phone No. 2952 Barabazar

116 Bowbazar Street
Calcutta, 12th July 1928

My dear Panditji,

I was in receipt of your telegram last night. After my first visit to Allahabad I had sent a Circular to all the districts asking for information about the present composition of the District Boards. I am sorry I have not yet received replies from many of the districts. I am, therefore, sending you what information is available from an official document, viz., report on the working of the District Boards in Bengal, during the year 1925-26. This information is at least 2 years old. During the last two or three years, owing largely to the communal awakening in this Province, the elections to the district boards have been run on communal lines..... of this communal awakening is not so clear in the figures....1925-26 which I am sending herewith. The effect of the..... has been amply demonstrated in the recent district board elections in Eastern Bengal. In the election in Mymensing held about a year ago, out of 22 members not a single Hindu has been returned inspite of the existence of joint elec-

torate. This is practically the case in Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Barisal and other districts. In the election at Jessore held a few months ago Muslims have swept the polls and the offices of Chairman and Vice-Chairman hitherto held by Hindus have been captured by Muslims for the first time. As a result of this, I am told, Maulavi-Nawsher Ali, M.L.C., Chairman and Maulavi Abdur Rauf, M.L.C. Vice-Chairman, who were formerly supporters of separate electorate have now changed their views. I am also told that this has also influenced Sir Abdur Rahim who has till very recently been a staunch supporter of separate electorate. I met our new M.L.C., of Nadia this morning and he told me that in the next District Board election which will take place soon he expects that 75% of the seats will be captured by the Muslims. I am trying to collect information regarding the recent elections and shall post within a day or two what information is available here.

With profund regards.

I am,
Yours respectfully,
Subhas C. Bose

P.S.

Sj. Saral Datta, M.L.C. from Barisal tells me that in the last Dt. Board elections held 6 months ago, there were 4 Hindus elected and 16 Muslims.

S.C.B.

TELEGRAMS

SUBHASCHANDRA BOSE
CARE BIPISEESEE CALCUTTA

SORRY YOU ARE UNWELL REGRET CANT WAIT TILL TENTH ANSARI AND ALL MEMBERS EXCEPT SHUAIB APPROVE RECOMMENDATION SHUAIB ABSENT DISAGREES CHAPTER THREE INSISTS 1/3 MUSLIM RESERVATION CENTRAL LEGISLATURE STOP IN VIEW SHUAIBS DISAGREEMENT REST MUST STAND TOGETHER

(2)

I ADVISE YOU WIRE PERMISSION SIGNING WITH MAJORITY UNLESS IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE INVOLVED AND YOU PREPARED RECORD FORMAL DISSENT IF LATTER SEND KIRANSHANKAR IMMEDIATELY WITH DRAFT STOP PLEASE EXPEDITE DESPATCH BENGAL MAP SHOWING DISTRICTS STOP TATAS INVITE ME VISIT JAMSHEDPUR

(3)

EXAMINE SITUATION PERSONALLY WIRE IF LABOUR ALSO WILLING WILL NOT ARBITRATE BUT ONLY ADVICE IF PARTIES IN PROPER MOOD TO LISTEN

MOTILAL NEHRU
ANANDA BHAWAN 6.8.28

Statement on Jamshedpur labour situation
28 October, 1928.

"I have been requested by friends in Bombay, Calcutta and other places to give my views on the present labour situation at Jamshedpur. The situation, I am glad to say, is steadily improving. The vast majority among the labour are now reasonable and inspite of his best efforts Mr. Homi is daily losing ground, but that does not mean that the men have no grievances. They had genuine grievances, prior to the hartal in May, some of which have been redressed by now, but many of which have not yet been removed. The company and the management will be given full opportunity by the labour to remove these grievances, but if unfortunately the former do not rise to the occasion, there will be trouble again. In that event I shall have to fight the company openly or cease connection with the Labour Association.

The fundamental problems now before the management are firstly, fair and equitable distribution of bonus and increment and secondly, provisions for quarters along

with water and lighting arrangements, thirdly sympathetic treatment of workmen at the hands of officers, fourthly stopping of summary discharges and arbitrary punishments, fifthly, gratuity for old employees at retirement, sixthly, revision of leave and service rules and lastly removal of the grievances of daily-rated men.

"I am not referring here to comparatively minor grievances. On the top of all these, there is the supremely important question of Indianisation. The solution of some of these problems rests with the management, while that of others rests with the directors. Prior to the strike, the directors, I am constrained to say, did not do all that they could possibly do to ameliorate the hard lot of the Labour. The management were not in touch with the currents and under currents in the Labour world. The officers to whom the task of dealing with the Labour was left signally failed in their duty and they gave a wrong advice to the management. It is a well-known fact that some officers of the company including some departmental heads indirectly helped to strike by their tactless and unsympathetic behaviour even when the strike was continuing

"If the company want peace at Jamshedpur, then for several months to come both the directors and the management will have to be vigilant and prompt in dealing with the labour questions. If the above problems are handled simultaneously in a spirit of liberal mindedness, then only will there be a lasting peace which the Chairman of the Board so sincerely desires.

There is unfortunately an impression in some quarters that Labour at Jamshedpur is well off and is even pampered. This impression has once for all to be shaken off. The labour grievances are genuine and legitimate and have to be removed. Whether the capitalists like or not the Labour movement has made rapid strides during the last few years and to-day it cannot be trifled with. We try our level best to direct this movement along healthy channels. But whether we shall succeed or whether the unruly and irrational elements will get the upper hand depends on the company and the management. I consider this industry to be a national one and I have decided, there-

fore, to place my humble services unreservedly at the disposal of this concern. But I expect this company to which Indian people have extended their protection to act in a truly national spirit.

Statement to the Press on Independence League
November 1, 1928.

"On my return to Calcutta from Jamshedpur my attention has been drawn to the report of a meeting held at 36/1, Harrison Road at which delegates to the meeting of the Independence for India League at Delhi have been elected. My surprise is all the greater because I find the name of Dr. K.L. Ganguli in that meeting. An Independence for India League for the province of Bengal has already been formed and Dr. Ganguli has been associated with it from the very beginning. He was a convener of the first meeting and is a member of the Executive Committee of the League. He attended not only the general meeting but also the meeting of the Executive Committee at which the manifesto and programme were adopted and took an active part in the discussion. Further, since the organisation of the Bengal League the function of the Provincial organiser has ceased. In these circumstances the meeting held at 36/1, Harrison Road was wholly irregular and unconstitutional in electing delegates to the meeting of the League at Delhi."

View on A.I.C.C. Resolution, 7 November, 1928.

"The meeting of the A.I.C.C. was a very successful one. Alarmists had predicted some sort of split over the question of the basis of constitution. I told a representative of "Forward" before I left Calcutta that on the one hand the A.I.C.C. could not scrap the Nehru report and on the other hand it could not give up the goal of complete Independence. I further stated that a compromise between these two positions would have to be arrived at and in my opinion it was not only possible but essentially desirable to bring about this compromise. I am glad that

this expectation of mine has been fulfilled. It is gratifying that the working committee unanimously decided upon this compromise and recommended it to the A.I.C.C. for acceptance. The formula adopted should be acceptable to the up-holders of Independence and Dominion status alike.

"The Press reports are very misleading and I do not know if Mr. Satyamurthi had been correctly reported. I may, however, say that neither Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, nor I accepted the report whole-heartedly. We made it particularly clear that we disagreed with many other members of the All-Parties conference with regard to the basis of the constitution but we did not move any amendments in favour of a constitution of Independence at Lucknow for reasons which were fully explanied by us there. For the same reason we did not want to divide the house over the question. To say on the face of this. that we accepted the report whole-heartedly is not correct. I still believe as firmly as ever that we acted in the best interests of the country in not dividing the All-Parties Conference on this question."

"I am aware of this and this criticism only shows that the report has not been pursued by the speaker. The Congress was responsible for convening the All Parties Conference and it did so because of the resolution of the Madras Congress to that effect. It was, therefore, my duty to serve on the All-Parties constitution committee when I was appointed to it.

"Two courses were open to me as a member of that committee, viz., either to submit a dissenting note on the question of Independence or to enter a protest in the body of the report and then submit a joint report. I chose the latter course and I think rightly too. I still maintain that if I had submitted a dissenting note, several dissenting notes would have to come in on various questions and the joint report would not have been produced by the members of the committee. The effect of this would have been disastrous. I had to avoid this and yet maintain my view point by entering a protest against the body of the report with regard to the basis of the constitution and then submitting

a joint report. I would like to know from critics what other course of action was open to me which, in their opinion, I should have adopted. I can not think of any other alternative myself.

"The Nehru Report is, in my opinion, a great achievement. I am not sorry that I served on this committee and submitted a joint report, though after entering a protest in the body of the report. We would have been poorer without the report. Consequently I have no reason to be sorry that I signed the report. I did not surrender a jot or a little of my views on Independence by signing the report. Both in the report and the resolution of the All Parties conference at Lucknow we congressmen reserved our right to work for Independence and we are now exercising that right by organising the Independence for India League."

"With all respects to Lala Lajpat Rai (I yield to none in my admiration for him) I may say that his arguments on this point were without substance. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar dealt with Lala Laipat Rai's arguments in the best manner possible and I shall not repeat his arguments. I may, however, say that the communists in Parliament in England and Republicans in Ireland all take the oath of allegiance, though they are out for scrapping the constitution of altering it radically. The oath is purely a constitution oath and one taking the oath can certainly work for radical alteration of the constitution. Consequently I see no reason why Lala Lajpat Rai should have raised the point at all. Moreover Lalaji had said in the earlier part of his speech, that he had no objection to any means which would help in bringing Swaraj. This being the case why should Lalaji object to council entry on the part of members of Independence League, for so far as I am concerned. I honestly feel that I can be a member of the council and at the same time be a loyal and active member of the Independence League."

"The League has a very bright future. It has been started at an auspicious moment and has been gaining ground every day. The volume of sympathy behind the League has been growing by leaps and bounds. We have

been just able to draw up our constitution and the best task that awaits us is to frame the policy and programme of the party. I have no doubt by the time the Congress meets our programme will be ready."

Statement on the death of Lala Lajpat Rai on 18 November 1928.

"It is not possible to say much when one's heart is so full of grief, but I will recall with joy and pride his last services to his country. When the Simon Commission visited Lahore, Lalaji as the people's champion went out at the head of the procession and gladly paid the price of leadership. Who can say to-day, whether the touch of the Policeman's lathi had anything to do with his sudden death."

"Of late I had the privilege of meeting him twice, once at Lucknow and the other time at Delhi. At Lucknow he was one of those mainly responsible for the success of the All Parties Conference. I doubt if without him the agreement about the Punjab, Sindh and other controversial matters could have been arrived at. He followed up his work at Lucknow by an intensive campaign for popularising the Nehru Report. At Delhi he was given an ovation by the members of the All India Congress Committee and his speech in which he spoke with passion and indignation about the cowardly assault of the guardians of law and order made a profound impression.

"Providence so willed that before he left us he made a gift of all his properties to the nation. This reminds me of the similar gift of Deshbandhu Das. This is how great men live and die. Lalaji was in the full possession of his powers and talents and died at the height of his fame and glory. He has left his countrymen weeping. As a death his was a happy death. But what about his enslaved countrymen ?"

Statement on the Bauria Jute Mill strike, 27 November, 1928.

"I had been to Bauria on Sunday, the 25th instant to obtain first-hand information with regard to the strike situation there. The first thing which struck me on my arrival there was that the mill authorities were practically the Zemindars of the surrounding villages. They were putting great pressure on the strikers in their dual capacity as mill authorities and Zemindars. At first no public meeting could be held anywhere near the mill but with great difficulty and considerable sacrifice, the villagers managed to get the Karbala compound for the purpose of holding their meetings.

"I was besieged with complaints about the treatment of the mill authorities towards the workers and the conditions of service there. I shall soon publish a detailed account of their grievances. I may however, say at this stage that if the allegations are even partially true then the conditions of service are horrible and revolting particularly in view of the fact that the three Bauria Jute mills have been making fabulous profits ever since they started work.

"There were also allegations about the conduct of the mill authorities as Zemindars. I was told that vehicular traffic was not allowed to pass freely along the canals (khals). These are very serious allegations and deserve close investigation.

"The men in the jute mills have been on strike for-over 4 months. They are firm, united and resolute. I had the opportunity of addressing a very large meeting of the strikers and I found that their spirit was undaunted. I admire the pluck and courage they have shown in this prolonged fight. They have received practically no monetary relief from outside but still they are carrying on bravely.

"In this connection I can not help condemning the conduct of the authorities for disturbing our meeting. While the meeting was going on, attempts were made to wreck it by means of some distraction elsewhere. Rumours began to reach our meeting that some loyalist

employees of the company had started assaulting or attacking the villagers, while most of the male adult population were away from the villages, because of the meeting. There was some temporary excitement at the meeting as the news reached the audience but this was quelled by the speakers. This morning a messenger came to me from Bauria saying that the loyalist employees were planning an attack on the poor and unarmed villagers. If this report be correct, the inference which the public will draw is quite clear. On Sunday night, information was sent in writing to the Sankrail Thana about the disturbance. The officer-in-charge of the Bauria Thana was present at our meeting and he obtained all the information there. If after receiving timely information the officers of Sankrail and Bauria thanas do not take proper steps, the fault will be entirely theirs.

"Before passing a final opinion, I must necessarily wait for fuller information, but I would like to make it clear that the inhabitants of the villages near about Bauria deserve special protection because they are being oppressed by a class of people who are both mill authorities and Zemindars. If a fraction of what I heard about the affairs there is true, I must say that within a distance of nearly 15 miles from Calcutta, the poor villagers are living in another "Raj".

"I would invite the attention of the people to the situation at Bauria. It is difficult to imagine that things happen within such a short distance of Calcutta of which every one should feel ashamed. I have no doubt that with more publicity, we shall be able to win the active sympathy and support of the public for the "Striker villagers" of Bauria."

Statement on Free Press ban on 28 November, 1928.

"I am not surprised at the treatment meted out to the 'Free Press of India' by Sir John Simon. In a way I am glad, because Sir John has thereby exposed the hollowness of his Liberal principles. The Indian Press—like the Indian people—has an uphill task before itself or it

can be free from the fetters which bind it now. The Free Press of India is an institution for which I have a warm corner in my heart and in whose well-being I am genuinely interested. I have no doubt that like the other sections of the Indian Press it will survive the onslaught and come out with added prestige and glory. We are grateful to the Secretary of the Indian Journalists' Association, Calcutta, for the step that he has taken in convening a conference of all those who are interested in the Freedom of the Press. May his efforts be crowned with success.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, "Modern Review", Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra, "Sanjibani", Moulavi Mujibar Rahaman, Editor, "Mussalman" and Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Editor, "Calcutta Weekly Notes" have also supported the idea of holding a Journalists' conference to consider (1) The situation created by the withdrawal of the "Free Press" and the whole case on its merit. (2) The feasibility of convening an All-India Journalists' Conference in the last week of December.

A letter to Mahatmaji

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
43RD SESSION, CALCUTTA
1928
Ref. No 501

1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta, the 3rd December, 1928

My dear Mahatmaji,

I am forwarding to you a letter from a young friend who is anxious to attend on you during your stay in Calcutta. I do not know if you still remember him but he attended on you on several occasions. I desire to have your instructions as to what I should tell him in reply.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will kindly let me know how many Volunteers you would require for your camp together with their qualifications. It would also help us

if you could inform us as to how many members there will be in your party.

With profound regards

I am,
Yours respectfully
Subhas Chandra Bose

Messrs J.M. Sen Gupta and S.C. Bose have issued the statement condemning the behaviour of Bombay audience on 19 December, 1928.

Our attention was drawn a few days ago by some Muslim friends to a report which appeared in the Urdu Press to the effect that Moulana Saukat Ali had been treated discourteously at a public meeting in Bombay. This happened long after the actual occurrence and the delay was due to the fact that nothing appeared in the English Press about the incident. Immediately after we were informed about the incident we enquired of several journalist friends if they had heard anything about the matter and all of them told us that they knew nothing about it. We thereupon secured an English translation of Moulana Saukat Ali's statement about the incident. We wired to the Moulana conveying our sense of grief at the way a leader and patriot of his position and record had been treated by an audience and also our strong condemnation of their behaviour. Along with that we wired to Mr. Jinnah requesting him to give us his version of what had occurred. Mr. Jinnah replied to the letter and forwarded a cutting from a Bombay paper which he said was substantially correct. After that we were about to issue a statement on the subject when we heard of the arrival of the Moulana in Calcutta. We thought that it would be desirable to meet him once before issuing a statement. We met him this morning.

So far as the incident in the Bombay meeting is concerned, we have no hesitation in saying that it calls for the strongest condemnation. Freedom of opinion and toleration for another's point of view are indispensable if

we are to have a democratic public life. If the demonstration against the Moulana was organised and pre-arranged, it is all the more reprehensible. Whatever one may think or feel about his present views on the Nehru Committee's report there is the reason why we should question his honesty of opinion and sincerity of purpose. A leader and a patriot of his position, standing and record certainly deserves consideration even if his views on any occasion do not appear agreeable to us. Public life is nowhere possible without certain conventions. We have no doubt that leaders of all schools of thought and all who have any interest in public life think and feel as strongly as we do on this question.

We do not know if those who took part in the demonstrations realised the implications and consequences of their actions.. We on our part entirely digagree with those who have given or attempted to give the incident a communal colouring. We are aware that in certain loyalist circles an attempt is being made to exploit this incident and rouse communal passions. We strongly deprecate the attempt in the present atmosphere of India to give a communal colouring to an incident which all agree in condemning. We consider the incident not as anything communal but simply as a disgraceful exhibition of bad manners. Nevertheless we should like to say that those who took part in the demonstration should have realised that they were giving a handle to the enemies of Indian nationalism by helping them to exploit the incident for communal purposes. We have no doubt that with his long experience the Maulana will be able to treat the incident with the indifference and contempt it deserves.

Speech at the third session of the All-India Youth Congress, Calcutta, 25 December, 1928.

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Third Session of the All-India Youth Congress, I accord you a most hearty welcome on your visit to this city of ours. The fact that the third session of the Congress is being held this year is an unmistakable indication of the growing vitality of the youth movement.

There is probably some apprehension that this year the proceedings of the All India Youth Congress may be somewhat over-shadowed by the deliberations of the Indian National Congress and of the All-Parties Convention. But nothing to my mind can detract from the intrinsic importance of a congregation like the Youth Congress. Without minimizing in any way the importance of political problems in our life, I would maintain that the problems of youth are vital problems ; they have an importance of their own. And we who are members of the Republic of Youth attach great value and significance to them. I have no doubt that the deliberations of this Congress will be carried on with a sense of seriousness commensurate with the responsibility which has been cast on our shoulders. I have no doubt that this congress will give a definite lead to the youth of this country on some of the most vital problems of our present-day life. I therefore consider it a privilege and an honour that I should be authorized by the Reception Committee to welcome you on such an important occasion.

If we cast our eyes beyond our frontiers and take a bird's eye-view of the march of world events, there is one outstanding phenomenon which greets us in every land ; and that is the renaissance of youth. From North to South, from East to West, wherever we may happen to glance, the Youth Movement has become a reality. It is necessary for us to be clear in our own minds what the characteristics of the Youth Movement are, what are its mainsprings on the one side and its ultimate objective on the other.

Any association of young men or women does not deserve the designation of a youth association. A social service league or a famine relief society is not necessarily a youth association. A youth association is characterized by a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present order of things, and a desire for a better order accompanied by a vision of that order. Youth Movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary. A feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order, must come into existence before any youth movement can start. Personally,

I do not consider such a movement to be a twentieth century phenomenon or an accidental phenomenon. From the time of Socrates and Buddha, men have been inspired by the vision of a better world and under that inspiration have endeavoured to reconstruct society. The youth movements of the modern age are characterized by a similar vision and a similar effort. Whether it is Bolshevism in Russia or Fascism in Italy or the Young Turk movement in Turkey, whether it is a movement in China or in Persia or in Germany, everywhere you will find the same impulse, vision and objective. Wherever the older generation of leaders have failed, youth have become self-conscious and have taken upon themselves the responsibility of reconstructing society and of guiding it on towards a better and nobler state of existence.

Friends, let us now come nearer home. It is not only the youths of Germany, Russia, Italy and China who are roused. Even in this land of lotus-eaters the awakening has come. I firmly believe that it is an awakening from within and not merely a ferment on the surface. The youth of India are no longer content with handing over all responsibility to their older leaders and sitting down with folded hands or following like dumb driven cattle. They have realized that it is for them to create a new India—free, great and powerful. They have accepted the responsibility, they have prepared themselves for the consequences, and they are now busy schooling themselves for the great task that awaits them. At this critical juncture, it is the duty of well-wishers of India to speak out fearlessly what they think of the movement or movements going on today. It has to be analysed critically, what defects there are have to be ruthlessly exposed and the entire movement has to be guided along healthy and fruitful channels.

As I look round me today, I am struck by two schools of thought about which it is my duty to speak out openly and fearlessly. I am referring to the two schools of thought which have their centres at Sabarmati and Pondicherry. I am not considering the fundamental philosophy underlying these two schools of thought. This is not the

time for metaphysical speculation. I shall talk to you today as a pragmatist, as one who will judge the intrinsic value of any school of thought not from a metaphysical point of view but from experience of its actual effects and consequences.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati school of thought is to create a feeling and an impression that modernism is bad, that large-scale production is an evil, that wants should not be increased, that the standard of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour to the best of our ability to go back to the days of the bullock-cart, and that the soul is so important that physical culture and military training can well be ignored.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Pondicherry school of thought is to create a feeling and an impression that there is nothing higher or nobler than peaceful contemplation, that Yoga means pranayama and dhyana, that while action may be tolerated as good, this particular brand of Yoga is something higher and better. This propaganda has led many a man to forget that spiritual progress under the present-day conditions is possible only by ceaseless and unselfish action, that the best way to conquer nature is to fight her, and it is weakness to seek refuge in contemplation when we are hemmed in on all sides by dangers and difficulties.

It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought against which I protest. In this holy land of ours Ashrams are not new institutions and ascetics and Yogis are not novel phenomena; they have held and they will continue to hold an honoured place in society. But it is not their lead that we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India, at once free, happy and great.

Friends, you will pardon me if in a fit of outspokenness I have trod on your sentiments. As I have just said, I do not for one moment consider the fundamental philosophy underlying the two schools of thought but the actual consequences from a pragmatic point of view. In India we want today a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired by robust optimism. We have to live in the present and

to adapt ourselves to modern conditions.

We can no longer live in an isolated corner of the world. When India is free, she will have to fight her modern enemies with modern methods, both in the economic and in the political spheres. The days of the bullock-cart are gone and gone for ever. The free world must prepare itself for any eventuality as long as the whole world does not accept whole-heartedly the policy of disarmament.

I am not one of those who in their zeal for modernism forget the glories of the past. We must take our stand on our past. India has a culture of her own which she must continue to develop along her own distinctive channels. In philosophy, literature, art and science we have something new to give to the world which the world eagerly awaits. In a word, we must arrive at a synthesis. Some of our best thinkers and workers are already engaged in this important task. We must resist the cry of "Back to the Vedas", on the one side, and on the other side the meaningless craze of modern Europe for fashion and change. It is difficult to restrict a living movement within proper bounds, but I believe that if the pioneers and the leaders of the movement are on the whole on the right track, things will take proper shape in due time.

Friends, one word more and I have done. The present year is a landmark not only in the history of our political movement but also in the history of the Indian Youth Movement. I hope and pray that this session will give a bold and definite lead to the youth of this country. We are fortunate today in welcoming as our President one who needs no introduction to the youth of this country, Mr. Nariman of Bombay. Mr. Nariman may be more intimately known, loved and respected by youths in Western India, but it is also a fact that he is known, loved and respected by youths in other parts of the country as well. We have during the last few years followed his career and activity with the closest interest and it is a privilege for us to be able to welcome him in our midst. Under his able guidance and leadership, we shall have a most successful session.

Speech at the Calcutta session of the Congress, December 1928.

I am sorry that I have to rise to move an amendment to a resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi and which has the support of some, if not many, of our older leaders. The fact that I rise today to move the amendment is a clear indication of a cleavage, the fundamental cleavage between the elder school and the new school of thought in the Congress.

I have been asked by some friends why, being a signatory to the Nehru Report, I have stood up to speak for independence. I would only refer to the statement made in the report itself that the principles of the constitution which we submitted in the report can be applied in all their entirety to a constitution of independence. I do not think that in moving this amendment my action can be construed as in any way inconsistent.

There is another matter to which I shall refer by way of personal explanation. You are aware that in private conversations and elsewhere I have said that I do not desire to stand in the way of elder leaders. The reason why I did so was that at that time I did not feel prepared to accept the responsibility of the consequences of a division in this House in case our amendment was accepted. Today I feel prepared to accept the consequences and to face the issue till the end if my amendment is accepted.

There are certain incidents which have made me somewhat alter my previous views. You are aware that the Bengal delegates, or at least the majority of them, assembled and resolved to have this amendment moved on their behalf and that they were prepared to accept the vote of the House, whatever the consequence might be. Even if I did not stand here today to move the amendment, I can assure you that some other members would have stood up to do so on their behalf.

There is another fact. And that is the decision of the Independence for India League, by an overwhelming majority, to support the amendment and to accept the vote of

the House, whatever it might be.

We who feel it our duty to move or support the amendment feel very sincerely that the time is so momentous that India should express herself in a clear and unambiguous manner as to what she feels on the issue of Dominion Status vs. Independence. I have told our leaders that after the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and the happenings at Lucknow and Kanpur and the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, we would expect the Congress to take up a bold attitude, which would fit in with an attitude of self-respect. Instead of that, we find that the Madras Resolution is to be lowered in some measure.

We feel and we say that we are not prepared to lower the flag of Independence even for one single day. Whether we win or lose in this House does not concern us. It is not a matter of concern so far as the younger generation are concerned, for they have accepted the responsibility of making India free. We want our leaders, we love them, we revere them, but at the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times. I have also told them that I and Pandit Jawaharlal are regarded as moderates among the extremists, and if the elder leaders are not prepared to compromise even with these moderates, then the breach between the old and the new will be irrepairable. A new consciousness has dawned upon the youth of the country. They are no longer prepared to follow blindfold. They have realised that they are the heirs of the future, that it is for them to make India free, and with this new consciousness they are preparing themselves for the arduous task that awaits them.

There is one other argument which appeals to me strongly. And that is the international situation. You should remember that after the Madras Resolution India has got a new status in international politics. I am afraid if this resolution is passed, then we shall lose at least a part, if not much, of the prestige that we have acquired after the Madras Congress. You may be aware that after that we have received messages from far and distant parts of the world. The question now is: are we to go back upon the decision we took at Madras? Or are we to

go ahead? Are we to respond in a befitting manner to the attitude of the Government? And what has been that attitude? We have the lamentable death of Lalaji, and the regrettable happenings at Lucknow and Kanpur. After all these, do we not feel called upon to take up a defiant and bold attitude?

I should like to put one straight question. In the main resolution you have given twelve months' time to the British Government. Can you lay your hands on your breasts and say that there is a reasonable chance of getting Dominion Status within the period? Pandit Motilal has made it clear in his speech that he does not believe so. Then why should we lower the flag for these twelve months? Why not say we have lost the last vestige of faith in the British Government and that we are going to take a bold stand?

You may ask what we shall gain by this resolution of Independence. I say, we develop a new mentality. After all, what is the fundamental cause of our political degradation? It is a question of mentality, and if you want to overcome the slave mentality you do so by encouraging our countrymen to stand for full and complete independence. I go further and say, assuming that we do not follow it up by action, that merely by preaching the gospel honestly and placing the goal of independence before our countrymen we shall bring up a new generation.

But I tell you we are not going to sit down with folded hands. I have already said that the younger generation realize their responsibility and they are prepared for their task. We shall devise our own programme and work it out according to the best of our ability so that there is no danger that our resolution will be thrown into the waste-paper basket.

There is another matter to which I shall refer before I sit down. All events show that another world war is imminent. I say this for many reasons. The first reason is that the causes which contribute to war are present in different parts of the world. The settlement brought about by the Treaty of Versailles has not satisfied the national aspirations of all people. It has not satisfied the people of

Italy, the Balkans, Russia, Australia-Hungary and so on. Then there is the Asiatic situation. We have the combination of capitalistic countries against Soviet Russia. Again there is the race for armaments. These factors tend to a world war. I tell you that talk of disarmament is a huge farce. The fact is, all these countries which are free are working for another war. If India is to be on the alert, we must create a new mentality, a mentality that will say that we want complete independence. This can only be done by proclaiming the ideal in a clear and unequivocal manner.

I do not think we can afford to lose even a single moment. So far as Bengal is concerned, you are aware that since the dawn of the national movement in this country we have always interpreted freedom as complete and full independence. We have never interpreted it in terms of dominion status. After so many of our countrymen laid down their lives, after our poets preached the gospel, we have understood freedom as full and complete independence. The talk of dominion status does not make the slightest appeal to our countrymen, to the younger generation who are growing up, and we should remember that after all it is the younger generation who are the heirs of the future.

In conclusion, I wish to make a final appeal. I do not think it will mean the slightest disrespect to our leaders if we accept the amendment. Respect and love, admiration and adoration for leaders, is one thing; but respect for principle is another thing. Accept my resolution, and inspire the younger generation with a new consciousness.

From FORWARD—P. 7
Sunday, December 30, 1928

INDIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Bengal's attitude towards Hindi
Not opposed

Sj. Subhas Bose removes misunderstanding

* Speaking as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rashtra Bhasa Sammelan, Subhas Bose delivered the following speech. (28th December 1928) :—

"It will be with the most heart-felt joy that we welcome you to this great city of Calcutta. Those who know this city need not be told that there are about five lakhs of Hindusthani living in it. There is no city in the whole India where we can find such a large Hindi-speaking population. I am not a pundit of Hindi language, in fact I must confess with great regret that I cannot express my ideas in correct Hindusthani. You will, I hope, expect me to tell you something about the history of modern Hindi language. I have been told by my friend that Calcutta gave birth to Modern Hindi press. It was in this city that Lalluiilal wrote his book Prem Sagar and Sadal Mishra his Chandravali and I have been told that these two are known to be the pioneers of Hindi prose of to-day. The first Hindi press was established in Calcutta and it was here that one of the first Hindi newspapers the 'Bihar Bandhu' saw the light of the day. Thus in the field of Hindi journalism also Calcutta occupies no mean place. I may add here that Calcutta University was the first to organise Hindi for the M.A. examination. Even to-day Calcutta is playing a leading part in the field of Hindi journalism and literature. So Calcutta is a sort of home for the Hindi speaking people. May I hope that they at least will not mind the inconvenience due to our shortcomings in our reception to them.

First of all I want to remove one misunderstanding from the mind of many of our Hindi speaking friends.

° The speech was delivered in Hindi.

There are a number of people among them who think that we Bengalis are opposed to Hindi being adopted as our National Language or that we are indifferent towards it. It is not the uneducated alone but the educated and cultured also that entertain such ideas. They have entirely misunderstood us and it is my duty to remove that misunderstanding.

What Bengalis have done for Hindi

You will not I hope accuse me of vanity or provincialism when I say we Bengalis have rendered greater service to the Hindi literature than people of any other province leaving out of course the Hindi speaking provinces. I am not here taking into consideration the work of Hindi Prachar. I recognise the great impetus given by Swami Dayanand and his Arya Samaj to Hindi propaganda and I know what Mahatma Gandhi has done and is doing for prachar work. I shall simply place the literary aspect of this before you. Can the Hindi speaking people afford to forget the great effort made by Bhudev Mukherjee in popularising Hindi language and Devnagri script in Bihar ? And shall I have to remind you of the noble fight of Navin Chandra Roy for the cause of Hindi in the Punjab ? I have been told that these two Bengalis did the pioneer work in the provinces of Bihar and the Punjab in the early eighties of the last century—at a time when Hindi speaking people of these provinces were either opposed to or indifferent towards the movement. It is only right therefore that these two Bengalis are considered among the pioneers of the Hindi movement in Northern India. And what shall I say of the immense good done to the Hindi literature by late Mr. Chintamani Ghosh, proprietor of the India Press ? I do not know if the Hindi speaking publisher has done as much service to Modern Hindi Literature as this one Bengali gentleman. You already know the praise-worthy efforts of the late Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, who founded an organisation known as Ek-Vasha-Pratihar Parisad and also a journal in Devnagari with the aim of popularis- the Devnagri script. 'Hitwarta' had a Bengali proprietor

and 'Hindi Bangwasi' is being conducted by a gentleman of our province.

At the present time

Now-a-days also we are doing our little bit for Hindi language. It will be sheer ungratitude to forget the work of Sj. Amiya Chakraborty, who has been labouring hard for five years in the field of Hindi journalism. Sj. Nagendra Nath Basu has been rendering valuable service to Hindi language by the translation of Vishwakon into Hindi and also Sj. Ramananda Chattopadhyay by the publication of 'Vishal Bharat'. And I will not say anything about the large number of books that have been translated from Bengali into Hindi and that have considerably helped in adding to the knowledge of the Hindi speaking people. I have put these things before you not in a spirit of vanity or immoderate pride but I shall humbly ask you whether after knowing these facts any reasonable man can accuse us—Bengalis —of antagonism to Hindi. We love our mother tongue the Bengali language and that is not a sin.

An Unfounded Fear

There may be a few among us who are under the misapprehension that the Hindi propaganda has been started with the ultimate aim of stamping our mother tongue, the Bengali. This fear, has no foundation. As far as I know 'Hindi Prachar' has one aim which is to substitute Hindusthani in place of English. We can never relinquish our own language the Bengali which is dearer to us than our mother. For exchange of **ideas with people of a different province we ought to learn Hindusthani as an inter-provincial language. Not only that I believe that the youth of a free and self-governing India will have to learn one or two European language, French, German etc., to keep themselves abreast with international affairs.** I will not raise the question whether we should adopt the Hindi or the Urdu script for our national language. I agree with Mahatmaji that we must learn both the scripts—the Devnagri and the

Urdu. As time passes the more suitable of the two will of course itself assert its position as the script of the National language. There is no difference between simple Hindi and simple Urdu. We need not quarrel over this issue. There are many controversial problems for settlement, we must not increase them in number.

A Request to Mahatmaji

To help the cause of Hindi Prachar I shall request you, Mahatmaji and the Hindi-speaking people to give the same facilities to us in Bengal and Assam as you have done in the province of Madras. You can make some permanent arrangement for teaching Hindi to the youths and workers of Bengal. In Calcutta alone there are numerous students anxious to learn Hindi but where are the teachers ? Bengal is not a rich province and the students here cannot afford to pay for their tuition in Hindi. For the present you will have to make arrangements. If the rich people among the Hindi speaking population of Calcutta make up their mind to teach Hindi to the youth of Bengal it will not be a very difficult thing for them. You can give scholarship to Bengali students and make them Hindi Pracharaks. You can teach us colloquial Hindusthani in four or five months and then give us some sort of certificates. You will have to include busy people like myself also in the list of your students. We, who have to take part in labour movement feel everyday the urgent need of learning Hindusthani. Without some knowledge of Hindusthani we cannot approach the heart of the labourers of Northern India. If you can make some arrangement for teaching us Hindi I assure you that we shall not prove unworthy students of yours.

Appeal to the Youth of Bengal

In the end I appeal to the youth of Bengal to learn Hindi. Those who can pay for it should do so. Ultimately it will be the people of this province who will have to bear the pleasant burden of doing this Hindi Prachar, but at

present it is essential that the Hindi-speaking provinces should come out to our aid. I do not attach much importance to the number of people who may be taught Hindusthani. It is the spirit behind this movement which I admire. It is actuated by great far-sightedness and forethought and will bear fruit after a considerable period of time. Nothing can help us more in removing provincialism and inter-provincial jealousies than this movement for a national language.

Let us develop our Provincial languages as much as we can. No one wants to interfere in that. In fact we cannot brook any interference from any quarters so far our mother tongues are concerned. But it is Hindi or Hindusthani that will be given the position of our national language. It has been recommended in the Nehru Report also. If we devote heart and soul to the work of Hindi propaganda in Bengal we will undoubtedly succeed and the day is not far distant when Hindi will be the National Language of Swadhin Bharat.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(The first English publication under Netaji's authorship was a book entitled "Boycott of British Goods" published in the beginning of 1929. The author's original preface and the entire article together with tables and charts follow.—Ed.)

Author's Original Preface

This book has been compiled from different sources, mostly from official statistical returns and also from a few other authoritative publications. I have tried to give a full bibliography, which I hope will be found sufficient for documenting every statement made in the book. Conclusions, which vary from popular notions, e.g., about the feasibility of boycott of British cotton goods, have been deduced entirely from official figures, which have no doubt been presented in a new way as explained in the book, but are in other respects just as they are to be found in official returns.

Not only were many sources drawn upon in this way, but the compilation had to be done at different times in the midst of other exacting duties. Section I on the History of Cotton Industry in Bengal was completed in December, 1927. Section II on Boycott of British cotton goods was ready just before the campaign for boycott was started in Bengal in February, 1928. The last two sections were written only a few weeks ago. These different portions had been printed off as and when they were ready, so that it was not possible to revise finally the whole book, however much I desired to do so. I crave the indulgence of my readers for these shortcomings.

In conclusion, I desire to put on record my thanks to Dr. Haris Chandra Sinha for his help in compiling the book and to Srijut Gopal Lal Sanyal for seeing it through the press.

Calcutta, February 19, 1929

Subhas Chandra Bose.

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SECTION I.

HISTORY OF COTTON INDUSTRY.

CHAPTER I—Early History.

" II—British Duties.

" III—In the days of the Coy. & After.

" IV—Iniquitous Excise Duty.

" V—Lessons of History.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF COTTON INDUSTRY*

Chapter I

Early History

The earliest apparent reference to Bengal cotton goods is in Kautilya's **Arthasastra,** which speaks of fine cotton goods of **Vanga** or Eastern Bengal. The stuff called **Gangitiki in the Peripluss of the Erythroean Sea,** an anonymous work of the first century A. D., most probably came from Bengal. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, who visited India in the ninth century writes of "cotton fabrics made in the kingdom of Rahmi (which has been identified with East Bengal) are so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may pass through a signet ring." In Marco Polo's days, (A. D. 1294-95), there were flourishing cotton industries in Bengal and other parts of India. Ralph Fitch, the English traveller, who visited India three centuries later (1583) describes Sonargaon*, which is about 13 miles s. e. from Dacca, "as a town..where there is the best and finest cloth made in all-India." About the same time, Abul Fazal writes, "the Sarkar † of Sonargaon produces a species of muslin very fine and in great quantity." As stated by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, †† very fine cotton goods were produced at Agra, at Sironj in Malawa, at Broach, Baroda and Navasiri in Gujarat. The best, however, were the Dacca muslins, which received such poetic names as **ab-i-rawan** or running water (because if placed in a stream, it could scarcely be seen), **baft-hawa or woven** air (because if thrown in the

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* This section is based on a public lecture on *Dacca Muslin Industry* delivered at the Dacca University on February 26, 1925 by Dr. J. C. Sinha Head of the Department of Economics of the University.

* corresponds to a modern district.

† literally *village of gold.*

†† *Industries in Mughal India,* Modern Review, June, 1922.

air, it would float like a cloud and **shab-nam** or evening dew (because if spread on the grass, it would be taken as evening dew). Such fine products were not only patronised by Imperial and Viceregal courts but also found a ready sale abroad. When Tavernier visited Dacca in 1666, both the Dutch and the English had factories there. The French trade with Dacca began sixty years later. The English first exported Dacca muslins about the year 1666 and by the year 1675 the fashion of wearing these fine stuffs became pretty general in England. There were cheaper varieties available in other parts of Bengal such as Santipur, Hughli and Maldah as stated in the **Diaries of Streynsham Master** (1675-1680).

Chapter II

British Duties

ACTS OF 1700 AND 1720.*

After the Revolution of 1688 in England, "a passion for coloured East Indian calicoes..spread through all classes of the community." The import of silk manufactures from Bengal also increased at the same time with the establishment of English factories at Kashimbazar and Maldah. This profitable trade in cotton and silk piece goods began to expand rapidly all through the last quarter of the seventeenth century. † And it naturally excited the jealousy of the British silk and wollen manufacturers. Accordingly in 1700, it was enacted by the British Parliament "that from and after the 29th day of September, 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China or the East Indies, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed or stained there, which are or shall be imported into this kingdom shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain; and all goods imported after that day, shall be warehoused and exported again." Certain varieties of muslin were also prohibited at the same time. The other varieties and white calicoes were subjected to a duty of 15% **ad valorem.** One of the results of the Act of 1700 was an increase in the import of white calicoes from India, which began to be extensively printed in England. Accordingly, another Act was passed in 1720 prohibiting the use or wear of printed calicoes, whether printed in England or elsewhere.

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* These paragraphs on the gradual decline of cotton industry of Bengal are based largely on Dr. J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals Of Bengal* (*Macmillan & Co.*, 1927).

† Except during the years 1686-1689 when the English in Bengal were at war with the Mughal Government.

Their Economic Consequences

The economic consequences of these two measures have been belittled by some European writers. Thus it has been urged that the English market was relatively small and that only a few particular classes of cotton goods were affected. But if the consumption was so small, why were special statutes necessary? Apart from this, there are a **priori** reasons to the contrary. In a cold country, thicker stuffs like calicoes would naturally have more sale than finer stuffs like muslins. Moreover, on account of the difficulties of bleaching in a cold country,* printed goods would be preferred to white goods. It is true that the Acts of 1700 and 1720 alone did not bring about the decline of the Indian cotton industry. But it cannot be denied that the immediate incentive † to the adoption of machinery in the English cotton industry, which later on gave such a heavy blow to the Indian industry, came from the restriction of the Indian imports. The English public had grown accustomed to the use of the cotton goods of India towards the close of the seventeenth century, and when the import of these was restricted, the English cotton manufacturers found it profitable to extend their scale of production to satisfy the home demand. Thus these Acts though originally meant for the protection of woollen and silk manufacturers of England, did in point of fact protect the newly born British cotton industry in later years, for these Acts continued to be in force till 1825, the prohibition against the wearing of certain classes of cotton goods having been removed in 1774, if the goods were made in England.

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* Chlorine was not discovered till 1774.

† Knowles : *The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century pp.* 43-45.

Chapter III.

In the Ways Of The Company & After

CLOTH TRADE OF DACCA IN 1753

In spite of these Acts, there was an extensive trade in cotton textiles of Bengal before Plassey. According to Taylor, the total estimated value of cloth trade of the chief centre in Bengal, Dacca, was Arcot Rupees* 2,850,000 in 1753, made up as follows :—

For the Emperor of Delhi	Arcot	Rs.	100,000
" Nawab of Murshidabad		"	300,000
" Jagat Seth (State Bankers)		"	150,000
"Tooranee merchants (to be sold in the Upper Provinces)		"	100,000
" Pathan merchants (to be sold in the Upper Provinces)		"	150,000
" Armenian merchants (for the ports of Basra, Mocha and Jedda)		"	500,000
Carried over		"	1,300,000

* Originally coined by the Nawab of Arcot and subsequently by the English, French and Dutch companies, the gross weight varying from 171 to 177 grains and the fine weight from 166 to 170 grains. Before the English Company had their own mint, they largely imported Arcot rupees from the South for financing their purchases.

	Brought forward Arcot	Rs.	1,300,000
For the	Mughal merchants (for consumption locally and for the ports of Basra, Mocha and Jedda)	"	400,000
"	Hindu merchants (for local sales)	"	200,000
"	the English Company (for Europe)	"	350,000
"	English traders (for foreign markets)	"	200,000
"	the French Company (for Europe)	"	250,000
"	French traders (for foreign markets)	"	50,000
"	the Dutch Company (for Europe)	"	100,000
		Arcot Rs..—	2,850,000

Oppression On Weavers

Before 1753, the Company used to purchase goods through Indian merchants under what is called the **dadni** or the contract system. In 1753, a new system, the agency system, was inaugurated, in which the Company's European officers, viz., Residents, Senior and Junior Merchants and Factors with Indian servants or **gomastahs** under them gave advances to weavers out of the Company's own funds. To ensure a large supply of piece goods for export, the Company's **gomastahs** exercised monopolistic control over the weavers, who were not allowed to work for other until they had furnished an adequate quantity of cloth for the Company. This control was generally exercised under the pretence that the weavers were "in balance" to the Company. As Francis writes, "in order that the East India Company might avail themselves of their increased revenues, it was necessary that their investment* should be

* means the purchase of Indian products for export.

enlarged. . .This could not be suddenly done without a monopoly of manufactures; a monopoly supported by the numerous servants and agents, armed with authority, which caused great oppression of the manufacturers." Cornwallis also remarks, "The exercise of influence was not confined to the business of the Company. Their servants, other Europeans and the native agents of all had recourse to it. Merchants from the Upper parts of Hindostan were in fact expelled, those concerned in exports by sea discouraged and the manufacturers not only restrained, but too often oppressed by the numerous tribes of native agents dispersed over the country, who served themselves at the expense (sic) both of their employers and of those with whom they dealt."*

Bolts' Description

Bolts writes that the Company's **gomastah** makes the weaver "sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods, at a certain time and price, and pays them a part of the money in advance. The assent of the poor weavers is in general not deemed necessary; for the **gomastahs,** when employed on the Company's investment frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known that they have had it tied in their girdles and sent away with a flogging. .A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the Company's **gomastahs** and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another as so many slaves, subject to the tyranny and roguery of every succeeding **gomastah.** The cloth, when made, is collected in a ware house. . where it is kept marked with the weaver's name till it is convenient for the **gomastah** to hold a **khattah,** as the term is, for assorting and fixing the price of each piece, on which business is employed an officer called the Company's **jachendar** or assorter. The roguery practised in this

* Letter from Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated November 1, 1788 (extracted from the copies of state papers in the India Office obtained by the Government of India : vol. 46).

department is beyond imagination, but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver; for the prices which the Company's **gomastahs** and, in confederacy with them, the **jachendars** fix upon the goods are in all places at least fifteen per cent. and in some cases even forty per cent. less than the goods so manufactured would sell..upon a free sale. The weaver, therefore, desirous of obtaining the just price of his labour frequently attempts to sell his cloth privately to others..This occasions the English Company's **gomastah** to set his peons over the weaver to watch him, and not infrequently to cut the piece out of the loom when nearly finished.."

Other Contemporary Accounts

It is true that Bolts had a grudge against the East India Company, as he was compelled to resign in 1766 after only six years' service, and deported to England in 1768. His **Consideration on India Affairs** is a part of his campaign against the Company. But the above account does not seem to have been exaggerated, for his statements are corroborated in contemporary state paper. For instance, in their letter of November 11, 1768, the Court of Directors observe, "They (the weavers) are unwilling to engage in (Company's business) because we do not pay them a fair price. The gentlemen at Dacca say the foreigners give 20 or 30 p.c. more than we do but the fact that comes the strongest to the point is the sale of fenilit (?) and damaged goods which sold at public auction from 10 to 100 p.c. advance, a clear proof of the injustice done to the weavers." The following authoritative account is to be found in the **Proceedings of April 12, 1773**:—"The two annexed papers which the President found from an examination into the complaints made to him by the weavers of Santipore and which he has every reason to believe to be authentic, will show the present miserable situation of the weavers, since it appears that the prices given to them for the cloths provided on account of the Company's investment, amount to no more and in some cases less than the cost of the materials and their labour is extracted from them without any repayment. They are at the same time forbid (sic) under pain of corporal chastisement and forfeitures to work for private merchants or to make any other assortments but those ordered for the Company's investment, so that they have no means of living but by sinking a part of the advances made them in irrecoverable balances and by embezzlements and clandestine sales of your cloths to others." Verelst corroborates this description and states that "the **gomastahs** or agents of the Company were necessarily entrusted with powers which they frequently abused to their own emolument.."*

Decline of Cotton Industry

It is sometimes stated that the oppression on weavers existed even in pre-British times and so the East India Company could not be held responsible for the decline of the cotton industry, What is not recognised in such an argument is that the oppression in Mughal times, if any, affected only a few weavers, who worked for the Court. It was never so systematic and widespread as under early British rule. In any case, the fact remains that the oppression "proved so destructive of industry" that many weavers gave up their profession. Verelst, in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated March 17, 1767, referred to the uncommon scarcity of weavers, a great number of whom had "deserted their profession to seek for subsistence from a less precarious calling." In his letter of March 28, 1768 to the Court of Directors, Verelst again observed that "plenty has succeeded to famine and security has induced the natives to apply themselves again to labour and to commerce; but the manufactures are scarcely increased, the **aurungs,*** are not so well-peopled as they were twenty years before and yet your demand and those of other nations, are beyond what the country is able to supply, was every species of cloth to be purchased." This increased demand could not improve the declining cotton

* *Verelst : A view of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal* (London 1772, p. 85)

* i.e., places of manufacture; depots for manufactured goods.

industry of Bengal, because no industry can flourish under a system of monopoly and coercion. In their letter to Bengal dated June 30, 1769, the Court of Directors aptly observe that "it is with concern we see in every page of your consultations,* restrictions, limitations and prohibitions affecting various articles of trade. In a country abounding with manufactures, this is the worst policy. A free liberty of buying and selling encourages the manufacture and will increase the number. When the hand of authority is held over them, and they are told that they have only one market open for their goods, they will not long bestow their labours upon that trade, and the quantity will decrease from year to year." One writer has contended "that the system of pre-emption maintained by the Company and the abuses connected with its method of making advances" did not contribute to this decline, because there was a rapid increase in the Company's investment of piece-goods after 1765. But the mere increase of exports by sweated labour is certainly not a sign of industrial progress. Taylor, of course, writes that the cloth trade of Dacca reached its maximum value in 1787 and observes, "this appears to have been the most flourishing period of the cloth trade of Dacca" but he qualifies this statement at the same time by adding "or it was at least the year in which the amount of exports was the greatest." It does not therefore necessarily follow that the industry was in a prosperous state.

Jealousy Of British Manufacturers

Apart from this monopolistic control and oppression of weavers, there were other causes of the decline of the cotton industry of Bengal. Not content with shutting out Indian products from the English market by the Acts of 1700 and 1720, the British manufacturers tried to stop competition in other ways as well. For in their letter, dated July 12, 1782, the Court of Directors observe "a

* i e.. minutes of meetings of Council or proceedings.

memorial from the calico-printers having been presented to us in which they propose that application be made to Parliament to lay such an additional duty on printed calicoes imported from Bengal as shall put them on an equality with the goods manufactured here: also to prohibit the exportation to India of blocks, plates and of all other utensils employed in the printing of calicoes and the sending out artists skilled in that line." Accordingly the Court of Directors resolved "by way of compromise to withhold the importation of printed goods from Bengal for a term of four years."

High Duties On Indian Goods

These temporary expedients proved unavailing and heavy import duties* had to be levied on Indian cotton goods on the following scale :—

For every £ 100 value

Year	White Calicoes	Muslins and Nankeens	Dyed and printed goods	Other goods
	£ s d	£ s d	prohibited	£ s d
1797	18 3 0	19 16 0	"	
1798	21 3 0	22 16 0	"	
1799	26 9 1	30 3 9	"	
1802	27 1 1	30 15 9	"	
1803	59 1 3	30 18 9	"	
1804	65 12 6	34 7 6	"	
1805	66 18 9	35 1 3	"	
1806	71 6 3	37 7 1	"	
1809	71 13 4	37 6 8	"	27 6 8
1812	73 0 0	37 6 8	"	
1813	85 2 1	44 6 8	"	32 9 2
1814	67 10 1	37 10 0	"	32 10 0
1825-32	10 percent ad valorem duty and an additional duty of 3½% per square yard if printed			20 0 0
1846	repeal of the duty.			

* *Hand-Spinning and Hand-Weaving published by the All India Spinners' Association*, p. 87. See also Baines' *History of Cotton Manufactures in England*.

Trade Statistics From 1813-14 to 1832-33.

The effect of these duties is clearly seen in the following figures from 1813 onwards when trade with India ceased to be a monopoly of the East India Company :—

Year	Value of cotton goods exported from India	Value of cotton goods imported from India	Value of cotton cotton twist imported into India
1813-14	52,91,458	92,070	
1814-15	84,90,700	45,000	
1815-16	1,31,51,427	2,68,300	
1816-17	1,65,94,380	3,17,602	
1817-18	1,32,72,154	11,22,372	
1818-19	1,15,27,385	26,58,940	
1819-20	90,30,796	15,82,353	
1820-21	85,40,763	25,59,642	
1821-22	76,64,820	46,78,650	
1922-23	80,09,432	65,82,351	
1823-24	58,70,523	37,20,540	
1824-25	60,17,559	52,96,816	
1825-26	58,34,638	41,24,159	1,23,146
1826-27	39,48,442	43,46,054	75,276
1827-28	28,76,313	52,52,793	8,82,743
1828-29	22,23,163	79,96,383	19,11,205
1829-30	1,32,423	52,16,226	35,22,640
1830-31	8,57,280	60,12,729	15,55,321
1831-32	8,49,887	45,64,047	31,12,138
1832-33	8,22,891	42,64,707	42,85,517

It is thus abundantly clear that by 1846 the cotton goods exported from India had become of such insignificant value that the duty could be safely abolished.

Chapter IV

Iniquitous Excise Duty

Indian Excise Duty On Cotton Manufactures

As with British import duties so with Indian excise duties. In 1874 the Manchester Chamber of Commerce forwarded to the Secretary of State two memorials regarding the necessity for the abolition of the Indian import duties* on cotton twist and piece goods on the ground that these gave an unfair advantage to Indian manufacturers. A general election was then imminent in England and Lancashire votes had to be secured any how. Accordingly, a Tariff Commision consisting entirely of English merchants and officials was appointed by Lord Northbrook, which passed a new Tariff Act in 1875, retaining the import duties at their old levels of 31½ and 5 per cent. on cotton yarns and piece goods but considerably reduced their tariff valuations. Not only this, an import duty of 5 per cent. was levied on American and Egyptian longstaple cottons which could possibly allow competition with Lancashire goods. Lord Salisbury however had been elected on the distinct pledge of the total abolition of the import duties. Lord Northbrook resigned rather than submit to Lord Salisbury's dictation in the matter. But Lord Lytton who succeeded him overruled the opposition in the Viceroy's Council and abolished the import duties in 1879 using his powers of veto. In 1894, to make up the deficit of over Rs. 3½ crores on account of the falling rupee, the Government of India had to reimpose import duties previously abolished, but had to refrain from levying any duty on cotton goods. But the deficit could not be made good in this way. The Secretary of State therefore directed the

* These were levied entirely for revenue purposes, and had nothing to do with the development of indigenous industries. This history is compiled from an article in Forward, dated December 2, 1925.

Government of India to reimpose cotton import duties, but divest them at the same time of their protective character. The Government of India saw that this could be done either by exempting imported goods which might compete with Indian manufactures, or by imposing a countervailing excise duty on the latter. Sir James Westland recommended the imposition of a duty of 5 per cent on imported cotton piece goods and a duty of 3½ per cent on all cotton yarns above 24's, whether locally made or imported from abroad. The Secretary of State took exception to this and at his instance the duty on all yarns was raised to 5 per cent. and the line of demarcation was lowered to 20's instead of 24's, in December, 1894. Even then the Lancashire interests were not appeased. At their dictation, a new Act was passed in 1896, lowering the import duty to 3½ per cent on imported cotton piece goods and abolishing the duty on yarns. The excise duty on cotton cloth was also fixed at 3½ per cent. at the same time, and remained at that level till its abolition 30 years later on December 1, 1825.

Chapter V

Lessons Of History

Business And Sentiment

It is difficult to deduce the lessons of the history of cotton manufacture in India, incomplete and sketchy as the present account necessarily is. But a few conclusions seem irresistible. Unjust, coercive and uneconomic methods were applied against our industry in the past. In the future, therefore, we are not entitled to hope that purely economic methods will be sufficient to reconstruct our industry, and thus taboo politics and sentiment in business. The arm of political power which struck our industries in the past is still there and may have to be disabled by non-economic weapons. It stands to reason, therefore, that businessmen and industrialists should in their own interests join hands with nationalists and politicians in the present movement for boycott.

Boycott *Cum* Swadeshi *Versus* Protection

This point needs further elaboration. For, if boycott is successful, it will create a gap, which **Swadeshi** must rush in to fill. **Swadeshi** is a great constructive effort, which is to be preferred to protection, even if a nation has the fullest fiscal power to impose any protective duty it likes in its own interests. Its special merit is that it is purely voluntary. No body is compelled to buy the same thing at a higher price, or a worse thing for the same price, unless he feels inclined to make that sacrifice in the cause of his country. Such conscious acts will help to knit the nation much more closely than if India is surrounded by a high tariff wall. Besides this ethical aspect, there is an equally important economic aspect. As pointed out by Pierson and many other eminent economists, "it

seems not unnecessary to call attention to the numbing, enervating influence exerted by the protective system. An industry that has been secured against foreign competition is seldom elastic, it is seldom abreast of the times." The protectionist however argues that according to the science of psychology, enthusiasm can come only in beats, and therefore the demand which arises from **boycott-cum-swadeshi** must be uncertain and spasmodic. No organised industries can be started on the basis of mere sentiment. There can at best be mushroom growth of small handicrafts, of which we had so many during the partition agitation in Bengal. There is considerable force in this argument. It is therefore necessary to study somewhat in detail the present position of the British trade with India, in order to see whether boycott is really feasible. For, however much **Swadeshi** may be desirable, if we are really in such a helpless condition that it is impossible for us to do without British goods, it is idle to talk of **Swadeshi** or boycott, and of industrial regeneration of India in its wake. In the following sections, the foreign trade of India has been sought to be analysed among the different countries. In particular, the British imports into India have been given in detail so as to furnish an answer to the question whether the boycott of British goods is a practical proposition at the present time.

SECTION II

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH COTTON GOODS

CHAPTER I—Analysis of India's Foreign Trade.
" II—Analysis of India's Consumption of Piece-goods.
" III—Foreign piece-goods—rise and fall in imports.
" IV—Indian Yarn vs. Foreign Yarn.
" V—Analysis of Foreign Piece-goods.
" VI—Importance of Cotton Manufacturers to Britain.
" VII—Recent Economic Position of Britain.

Chapter I

Analysis Of India's Foreign Trade

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

The distribution of India's foreign trade during the year 1926-27 among different countries is shown below :—

Country	Value in Rs. (crores) of India's trade in merchandise during 1926—27		
	Export from India	Import Into India	Balance of trade (Export-Import) –indicates adverse +indicates favourable
United Kingdom	67	111	–44
Other British possessions	52	16	+36
Europe	66	47	+19
United States of America	34	18	+16
Japan	41	16	+25
Other Countries	49	23	+26
Total for all countries	309	231	+78

It is in the case of United Kingdom alone that we have an adverse balance of trade, that is to say, we import more than we export.

Percentages are worked out for the principal countries with which India trades in the subjoined table for the years 1924-25, 1925-26 and 1926-27 :—

	Percentage of Total Import for			Percentage of Total Export of		
	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
United Kingdom	54.1	51.4	47.8	25.5	21.0	21.5
Germany	6.3	5.9	7.3	7.1	7.0	6.6
Japan	6.9	8.0	7.1	14.3	15.0	13.2
United States	5.7	6.7	7.9	8.8	10.4	11.1
Belgium	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.9	3.2	2.9
France	1.0	1.4	1.5	5.3	5.5	4.5
Italy	1.6	1.9	2.7	5.9	5.0	3.4

PREDOMINANCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

This table clearly shows what a predominant share the United Kingdom has of India's foreign trade. She leads not only in respect of the total trade with India but also of the trades in principal commodities. This will appear from the subjoined tables giving percentages contributed by the United Kingdom and her principal competitors to the different imports and exports of India :—

(A) IMPORTS INTO INDIA

Commodities imported during 1926-27	Percentage of imports from United Kingdom according to value	Percentage of imports from competing countries	
Cotton manufactures	75.3	Japan 17.2	Netherlands 2.0
Machinery	78.2	United States 10.2	Germany 6.9
Iron and Steel	62.0	Belgium 18.7	Germany 7.4
Instruments	62.5	United States 14.8	Germany 13.1
Railway plant	61.6	Belgium 11.8	Australia 7.3
Hardware	36.4	Germany 31.2	United States 14.0
Motor cars, Motor cycles accessories	26.1	United States 35.3	Canada 25.3
Paper	35.5	Germany 16.1	Norway 10.1
Liquors	57.4	France 18.7	Germany 11.1

(B) EXPORTS FROM INDIA

Commodities exported during 1926-27.	Percentage of exports to U. K. according to value	Percentage of exports to other Competing countries	
Tea ...	85.0	Canada 2.9	United States 2.1
Jute (raw) ...	22.9	Germany 27.6	France 13.0
Jute (manufacture)	5.4	United States 35.0	Argentine 12.1

BRITISH EXPORTS INTO INDIA

It has been stated above that during 1926-27, India imported goods to the value of Rs. 111 crores from the United Kingdom. This is mainly contributed by the following items, each exceeding Rs. 1 crore in value, arranged in order of importance :—

No. in order of importance	Commodities		Value of Rs. (crores) of imports during 1926-27	1925-26	1924-25
*1.	White cotton piece goods	...	16.57	16.08	19.24
*2.	Grey cotton piece goods	...	15.24	17.08	24.06
*3.	Coloured cotton piece goods	...	12.58	11.91	16.45
4.	Machinery and mill work	...	10.66	11.87	12.40
5.	Iron or Steel	...	9.93	11.61	11.25
*6.	Cotton twist and yarn	...	3.08	3.13	4.54
7.	Instruments, apparatus etc.	...	2.51	2.22	1.99
8.	Tobacco	...	2.12	1.76	1.40
9.	Provisions	...	2.03	1.72	1.54
10.	Railway plant etc.	...	2.01	4.25	5.41
11.	Woollen manufactures including yarn	...	1.95	2.11	2.08
12.	Hardware	...	1.84	1.98	2.00
13.	Cutlery	...	1.53	1.77	1.94
14.	Chemicals	...	1.42	1.24	1.30
15.	Soap	...	1.37	1.36	1.25
16.	Spirits	...	1.36	1.35	1.31
*17.	Piece goods of cotton and artificial silk	...	1.17	.58	.83
18.	Paper and paste board	...	1.09	1.17	1.30
19.	Paints and painters' materials	...	1.05	1.00	.96

Thus during the year 1926-27, Cotton manufactures amounted to Rs. 47.47 crores out of a total of Rs. 110.54 crores, taking items nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6 alone and leaving out no. 17, which also consists partly of cotton manufacres.

CHAPTER II

Analysis Of India's Consumption Of Piece Goods

To consider whether boycott of British cloth is feasible in India, it is therefore necessary to study in detail this most important item among the imports from the United Kingdom, India's largest supplier. For this purpose an estimate, has first to be made of the total consumption of piece goods. This estimate can be arrived at by adding the following two items :—

(i) **nett consumption of imported piece** goods, obtained by deducting the re-exports, both by land and by sea, from the total imports (see columns 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the table annexed).

(ii) **nett consumption of Indian piece goods,** obtained by deducting the exports from the total production in (a) mills and (b) handlooms (columns 19, 20, 21, and 22).

Estimate Of Handloom Products

The figures for the imported piece goods are available in official publications. And so are the figures for Indian mill products, although it cannot be determined to what extent they are woven out of imported yarns and to what extent out of indigenous yarns. But the greatest difficulty arises in the case of handloom products, for which no figures are available. Mr. A. C. Coubrough, C.B.E., the Manager in India of Messrs. Mather and Platt, Ltd., attempted an estimate in 1921. This was followed up by Mr. R. D. Bell, C. I. E., I. C. S., Director of Industries, Bombay. The same method has been adopted here, for although indirect, it is not unreliable. From the gross quantity of yarn available in the country, both imported and local, have to be subtracted the quantity of foreign yarn re-exported and the quantity of Indian yarn exported giving the nett amount, which is consumed (1) in mills

(2) in handlooms (3) and for domestic purposes. The figures for piece goods woven in India is given in the **Monthly Statistics of Cotton Spinning and Weaving***. From this, the equivalent quantity of yarn is obtained by the empirical formula, 112 lbs of cloths=110 lbs of yarn, adopted by the Indian Industrial Commission. No statistics for yarn consumed for domestic purposes are available but have been officially estimated to be 10% of the total. There is another factor which it is not easy to calculate. The local yarn mentioned above is spun partly in mills and partly in **charkha's.** While accurate figures for the first are available, no reliable estimate can be formed of the second, from the publication of the Indian National Congress and other allied bodies.* But it will not materially effect results, if the loss due to domestic consumption is set off against the gain due to handspun yarn. Thus the yarn consumed in handlooms may be taken as the difference between the nett quantity of mill yarn available in the country and the quantity of yarn consumed in Indian Mills (columns 14, 15 and 16). From this the yardage of handloom piece goods is obtained by the formula. 1 lb cloth=4 yards (column 17). †

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* Weight and yardage are connected by the formula, 1 lb cloth=4.27 yds.

* The following estimate for 1927 has been furnished by Sj. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, Bengal :—hand-spun yarn produced=1.6 million lbs ; hand-spun and hand woven cloth sold=4.5 million yards. Bengal's share is 1/7 of the above.

† This method has been challenged by Srijut Rajendra Prasad in his *Economics of Khadi* pp. 20-21. He says : "This...is an underestimate..... We know as a matter of fact.....that apart from the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association, there is a great deal of spinning going on, the product of which is taken over by weavers who use it in weaving pure or mixed Khadi....." There is considerable force in this argument, but in the absence of any other acceptable method, the present method has to be followed. In the report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry,) the same method has been adopted. From our point of view it is safer to err on the side of under-estimation than on the side of over-estimation.

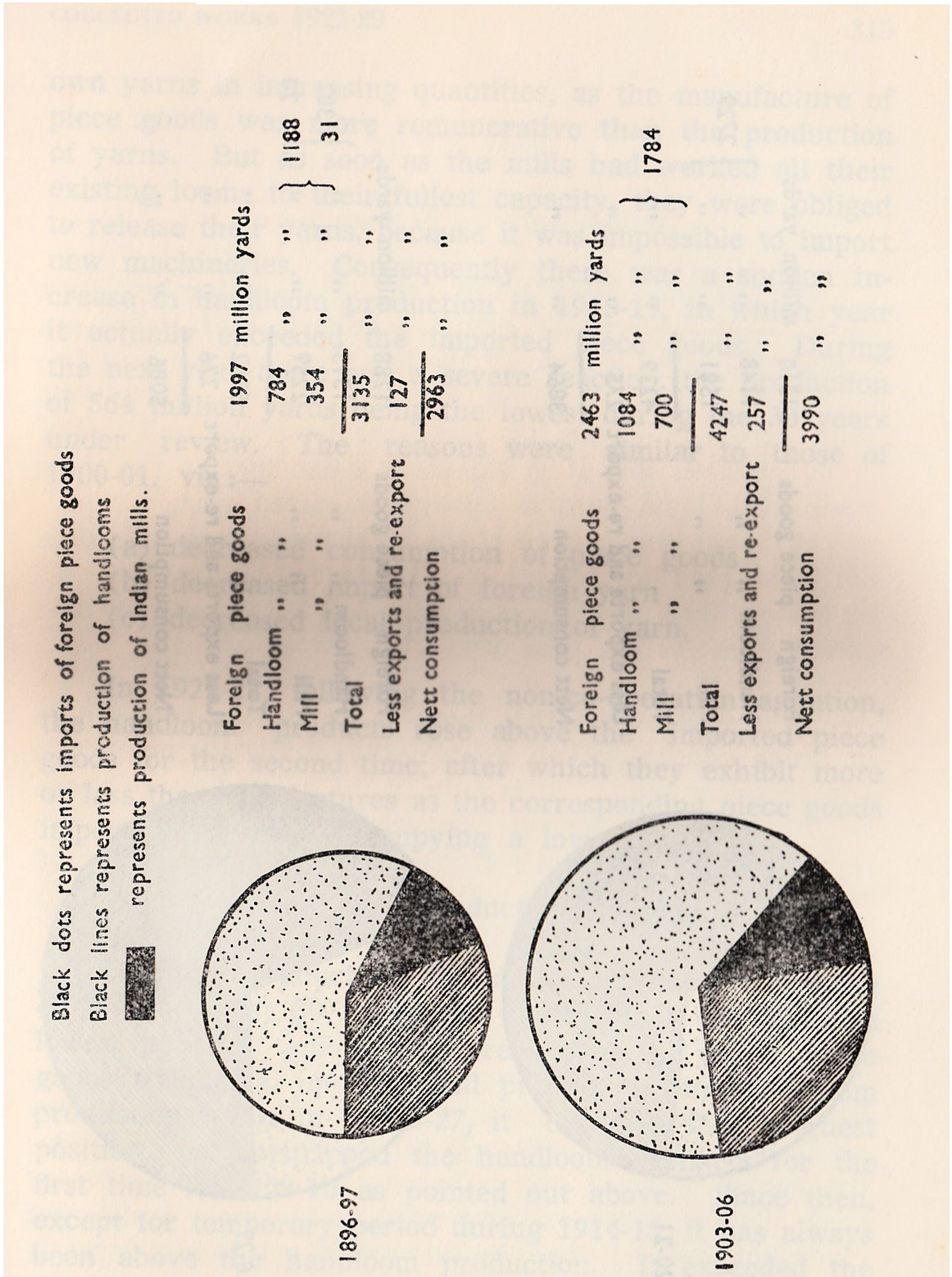
CHAPTER III

Foreign Piece Goods—Rise And Fall In Imports

A few significant facts emerge out of this laborious calculation. On reference to column 5, it will be seen that piece goods were imported in increasing quantities since 1896-97, the earliest year for which statistics are available. The first definite set-back was received after 1905-06, that is during the boycott agitation which followed the partition of Bengal. The lowest figure was however reached some time later (on account of economic friction) i.e., during 1908-09, after which there was a rise in the import of piece goods partly on account of a better political situation due to the Morley-Minto reforms. The high-water mark was reached in 1913-14 the year just preceding the War. The lowest figure during the entire period of 30 years for which statistics are available occured during 1919-20, after which there was a sharp recovery, partly as a necessary reaction against the acute depression of the previous years and partly on account of the artificial increase in the exchange value of the rupee which suddenly increased the buying capacity of Indians. How far this official manipulation of exchange was in consonance with economic conditions prevailing in the country would appear from the figure for the next year, 1921-22, which almost saw the figure for 1919-20 repeated. From that time onward, a year of increased import has been followed by a year of decreased import, as will appear from the curve plotted for the purpose. According to this, during the year 1927-28 we should import less than during the year 1926-27. But even as it is, the import figure for 1926-27 is considerably less than the corresponding figure for 1896-97 and this inspite of the fact that the total consumption has largely increased during the last 30 years from 2963 to 5086 million yards (see column 23).

Handloom—Not A Dying But A Thriving Industry

On the contrary, the handloom industry, which is generally believed to be a dying industry, shows a great expansion during the last 30 years. Its production has increased from 784 million yards in 1896-97 to 1315 million yards in 1926-27. This increase however has not been steady and there being crests and troughs as shown in the curve (see column 17 also). 1900-01 was a bad year for piece goods trade in general for economic reasons, the nett consumption being lower than in 1896-97. The mill production did not show any apparent decrease, the annual expansion due to the setting up of new looms and spindles masking the deficiency in the production of each. But this feature was absent in the case of the other two elements of the piece goods trade. Thus there was a decrease both in imported piece goods as well as in handloom products. The latter in fact fell down to 692 million yards, a figure not reached even during the War. From 1900-01 onward, there was a steady expansion, there being a noticeable increase in 1905-06, following the intensive campaign in favour of **Swadeshi** goods in Bengal. The popular enthusiasm was maintained for the next few years till the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909-10, when for the reason stated above, handloom piece goods were replaced by imported and mill products. As a mater of fact, it was during this year that the handloom products were less than the mill products in quantity for the first time in its history. There was a slow recovery, on account of increased consumption till the outbreak of War, which was continued for some time longer. For the War gave a great fillip to the local mills, which began to produce increased quantities of yarns. This increase was sufficiently great to make good the deficiency in imported yarns. The handlooms therefore continued to produce more and more cloth in spite of the War, the maximum being reached in 1914-15, in which year handloom products outstripped the mill products. This aspect was reversed in the next year, when the mills began to consume their

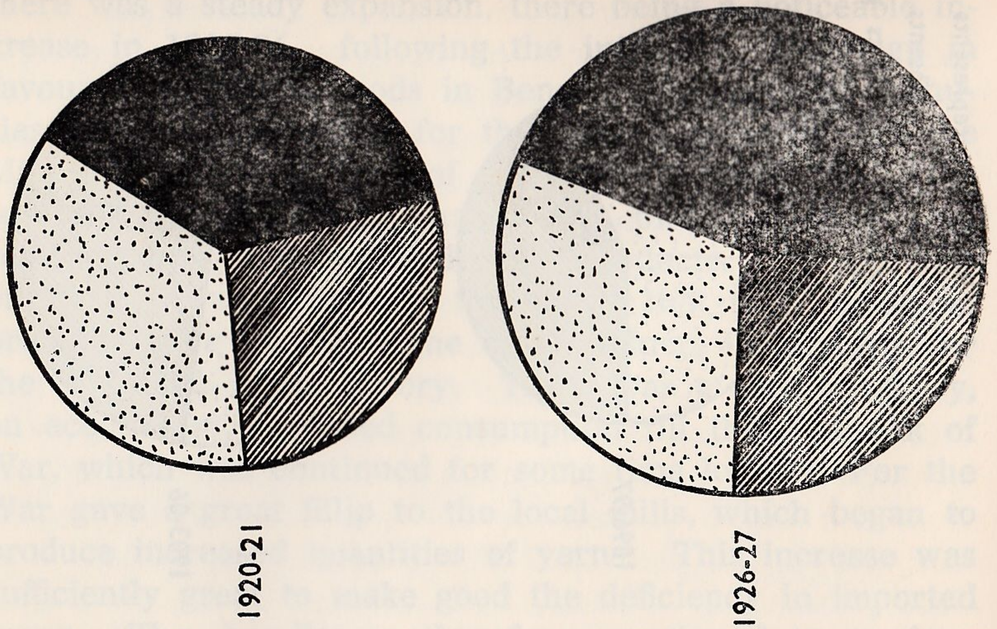


	1997 million yards		
Foreign piece goods			
Handloom " "	784	"	1188
Mill " "	354	"	31
Total	3135	"	
Less exports and re-export	127	"	
Nett consumption	2963	"	

	2463 million yards		
Foreign piece goods			
Handloom " "	1084	"	1784
Mill " "	700	"	
Total	4247	"	
Less exports and re-export	257	"	
Nett consumption	3990	"	

Foreign piece goods	1510	million yards	
Handloom " "	1148	" "	2729
Mill " "	1581	" "	
Total	4239	" "	
Less exports and re-export	275	" "	
Nett consumption	3864	" "	

Foreign piece goods	1788	million yards	
Handloom " "	1315	" "	382
Mill " "	2259	" "	70
Total	5362	" "	
Less exports and re-export	276	" "	
Nett consumption	5086	" "	



own yarns in increasing quantities, as the manufacture of piece goods was more remunerative than the production of yarns. But as soon as the mills had worked all their existing looms to their fullest capacity, they were obliged to release their yarns, because it was impossible to import new machineries. Consequently there was a sudden increase in handloom production in 1918-19, in which year it actually exceeded the imported piece goods. During the next year there was a severe reaction, the production of 564 million yards being the lowest during the 30 years under review. The reasons were similar to those of 1900-01. **viz :—**

(a) decreased consumption of piece goods
(b) decreased import of foreign yarn
(c) decreased local production of yarn.

In 1921-22, following the non-co-operation agitation, the handloom products rose above the imported piece goods for the second time, after which they exhibit more or less the same features as the corresponding piece goods imports, but always occupying a lower position.

Mill Production

The mill production has shown a steady expansion during the last 30 years. In 1896-97, it occupied the lowest position among the three elements of the piece goods trade, **viz,** imports, mill production, and handloom production ; but in 1926-27, it occupied the heighest position. It outstripped the handloom products for the first time in 1909-10 as pointed out above. Since then, except for temporary period during 1914-15, it has always been above the handloom production. It exceeded the imported piece goods for the first time in 1917-18, a position which has been consistently maintained since then. It is true that the Indian mill industry is now passing through difficult times, but the position in competing countries, specially Great Britain, is very much worse. Even now, mill products are ousting foreign yarn.

CHAPTER IV

Indian Yarn Vs Foreign Yarn

Just as mill piece goods are replacing foreign piece goods to an increasing extent, similarly mill yarns are replacing foreign yarns. Thus less foreign yarn was imported in 1926-27 than in 1896-97, whereas during the same period mill yarn has increased from 423 million lbs. to 807 million lbs. It is therefore clear that in the yarn trade also, local yarn is ousting imported yarn.

Although this is true of the total production, this does not hold good in respect of all counts of yarns, as will be evident from the figures in page 317 for cotton twist and cotton yarn for the year 1920-21.

It is well known that there is no serious competition in lower counts, Indian yarn easily outdistancing British and Japanese yarns. It is only in the case of yarns above 30's that there is serious competition. But the prospects are encouraging, for on reference to the table in page 318 for the next few years it will be seen how the Indian mills are concentrating more and more on finer counts.

Thus in five years, yarns above 40's have increased from 2 million lbs. to 11½ million lbs. whereas yarns not exceeding 20's have increased from 470½ million lbs. to 515½ million lbs. This tendency towards concentration on higher counts of yarns is corroborated if we consider the consumption of cotton in relation to the spindles at work. While cotton is being used up in larger and larger quantities year by year the number of spindles is increasing at a much faster rate. That is to say, there is a decreased consumption of cotton per spindle showing that finer yarns are being produced. This process could have been hastened if the recommendation of the Tariff Board regarding the granting of a bounty to Indian twist of one anna per lb. on higher counts of yarn had been accepted

Imports by Sea from foreign countries from

Counts.	United Kingdom	Japan	Other countries	Total	Production in Indian mills.
	in thou. lbs.	in thou. lbs.	in thou. lbs.	in thou. lbs.	in thou. lbs.
Nos. 1 to 20	391	4,511	2,689	7,591	443,471
Nos. 21 to 30	2,053	1,944	193	4,190	199,086
Nos. 31 to 40	12,636	9,346	860	22,842	15,024
Above No. 40	3,590	1,406	24	5,020	2,067
Others	4,726	2,916	49	7,691	—
Waste					355
Totals	23,396	20,123	3,813	47,334	660,003

Year	1's to 20's in thous. lbs.	21's to 30's in thous. lbs.	31's to 40's in thous. lbs.	above 40's in thous. lbs.	Wastes in thous. lbs.	Totals in thous. lbs.
1921-22	470,628	203,162	16,900	2,364	517	693,571
1922-23	478,595	208,959	15,930	2,195	214	705,893
1923-24	403,440	181,747	19,666	3,261	514	609,628
1924-25	469,810	223,812	19,368	5,823	577	719,390
1125-26	444,749	213,788	19,737	5,834	1,415	685,523
1926-27	515,682	248,311	27,657	11,531	3,936	807.116

by the Government of India. The Government have however turned down this proposal and have only agreed to impose a duty of 1 anna per lb. on imported yarn in place of the existing duty of 5 per cent, if called upon to do so.

Analysis Of Foreign Yarn

The different descriptions of foreign twists and yarns imported into India are given below :—

(in thousand lbs.)

Year.	Grey (Unbleached)	White (bleached)	Coloured	Mercerised
1922-23	48,983	1,894	7,027	1,320
1923-24	31,256	2,650	9,645	2,019
1824-25	41,277	3,427	8,483	2,664
1925-26	37,958	3,751	7,107	2,845
1926-27	35,765	4,062	5,373	4,169

In the first variety, which predominates over the other varieties, Japan is a formidable competitor of the United Kingdom, especially for counts between 31's and 40's. The second variety comes almost entirely from the United Kingdom and the third mainly from the continent. The fourth and the last variety is obtained chiefly from Japan. The percentage shares of the United Kingdom and Japan in the import trade for cotton twist and yarn are shown in the table below ;—

Year	United Kingdom	Japan
1913-14	86	2
1914-15	87	2
1915-16	91	2
1916-17	83	14
1917-18	77	22
1918-19	25	72
1919-20	81	13
1920-21	49	42
1921-22	70	26

Year	United Kingdom	Japan
1922-23	52	45
1923-24	49	46
1924-25	37	57
1925-26	31	65
1926-27	41	54

The sudden rise in U. K'share and the corresponding fall in Japan's share during 1926-27 show that Japan has not been able to consolidate her position **vis-a-vis** United Kingdom. The above comparative analysis practically represents the analysis of grey (unbleached) yarn imports —because as stated above, greys form the most important element, 36 million lbs. in a total of 49 million lbs., in 1926-27.

CHAPTER V

Analysis Of Foreign Piece Goods

(A) According To Quality

The three varieties of foreign piece goods are shown separately in the table below for the past five years :—

(in million yards)

Year	Grey	White	Coloured
1922-23	931	402	244
1923-24	704	415	347
1924-25	846	549	407
1925-26	709	465	366
1926-27	748	571	447

Analysis According To Sources

The distribution of the total import trade in piece goods among the principal countries is set forth below according to the percentage shares of quantities :—

	United Kingdom	Japan	United States	Nether-Lands	Other Countries
1913-14	97.1	.3	.3	.8	1.5
1920-21	85.6	11.3	.9	.9	1.3
1921-22	87.6	8.3	2.1	1.1	.9
1922-23	91.2	6.8	.5	.8	.7
1923-24	88.8	8.2	.5	.7	1.8
1924-25	88.5	8.5	.5	.6	1.9
1925-26	82.3	13.9	1.0	1.1	1.7
1926-27	82.0	13.6	.9	1.1	2.4

The trades of the two chief competitors, viz., United Kingdom and Japan, are further analysed below in order to show what particular classes of British goods are being replaced by Japanese goods :—

		Grey	White	Coloured
1913-14	U.K.	98.8	98.5	92.6
	Japan	.5	—	.2
1923-24	U.K.	85.2	97.0	87.4
	Japan	13.7	.6	6.7
1924-25	U.K.	86.0	97.1	83.1
	Japan	13.0	.8	10.0
1925-26	U.K.	79.2	96.0	73.1
	Japan	20.1	1.0	19.0
1926-27	U.K.	78.7	96.4	79.1
	Japan	20.7	.5	19.2

Thus, except for white cotton goods the United Kingdom is being steadily ousted by Japan.

(B) According To Destination
In India

Bengal takes a predominant part each year in the distribution of piece goods imported into India. Bombay comes second but her share has been gradually declining during the last three years. Burma on the contrary has been showing a steady increase.

The relative figures are given below :—
(In million yards)

Ports	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26
Calcutta	652	933	753	905	767
Karachi	129	218	220	324	250
Bombay	65	69	57	49	32
Rangoon	56	86	72	103	118
Madras	41	65	70	78	52

Analysis Of Yarn Imports

According To Ports

So far as foreign twists and yarns are concerned, Bengal takes a larger percentage than any other province. Madras, where the handloom industry is very active, takes about half the quantity of Bengal. The imports are analysed according to ports for the last few years in the subjoined table :—

In million lbs.

Ports	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26
Calcutta	14.2	15.5	12.0	16.3	13.6
Karachi	1.0	.7	1.0	1.2	.8
Bombay	.4	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.0
Rangoon	2.3	1.8	1.6	2.3	2.9
Madras	8.0	7.1	6.1	8.0	7.3

———

Chapter VI

Importance Of Cotton Manufactures To Britain

It is common knowledge that cotton manufactures form the staple export from Britain. But how far Britain depends on the prosperity of her cotton textile trade cannot be accurately realised in the absence of Statistical figures. In the following table, the values of the exports of the principal manufactured commodities for the last few years are given to indicate their relative importance :—

VALUE OF EXPORTS IN £ MILLIONS

No.	Articles exported from U.K.	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922
1.	Cotton yarns and manufactures	154	199	199	177	187
2.	Iron and steel manufactures	55	68	75	76	61
3.	Machinery	45	49	45	45	52
4.	Woollen manufactures	51	59	68	63	58
5.	Vehicles (including locomotives, ship and airships)	31	33	27	28	50
6.	Textile manufactures other than cotton, wool and silk	27	28	28	24	22
7.	Apparel	27	29	30	26	23
8.	Chemicals	22	24	25	26	20
	Other articles wholly or mainly manufactured each item having a value not exceeding £ 90 mill.	126	128	298	302	246
	Total	538	617	795	767	719

Importance Of The Indian Market For British Cotton Goods

It is thus evident that cotton manufactures form the staple export from Britain. The most important market is Indian. How important it is will appear from the table below :—

PIECE GOODS EXPORTS FROM U.K.

(In .000 Sq. Yards)

	1924	1923	1913
British India	1,641,941	1,411,699	3,057,351
Egypt	198,666	207,202	266,623
China (including Hongkong)	292,577	234,710	716,533
Dutch East Indies	136,188	136,290	304,928
Australia	158,601	171,237	167,915
Argentine Republic	147,901	173,209	199,118
British West Africa	84,481	105,959	144,617

	1926	1925
British India	1,565,242	1,421,392
Egypt	123,873	237,008
China (including Hongkong)	177,466	173,391
Dutch East Indies	121,745	191,970
Australia	181,122	169,961
Argentine Republic	112,576	158,337
British West Africa	106,681	152,315

It is thus clear that the boycott of British piece goods on the part of Egypt or of China is a more fleabite compared even to a partial boycott on the part of India.

Chapter VII

Present Economic Position Of Britain

The question now arises, whether this is the most opportune time for declaring a boycott of British goods. Politics apart, there are purely economic reasons to conclude that this is so. From the table of Chief British exports from 1922 to 1926, it is abundantly clear that there is a steady decline in the value of most of the commodities for the last few years. The present unsatisfactory position was thus described by Sir Herbert Hambling, Deputy Chairman of Barclay's Bank at the annual general meeting of the Bank held on January 19, 1928 last :— "Coal, iron and steel and cotton are not in a healthy condition....I some times wonder whether some of the older concerns have kept themselves really up to date in efficient organisation, modern machinery etc., or whether they have traded on their reputation of 50 years ago. I am inclined to think they have ignored changed conditions and the fact that for years past other countries have been forging ahead with modern machinery and with the most up-to-date methods in those very industries in which we were so pre-eminent years ago, when, in fact, we had little or no competition...." Unless therefore some drastic counter measure is adopted by Britain, British goods must continue to be ousted by competing countries.

Present Position Of British Cotton Industry

The Union Bank of Manchester, which largely finances cotton mills in the area, has been obliged to reduce its rate of dividend for 1927 by as much as 2 per cent. Over two hundred concerns are heavily involved in bank overdrafts to the extent of £ 15 million sterling. From the classified list of the result of 310 companies

for 1927 recently published, it appears that only 101 companies were able to pay any dividend at all, the average percentage distributed to shareholders being only 1.8. During the year new capital to the extent of over £4½ millions has to be called up in the spinning industry, and 50 companies were compelled to enter into schemes of arrangement which will preclude any distribution to shareholders for some time to come. The reported decision of a large body of manufactures for a reduction in wages and an increase in working hours clearly shows that the industry must be passing through an acute depression. For, this proposal has been made notwithstanding the fact that a proposal of a similar nature for coal mining industry in 1925 precipitated the General Strike. The gravity of the crisis may also be realised from the recent proposal to amalgamate a number of mills in one large combine or a series of combines aiming at standardisation of production on a massed basis similar to the spinning combines in Japan.

SECTION III

Effect Of Boycott

CHAPTER I. —Declaration of Boycott and After.

CHAPTER II. —Statistics of British Imports.

1. Cotton Piecegoods.
2. Machinery and milled work.
3. Galvanised Iron sheets.
4. Cotton twist and yarn.
5. Railway plant etc.
6. Provisions.
7. Cigarettes.
8. Electrical Instruments, etc.
9. Hardware.
10. Woollen Piecegoods.
11. Soap.
12. Spirit.
13. Piecegoods of Cotton and Artificial
14. Motor Cars.
15. Paints and Colours.

CHAPTER III —Conclusion.

Chapter I

Declaration Of Boycott And After

BOYCOTT AND TRADE COMMISSIONER

Since the above was written, the question of boycott has been taken out of the field of academic discussion about its feasibility or its effect upon trade. For, in the middle of February, 1928, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee declared a boycott of British goods in Bengal. This event has been chronicled by H. M.'s Senior Trade Commissioner in his report for 1927-28 in the following words—"Efforts were made by the Swaraj party in Bengal to reinforce their activities in opposition to the appointment of the Simon Commission by proclaiming a boycott of British goods. These efforts, however, have had little effect." The Trade Commissioner has ignored the inconvenient fact that his review was for a period of twelve months (April 1, 1927 to March 31, 1928), out of which there was barely a month and a half, during which the boycott campaign was in progress. He has, however, been obliged to admit two facts. On p. 19 of his report, it is stated that "there is no doubt, however, that the racial feeling among the younger generation of Indians, particularly in Bengal, is bound to have some influence on the sales of British goods." Again on the next page, there is the grudging admission that "this feeling has probably been of assistance to foreign competition in strengthening their connections in the market, particularly in the case of Germany since the war." He qualifies this latter statement by adding that "the business secured has, in most instances, been obtained owing to lower quotations or other solid advantages to the buyer." But he does not point out why with their much vaunted superiority British industries should not be able to quote lower prices than the competing countries. For the fact should not be overlooked that the competition is

not confined to one industry or two, which might be ascribed to special causes operating in those industries. How wide the competition is may be best given in the Trade Commissioner's own words:—

> "Foreign competition now enters into practically every trade, including those which have hitherto been exclusively British. The outstanding features of the year have been intensified American competition in machinery, motor cars, rubber tyres, electrical apparatus and fents; increased shipments from Germany of dyes, chemicals, hardware, machinery, artificial silk and woollen piece goods; an advance of nearly 2 crores in the value of the imports of grey, white and coloured piece goods from Japan; larger purchases of Italian artificial silk yarn and piece goods, woollens and coloured woven and dyed cotton goods, and continuance of severe Bengal Competition in iron and steel and railway material." (p. 23).

From the above it is evident that the prospects of British trade with India are not particularly bright, whatever the reasons adduced by the Trade Commissioner. The recent position is contrasted with the prewar position in the following table, the position in 1924-25, 1925-26 and 1926-27 having been already detained in the previous Section:—

Share of	Precentage of total import for	
	1913-14	1927-29
United Kingdom	64.1	47.7
United States	2.6	8.2
Japan	2.6	7.2
Germany	6.9	6.1
Belgium	2.3	3.0
Italy	1.2	2.7
Straits Settlements	1.8	2.3
Netherlands	.8	1.9
China	.9	1.8
Persia, Arabia, Asiatic Turkey	1.5	1.8
France	1.5	1.7

Chapter II

Statistics Of British Imports

RECENT FIGURES

Sufficient has been said already to indicate the position of Britain **vis-a-vis** her competitors at the end of the year 1927-28 to expose the real nature of the contention of H. H.'s Senior Trade Commissioner. Let us now apply our attention to an objective study of the effect of boycott on British trade during the past few months. In the table below, the principal British exports to India have been given for the nine months from April 1, 1928 to December 1, 1928. For facility of comparison, the figures for the corresponding periods of the two previous years have also been stated. To complete the statistics, the figures for 1927-28 have also been inserted and those for 1926-27 (already mentioned in the previous Section) have also been repeated in a slightly different form in accordance with the figures available in monthly returns for Sea-borne Trade :—

COMMODITIES	VALUE OF IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM IN CRORES OF RUPEES				
	During fiscal year		During nine months April 1 to December 31		
	1926-27	1927-28	1926	1927	1928
1. Cotton piece goods (white, grey and coloured)	44.39	42.33	33.51	31.44	29.58
2. Machinery and mill work	10.66	12.53	7.83	9.30	10.74
3. Galvanised iron sheets	6.45	7.24	4.89	5.57	4.29
4. Cotton twist and yarn	3.08	3.09	2.50	2.45	2.59
5. Railway plant etc.	2.00	3.71	1.59	2.87	..
6. Provisions	2.03	2.34	1.70	1.77	1.74
7. Cigarettes	1.93	2.38	1.42	1.86	1.47
8. Electrical instruments, etc.	1.70	1.85	1.18	1.34	1.46
9. Hardware	1.84	2.06	1.33	1.51	1.41
10. Woollen piece goods	1.43	1.62	1.20	1.32	1.06
11. Soap	1.37	1.47	1.03	1.06	1.04
12. Spirit	1.36	1.36	.97	.96	.97
13. Piece goods of Cotton and artificial Silk	1.17	.99	.81	.62	.70
14. Motor cars	.80	1.03	.55	.71	.69
15. Paints and colours	.79	.84	.56	.62	.56
Other commodities	29.54	34.37	21.81	25.27	25.77
Total for the United Kingdom	110.54	119.21	82.88	88.67	84.07
Grand total for all countries	231.22	249.85	170.78	186.14	184.37
Percentage of British imports to total imports	47.8	47.7	48.5	47.6	45.6

From the above table, it is clear that most of the British imports show a reduction during the nine months from April 1 to December 31, 1928 as compared with the values for the corresponding period for the previous two years. The total import from all foreign countries, however, has fallen very slightly from Rs. 186.14 to Rs. 184.37 crores, **i.e.**, by less than one per cent.

(1) Cotton Piece-goods

The fall in the case of British cotton piece goods is from Rs. 31.44 to Rs. 29.58, i.e., by about 5 per cent. Unfortunately, statistics of imports into Bengal, where the campaign for the boycott was most active, are not separately available. But from the following table of imports of cotton piece goods from all countries into the different provinces of India, it will appear that the decrease is by as much as Rs. 5 crores in Bengal, a considerable proportion of which must necessarily be due to the reduction in British piece goods, forming as they do the bulk of the total imports :—

	Total value of piece goods imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores).		
Share of	1926	1927	1928
Bengal	19.42	19.77	14.80
Bombay	8.92	10.09	11.50
Sind	7.03	6.34	7.95
Madras	2.24	1.70	2.10
Burma	3.64	3.40	2.84
	41.25	41.30	39.19

(2) Machinery And Mill Work

These show an increase, partly as a result of boycott, which calls for new machineries to sulply the want of

British goods. But the rate of increase is faster in the case of United States than in the case of the United Kingdom as will appear from the table below :—

	Total value of machinery and mill work imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)		
From	1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom ..	7.83	9.30	10.74
United States ..	.97	1.19	1.53
Germany ..	.65	.70	.82
Other Countries ..	.44	.56	.67
Total	9.89	11.75	13.76

The distribution among the different provinces may be thus indicated :—

	Total value of machinery and mill work imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)		
Share of	1926	1927	1928
Bengal	3.36	4.34	6.01
Bombay	3.19	3.15	3.68
Sind	1.05	.92	1.10
Madras	1.13	1.35	1.68
Burma	1.16	1.99	1.29
Total	9.89	11.75	13.76

(3) Galvanised Iron Sheets

The above show a reduction by more than a crore of rupees, partly because Bengal is normally the principal

consumer, where the boycott campaign was most active. This will be clear from the two tables appended :—

Total value of galvanised iron sheets imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From	1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom ..	4.89	5.57	4.29
Belgium ..	.14	.32	.43
United States ..	.30	.09	.05
Other Countries ..	.04	.12	.09
Total	5.37	6.10	4.86

Total value of galvanised iron sheets imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	2.73	4.16	4.63
Bombay	1.88	1.88	1.19
Burma	.50	.64	.51
Sind	.13	.14	.11
Madras	.16	.17	.18
	5.40	6.99	6.62

(4) Cotton Twist And Yarn

This figure shows a slight increase from Rs. 2.45 crores to Rs. 2.59 crores in the British share, partly due to the prolonged strike in Bombay mills.

The distribution table among the different provinces of total imports is given below :—

Total value of Cotton twist and yarn imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of	1926	1927	1928
Bengal	.93	1.31	1.16
Bombay	2.87	3.20	2.10
Sind	.07	.06	.04
Madras	1.17	.91	1.03
Burma	.19	.16	.12
Total	5.23	5.64	4.45

(5) Railway Plant Etc.

There was no import under this head during the period under review, but the distribution of the trade by countries of production and by provinces of import for the previous periods are separately given below. That the United Kingdom has such a preponderatingly large share of the trade is due to the fact that railways are not under popular control.*

* The Trade Commissioner has exultingly pointed out that during 1927-28, the British share of the total import trade has fallen only by .1 per cent., whereas in the previous three years, the fall was by as much as 10 per cent. He however ignores the fact that during 1927-28 railway plant etc., accounted for Rs. 3.71 Crores against only Rs. 2.00 Crores in 1926-27.

Total value of railway plant, etc., imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores).

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.59	2.87	..
Belgium	..	.20	.39	..
Germany	..	.24	.12	..
Australia	..	.24	.10	..
United States	..	.13	.09	..
Other Countries	..	.12	.05	..
Total		2.52	3.62	..

Total value of railway plant, etc., imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores).

Share of			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	..	..	3.01	2.20	1.21
Bombay	..	..	1.83	1.43	.89
Madras	..	..	.67	.79	.73
Burma	..	..	.20	.20	.30
Sind	..	..	.37	.33	.14
Total			6.08	5.00	3.17

(6) Provisions

These show only a slight decrease, because the consumers are mostly non-Indians, to whom boycott naturally makes no appeal. The usual tables are given below. It should be noticed that Britain's keenest competitor in this line, Netherlands, records a slight increase in contrast with Britain's decrease.

Total value of provisions imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.70	1.77	1.74
Netherlands	..	1.18	1.53	1.58
Straits Settlements (including Labuan)	..	.41	.34	.26
United States	..	.33	.34	.31
China (including Hongkong)	..	.11	.17	.13
Australia	..	.11	.07	.07
Other Countries	..	.39	.53	.60
Total		4.23	4.75	4.69

Total value of provisions imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Burma	..	..	1.01	1.28	1.53
Bengal	..	..	1.06	1.17	1.52
Bombay	..	..	1.09	1.33	1.46
Sind	..	..	.40	.49	.56
Madras	..	..	.36	.37	.44
Total			3.92	4.64	5.51

(7) Cigarettes

Practically the whole of the supply comes from the United Kingdom. But as Bengal imports about a third of the total, there has been a gratifying diminution as a result of the boycott propaganda. We should not, however, rest on our cars but a constant endeavour should be made to delete this item altogether from the import list. The position is shown in the two tables below :—

Total value of cigarettes imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.42	1.86	1.47
Other Countries	..	.01	.01	.01
Total		1.43	1.87	1.48

Total value of cigarettes imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	..	..	.76	.75	.88
Bombay	..	..	.31	.47	.77
Burma	..	..	.28	.35	.41
Madras	..	..	.39	.27	.32
Sind	..	..	.35	.30	.19
Total			1.99	2.14	2.57

(8) Electrical Instruments etc.

These show a slight increase partly for the reason given in connection with machinery and mill work. But the British percentage increase is lower than the total percentage increase as will appear from the following tables :—

Total value of electrical instruments etc., imported during the nine months from April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.18	1.34	1.46
United States	..	.27	.25	.26
Germany	..	.17	.19	.21
Netherlands	..	.06	.08	.10
Italy	..	.05	.05	.08
Japan	..	.02	.02	.04
Other Countries	..	.05	.07	.09
Total		1.80	2.00	2.24

The share of the different provinces are given in the following table :—

Total value of electrical instruments etc., imported during the fiscal years from April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	..	..	.98	1.00	1.16
Bombay	..	..	.60	.71	.79
Burma	..	..	.19	.23	.31
Sind	..	..	.10	.14	.14
Madras	..	..	.10	.17	.13
Total			1.97	2.25	2.53

(9) Hardware

This records a small decrease in the British share in contrast with an increase in the total. The usual tables are appended.

Total value of hardware imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.33	1.51	1.41
Germany	..	1.17	1.18	1.30
U. S. A.	..	.55	.47	.47
Japan	..	.19	.19	.22
Austria	..	.09	.09	.13
Sweden	..	.11	.11	.11
Other Countries	..	.26	.28	.34
Total		2.70	3.83	3.98

Total value of hardware imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. Crores)

Share of			1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	..	..	1.68	1.84	1.73
Bombay	..	..	1.69	1.61	1.56
Burma	..	..	.69	.81	.76
Madras	..	..	.53	.54	.60
Sind	..	..	.39	.41	.41
Total			4.98	5.21	5.06

(10) Woollen Piece Goods

In this case, the distribution table among the different countries of supply is available for the same period, for which the imports into the different provinces are available. But unfortunately the former refers to piece goods alone and the latter to manufactures of all kinds. The relative tables are however given below :—

Total value of woollen piece goods imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From		1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.20	1.31	1.06
France	..	.34	.55	.56
Germany	..	.27	.32	.36
Italy	..	.34	.36	.30
Other Countries	..	.30	.30	.29
Total		2.45	2.84	2.57

Total value of woollen manufactures of all kinds imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of			1926	1927	1928
Bengal	..	..	.69	.85	.87
Bombay	..	..	1.38	1.53	1.68
Sind	..	..	.85	1.09	1.18
Madras	..	..	.05	.05	.06
Burma	..	..	.72	.76	.34
Total			3.69	4.28	4.13

(11) SOAP

As with cigarettes, so with soaps, practically the whole supply comes from the United Kingdom. Bengal, however, imports a smaller share of soaps than of cigarettes. The import from the United Kingdom shows a slight decrease in contrast with an increase from competing countries. An energetic attempt should be made to popularise indigenous household soaps, which compare very favourably with imported soaps ; for, the household soaps for washing purposes account for more than two-third of the entire import.

From		Total value of soaps imported during nine months from April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores) 1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	1.03	1.06	1.04
Other Countries	..	.11	.09	.14
Total		1.14	1.15	1.18

Share of		Total value of soaps imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores) 1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bombay	.. ..	.53	.57	.57
Burma	.. ..	.32	.35	.34
Bengal	.. ..	.21	.26	.27
Madras	.. ..	.13	.17	.20
Sind	.. ..	.13	.12	.15
Total		1.32	1.47	1.53

(12) SPIRIT

This exhibits a slight increase chiefly for the reason that it is consumed principally by non-Indians, who cannot be expected to abide by the boycott. The usual tables are appended :—

From		Total value of spirit imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores) 1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	..	.97	.96	.97
France	..	.39	.34	.36
United States	..	.10	.11	.12
Java	..	.08	.09	.07
Germany	..	.06	.06	.05
Other Countries	..	.05	.05	.04
Total		1.65	1.61	1.61

Share of			Total value of spirit imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores) 1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bombay	..	..	.70	.67	.72
Bengal	..	..	.63	.67	.68
Sind	..	..	.34	.39	.38
Burma	..	..	.27	.29	.32
Madras	..	..	.16	.18	.19
Total			2.10	2.20	2.29

(13) Piece Goods of Cotton And Artificial Silk

These no doubt record an increase but the rate is much less than in the case of the keenest competitor, viz. Italy, which now occupies the first position in the list of supplying countries given below. The distribution table among different provinces is also given :—

From		Total value of piece goods of cotton and artificial silk imported during nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores) 1926	1927	1928
Italy	.. ..	.58	.56	.74
United Kingdom	..	.81	.62	.70
Switzerland	..	.38	.52	.36
Germany	..	.20	.38	.23
Australia	..	.05	.16	.14
Belgium	..	.07	.05	.06
Other Countries	..	.07	.15	.27
Total		2.16	2.44	2.50

Total value of piece goods of cotton and artificial silk imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bombay	1:01	.86	1.97
Bengal	.53	.29	.69
Burma	.12	.14	.23
Sind	.10	.06	.19
Madras		.02	.01
Total	1.76	1.37	3.09

(14) Motor Cars

Here is to be noticed a decrease in the case of the United Kingdom, as compared with quite substantial increases in the case of competing countries like the U.S.A. and Canada. The usual tables are appended|:—

Total value of motor cars imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From	1926	1927	1928
United States ..	.67	1.02	1.36
Canada	.56	.47	.80
United Kingdom ..	.54	.71	.69
Other Countries ..	.34	.40	.23
Total	2.11	2.60	3.08

Total value of motor cars imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of	1926	1927	1928
Bengal	.64	.82	.86
Bombay	.67	.77	.97
Sind	.28	.33	.39
Madras	.29	.45	.58
Burma	.23	.23	.28
Total	2.11	2.60	3.08

(15) Paints And Colours

Here also there is recorded a decrease. The two distribution tables may be thus shown :—

Total value of paints and colours imported during the nine months April 1 to December 31 in Rs. (Crores)

From	1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom ..	.56	.62	.56
United States ..	.04	.04	.06
Germany	.06	.06	.06
Japan ..	.03	.02	.02
Other Countries ..	.10	.14	.10
Total	.79	.88	.80

Total value of paints and colours imported during the fiscal years April 1 to March 31 in Rs. (Crores)

Share of	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Bengal	.39	.38	.45
Bombay	.35	.36	.37
Burma	.14	.13	.12
Madras	.06	.07	.09
Sind	.08	.08	.08
Total	1.02	1.02	1.11

CHAPTER III

Conclusion

Official Forecast Of British Trade

The above analysis of British trade with India as affected by boycott should give all Indian nationalists sober satisfaction, if not undue elation. Everything pointed to an expansion of the British share in the total trade, at the beginning of the period under review, according to official chroniclers. To give only one instance H. M.'s Senior Trade Commissioner described the prospects in the following words :—

> "India stands to-day on a firmer economic basis than she has ever done. Her credit, both internal and external, has never been so good..... Exchange has been stabilised at 1s. 6d., a rate, which is, comparatively speaking, favourable to the import trade. The agriculturist is prosperous and has probably a greater reserve to-day than he has ever had. The stocks of imported goods, notably of textiles, are light, and large purchases of them are overdue.....
>
> So far as cotton textiles are concerned, which constitute nearly 40 per cent. of British shipments to India, the prospects are, on the whole, favourable. Stocks are fairly light both in the mofussil districts.....
>
> There is every likelihood that the imports of iron and steel will continue to expand in spite of increased production in India.....
>
> The outlook in the import trade for machinery and plant is promising. The British engineering industries are bound to benefit from the large schemes of railway construction, harbour development, irrigation and hydro-electric enterprises and bridges building.....the steady progress which is being made throughout the country in the application of power to small industries, agricultural operations and lightings is certain to result in an increasing demand for boilers, prime movers and electrical plant.....
>
> This should stimulate the demand for the miscellaneous items of equipment, plant and stores which—in the aggregate—amount to a very large sum and constitute a valuable British trade."

Actual Position

From the figures quoted in the previous chapter it will be clear that in spite of such bright prospects, British

trade with India has been hard hit during the last few months. The present position of the two principal industries of the United Kingdom will be apparent from the following table compiled from the statistical supplement to the "Economist" dated January 26, 1929 :—

Exports from the United Kingdom
(000,000's omitted)

	Cotton piece goods	Iron & steel
	Sq. yds	Tons
Monthly average, 1913 ..	589	0.41
September average. 1927 ..	343	0.35
September average, 1928 ..	298	0.30
October average, 1928 ..	334	0.38
November average, 1928 ..	331	0.40
December average, 1928 ..	290	0.36

Description By Bank Chairmen

The present economic position of Britain has also received its share of comment from the chairmen of the big banks at their recent annual meetings. For instance, Mr. F. C. Goodenough, the Chairman of Barclays Bank stated at the annual meeting held on January 17, 1929 as follows :—

> ".....the depression in the heavy industries is so serious as to create a general feeling that our industrial organisation is not as it should be....."
>
> "A scheme has lately been discussed for the formation of a new institution to acquire a great number of mills which are chiefly engaged in the Far Eastern trade. The object of the scheme is that of regaining the trade which is being lost, by enabling these mills to buy their raw materials more cheaply and to organise their productions, through the various mills working in combination upon the most up-to-date and economic lines, as well as to market their cotton goods by means of the most favourable selling organisation for the purpose."

The Right Hon'ble Mr. R. McKenna, Chairman of the Midland Bank has also repeated the same story in the

following language :—

> ".....our largest borrower is the group of undertakings engaged in the textile industries. Almost the whole of this amount is lent to the cotton and wool industries in roughly equal proportions, silk and other textiles accounting for only very small part. As you are aware, the cotton and wool trades have been passing through a prolonged period of difficulty and depression. The cotton industry in particular has suffered from the loss of a considerable part of its export trade....."

Two Obstacles To Boycott

It is thus apparent that no better time can be conceived than the present for crippling British industries effectively by a systematic campaign for boycott. H. M.'s Trade Commissioner, however, relies on two impediments to boycott. "In the first place," says he, "the extreme political elements have little influence in trading circles." He simply repeats a statement which although convenient and comforting is belied by facts. He forgets how recent events are rapidly moving towards a complete unification between politicians and businessmen. Whether it is the claim of an indigenous industry to protection, whether it is the abolition of the hated Cotton excise duty, whether it is the rejection of an unrepresentative Reserve Bank scheme,—in every case, businessmen have found it profitable to work in co-operation with politicians.

Another obstacle is referred to by the Trade Commissioner in the following words :—

"There is such a strong Indian vested interest in the distribution of imported goods that they are able to defend themselves against any sporadic movements of this kind which affects their livelihood."

Methods Of Boycott Propaganda

If the whole fabric of British trade in India thus rests on this slender basis, it should not be difficult to achieve success. That boycott is feasible and that it will affect British trade are tacitly admitted by the Trade Commissioner. The question, therefore, becomes one regarding the method of propaganda. It is unwise to dogmatise on these points but the following may be suggested :—

(1) The importer of British goods are stated to have vested interests and will not give up importing (a) unless an equally lucrative trade in non-British goods is assured to them and (b) unless they are convinced inspite of themselves that their imports will not sell. An appeal based on patriotism alone therefore may not be sufficient.

(2) It follows that it is necessary to work from the bottom upwards, that is to say, carry on an elaborate and systematic propaganda against British goods, among the consumers themselves.

(3) Regard being had to the illiteracy of the people, this propaganda will have to be carried mostly through public meetings and only to a limited extent through the press and by means of pamphlets. It is difficult for speakers to avoid politics in times of excitement. And even if politics be avoided, people may be arrested merely because they are successful propagandists.* Speakers should therefore be chosen not only because of their powerful exposition of economic facts, but also because of their spirit of self-sacrifice.

(4) Picketting of shops is an effective method of propaganda but often leads to an encounter with the police, specially if **agents provocateur** are appointed. En-

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* That this is no idle apprehension will appear from the following extract from the speech of His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson on January 7, 1924, then a member of the Executive Council of the Bengal Government :—

"The Bengal Government asked for the arrest under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter in 1908 because of his violent boycott speeches and his activity in organising volunteers .....In the same way the Eastern Bengal Government asked for the use of the said Regulation in the case of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta because of his whirlwind campaign.....and of his control of the Brajamohan Institution from which a stream of Swadeshi preachers was constantly pouring....."

thusiasm should be worked up to such a high pitch independently of picketting that even rigorous repression will not crush the movement.

(5) As regards the replacement of British goods by corresponding Indian goods, the nearest substitutes should be prominently brought before the consumers and retail traders, and at the same time, the manufacturers should be given an idea of the probable sale. They should also be helped to procure necessary technical knowledge.

(6) The same method is to be followed for replacing British goods by non-British foreign goods where Indian goods are not available. The chief competing countries should be asked to help the movement in their own interests, not only by keeping their home manufacturers in touch with the market demand in India but also by opening up sales-depots with efficient publicity departments, working in close co-operation.

The gravity of the task should not daun Indian nationalists but should only inspire them with hope and courage. Even if nothing spectacular is achieved there will be some positive gain, for, to the extent that there is a reduction of British imports, there is a corresponding emancipation from the economic bondage of the nation. Even if industries are not started in India now, it will be easier to oust non-British goods at a subsequent date when that is called for in the interests of the country's economic welfare.

If eternal vigilance is the price of political liberty, it is no less true that ceaseless struggle is the price of economic freedom of a nation.

APPENDIX

[Among Netaji's prison note-books from Burma we found extensive analyses of the books he read, while in detention, in his own hand which we have published in this volume. These included a note in Bengali on a book entitled "PUROHIT DARPAN" edited by Surendra Mohan Bhattacharyya. This piece is hardly translatable. We are therefore publishing it in the original Bengali as an appendix to the volume. We feel sure that the interested reader, whatever his mother tongue, will find a way of getting at the essence of this—Editor.]

পুরোহিত দর্পণ
শ্রীসুরেন্দ্রমোহন ভট্টাচার্য্য সংকলিত
৩৪ নং কালীপ্রসাদ দত্তের স্ট্রীট অবসর কার্য্যালয় হইতে
*সুরেনচন্ডী দত্তের পত্নী শ্রীমতী ইন্দুবালা দাসী সত্বাধিকারিণীর ম্যানেজার শ্রীহরিদাস বসাক কর্ত্তৃক প্রকাশিত
মূল্য দু'টাকা বার আনা
বাঁধান তিনটাকা চার আনা

মন্ত্র বিচার

বারাহী তন্ত্র—তারাচক্র, রাশিচক্র এবং নামচক্র বিচারে যদি মন্ত্র অনুকূল মন্ত্র হয় তবে অন্য চক্র বিচার করিবে না। কিন্তু ধনী মন্ত্র ও অসুল গ্রহণ করিবে না, ইত্যাদি নিষেধ বাক্য থাকায় ঋণী ধনী চক্র ও কুলাকুল চক্রের বিচারও আবশ্যক বুঝা যাইতেছে।

মন্ত্রভেদ—যে মন্ত্রের অন্তে "হুঁ ফট্" আছে তাহাকে পুংমন্ত্র —যাহার অন্তে "স্বাহা" আছে তাহা স্ত্রীমন্ত্র—এবং যাহার অন্তে "নমঃ", আছে তাহা নপুংসক মন্ত্র বলিয়া জানিবে।

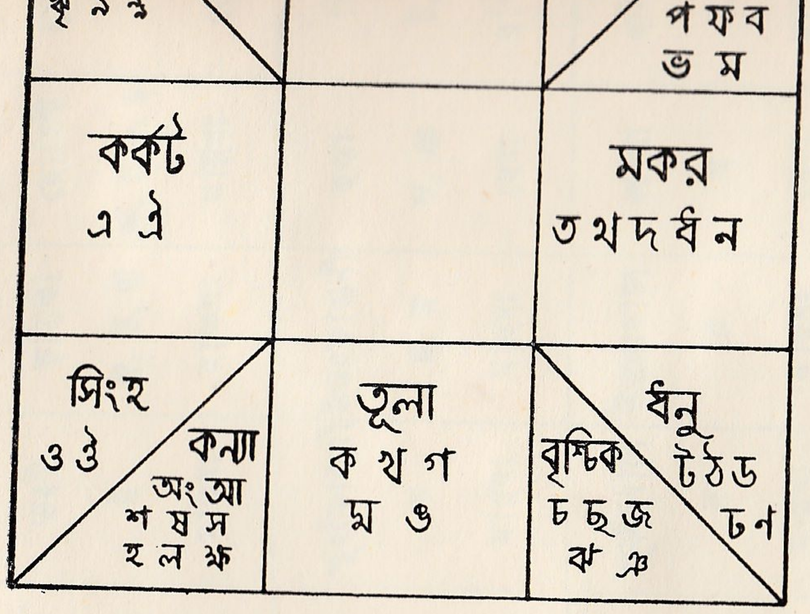
(১) কুলাকুলচক্র

বায়ু	অগ্নি	ভূ	জল	আকাশ
(১) অ আ	ই ঈ	উ ঊ	ঋ ৠ	ঌ ঃ
(২) এ	ঐ	ও	ঔ	অং
(৩) ক	খ	গ	ঘ	ঙ
(৪) চ	ছ	জ	ঝ	ঞ
(৫) ট	ঠ	ড	ঢ	ণ
(৬) ত	থ	দ	ধ	ন
(৭) প	ফ	ব	ভ	ম
(৮) য	র	ল	ব	শ
(৯) য	ক্ষ	ল	স	হ

মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার আদ্যক্ষর ও যে মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিবে তাহার আদ্যক্ষর, এই দুই অক্ষর যদি একভূত বা একদোত হয় তবে সেই মন্ত্র স্বকুল অন্যথা অকুল বলিয়া জানিবে। যদি মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার নামের আদিবর্ণ ও মন্ত্রের আদিবর্ণ বর্ণ এককোষ্ঠস্থ না হয়, তবে উক্ত বর্ণদ্বয়ের পরস্পর মিত্রতা থাকিলেও সে মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করা যাইতে পারে। শত্রুতা হইলে কখনই সে মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে নাই। বারুণ বা জল বর্ণ ভৌম বর্ণের এবং মারুত বর্ণ আগ্নেয় বর্ণের মিত্র, মারুতবর্ণ পার্থিব বর্ণের আগ্নেয় বর্ণ বারুণ বর্ণের ও পার্থিব বর্ণের শত্রু বলিয়া কথিত হইয়াছে। উদাহরণ

তারানাথ মন্ত্র গ্রহীতা, সে কালী এই মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে পারে কিনা? তারানাথের আদ্যক্ষর "ত" আর মন্ত্রের আদ্যক্ষর "ক"—উভয় বর্ণ এক কোষ্ঠার মধ্যে অবস্থিত, সুতরাং তারানাথ কালীমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে পারে। তারানাথ রামমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে পারে কি না? তাহাও পারে—যদিও "র" ও "ত" এক কোষ্ঠাশ্রিত নহে। কিন্তু বায়ুবর্ণ "ত" আগ্নেয় বর্ণের "র"—উভয়ের মিত্রতা আছে।

(২) রাশিচক্র



মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার জন্মরাশি হইতে মন্ত্ররাশি অর্থাৎ যে রাশিতে মন্ত্রের আদিবর্ণ দৃষ্ট হইবে, সেইরাশি পর্য্যন্ত গণনা করিবে। যদি জন্মকালীন রাশি জানা না থাকে তবে নামের আদ্যক্ষর সম্বন্ধীয় রাশি গ্রহণ পূর্ব্বক গণনা করিতে হয়। এইরূপ গণনা করিলে যদি মন্ত্র রাশি জন্ম রাশি হইতে ষষ্ঠ, অষ্টম বা দ্বাদশ হয় তবে সেই মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিবে না। কারণ ষষ্ঠাদি রাশিগত রিপুমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিলে গ্রহীতার অনিষ্ট হয়। "রামার্চ্চন চন্দ্রিকায়" লিখিত আছে—এক, পঞ্চম ও নবম রাশিগত মন্ত্র বন্ধুর ন্যায় হিতকারী। দ্বিতীয়, ষষ্ঠ ও দশম রাশিস্থিত মন্ত্র সেবক। তৃতীয়, একাদশ ও সপ্তম রাশিগত মন্ত্র পুষ্টিকর। দ্বাদশ, অষ্টম ও চতুর্থ রাশি স্থির মন্ত্র ঘাতক—ইহা কেবল বিষ্ণু বিষয় জানিবে।

শক্তিমন্ত্র গ্রহণে ষষ্ঠ মন্ত্রও অবশ্য পরিত্যাগ করিবে। তন্ত্রান্তরে উক্ত আছে—লগ্ন, ধন, ভ্রাতৃ, বন্ধু, পুত্র, শত্রু, কলত্র, মৃত্যু, ধর্ম, কর্ম, আয়, ও ব্যয়—মেষাদি দ্বাদশ দ্বাদশ রাশির এই দ্বাদশ সংজ্ঞা। এই সংজ্ঞা অনুসারে ইহাদের শুভাশুভ ফল নির্দ্দিষ্ট হইয়া থাকে। বিষ্ণু মন্ত্র বিচার বিষয়ে চতুর্থাংশ শত্রুস্থান এবং ষষ্ঠরাশি বন্ধু স্থান জানিবে।

যে যে স্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে যেরূপ ফল হইবে, তাহা এই—"লগ্নরাশিগত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে মন্ত্র সিদ্ধি, ধনস্থান স্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে ধনবৃদ্ধি, ভ্রাতৃস্থান স্থিত মন্ত্রগ্রহণে ভ্রাতৃবৃদ্ধি, বন্ধুস্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে বন্ধুবৃদ্ধি, পুত্রস্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে পুত্র বৃদ্ধি, শত্রু স্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে শত্রুবৃদ্ধি, কলত্র স্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে মধ্যবিষ ফল, মৃত্যুস্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে মৃত্যু। দ্বাদশ স্থানস্থিত মন্ত্র গ্রহণে সঞ্চিত ধনের ব্যয় হয়।

(৪) নক্ষত্র চক্র

অশ্বিনী অ, আ দেবঃ	ভরণী ই মানুষঃ	কৃত্তিকা ঈ, উ, ঊ রাক্ষসঃ	রোহিণী ঋ, ৠ, ঌ, ৡ মানুষঃ	মৃগশিরা এ দেবঃ	আদ্রা ঐ মানুষঃ	পুনর্ব্বসু ও, ঔ দেবঃ	পুষ্যা ক দেবঃ	অশ্লেষা খ, গ রাক্ষসঃ
মঘা ঘ, ঙ রাক্ষসঃ	পূর্ব্বফাল্গুনী চ মানুষঃ	উত্তরফাল্গুনী ছ, জ মানুষঃ	হস্তা ঝ, ঞ দেবঃ	চিত্রা ট, ঠ রাক্ষসঃ	স্বাতী ড দেবঃ	বিশাখা ঢ, ণ রাক্ষসঃ	অনুরাধা ত, থ, দ দেবঃ	জ্যেষ্ঠা ধ রাক্ষসঃ
মূলা ন, প, ফ রাক্ষসঃ	পূর্ব্বাষাঢ়া ব মানুষঃ	উত্তরাষাঢ়া ভ মানুষঃ	শ্রবণা ম দেবঃ	ধনিষ্ঠা য, র রাক্ষসঃ	শতভিষা ল রাক্ষসঃ	পূর্ব্বভাদ্রা ব, শ মানুষঃ	উত্তরভাদ্রা ষ, স, হ মানুষঃ	রেবতী ল, ক্ষ, অং, অ দেবঃ

স্বজাতিতে পরম প্রীতি, ভিন্ন জাতিতে মধ্যম প্রীতি, রাক্ষস ও মনুষ্যে বিনাশ এবং রাক্ষস ও দেবগণে শত্রুতা হয়। মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার জন্মনক্ষত্র এবং মন্ত্রের আদি অক্ষর যে গৃহে পড়িবে, সেই গৃহগত নক্ষত্র লইয়া গণনা করিবে। যদি মন্ত্র ও মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার এক গণ হয়, তবে সেই মন্ত্র গ্রহণে শুভ হইয়া থাকে এবং যাহার মানুষ গণ সে দেবগণ মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে পারে। মানুষগণ ও রাক্ষসগণে এবং রাক্ষসগণ ও দেবগণে শত্রুতা হয়; কাজেই তাদৃশ মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিবে না।

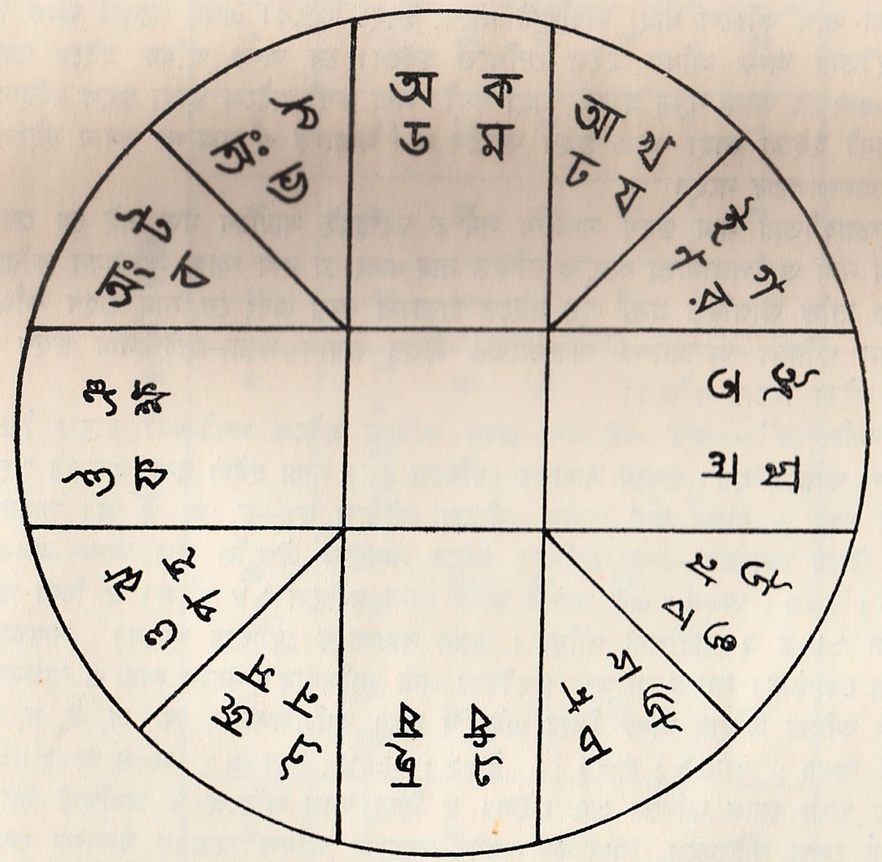
জন্ম, সম্পদ, বিপদ, ক্ষেম, প্রত্যরি, সাধক, বধ, মিত্র, ও পরমমিত্র এই নয়টি নক্ষত্রের নাম নির্দ্দিষ্ট করিয়াছেন। মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার জন্মনক্ষত্র হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া মন্ত্র নক্ষত্র পর্যন্ত অর্থাৎ যে নক্ষত্রে মন্ত্রের আদ্যক্ষর আছে সেই নক্ষত্র পর্যন্ত সম্পদাদি ক্রমে পুনঃ ২ গণনা করিবে। যদি জন্মনক্ষত্র হইতে মন্ত্রনক্ষত্র পর্যন্ত পঞ্চম কিংবা সপ্তম হয়, তবে সেই মন্ত্র পরিত্যাগ করিবে। এইজন্যই শাস্ত্রে উক্ত হইয়াছে যে ষষ্ঠ, অষ্টম, নবম কিংবা চতুর্থ মন্ত্র শুভ, অন্য মন্ত্র অশুভ। মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার জন্ম নক্ষত্র হইতে গণনা করিতে হইবে কিন্তু যদি জন্ম নক্ষত্র স্মরণ না থাকে তবে মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার নামের আদ্যক্ষর সম্বন্ধে নক্ষত্র গ্রহণ করিয়া গণনা করিবে।

(৪) অ ক থ হ চক্র

অ, ক, থ, হ (১)	উ, ঙ, প (৫)	আ, খ, দ (২)	ঊ, চ, ফ (৬)
ও, ড, ব (১৩)	৯, ঝ, ম (৯)	ঔ, ঢ, শ (১৪)	ঔ, ঞ, য (১০)
ঈ, ঘ, ন (৪)	ৠ, জ, ড (৮)	ই, গ, ধ (৩)	ঋ, ছ, ব (৭)
অঃ, ত, স (১৬)	ঐ, ঠ, ল (১২)	অং, শ, ষ (১৫)	এ, ট, র (১১)

অনন্তর মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার নামের আদ্যক্ষর হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া মন্ত্রের আদি অক্ষর পর্যন্ত সিদ্ধ, সাধ্য, সুসিদ্ধ ও অরি এইরূপ গণনা করিবে। এক কোষ্ঠাতে নাম ও মন্ত্রের আদিবর্ণ হইলে তাহাতে ঐরূপ বর্ণ গণনা করিবে। উক্ত চক্রে বর্ণ বিন্যাস বর্ণবিন্যাস ও গণনা দক্ষিণাবর্ত্তে করিবে। এক্ষণে কোন্ মন্ত্র গ্রহণে কিরূপ ফল হয়, তাহা এই সিদ্ধমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিলে মন্ত্র স্বয়ং সিদ্ধ হয়। সাধ্য মন্ত্র গ্রহণে জপ-হোমাদি দ্বারা মন্ত্র সিদ্ধ হয়। সুসিদ্ধ মন্ত্র গ্রহণে তৎক্ষণাৎ মন্ত্রসিদ্ধ হয় এবং অরিমন্ত্র গ্রহণে সমূলে বংশ বিনাশ হয়। কদাচ অরিমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে নাই। ভ্রম বা প্রসাদ বশতঃ অরিমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিলে তাহা পরিত্যাগ করিয়া আবার মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিবে।

(৫) অ ক ড ম চক্র



গণনা প্রণালী এইরূপ—সাধকের নামের আদ্যক্ষর হইতে মন্ত্রের আদ্যক্ষর পর্যন্ত দক্ষিণাবর্ত্তে সিদ্ধ, সাধ্য, সুসিদ্ধ ও অরি এইরূপে পুনঃ ২ গণনা করিবে। কিন্তু যদি মেষ হইতে মীন পর্যন্ত অর্থাৎ বামাবর্ত্তে মন্ত্র সমুদয় লিখিত হয়, তবে গণনাও বামাবর্ত্তে করিতে হইবে। এই চক্রে পুনঃ পুনঃ সিদ্ধ-সাধ্যাদি গণনা কোন্ কোন্ কোষ্ঠা সাধ্য ইত্যাদি স্পষ্ট করিয়া লেখা হইয়াছে—যথা, নবম, প্রথম ও পঞ্চম গৃহ সিদ্ধ; দশম ও দ্বিতীয় গৃহ সাধ্য; তৃতীয়, সপ্তম ও একাদশ গৃহ-সুসিদ্ধ এবং চতুর্থ, অষ্টম ও দ্বাদশ গৃহ রিপু জানিবে। এই চক্রের গণনায়, মন্ত্র সিদ্ধ, সাধ্য অথবা সুসিদ্ধ হইলে শুভ ফল হয়। অরি মন্ত্রগ্রহণে অশুভ হইয়া থাকে —অতএব কদাচ অরিমন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিবে না।

(৬) ঋণী-ধনী চক্র

বিচারের প্রণালী ঃ—মন্ত্রের স্বর ব্যঞ্জন বর্ণ সমুদয় পৃথক ২ রাখিবে। এইরূপ করিলে যে যে বর্ণ দৃষ্ট হইবে সেই সকল বর্ণ চক্রের যে যে কোষ্ঠায় আছে, সেই ২ কোষ্ঠার উপরিভাগে যে সকল অঙ্ক থাকিবে, প্রত্যেক বর্ণের সেই সকল অঙ্ক লইয়া একত্রযোগ করিলে যোগফল যত হইবে, তাহাকে ৮ দিয়া হরণ-পূর্ব্বক অবশিষ্ট অঙ্ক একস্থানে রাখিবে। তারপর মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার নামের স্বর ব্যঞ্জন বর্ণ সকল পৃথক ২ করিয়া উক্তরূপে নিম্ন কোষ্ঠায় কি অঙ্ক আছে, সেই অঙ্ক লইয়া যোগ ও ৮ দিয়া ভাগ করিলে যাহা অবশিষ্ট থাকে, তাহা লইবে। এখন মন্ত্রের অঙ্ক কি মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার অঙ্ক অধিক হইল দেখিতে হইবে। যে অঙ্ক অধিক হইবে তাহা ঋণী, এবং যে অঙ্ক ন্যূন হইবে তাহা ধনী। মন্ত্র ঋণী হইলে তাহা গ্রহণ করিবে। মন্ত্র ধনী হইলে তাহা কদাচ গ্রহণ করিবে না। মন্ত্রাঙ্ক ও নামাঙ্ক সমান হইলেও তাহা অমঙ্গলপ্রদ নহে।

মন্ত্রগ্রহীতার নাম গ্রহণ সম্বন্ধে সমস্ত তন্ত্রেরই সাধারণ মত এই যে লোক প্রসিদ্ধ নাম ও পিতামাতা কর্ত্তৃক রক্ষিত নাম এবং যে নাম দ্বারা সম্বোধন করিলে নিদ্রিত ব্যক্তি জাগরিত হয়, দূর হইতে প্রত্যুত্তর করে এবং যে নাম গ্রহণ করিয়া আহ্বান করিলে অন্যমনস্ক অবস্থাতেও উত্তর প্রদান করে—সেই নাম গ্রহণ ও তাহা লইয়া বিচার করিবে।

"কালিদাস"— 'হর' এই মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে হইলে ঋণী-ধনী চক্রের বিচার এইরূপ করিতে হয়। প্রথমে সাধ্যাঙ্ক দেখিতে হয়। সাধ্য হইল মন্ত্র, অতএব "হর" মন্ত্রের স্বর ও ব্যঞ্জন বর্ণ পৃথক করিলে এইরূপ হয়—হ, অ, র অ। সাধ্যাঙ্ক চক্রের উপর কোষ্ঠায়—এখন দেখিতে হইবে সাধ্যাঙ্ক ঐগুলি কত অঙ্ক—হ=৩ ; অ=৬ ; র=৩ ; অ=৬। এই সমস্ত অঙ্ক যোগ করিলে ১৮ হইল। ৮ দিয়া ভাগ করিলে ১৮-র ২ অবশিষ্ট থাকিল। এখন সাধকাঙ্ক দেখিতে হইবে। সাধকাঙ্ক নীচের কোষ্ঠায়। সাধক বা মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার নাম কালিদাস। উহার স্বর ও ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণ পৃথক করিয়া তাহার অঙ্ক স্থির এইরূপ হয়। কালিদাস=ক, আ, ল, ই, দ, আ স অ। ক=২ ; আ=২ ; ল=২ ; ই=২ ; দ=১ ; আ=২ ; স=৪ অ=২। এই সমস্ত অঙ্ক যোগ করিলে ১৭ হইল। ৮ দিয়া ভাগ করিলে ১ অবশিষ্ট থাকে। ইহাতে দেখা যাইতেছে, সাধ্যাঙ্ক অর্থাৎ মন্ত্রাঙ্ক অধিক অতএব মন্ত্রাঙ্ক ঋণী। আর সাধকাঙ্ক অর্থাৎ মন্ত্র গ্রহীতার অঙ্ক কম, অতএব ধনী। সুতরাং "কালিদাস" "হর" মন্ত্র গ্রহণ করিতে পারে।

(৩) ঋণী-ধনী চক্র

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