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SELECTED
SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

OF

SACHIVOTTAMA

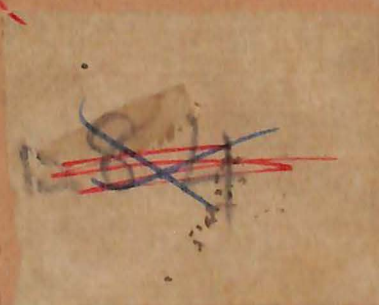
SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., LL. D.

DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE



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SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES
OF
SACHIVOTTAMA
SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR
K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., LL. D.

EDITED BY
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FOREWORD

The *Speeches and Addresses* selected in this volume form a body of current English literature, rich in thought and culture and couched in unexceptionable English and in a style with fine literary flavour which is always the charm of all that the *Sachivottama* speaks and writes. One's only regret in *reading* them is that one has not always been privileged to *hear* them delivered with masterly skill and eloquence by the speaker himself. A book of this nature will not only appeal to the general reader of English literature but also be useful to the students of our Universities. *Sachivottama* Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is the finest product of the culture of the East and of the West, culture as understood in its profoundest and most comprehensive sense. He is the embodiment of the *Renascent India* of to-day, of its youthful aspirations, its age-long traditions, its sage wisdom and its modern outlook.

As early as 1906 and 1907, when I was a student of the Presidency College, Madras, I used to be drawn to Sir C. P.'s public lectures

and even to the High Court buildings, Madras, to listen to his arguing of cases. The impression these had made on me, more than a generation ago, only became more profound with the passage of years. Subsequent to my student-days at Madras, I made it a point to read all the reported and published speeches of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Soon after Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar came to Travancore as the Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja, I had, in my capacity as Vice-President, the rare honour of inviting him to deliver the Inaugural Address of the English Honours Association of the College of Arts. He delivered that speech, which forms the first of the speeches included in this volume. I have seldom missed attending the Speeches and Addresses of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar delivered in or near Trivandrum, and I have never missed reading the lectures delivered by him outside Trivandrum. To have been permitted to bring a few of these speeches together within easy reach of all has been to me a labour of love, a highly cherished privilege and a consummation devoutly and long wished for, by me.

The variety of the topics dwelt upon by the Sachivottama in his *Speeches and Addresses* has been the wonder and admiration of every one in and outside India. "Here is God's Plenty." The profundity of scholarship, the catholicity of culture and the breadth of vision embedded in these speeches are sure to appeal to youth and age alike. The style combines all the clarity and precision of French prose (of which the Sachivottama is a great admirer) and all the dignity and erudition of the classical English prose of Burke, Landor, Morley and Asquith. In reading these lectures one is constantly reminded of the style of Cardinal Newman on the one side and of Robert Louis Stevenson on the other.

From my close association with the teaching of English in the College classes of the Universities of Madras and Travancore, and as a Member of the Board of Studies in English of the Madras University and as Chairman of the Board of Studies in English of the University of Travancore, I have been feeling the need for a publication which will be of use to the students of the B. A. Degree and B. Sc. Degree Examinations, as a

book for their Non-Detailed study. There are not enough good books dealing with topics mainly Indian, which, according to a generally accepted convention of our Universities, should form part of the mental *pabulum* of studies in English to our B. A. and B. Sc. candidates. I know the shifts which the Boards of Studies in English have been adopting in this matter. Books like Rabindranath Tagore's *Addresses, Plays and Essays* have served the purpose to a certain extent but the Boards of Studies have been put to the necessity of prescribing Kipling's *Jungle Book*, Professor Thompson's *An Indian Day*, Laurence Binyon's *Sakuntala* and Prof. D. S. Sarma's selections *A Book of Indian Culture*—only because books dealing with Indian Life and with life not unfamiliar to South Indian students have been conspicuous by their absence. With my experience of the teaching of English to the College Classes, extending over a period of thirty-four years, I have not the least hesitation in stating it as my considered view that a publication of this nature, containing as it does the highest ideals and aspirations of Indian life, Indian art, Indian polity and Indian society, in a setting of World-Currents of thought and ideas, and dealing with

the eternal verities of life, spiritual as well as temporal, is bound to be an inspiration to all.

I feel that I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of gratitude to Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for the kind permission granted to me for selecting these *Speeches and Addresses* and for publishing them in book-form.

My sincere thanks are due pre-eminently to Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar and to Mr. S. Chidambaram, Private Secretary to the Dewan, for their unstinted help and guidance at all stages in bringing out this volume. I am also thankful to Mr. P. Suryanarayana Aiyar, Chief Reporter, Travancore Legislature, for placing at my disposal the scripts of the speeches delivered *extempore* by the Sachivottama, and to Mr. P. E. Mathew, Superintendent, Government Press, for his ready helpfulness in the printing of the book.

Trivandrum,
23rd May 1943.

P. G. SAHASRANAMA AIYAR.

EUROPEAN LITERATURE AS IT STRIKES AN INDIAN¹

I have undertaken today to speak on what should be a very interesting topic. Whether my lecture will turn out to be equally interesting depends on the Gods and, I am afraid, not very much upon myself. The point I wish to make is this. It is worth while, now and again, to detach yourself from the position of an eager student of Western Literature and look at Western Literature from the point of view of an outsider. I flatter myself I have some special claims to undertake that role and discharge that duty. There are two reasons. One reason may be something like what Herbert Spencer once said of a young man. Herbert Spencer, the great philosopher, imagined among other things—old men have their vanities—that he was a very fine billiards player; and so he went into a club and met a young man who, he thought, was likely to be beaten by him. That young man, it turned out, was a bit of a champion and Herbert Spencer was left sprawling in the tens and twenties when the hundreds were achieved by the youth. Herbert Spencer's vanity and pride were hurt. Like the philosopher he was, he kept back the oncoming wrath, waited till the game

¹ Inaugural Address of the English Honours Association of the College of Arts, Trivandrum, 9th November 1934.

was over and then turned round and, in accents of mild reproof, told the young man "Your excellence in billiards argues a very mis-spent youth." So, likewise, it may be that my acquaintance with Western Literature may be taken as a symbol of a mis-spent youth; but it is not that aspect that I would rather emphasise in what I propose to tell you this evening. It so chanced that I began my study of literature with Western Literature. Literally, I had not learned my own language, either Sanskrit or Tamil, before I began my English; and it was after I learnt English, French, a bit of Italian and some little German, that I began Sanskrit and Tamil, and my knowledge of Sanskrit Literature is therefore posterior to my knowledge of Western Literature. Therefore it is that I claim some little justification for what I was endeavouring to say just now, namely, that I am in a position of greater detachment towards Western Literature than most young men are; and I propose to discharge my duty by taking a conspectus of that Literature.

Pardon me, my friends of the Honours classes, if I do not repeat one of the lectures to which you are accustomed. It is not my object, nor my purpose, to take you through those wonderful poetic efflorescences beginning with Beowulf and ending with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Especially when marks are concerned, we got more marks in my own pre-historic days out of that than out of Modern Literature. But I do not propose to do that. I propose

rather to take certain illustrations of what I conceive to be the main tendencies of European Literature within the last few years, the literature, really, that has been produced in Europe just before and just after the War, and consider that literature with a view to explain the tendencies which it exhibits. Before I do so, let me recall to your mind the state of our Classical Literature and our Modern Literature in India. What is the main characteristic, the main feature of Classical Sanskrit Literature? Generalisations of this kind are apt to be fallacious and misleading but, nevertheless, if any generalisation is possible, it is this, namely, that what may be called perfection of form, an absolute sculptural fineness of boundary and outline so far as the language is concerned, a certain poise and repose and calm so far as the mental attitude towards the problems confronting us is concerned, a certain definiteness of creed and of confidence in that creed, whether that creed is sub-lunar and worldly or other-worldly and sacred. In other words, notwithstanding that, greatly daring, our philosophers ranged from unbelief and atheism to the summation and integration of belief and faith, nevertheless, it may be said that in form it was flawless perfection, what is usually called classical perfection, and in attitude that of assuredness. There were no doubts, no controversies, no suspenses, no *arriere-pensee*, no regrets in our literature, generally speaking. You would have to go far and wide to find anything like the revolt of Byron, like the plangent cry of Shelley or like the

reaching out to the clouds of Keats. That you do not find ; but on the other hand you have compensations. You have recompenses. Therefore, so far as Sanskrit Literature and Tamil Literature until very recently are concerned, it may be correct to say that they follow what is called the Classical tradition. In so far as the form of poetry, for instance, is concerned, whether it is the *Anushtup* or any other metre, the form of the verse is thorough, complete, perfect, and you will rarely find those signs of revolt which I shall presently advert to.

If you turn on the other hand to European Literature, what do you find ? I propose to take two or three definite instances. Until recently, one who analyses, let us say, English Literature would classify it under philosophy, history, poetry, drama and so forth. But what has been the recent tendency ? History, when it is not a cinematograph, has become a laboratory subject. History has become an exact science, each volume bristling with foot-notes and appendices and citations of original authorities, a few paleolithic inscriptions, a few things here and there of that kind. It has become an exact science and when it is not an exact science, it has tended to become very very inexact indeed. It has become practically a cinema show.

Likewise, let us see exactly where Biography was. Macaulay, as most of you know, was a master of paradox and he wrote a great deal of very trenchant criticism of various persons, but it was all *ab extra*, from the outside. But let us

take the school of Biography of today. I propose to deal with this aspect at some length. Until the middle of what is called the Victorian Era, the biographer narrated the genealogical table of the hero, and paid a few compliments to his father and mother. The young man was generally, whatever the school records showed, a kind of prodigy; even though his school achievements may not be very creditable, there were discerning critics who detected a future in that young man. And so, he blundered on from one phase of his career to another until, let us say, he became the Mayor of Winchester and from that dizzy height he surveyed mankind and the biographer surveyed him. There was not a wart on his face which was not unnoticed, not a squint in his eyes which was not forgotten, not an unhappy episode in his life which was not slurred over, and there he was and at the end he died surrounded by everybody and offering prayer and invoking the blessings of God on his country and his countrymen. That was biography until quite recently. Now, as the French say, we have changed all that. How have we changed it? A gentleman called Lytton Strachey started the ball rolling. He first attacked the blessed Queen Victoria. He wrote a life of Queen Victoria in which that great woman's unlovelinesses were mercilessly portrayed. She was a very great queen, very dignified, fully conscious of her own importance and of the circumstance that she was the centre of the universe as it was at that time. The German ogre had not begun to agitate the world.

The industrial supremacy of England was unchallenged. Everything was at the best in the best of all Englands, and Queen Victoria represented the crest of that England's wave. But Lytton Strachey went into this matter, analysed with ruthless and, it may be, mischievous glee, the little shortcomings of her uncles, found out that it was a degenerate ancestry with which Queen Victoria was cursed, that she was very badly educated, that she practically knew nothing and that, where she was not ignorant, she was most obstinate; and so the analysis went on from violence to violence and we come to the great and secular conflict between Disraeli and Gladstone, Disraeli handing over sugared compliments, laying it on with a trowel, calling her the most beautiful of women and "The Faery" when she weighed fourteen stones at a very early age which went up to twenty-one, "importing into his blandishments a strain of adoration that was almost romantic." Poor Gladstone on the other hand came to the audience and spoke to her—I am quoting her own words—as if she were a public meeting. Therefore, poor Mr. Gladstone had not a chance. He wanted to dissolve Parliament but Queen Victoria would not have it. He wanted to create some more peers but Queen Victoria would not have it. He wanted to retire but Queen Victoria would not have it. He wanted to stay on, but Queen Victoria would not have it. And so it went on from day to day until things became very very difficult and a gentle hint was given that perhaps Lord Roseberry might probably

be better able to manage the country and Queen Victoria than Gladstone. All people knew this. The people who studied the records of the time knew all this. But they did not realise it. It wanted some paradoxical and brilliant writer to put this forward and then started the modern Biography. That method has been run to death today. Take Florence Nightingale. Florence Nightingale was supposed to have been a saviour of society. She was a philanthropist. She had done a great deal of work in the Crimean War. But she had violence of temper and stubbornness, she had a contrariety of which the world had not heard. Therefore Lytton Strachey felt it was his duty to give prominence to those characteristics. Lytton Strachey is the founder of this school of Biography. I am laying some stress upon this because this school of Biography has come to stay and it is one of the predominant tendencies of the present day. Most of you must have read, and if you have not read, you must read, the brilliant productions of Emil Ludwig, the German who has written on Napoleon, Bismark, William the Second and on the leaders of Europe and has had talks with Mussolini. He is the lineal descendant of Lytton Strachey. His method of biography is that of a very polished and very brilliant writer, full of paradoxes, sparkling with epigrams and packed with learning, accurate withal, which Lytton Strachey was not, but nevertheless determined to see the wart as much as the face. In saying that, I am reminded of what a very great man once told a painter. The

painter went on painting and forgot to put in a wart and he said "Remember that I am a face behind the wart and not the face. So, put in the wart." Emil Ludwig's biography analyses; it is just the laboratory method. It is the dissection room of biography and literature. It analyses mercilessly and comes to conclusions; and in such pitiless though faithful analysis does modern Literature revel. How do those people, the protagonists of this school of thought, justify themselves? What they say is what really was implicit in all Shakespeare's plays, namely, in the best of us there lurks the devil and in the worst of us there is the potential saint. There is no use in judging of men, in analysing them and their deeds and actions,—there is no use in bringing into existence false portraits where you get all the lights without the shades. It is essential to see what were the drawbacks, what were the handicaps, what were the obstacles, what were the hurdles, which had to be encountered by the man before he became what is called "successful." It is in the analysis of the difficulties overcome, it is in the analysis of the handicaps surmounted, that the greatness of a man consists, and not so much in what may be falsely termed the outer success. That is the line of biography that is attempted now, and that is one of the main lines and main tendencies of European Literature today.

I should like to indicate to you certain books which are specially finely produced from this point of view. Quite recently there has appeared

a book called "Grey Wolf." It is a biography of Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the man who, I think, is the greatest man alive today beyond question and that is a book which some of you, in fact, all of you, must read and must analyse and understand, especially those of you who are politically-minded. Kamal Pasha's glory was that, begirt by watchful and vengeful enemies at one time—France, Germany, Italy, Russia—with absolutely an impoverished country at his back, famine-stricken, without arms, he re-created the spirit of Turkey and made himself the equal of the Great Powers, and today it is considered a privilege to invite Turkey to the League of Nations, and Turkey has not got to batter at the doors and be regarded as the Sick Man of Europe. Not sick by any manner of means. His life has been portrayed according to this method, and there you will find the epic struggle of the man who, with many faults, many deficiencies, nevertheless has realised the greatness of his own country's mission and has battled along; earnestly, cruelly and vindictively perhaps, but nevertheless with determination, to his goal.

There are many books written on this line recently; and similarly in the case of the Drama. Let us review the history of European Drama after 1850 or thereabouts. You all know that in many countries in Europe—Spain, France and England, and Germany also to a certain extent—there was very great drama produced in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Shakespearian epoch in England, the epoch of Racine and Moliere in

France—I do not want to burden you with names—but during the 16th, 17th and a portion of the 18th centuries great drama was produced. What was that drama? That drama was in essence historical in the sense of the old type of history, either of a historical personage or the history of a soul face to face with great crises of an outward character. Take Hamlet. He had to avenge the murder of his father and had his uncle to face. Take Othello. He was consumed by the demon of jealousy and had to take a very unfortunate revenge. In other words, these dramatists portrayed heroes and heroines face to face with great crises, historical crises or crises of outward circumstance, and they faced them and either encountered and overcame them or were overcome by them. But the modern drama is not that. The modern European Drama does not deal so much with outward events—there are exceptions, of course. Those of you who have read Hardy's "Dynasts" know what a wonderful conception of European history, Hardy gives in that drama. But, generally speaking, the latter-day drama is concerned with what may be called social failures, the little pettinesses, the small triumphs and the insignificant daily life of man and woman, beneath which and behind which insignificance lie the seeds of tragedy and high comedy. Here again, as in the case of Biography, let me give you instances. Within the last few years there have been produced some good plays by persons like Noel Coward. I am deliberately keeping out of account the hierarchy of plays which began with

Ibsen. I do not know whether any of you has cared to read them—otherwise you must make a selection, because a study of Ibsen is necessary for the resuscitation of Indian Literature. He brought to the world, which concerned itself with outer happenings, a study of what may be called social abuses, the little social tyrannies of the world. He dealt, for instance, with the problem of heredity. Bernard Shaw's "Arms and the Man" you may have heard of. The point of Bernard Shaw's play is this—that we are all apt to imagine that when a soldier comes in his red or blue uniform and struts about the stage, he is a brave and a wonderful man. Whatever else the War did, it taught the people of the world that the soldier is as great a coward as you or I, that he is pushed into the war by great psychological forces which cannot be resisted, that he is pushed from behind and cannot retreat or advance and therefore he has to display certain qualities. That is the theme of "Arms and the man". So Ibsen and Shaw came to the conclusion that it was necessary, in order accurately to portray the society of today, to deal with the problems of life, not to deal with grandiose or heroic themes but to deal with matters of daily life and to deal with them fully, mercilessly but with complete fidelity to nature. That again is another exemplification of the tendency which I have illustrated.

Whether in the Drama or in Biography or any other line of literary work, one of the predominant tendencies of European literature today is this method of pitiless and absolutely correct

analysis. It does not always lead to beauty. Those of us who are acquainted with the poetry of the old days may sometimes be shocked by what is called Poetry today. Let me read to you certain lines of a very recent poet whose verses appeared about three months ago. He is a well known poet who came to prominence after the War and I am reading this for the purpose of showing how both in matter and manner there is distinct and intentional departure from the old tendencies and ways. These verses are from a poem of Wilfrid Gibson entitled "Fuel". You will follow me, having regard to the complete unconventionality both of rhyme and rhythm in it.

And so the poet's thought,
 Mined from the core
 Of being's night,
 Purged by white passion, in the furnace
 sealed,
 Annealed to tensile strength,
 Bathed in grief's acid, rolled hard in the
 mill
 Of his inveterate will,
 By fiery ardour scoured clean, at length
 Flashes in our astonished sight
 An incorruptible mirror filled with light.

In other words, he wants to say that in Poetry, as well as in Drama and in Biography and History, what is necessary is the minting of the poet's thought from the core of his own being, that he should purge himself in the furnace, bathe himself in the griefs of the world and flash after being through the furnace. The object of

the poet is to point out that no one can really be a poet if little pettinesses of language, little comelinesses of thought are his only objective. Today, the object and aim of the poet is to go deeper, and extract the ore from much deeper mines than were in existence at one time. But what you will have noticed also is that these lines exhibit a complete forgetfulness—I do not say, ignoring—of what we used to call rhythm and rhyme in poetry. The modern tendency is to write what is called *Vers libre*. Rabindranath Tagore does a great deal in this direction and sometimes even great men are unintelligible. Sometimes Rabindranath Tagore's poems are difficult to understand, especially when he descends into this particular form where the idea is to express, in poetry, language as it follows thought. Thought itself in most of us is rather inconsequential. It jumps from subject to subject. It waves about. It goes to depths and rises to heights. Sometimes it is pedestrian. The idea is that poetry should follow the same method, and what should be called the processes of thought should be the only logical terminations of the lines of a poem. Whether it is right or wrong, this idea is gaining ground and it is rather absurdly gaining ground in France.

Most of you have heard of H. G. Wells, the man who used to write scientific romances. Very recently, about a month or two ago, he published his 'Autobiography'—most people do it now-a-days. From that Autobiography I am reading out some bits to you for the purpose of

indicating what may be said to be the general prevailing tendency of the time. In explaining or justifying his Autobiography, H. G. Wells says thus :

“ Experiment in autobiography: Discoveries and conclusions of a very ordinary brain”.

“Crystallisation of ideas—an attempt. to create out of contemporary biological and historical suggestions the pattern of a key to master our world and release its imprisoned promise. Blundering heavily towards the realisation and handling of vast changes and still vaster dangers and opportunities.”

I have endeavoured to explain to you that the present day tendency in many countries in the West in Literature, whether it be History, or Biography, or Drama or Poetry, is very different from that which is associated with similar forms of literary endeavour some centuries or even some decades ago. Whereas, in the past, Literature was regarded as an ornamental appendage, as a kind of prettily-patterned cloak to wear, not so much as a protection against weather but as an embellishment, whereas poetry in the old days was regarded as musical in character, and rhythmic in scope, and with rigid limitations of thought and imagination, albeit that these limitations prompted the poets to range very high and very deep, now poetry is regarded as a kind of struggle within oneself, as a kind of embodiment and repercussion of that struggle, as a kind of taking red hot ore from the mind of the poet; biography and history are regarded,

not as occasions for gracefully adorned phrases like Gibbon's epigrams or compliments, but as biological research, not scorning what may be called the geological endeavour to find out the regions of man's character, traditions and history, and concerned with the battling of each individual man with his fellowmen and with circumstances around him. This holds good also in drama. The world as it stands today as the result of many welcome and many more unwelcome features is turning to be introspective, analytical, pessimistic and given entirely to speculations of what is to be the outcome of it all. Similarly, literature is a mirror of that aspect of things and that view of the Universe. No longer is there any complaisance, no longer is there any assured faith, but mankind today is travelling through suspense and agitation. Let us hope that, as has happened more than once in the history of literature, as it happened soon after the Restoration period in England, as has happened in France, in Spain and other countries let us hope that the world will realise *itself* and come to that position which was the heritage of literature in the past so that, as an embodiment and mirroring of that peace without, there may be peace within, in the literatures of the world.

THE ART OF DANCE

This Institution in whose inauguration we are about to participate, is not one of the usual type ; but is largely, indeed essentially, the work, the spontaneous, willing work of Their Highnesses Maharaja Sri Chitira Tirunal and Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi. Five or six years ago they found the arts of dance, of music, of painting and so forth, in neglect, I had almost said, decay. The message came home to them and has been communicated to others like me, that in these days, more perhaps than in any other, in days when trouble and travail, confusion and calamity, envelop the world, it is fundamental, indispensable, to have some refuge, some solace, some escape, from the too sordid calculations, the clamant littlenesses and the great hostilities of the world. Such solace and such refuge can be more effectively furnished by the Fine Arts than by aught else. It is in that spirit as well as to perpetuate the memory of a great Ruler, a great scholar, a notable musician and a patron of all the Fine Arts including the dance, that the Svati Tirunal Academy of Music was inaugurated. In pursuance of the same idea, Their Highnesses came to the conclusion that the Kathakali and the old art of dance should be

*Address delivered on the occasion of the Inauguration of the New Buildings of the Sri Chitrodaya Nartakalaya, Trivandrum, 5th October 1941.

revived, put on their footing and organised; and I am today, in a few moments, going to ask you to follow me into the main building, a structure which is also a tribute to and a vindication of the indigenous style of architecture. You will see for yourself and hear for yourself the kind of work that it is the aim of this Institution to turn out. Before I proceed to open this building, however, I wish, with your leave, to detain you for a few moments, since certain aspects of a few things I am going to mention, may not be as well known as they should be.

It is a sound practice, when any one is asked to take part in a function like this, pertaining to an art or science in which one has no chance of acquiring any *expertise*, to arm oneself theoretically with the necessary munitions, namely, the basis, the meaning and the significance of the art in question. So, when Their Highnesses did me the honour, some weeks ago, of asking me to take part in this ceremonial and to open this Narthakalaya, I set myself to the task of studying Bharata's *Natya Sastra* and the treatise of Sarngadeva, otherwise called *Nissanka*—a person without a doubt. Such a task perhaps is not insuperably difficult for a lawyer; but even outside the scope of the lawyers' art of preparing a case for the nonce, there is no doubt that to every Indian and especially to every one of the Hindu persuasion, the art of dance is full of sacred and historic significance. Throughout the world's chronicles, the dance as embodying rhythmic movements, designed to express individual or group emotions, has been identified both

with sacred and secular activities. It is another aspect of the practice of those *Asanas* and *Mudras* with which the Yogi seeks to conquer his physical as well as his psychic selves and make of them his servants, not his masters. As early as the Vedas, it was laid down, for instance, that in connection with the great Aswamedha and other sacrifices or Yagnas performed for the good of the country, there should be enacted some specified sacred dance. The Yajurveda and the Brahmanas, as a matter of fact, speak of the Maha Vrata dance and a special and elaborate performance in connection with the Stotra after the Rajasuya and other Yagnas.

The art of dance amongst us has been largely synonymous with and has been the attendant of many religious and symbolic ceremonies. Which of us but has been thrilled by the sight of that memorable embodiment of Nataraja—one of the greatest evocations of Indian genius? Inside yonder hall, you will find such an image of Nataraja, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance, whose performance is a symbol and a typification of that involution that takes place after each Pralaya is over, when order is to be restored after chaos. It is in that sense that the Vedas, the Avesta and the Bible alike speak of Logos the word or Nāda, the sound, as the origin of the worlds. This sound is the sound of the drum that Nataraja holds aloft. In order that we may realise the full significance of that dance, not merely from the artistic point of view but from the cosmic, we should picture to ourselves the

idea of motion, ceaseless and quick beyond seeming or imagination, motion akin to the speed of the stars but nevertheless accompanied by the steadiness and poise of the manifested Divine, a dance to match the music of the spheres, a dance of the great Energiser trampling on the forces of evil and calling on all created beings, by the sound of the drum, to burn their sins and deficiencies in the fire that is held aloft, and to achieve the *summum bonum* of their existence. This is part of the spiritual and compelling significance of that dance. But rather than dilate any further on this topic in our poor language, may I be allowed to refer to what a great Tamil singer hymned many centuries ago, addressing the image of Sri Nataraja at Chidambaram?

“விரித்தசெஞ்சடையாட வதனசந்திரனாட
 விரிகமலநயனமாட
 வெண்முருவல் நிலவாட நண்ணுதமருகமாட
 வீசுமொருசெங்கையாட
 தரித்தபுலியதனாட அபயகரமாட
 இருதங்குதேதாளுசலாட
 ஒருபதமெடுத்தாட ஒருபதமிதித்தாட
 உள்ளே மகிழ்ந்து சந்நே சிரித்து
 மலைமங்கைகொண்டாட நின்றமுமுன்
 திருநடனமென்று காண்பேன்
 ஜகம்பணிதிகம்பர சிதம்பர நடேசனே
 சித்ஸ்வரூபநந்தனே.

Very loosely translated, the meaning of the passage is as follows:—“Oh, Lord of the Eternal cosmic dance, what in relation to you does not dance and throb to the tune of the Infinite?

Your matted and tawny locks are dancing in rhythm. Your features like unto the mellow orb of night, dance. Your piercing and wide eyes dance. The rays of the moon streaming from thy locks vibrate in unison. The drum that you hold in your hands, calls to the Universe and accompanies the music of the spheres, the circumambient Nāda. The skin of the tiger, slain as the spirit of evil, that you wear on your dancing frame, quivers. Your hand held in benediction moves and dances in harmony. One leg is lifted up, but it is in static dance. One leg forces down steadily and implacably the forces of evil, but it moves even while at rest. Your consort by your side looks at you smiling and inwardly rejoices over her privilege to witness this great manifestation. Oh, Lord of the world, the object of all worship and praise, clad in the ether as thy vesture ; Oh, Lord, manifesting yourself at Chidambaram, Oh, embodiment of intellect and perception and bliss !”

I have quoted this poem for the purpose of indicating what ideals underlay the dance and the symbolism of the dance in the olden days. Tamil is the language of Bhakti, as Sanskrit is the instrument for expressing lofty speculation, acute analysis and philosophy. The same idea is conveyed in a famous Sanskrit Sloka.

उद्धृत्येदं विमुक्तेरयनमिति करात् दर्शयन् प्रत्ययार्थं

बिभ्रद्वह्निं सभायां कलयति नटनं यः स पायान्नटेशः ।

which I thus translate :

“Your hands point the way to salvation ; you hold the fire which destroys the evils of

the world ; in the dance hall of the Infinite you perform the sacred and eternal dance."

Such is the beginning of the art. The religious dance was not peculiar to India. Egypt had it ; Assyria had it ; Palestine had it. The Old Testament speaks of flute and tabor and drum, and of the maidens dancing before Samuel and Saul. King Solomon has referred often-times to the practice of this art. China and Japan have developed this art mainly on the secular side, with great minuteness and artistic skill, and the play of the fan has been a well-known accompaniment. Throughout the ages, therefore, the dance has had a great part to play. But so far as India is concerned, its manifestations are well-known and familiar. The dance of Nataraja, the dance of Ganesa, the dance of Subrahmanya (after the conquest over Sura Padmasura), the dance of Krishna in two aspects—the Kaliyamardana and the Rasamandala, the fierce and the delicate—the dance of Kali, the great Uddhata dance which heralds the final cataclysm and the end of the world, all these are parts of the Indian heritage of culture.

Our ancients were analytical in their arts and their enjoyments. In the matter of the Fine Arts especially, they expended their power of analysis to the utmost of its possibilities. Bharata, for instance, divides Nartana, the great art of dance, into what he terms the sacred and the secular aspects, Marga and Desi. The sacred aspect is demonstrated by the Tandava dance and the Lasya dance, the *allegro* and the *pianissimo*, to borrow terms from another art. The

Desi dances are threefold, *viz.*, the Nritta, the Nritya and Natya ; Nritta being the dance with the aid of the feet themselves ; Nritya the movement of feet with gesture super-added, which developed into our Kathakali ; Natya the movement of the feet with gestures and with words. In order to epitomise the art of dance which culminated in the drama and those gestures which are of the essence of Indian dance, I can do no better than to extract a sentence from the "Mirror of Gesture," written by Mr. Ananda Cumaraswami, a most discerning critic and art-lover. He says : "The song is to be sustained in the throat ; its meaning is to be shown by the hands ; its moods are evinced by glances ; its rhythms are marked by the feet." That is an accurate summing up of the intrinsic aspects of the dance. Bharata goes into minute particulars as to the building and furnishing of a theatre. Dealing with Natya Sastra as the fifth Veda, he describes the auditorium or *P'rekshagriha*, the stage or *Rangabhumi* and the greenroom or *Nepathya*. He demands that the seats should be arranged gallery-wise, or to quote his own words "as in a ladder." He sets out the right sizes of theatres, a large one being 128 by 64 cubits, a medium one 64 by 32 cubits and a small one 32 by 16 cubits (*i. e.* 48 by 24 feet). Very careful directions as to dress, demeanour, theatrical properties and other details have been laid down. Our drama and dance have therefore had full literary treatment.

It is in order to see that an art with such beginnings and such possibilities for national

expression should not be further neglected, that Their Highnesses have resolved upon this building and all that it means. It is only within the last 100 or 200 years that the word "*nautch*" came into vogue, the English word being really Hindi: *nach* from Sanskrit *nrtya*. But it also unfortunately signifies something more secular and deleterious than mere *Nrtya*. A *nautch* began to be associated with those 'sisters of shame' who had to earn their living by arts other than dance, but who used this art of dance as an additional means of allurements. With the degradation of the *nautch* came the degradation of the art, and the spiritual degradation accompanied the social. Some years ago, a good lady, Miss Tennant, came all the way from England to India and asked many persons to sign a covenant that they would not attend any dance or *nautch* performances. Many of them signed the covenant and now they are unrepentant breakers of that covenant. The position then was that we lived in a period when it only needed somebody else to come and say that we must be ashamed of ourselves. We forthwith began to be ashamed of ourselves accordingly. It was taken for granted that anything connected with our culture must be necessarily imperfect, if not perverse. Any criticism directed against our culture was taken to be necessarily right. We were bidden to adopt the perpetual pose of hanging down our heads in shame, and to contribute actively to our self-effacement. Those days are happily passing away.

Let us however look at the past history of the art. Some days ago I was reading the

earliest of Tamil romances, *Silappathikaram*, which is as old as the Christian Era. In the third chapter of that book, the heroine Madhavi describes how she spent five years and more in learning the art of dance, because, without it, it would not be possible for any civilised being to live a full life. Arjuna was a dancer in the court of Virata. What do we find in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*? The Dance. According to tradition, the Emperor Samudragupta used the plectrum—borrowed from the Greeks—and played on the zither whilst his wife danced in public. Udayana and his wife also practised the art. The dance, therefore, was not looked down upon; it was not despised; it was not one of the spurned sisters of the arts, but it was the foremost of them. It is in order to revive those potentialities and glories of the art, that we are attempting to inaugurate a new movement.

There are amongst us friends who are acquainted with European systems of dancing, which also started, as ours did, as religious manifestations amongst the Greeks, as for instance in the Dionysian dance, and among the Romans, the Druids and the other nations in Europe, but the dances of the West soon developed very largely on secular lines. A question may be asked as to what is the main difference between the two systems. I am answering that question to the best of my lights and shall, no doubt, evoke criticism. My task is, however, to draw pointed attention to one aspect of the matter, namely, that in the development of this art of

dance, the art of Kathakali, the art of Gopinath's troupe, great care has been taken to see that each art is maintained pure, and unalloyed by the influence of kindred but extraneous cultures. The secret and the *raison d'être* of the European dances, as developed especially within the last two hundred years, is that it is like modern European painting and sculpture, regarded as a means of self-expression, the evolution of the artist's specific, individual, personality. Thus it is that the European dance, which began with the *danse basse* and the *danse haute* and flowered in the stately and courtly ceremonies of the *Pavane*, *Courante* and the *Minuet* of France and the *Fandango* of Spain, and the courtesies and bows of the French and German court functions and the intricacies of the Waltz, has, with the march of time, adopted the Jazz band and Negro melodies and quick and startling rhythms borrowed from many lands, and is now passing through such manifestations as the Bunnyhug, Texas Tommy, Charleston, Blues, Lambeth Walk (adapted from the revue 'Me and My Gal') as well as the South American dances, Samba, Rumba, Tango and Maxiase, and may I add the latest, Boomps-a-Daisy and Jitterbug which, I think, are quite recent. In each one of these forms of dance, the idea has been that particular art forms are utilised mainly for the purpose of manifesting the exhilaration and the emotion generated in man and woman who, in the main, performed in partnership. These dances are amongst the efflorescences of the present-day European personality which assumes remarkable

and original forms in architecture, painting, sculpture as well as in music and dancing. These may be disturbing to some of us and may appear to be vehement and contortionist; but these are characteristics of this age and its mood. The Indian ideal has been different. Whether in painting or in murals, whether in the sculpture of those great forms of Nataraja, Krishna and Durga, or music or the dance, Indian art willingly adopts rigid conventions, and subjects itself to very strict rules and disciplines, and is anxious to eliminate the individual, and to concentrate on its interpretation of the universal. One result of such an effort is that our art is largely anonymous. Speaking of European art, the works of great masters like Rembrandt, Titian, Raphael, Velasquez, da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini and Rodin attract thousands and millions but who knows the authorship of our sculptures and images and murals? who knows the artificers of Kanya Kumari or of the great *gopurams*, *mandapams*, stone and wood carvings at Madura, Tanjore, Thiruvavarur, Trivandrum and Suchindrum? Nobody; Indian art has eliminated or striven to eliminate the individual and the particular. It has striven to think of the individual as a fragment in a continuous existence, as an item of eternity, not as a protagonist of an art evolved for the purpose either of immortalisation or as the expression of the person's longings, emotions and aspirations, or even as originating some idea precious to humanity.

Criticising such a conception, many competent persons have observed that in adopting

this attitude and this approach, our art has suffered to no small extent. Opinions may differ, but nevertheless, there is no advantage in confusing the two different ideals, no point in defacing distinct boundaries. The ideal of Indian art has been the sublimation of ideals by the elimination of personality ; and the Indian dance has identical objectives with other forms of Indian art.

With the best will in the world, Madame Pavlova, after her visit to Malabar, wished to combine the beauties and the graces of the Russian ballet and of the Waltz with the Kathakali. One of the artistic consequences of a movement for which she was to some extent responsible, was the art of Udaya Shankar, Menaka and various others. I have the greatest admiration for these exponents of a combined art ; but I venture to say, and I say it with fear and trembling and with the timidity of a mere amateur dealing with experts, that it is one thing to follow a particular art, say the Indian art, to the limits of Indian possibilities in sight of those ideals which it has set before itself, and which may be circumscribed, but, nevertheless, are definite. It is quite another thing to explore European art and its wonderful possibilities and blossomings, but for heaven's sake, let us not make an *olla podrida* - a confused inter-mingling of divergent ideals and ingredients.

The ambition of Their Highnesses and His Highness' Government will be to encourage to the largest extent possible in Travancore, the

neglected art of fresco painting, which we all go to Padmanabhapuram to explore and for which we do nothing in our own homes. The ambition of 'Their Highnesses and His Highness' Government is to revive Indian scholarship, to renew the life of Indian painting as it was in the days when painting counted for something; to revive Indian music in its pristine forms, in its classical languages, in its classical environments; to revive the Indian dance and all that goes with it. All these artistic explorations and experiments do not involve any disparagement, do not mean any exclusion and are not accompanied by any prejudice. They do not betoken any partiality, but are endeavours, in their several ways, to perpetuate and renovate one set of arts, racy of our country and characteristic of our civilisation. "In my father's house," said an authentic Prophet, "are many mansions," and each art that strives to perfect itself along its own lines, is building for itself one of those mansions. Each art, moreover, is part of that greatest of cultures, the creation of a comprehensive, a full and many-sided life, which is humanity's climax and crown, its liberation and salvation.

THE FUNCTION OF A MODERN UNIVERSITY¹

In addressing the members and the alumni of our University, inclusive of the graduates of this year, I cannot do better than to present a free rendering of what may be regarded as an adequate summary of the whole duty of a cultured man, enshrined in that ancient scripture, the *Taittiriya Upanishad* in its ninth *Anuvaka* :

ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

सत्यं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

दमश्च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

शमश्च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

अग्नयश्च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

अतिथयश्च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

मानुषं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ।

“Righteousness should be practised along with study and teaching ; truth should be followed along with study and teaching ; austerity—the subdual of the senses—along with study and teaching ; the rites of domestic worship and of hospitality, and the daily duties of man should be carried out, along with study and teaching.”

How clearly was it perceived that, along with all other private and public virtues, should be

¹ Address delivered at the Third Annual Convocation of the University of Travancore, 18th October 1941.

ranked continuous study and how equally important with such study, was the communication of its results? In relation to persons employed in the quest of learning and of the self, it is prayed :—

ॐ सहनाववतु सहनौ भुनक्तु सहवीर्यं करवावहै ।

तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषावहै ॥

“May the Supreme protect us; may He afford us daily sustenance, may we be given strength and valour for joint enterprises, may our studies be illustrious and crowned with success, and, above all, may there be no hatred and jealousy amongst persons following the same path.”

Such are the true aims of a gathering of scholars and teachers. Such should be a University's objectives. We are literally at one of the turning points of history and the occasion is ripe for a fresh analysis, a new evaluation of what education should stand for and ought to eschew. Shall we continue to suffer from “...the strange disease of modern life, With its sick hurry, its divided aims, Its heads o'er-taxed, its palsied hearts?”

To put the problem in other words, the functions of our Universities, especially at junctures like the present are more wide-spread and more responsible than in normal epochs. No longer can they merely supervise teaching and the conduct of examinations and charge themselves with the welfare of their wards only from the external point of view. No longer can they

even merely collate and register the results of study, of speculation and of research. No longer can they forego the obligation to be extensive in the sense of spreading, by means of appropriate agencies, the light of knowledge in the right direction and widest diffusion. No longer can they forget the part to be played by them in the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation of the country by the methods of science. No longer can they ignore the cultivation of those arts and studies that mellow character and refine outer and inner life. No longer, moreover, can they abdicate the duty of so ordering education as to avoid the tendencies in teaching and in learning and in the pursuit of economic and positive science that have inevitably led to the present crisis.

The progress of invention and the march of science have led to certain apparently triumphant results, which would not have been possible, without the specialisation which is a mark of the scientific technique of to-day. It has now become the main duty of the Universities, in a certain sense, to retrace the path of which they blazed the trail and to preach the lessons that came from the old *Asramas*. Most Universities and scientists always search for better weapons of offence, more and better tanks and machine guns and parachutes and bombers and poison-gas and, then, in order to counteract these, search for better means of defence against their ravages? Cannot their message be one of economic sufficiency, the elimination of distress and poverty and the elimination also of the mischievous

byproducts of the unregulated intellect? Can the Universities be trusted to bring about such a psychological reformation?

In this connection, some extracts from a recent book, "*The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches*" written by Middleton Murry, one of the foremost of recent literary critics and thinkers, are timely and thought-provoking.

"The greater and more important part of a man's education is not acquired through any conscious educational process. He absorbs it from the society in which he lives. The ways of getting a livelihood to which men are compelled, the moral values which are taken for granted around them, the kind of relations with their fellowmen which they cannot avoid, these are educational influences, more continuous, more pervasive, more permanent than any to which men are deliberately submitted at school or college. Indeed, they determine the actual quality of scholastic education which has always been subdued to the society it works in. And until we recognise that an acquisitive society in decline can educate its members hardly better than totalitarian societies, our efforts towards improvement will only confound confusion. Believing in God becomes an empty ecstasy unless the belief is given substance by a way of life. It is a natural simplicity, a natural frugality that we need to learn."

It has been observed by the author that historical Christianity was the religion of a pre-industrial society, and he indicts the modern

machine-civilisation as a denial of the reality of Christian society, national and international, and partly the cause and partly the product of the disintegration of that society.

We have heard a great deal in recent times of laboratories and of research and all they can note and imply. This University has deliberately accepted the motto :

कर्मणि व्यज्यते प्रज्ञा ।

“ Wisdom is manifested in action.”

The preamble of the Act establishing the University refers to the decision gradually to develop technical and technological education and to make greater provision for furtherance of original research. The main characteristics of our age are related to scientific research, but can we not ask whether undeclared wars and naked aggressions are the inevitable blossoms of this scientific age? Whose is the responsibility for the present posture of affairs? There have not been lacking persons who have attributed the most modern developments to the radio, the aeroplane and the machine-gun. With the radio, a person addresses the whole world. The same ideas can be simultaneously put into everyone's head. From its carefully devised use, may be produced uniformity of thought; and to propaganda has been attributed the rise of totalitarian rule. The influence of the radio in American politics, in England during the great Strikes, and in Germany, is fully recognised. Generally speaking, technical development as it has recently evolved has resulted in uniformity of organisation. It is no longer possible

to say that those scientists who have contented themselves with science have no social relations or aspects. Nothing has been more clearly demonstrated by the history of technology than that while it may result in new inventions, it does not always result in wisdom. The question at once arises whether the modern scientific method is itself right; whether a new evolution of social values should not proceed side by side with technical advances. One of the constant battle-cries of Hitler has been that his task is the building up of a new order--a new order where apparently the enthronement of scientific research will be complete in the economic as well as in other spheres. This is not a new phase or phenomenon.

The first organised research in Europe was in Germany and its main drawback has been its intense and self-centred concentration on results rather than on means and method. The Research Society founded by Kaiser Wilhelm II under the inspiration of German scholars in 1911, had its own factories, its own laboratories and was started by industrialists, bankers and businessmen. The original objects of that Institute were described to be the promotion of new fields of enquiry which could not be conveniently started in Universities, the provision of temporary or permanent opportunities of research for academic scientists, overburdened with teaching and the training of graduates in research, before they entered on an academic career. The first President of the Society declared that we should not build institutes first

and then seek for the right men, but find an eminent scholar and build an institute for him. It was the work of this Institute that led to the study of light alloys, silicates and textile fibres. It initiated cold storage. It started the application of physics, chemistry and physiology to clinical research. It gave an impetus to industrial physiology and studies, and its activities ranged from the establishment of meteorological stations and bird observatories to the encouragement of the study of cosmic rays. The synthesis of ammonia was one of its main contributions to chemical industry. Side by side with all this industrial and technological activity, there was deliberately encouraged combination of feudalistic modes of thought and of coercion with modern scientific ideas. The success as well as the failure of German research may be attributed to its narrowness, its lopsidedness and its concentration on the intellect rather than on the spirit.

A different but not less organised attempt was made in another country in which scientific research was consciously planned on a national scale, namely, Soviet Russia. Albeit that the organisation of society, according to the principles of Karl Marx, which formed the basis of such planning, might be essentially wrong, there is no question that in Russia, there was perceived, from the beginning of the new era, the fundamental importance of science and technology to the development of society. Indeed, such a development became a necessary part of life and of Government.

Without entering into controversies as to the place of humanities in a liberal education, it would be correct to assert that science played very little part in the education given to future administrators in the British Universities. The students there studied old and modern literature. They discovered the methods and modes of speech of statesmen and public men in the past. They acquired the art of disputation and of dialectics. It was therefore a new thing for any Government to assert, as Lenin's Government asserted in 1920, that it is the main duty of the Government so to direct education and public activities that the country should be electrified, and that industry, agriculture and transport built on the foundations of up-to-date, large-scale production. The technique adopted was equally original. The planning started firstly with a census of requirements for creating a satisfactory standard of life for every one. Therefrom calculations were made as to the size of the industries needed for supplying them. It was then considered how the output of agriculture might be increased ; and research institutes were created to assist in introducing better methods. Surveys of the natural resources of the country were made and electrical industries were planned. Planning was thus regarded as an operation which would provide able and instructed men with the fullest possible opportunities.

The impact of the war, and the emergence of new problems occasioned by it, have not only brought about an alliance between Britain and Russia, but also opened up possibilities for

mutual co-operation in planning for the world of the future. As M. Maisky said a few days ago, the twenty years' planning that the Soviet Union has undertaken, and has carried through more or less successfully, was only part of the economic planning of the world which is bound to be the task of the future. Mr. Bevin, speaking at the International Youths' Rally recently, insisted on the need to remove national and international barriers and fashion a new economic unity. It is now conceded that the present catastrophe is due to the perverted use of knowledge, and that the future depends on the raising of the standard of life and the bringing about of economic security throughout the world. The divorce between science and ethics has to be undone, and a mere materialistic approach to social and economic problems, and even to scientific questions, is no longer safe or even permissible.

In America, private enterprise always took the initiative, both in education and in the economic sphere, and it needed the depression of 1929 to disclose the maladjustments of society. In the course of the re-ordering and planning that took place in America, it was found that whereas distinguished scientific and technical men could do fine work in their own field, they were liable to ignore that some problems in their own field might be solved by innovations in other fields. Specialisation in the old sense had to give place to collaboration. Mr. Crowther's recent treatise on the *Social Relations of Science* is a most illuminating commentary on present

conditions. By a series of striking generalisations he shows how the telephone, the motor car, the aeroplane, the motion-picture and the radio are the bases of the major industries which came into being after 1900. He argues that, as early as 1900, it should have been possible to make a forecast and provision for likely advances. Wider main roads could have been planned earlier. The effects of artificial silk in undermining class distinction, by removing the difference in the style of dress worn by different classes, should have been foreseen. The expansion of European life through the extension of motor cars should have been forecast, and laws for regulating it might have been introduced before the rise in estate values made urban and even suburban improvements prohibitively expensive. He adds that the greatest changes in the future are to be expected from the synthesis of organic substances, such as the hormones which offer prospects of basic changes even in the constitution and nature of man. He concludes: "Forecasts of the effects of the development of plastics, synthetic rubber, prefabricated houses, facsimile transmissions, motor cars and trailers, steep flight airplanes and the intensive cultivation of plants in trays under special chemical and physical conditions, would almost certainly provide information of value for far-sighted social legislation."

The renowned scientist Niels Bohr wrote a few months ago: "The new knowledge has been based on a reciprocally fruitful linkage of research with technology. Also it has been

brought home to us that such a far-reaching development in each part of the scientific field has been made possible only by the most intimate co-operation between scientists from all parts of the scientific world." Modern atomic physics is one of the most rarefied of pure natural sciences, but its progress has inevitably led to a long series of practical applications, the use in medical science of the Roentgen rays and the radio-active substances, the use of the electrons in radio, television and sound films, and the use of the artificial radio-active substances in biology and medical science.

It was with a full appreciation of such planning, that quite recently Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, spoke on post-war educational reconstruction. He referred to the accidental impulses to the development of industries which have been given to India by participation in the Empire war-effort. He said that, in order to make a better world for all men wherever they may happen to dwell, we must place main reliance on the establishment of a more soundly conceived and more widely diffused system of public education. Both he and Sir Bertram Stevens, the Australian representative on the Eastern Group Council, have argued with justice that the time is past when Universities could be regarded as a retreat for or from every-day life. "To-day," Sir Bertram stated, "Universities are closely and actively bound up with every phase of modern life and with even that most terrible and tragic phase, war. Great institutions of

technical skill and scientific feeling have become flaming torches to light mankind on its dark road and though in many ways we seem to be educating ourselves for destructive purposes, we are also educating ourselves for a new attack on man's age-old problems which have once again culminated in the tragedy of war."

The old Indian system was in essence one of universal, compulsory education for the Indo-Aryans. King Asvapathi Kaikeya explains in the Chhândogya: "In my kingdom there is no ignorant person." (v. 11, 5.) Education was not denied to women and the Brahadaranyaka's description of Gargi needs no reiteration. The catechetical mode of teaching under a *guru* was followed and supplemented by academic meetings and congress and parishads. There were national gatherings summoned by kings, as is seen from a perusal of the Brahadaranyaka Upanishad, Satapatha Brahmana and Vayu Purana. Already during the Mahabharatha period, Takshasila, the modern Taxila, had become a renowned centre of learning under a great Professor, Dhanumya, who had far-famed disciples like Upamanyu and Aruni. Kacha and Devayani are other examples of student-life. Another celebrated centre was Naimishaaranya under Saunaka who was a Kulapathi (preceptor of 10,000). The Mahabharatha itself is reputed to have been compiled or edited in that forest University. Kanva's Asram on the banks of Nalina, a tributary of the Sarayu, was also a great assemblage of hermitages, and so was the Forest of Kamyaka. Kurukshetra produced two women

teachers. The teachers lived with their families and pupils in utmost simplicity and taught both spiritual and scientific lore. Drona, the great *guru* in archery and warfare, was given as his utmost remuneration "a neat and tidy house well filled with paddy and every kind of goods."

Under the old educational system, as outlined in the Upanishads and the Brahmanas, the minimum period of studentship was fixed as 12 years and the ideal was a residential University where the student lived in the house of the teacher and performed his several duties as a means of moral and spiritual discipline. It would be correct to say that these ancient Hindu schools of learning, which ultimately developed into what might be described as Forest Universities, pursued a mode of teaching which was neither mechanical nor soul-less, but which generated in the learners a spirit of anxious enquiry and a quest of truth. Among the products of this system as developed in Buddhist times, were Universities like those at Kanchipuram and Nalanda whose main features were strict discipline and manual and even menial work, and also certain practices designed to produce moral growth; and finally, a system of public disputations and examinations.

Already by the 8th century A. D., the Indian University had emerged from the idea of simple life in the forests, and the Chinese account of the University begins thus: "Nalanda, with scholars famed for their learning in the sacred texts and arts and with the clusters of rays

issuing from her *Chaityas* shining brightly like the white clouds, seems to laugh at all the cities of monarchs who had gained fame by ripping the bodies of elephants on hotly contested battle-fields." In this centre of higher study, the number of learners and teachers was placed by Hiuen Tsang at 10,000, and it was admitted that the material life of the monastery stood at a high level, and that hospitality was extended to all *bona fide* visitors, pilgrims or students. The history of this University covers nearly a thousand years, and seems to have been a period of sustained endeavour and achievement, devoted to the pursuit not only of Indian religious and philosophic systems, but even of sciences like Medicine and Astronomy.

The history of Universities in the West was different. They started as Guilds or Corporations of students who formed a combination for mutual protection; and licences to teach were granted by the Chancellors of the early Universities who were generally connected with the Church. Such licences were restricted in scope, but the fame of particular teachers and of particular centres enabled, for instance, the Doctors of Paris and Bologna, to claim the right to teach anywhere. Devoted at first to sacred purposes, later on the Universities devoted themselves to secular pursuits. Medical and legal studies followed theology; but it may be said that as in the case of Paris under Abelard, special importance was from the first attached to Divinity, Dialectics and Logic. This combination of

scholars gave place only very recently to colleges, but the history of University activity was a history of conservatism, so much so, that in Italy the new era of learning is usually reckoned from the period when certain Universities got rid of Logic, and introduced Rhetoric, so as to minimise useless controversies. It was not until the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation that the secular aspect of Universities began to develop.

Great libraries, and schools of history and sciences on modern lines, began with Gottingen and Halle and Berlin, which last University was practically the first to express repudiation, through the Academy of Sciences, of adherence to any particular creed or school of thought. The responsibility of the Universities for scientific work and for adult education was realised much later. But right through European history, the Universities, although the objects of munificent bounty, private and kingly, never had such scope for work as the Americans provided for their Universities from the start. It was a paramount act of wisdom which enabled the major units of the United States to place at the disposal of each member of the Congress, 30,000 acres for the purpose of helping in the establishment of colleges in each State. Aided by such grants and by enormous private endowments, agriculture and technology, pure and applied science, were given a great impetus and the results have been phenomenal. The scale of private endowments in America has been gigantic. Rockefeller alone has endowed the Chicago University with 34

million dollars, and the Universities of Cornell, John Hopkins, Stanford and Duke are only less munificently endowed. A specially interesting development in America has been institutions like those of John Hopkins—Baltimore—for the purpose of organizing carefully advanced study and research, requiring collegiate education for the entrants. The later tendency in the United States is to combine collegiate and university instruction under one corporation and one executive administration.

New Universities have sprung up all over the world. There has been a vast increase of students in each University, especially so in the Americas. Columbia is reported, for instance, to have 32,244 students, on its rolls. The so-called Seminar system, developed in the form of University Institutes, has been wide-spread; and technical sciences, agriculture, mining, forestry, commerce, fine arts and political science, have had special attention paid to them in these institutes. New Faculties have come on the scene by reason of the increasing specialisation. New Chairs have been started for Radiology and Sociology and even for such applied sciences having direct relation to practical life, as Journalism and Nursing. A system has been inaugurated, of bringing to the University adult students after a course of extra mural instruction, for residence at least for a year, so that these persons may return home with powers of greater service to the community. An intensive study of foreign languages and civilisation, which

at one time was confined to Germany under the title " Auslandskunde ", has been generally adopted. The purely nationalistic outlook of the 19th century has given place to the realisation of co-operation amongst the Universities of the world engaged in similar tasks.

The Universities of America have started Lyceum courses comprising short lectures ; and Summer schools with literary and scientific circles, using the public libraries at Chicago, St. Louis, etc., as nuclei and they have undertaken correspondence-courses ; and a few Universities are even giving credit to students for extension-courses. Thus, in several ways, Universities are reaching out their hands for helping the workers as well as the scholars of the country.

In order to bring higher education within the reach of the people, Universities like Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham and Sheffield were started, and one of the most formative influences has been the teaching undertaken by Universities for the benefit of the general public, by extra-mural work. The movement began in Cambridge under James Stuart and was designed for working-men at Crewe ; but it has spread practically all over the world and includes, among the subjects taught, History, Geography, Literature, Art, Music, Science and Economics.

Just over 17 years ago, I took part in another Convocation and addressed the graduates and members of the Madras University which, like

other Universities in India, took the examining body of London as its model, until, in 1904, under a New Act, the Residential System, Readerships, Fellowships and Research were organised. It then fell to me to deal with some of the criticisms that had been levelled against Indian University methods. Taking my stand on the experience of Cardinal Newman, a humanistic scholar, if ever there was one, I pointed out that eloquent lectures could never serve as a substitute for methodical and laborious teaching. In the words of the Cardinal, a young man of sharp and active intellect, who has had no other training, has little to show for it besides some ideas put into his head somehow. He is up with a number of doctrines and a number of facts, but they are all loose and straggling. There are no principles set up in his mind, round which to locate them. He can say a word or two on half a dozen sciences but not a dozen words on any one. He sees objections more clearly than truth, and can ask a thousand questions which the wisest of men cannot answer. This, he concludes, is a barren mockery of knowledge which comes of attending lectures or of mere acquaintance with magazines, reviews, newspapers and other ephemeral literature which, however valuable, are not in themselves the instruments of intellectual education. Higher education should not thus be solely concerned with the assimilation of facts and figures. A University, as I emphasised at the Delhi Convocation in 1932, fails in its objectives if it does not give a wide choice of intellectual interests outside the immediate

course of studies, if it ignores the craving of the human mind for beauty of colour and form and the rhythms of poetry and music. Fullness of academic life is a condition of culture, and drabness in scholarship is not a merit but an avoidable evil. At that time, few could foresee that even more fundamental things are involved in the scheme of a University than the cultivation of the intellect and of a satisfying environment of comprehensive study and organised research.

A spirit of revolt from the ordinary pattern of Indian Universities began to be in evidence almost simultaneously in various quarters about fifteen to twenty years ago. Rabindranath Tagore, whose loss India has been deploring, in starting the Viswabharathi, heralded such a revolt which was also manifested in the Gurukulas started in the North of India, and in the Asramas inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and others both in the West and in the South. They embodied not only a reaction against mechanical methods of teaching and lecturing for examinations as an end in themselves, but sought to introduce into academic life a new element of beauty, or a special discipline, mental and spiritual.

Travancore, though separated by the Ghats from the rest of continental India, has had millennia of cultural and commercial contact with the countries beyond the seas as well as with Indian centres of life and activity. It has received much from and given not a little to the outside world, not the least of its gifts being the

great Sankaracharya and a long line of poets and artists. It inherited a special mode of life and it had as one of its most characteristic features, the unique position enjoyed by its women in all spheres, a position illustrated and vindicated by the Proclamation of Rani Parvati Bayi in favour of universal education.

Our history and our culture needed conservation and encouragement. Our special agricultural and industrial problems demanded an urgent solution, and we had at the same time to organise research and to stimulate the pursuit of applied science. Some of us therefore dreamt of a University wherein our practical as well as our cultural requirements could be met. Owing to the far-sighted solicitude of His Highness for the welfare of his subjects, that University came into being in 1937 with the active financial and practical support of His Highness' Government. The two chief aims of the University, were, from the beginning, the pursuit of applied science and the development of technical and technological education, and secondly, the conservation and promotion of art and culture generally, with special reference to Kerala. Signs are not wanting that the sister State of Cochin is taking a live interest in the activities of this institution, and there are distinct possibilities of mutual co-operation in higher education, between the two neighbouring States.

One of the main objects placed by the University before itself is the sustained attention to

be paid to manual training and physical education. The University Labour Corps lays emphasis on training in useful manual labour and gives military training in addition. It has already produced conspicuous results in getting rid of the superiority-complex which is apt to divide the educated classes from the masses of India. His Highness is the Colonel-in-Chief of the Labour Corps and His Highness the Elaya Raja the Colonel. Started under such auspices and helped by the leadership and the ungrudging services of Principals, Professors and Lecturers of the various Colleges, a great future can be predicted for the Corps which, amongst other things, has already had a marked influence on the life and outlook of the student population.

The University has just constructed a Stadium, one of the best of its kind in India, in order to give the fullest possible impetus to team or group games as a means of stimulating the faculty of leadership and discipline and conjoint effort. While increasing attention is paid by means of the provision of 'coaches' and tournaments to efficiency in such games as tennis, hockey, football and cricket, we have been imbued with the idea that costly playing fields are not possible in normal Indian conditions, and that, in many of these games, one can participate only during a limited period of one's life.

From the earliest periods of the cultural history of India, there was a wise insistence upon the cultivation of a strong body as much as on firmness of purpose and the discipline of the

will, the latter qualities depending, to no small extent, on healthy physique. The student was enjoined to make himself not only a diligent student, but an *Asishta* and *Balishta*—disciplined and strong.

Individual physical culture as developed by our ancients, and calculated to produce suppleness of body and poise and concentration of mind, has also received the University's attention and the latest instance is the appointment of a Director for Physical Culture on the lines of the *Yogasanas* and breathing exercises. The rehabilitation of the ancient and very carefully devised systems of physical culture is among the foremost objectives of the University. Along with this development will also be introduced the systems peculiar to Kerala which include the art of self-defence.

We have not been able yet to make this an entirely Residential University. Even the hostels that have been provided are sometimes regarded as too costly, and in order to meet this criticism, the University Students' Hall, started under the Department of Physical Education, proposes to bring into existence a system as economical as any of the so-called "lodges," but with a wholesome atmosphere and wholesome food and recreations.

May I add that it is ill service that we should render to posterity by formulating in our buildings, or in equipment, or games or the daily life of the students any but the most simple and

economical standards? Not merely the requirements of the *Brahmacharya* ideal but the inescapable facts of Indian life demand such a policy of plain living.

This University has striven to preserve, as much as possible, autonomy in University administration without losing thereby the possibility of sustained interest and encouragement on the part of the State on which it depends largely for its income. Excepting in a few recent instances, endowments such as those instituted by Carnegie, Rhodes and Nuffield in England, not to mention the colossal American foundations, are rare. Perhaps, Calcutta and Nagpur are the most notable exceptions. The University has therefore to bestow its most anxious attention on creating a University Fund by securing more endowments for general purposes and special funds for research from those who benefit by its services. The *Gurudakshina* of old must be given to-day by students and their parents and those others who realise the immeasurable value of higher and intensive education, in the form of endowments in aid of poor scholars, in furtherance of Fellowships and Lectureships, the laboratories and libraries and extra-mural and social service activities. It has been and will be the aim of this University not to waste any money on spectacular buildings. The edifices of rich Europe and richer America need not be our models. Our moneys must and will be conserved for Fellowships, Lectureships and apparatus. In this, as well as in the standards of

hostels and corporate life, simplicity is not a thing merely to be preached but to be rigorously and continuously pursued.

Our University is a combination of a Teaching and Residential institution; but on account of the impact of new influences, the term "college" is losing its significance even in this University. The Science College provides instruction not only to its own students but to students of the Institute of Textile Technology and of the Engineering College which is, in many ways, one of the most important constituent units of the University. The Forestry course is conducted in the Science College; but the Students receive instruction also in the Engineering College or the Public Health Laboratory, and military and quasi-military training is provided with the help of the State Forces for the Labour Corps. It is in view of these considerations that it has been decided to avoid duplication of teaching in languages as far as possible, and to bring students pursuing different courses of study together. The amalgamation of the Arts and Science Colleges which is being contemplated is a step in aid of this project.

The University Union which has already a strength of 900 has started under favourable auspices and it has been the definite ideal of the University to give complete freedom of thought and discussion within the four walls of the University. Whilst no limits have been or will be imposed on the subjects for discussion or the manner of discussion, on the doctrines to be

propounded or controverted, this freedom has yet certain inevitable limitations, namely, that it does not involve the freedom to take part in outside political agitation which may result in a conflict with civil authority. We had our own troubles akin to the difficulties in British India during the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1920 and 1930, but we flatter ourselves that our University Union and our various social and group organisations have enabled us to solve many of the problems which at one time threatened to become acute.

Realising that Engineering is the root of all technical and technological instruction, and also realising the importance of not confining technological education to a select few, a Diploma course and a Certificate course for skilled craftsmen and technicians have been started in addition to the Degree course. The instructional Workshops of the Engineering College is part of the Government Workshops, and Manufacture takes place there side by side with tuition. The Engineering College and Workshops are helping in the training of war technicians and the University is contributing in many ways to the success of the experiment. Side by side with the Engineering College is the Institute of Textile Technology which provides Diploma courses and also Certificates in Craftsman Courses. Having regard to the special conditions of Travancore and the large extent of forest area and the possibilities of forest work and research, a provisional Forestry course of two years has been started.

In order to co-ordinate and stimulate interest in applied science, which is one of the fundamental objects of the University, a Research Council was brought into being in August 1939, and we may claim to have thus anticipated a similar effort on the part of the Government of India which inaugurated the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940. Although this University does not minimise the importance of studies and research in pure science, yet it has been felt by us that the distinction between pure and applied research is not so marked now as it once was, and that industry grows on pure research: we have therefore sought to concentrate on those problems which lie nearest to our hands. Thus, for instance, research work has been conducted in regard to the salt and improvement of its manufacture and in the refining of fuel oils. Experiments have been conducted with shark liver oil, which have yielded useful results. Further experiments are also taking place as to the supply of coagulants for rubber latex. Investigation of plant pests in respect of cardamom and paddy is taking place and what may be called protective research is also being attended to. We are now, amongst other things, manufacturing the anti-rabies and other vaccines required for various purposes and conducting and giving effect to nutrition schemes. Two of our research students are working on the active principles of indigenous drugs. Work has been successfully carried out on cocoanut shell charcoal and also on the very valuable mineral

sands with which nature has endowed this country.

As will be observed, these activities deal only with urgent and immediate problems and in many of these directions much more remains to be done and more co-operation secured between our University and those organisations inside and outside the State, working in similar fields. A beginning, however, has been made, and this, on the whole, may be termed satisfactory.

In this connection, it may be well to bear in mind that even when planning an educational reconstruction on the basis of the Wardha Scheme, the promoters emphasise that the object of the scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work.

Almost equally important with the imparting of knowledge and the fostering of culture and research is the widening of the scope of education in the direction of adult education in the State and in the matter of popular publications. A beginning has been made by the compilation of a glossary of scientific terms, and the preparation of a grammar and lexicon of the Malayalam language is under weigh. The Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry portions of the glossary have been completed and the Zoological portions are being prepared. Without the dissemination of great literature both in the sciences and in the arts, a system of popular edu-

cation and especially of adult education is not possible, and translations from the great classics are being attempted and some publications have seen the light of day. The social service activities of the University and the possibilities of broadcasting will also be used for this purpose.

The Government and the University of Travancore have, for a long time, been engaged in the task of collecting the valuable Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit manuscripts that are available not only in this part of the world, but also from elsewhere. Our manuscripts already comprise 10,000 items and an intensive drive in the matter of publication is taking place so as to maintain the high standards of scholarship laid down by men like Dr. Ganapathi Sastri, the originator of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The publication of translations, into Malayalam, of European and Indian classics and the production of books on popular lines dealing with problems of sociology and political economy and pure and applied science are also engaging our attention.

What should not be regarded as extraneous to a University, are the efforts now proceeding in the State for the formation of Art Galleries, Libraries, Museums, the Academy of Music, the School of Dancing and so forth. All these are symbols and signs of a realisation that culture and education can be both conscious and unconscious, and may be derived from the study of great artistic models and the inculcation of a taste in the Fine Arts.

Our University has many great tasks before it. It has first of all to help in building up strong bodies for its alumni, boys and girls. It has to pursue the ideal embodied in the Labour Corps, in the Physical Culture Department, and make physical fitness, manual work and team work objects of earnest pursuit. The University has to apply itself to the scientific and social sides of post-war reconstruction and to learn lessons from the last war which were, in the main, wasted on the people of the world. At the same time, in view of our special conditions, our University should not merely be the apt vehicle of human culture and the instrument of fruitful research, but it should inculcate and practise that simplicity, that directness of approach and that freedom of speculation, which were the special characteristics of our way of life.

For us, as for all fellowships of cultured peoples, there can be no better aim than this, namely.

संगच्छध्वं संवदध्वं
संवेमनांसि जानताम् ।

“Let us wend our way together; let us speak with one voice; let our minds be in unison.”

The laws of this University like those of similar learned bodies require that the candidates for Degrees and Diplomas should, on these occasions, solemnly undertake to order their personal and social life so as to promote the ideals that become members of the University.

Those who are presenting themselves for Degrees today have been selected after rigorous tests that have demanded self-denial, strenuous application and the exercise of concentration, and I am not one of those who decry the prizes that fall to the lot of the successful student, as they are symbols of intensity of purpose and intellectual alertness. What has, however, to be recollected is that the knowledge that has been gained so far is not an end in itself, but the beginning of a new education for wider objects in respect of which the training that has been hitherto received, will be only one of several elements. There is no question of resting on one's oars. Intellectual rust is even more destructive in its effects than the rust that consumes iron and steel. It is relevant to emphasise this aspect, because it is too often found that the habit of study is given up when the need for it ceases. The life led by you in schools and colleges, in debating societies and clubs and play-fields, has fitted you to take the rough with the smooth, to comprehend and make allowances for your neighbour's attitude and point of view and to preserve good temper and a sense of humour in your activities. Nevertheless, it is a fact that you have emerged from a period of life during which you have lived in a kind of cloistered seclusion, away from the acerbities and the rough jostles of competing groups and the bitterness of unemployment and the non-recognition of talent and good work. But this is also a period when you have possessed both the time and the inclination to dream

your dreams and to fashion your inner world which may not correspond with the outer, but which ought to be a true refuge. The qualities and equipment necessary for the world's battles are different in nature and in direction from those required by you till now, but you have, or at least may acquire, the essentials of true culture and it has been said that a real man is one who can dream and not make dreams his master ; who can think and not make thoughts his aim ; who can meet with triumph and disaster and treat those two impostors just the same.

Above all, the scholars and the graduates of this University can never forget that they are the trustees of the future, that they are the guardians of the reputation and the prestige as well as the prosperity of the State and that it is their elementary obligation not only in their own interests but in the interests of the land that they love, to turn their learning to account by actively promoting the agricultural, industrial and economic progress of the State. At least some of you can, by virtue of your tastes and training, keep alight the torch of literature and the arts and cherish and augment our common heritage. Thus may each of you justify in your life and your conduct the proud boast of being

“ One who never turned his back but marched
breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
sleep to wako.”

UNIVERSITY AND NATIONAL LIFE¹

Let me commence this address by expressing my profound appreciation of the compliment paid by the authorities of the Osmania University to me personally and also, through me, to the Travancore University of which I am the Vice-Chancellor, by being asked to participate in your Convocation. Let me also give expression to the pleasure that I have derived from assisting at a function presided over by such an old and valued friend as His Excellency the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari. My next thought cannot but be directed to the first visit that I paid to this great foundation in the company of my valued friend, Sir Akbar Hydari, who was good enough not only to take me round the institutions connected with your University but to explain the ideals and motives that prompted its inauguration. Sir Akbar was an uncommon combination of administrator and patriot uniting, as he did, a sublimated common sense with a rare feeling for right values and perspectives. Pious Muslim as he was, he was broad-minded enough both in theory and in practice to strive for union and harmony amongst the various creeds and peoples of India. He recalled to me, what I still remember vividly, the reply of His Exalted Highness to the Address of the Council of the University on the occasion of the Jubilee of his reign wherein he laid down as the guiding

¹ Convocation Address at the Osmania University, Hyderabad, 26th February 1942.

principles of this learned body, broad-mindedness, mutual toleration and unity to be brought about by a blending of cultures and a collective life led by its alumni. Designedly was emphasis also laid by His Exalted Highness on those personal contacts and friendly relations, not only between the teacher and the taught but among the students themselves, without which the purpose of a University can hardly be fulfilled. Working under the stimulus of such a message and under such auspices, the University has, I am glad to perceive, proceeded from strength to strength and to-day occupies a notable place among its sister institutions. Shall I be wrong in regarding as an integral part of the loving tasks fulfilled by Sir Akbar the steps taken by him, with infinite labour and constant and fostering care, to renovate and to perpetuate those specimens of ancient architecture and painting which to-day in Ellora and Ajanta bear witness to the toleration and catholicity of the premier Muslim Ruling Family in India? Hyderabad has been the scene of great conquests and also of many imperishable products of Dakhanir civilisation and of the Vijayanagar and other dynasties which have been the nurseries of poets and artists and saints like Ramdas. To this body I bring the greetings and good wishes of the youngest of Indian Universities, namely, the University of Travancore, which was also inaugurated by a wise Ruler whose desire and pre-occupation have been to preserve and augment the treasures of the olden days whilst, at the same time, fitting the students for those practical

duties and those strenuous tasks to which every one in this country is called, especially at this time of unprecedented crises. Looking round me, I am, like many others, filled with wonder at the sight of this magnificent pile of buildings and those elaborate arrangements for comfort and convenience which are a symbol of lavish generosity and of a desire to give of the best to the makers of the India to be. I have witnessed with admiration the magnificent planning of the grounds, the remarkably successful blending of Indian architectural styles and the devoted labours of the scientists who are, in various domains of knowledge especially in Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Hydraulics, bringing renown to this centre of learning.

It has been stated so often as almost to become a wearisome reiteration that we are at one of the cross-roads of history. Such statements were, until recently, made with rhetorical emphasis, but, perhaps, with imperfect appreciation of the significance of the phrase; but with the enemy almost knocking at our doors and with ruthless aggression manifested all about us, he is blind who does not realise that new and unprecedentedly grave problems now confront our youth. The need has arisen and is peremptory, for the evolution of a truly national spirit; the necessity is also inescapable, in addition to the regular armed forces of the Crown and of the Rulers, the necessity of a citizen-army, constituting not an uneducated and undisciplined rabble but close-knit groups of patriotic young men who, by physical fitness, by scientific

training and by a sense of solidarity, will play their part in repelling aggression, physical and psychological, and will help to bring about, (God grant that it will be soon), a new era of peace and comradeship. To such a duty the students of China, situated very much as we have been, with almost all the handicaps under which we labour, racial and communal, have addressed themselves in a manner that the world cannot easily forget. It was only the other day that I listened, with envious admiration, to H. E. Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr who was till recently Ambassador in China and who is shortly proceeding to Russia, when he informed me that teachers and students alike from many centres of culture in China, when their buildings, libraries and laboratories were bombed and overthrown, carried on their heads and shoulders books and furniture and apparatus and all that they could save from the cataclysm in bundles and packages and how professors and scholars moved from place to place keeping alive the torch of learning and also succouring the afflicted and rendering social service in the midst of their educational work. It is a story of epic heroism for which we of the older generation have perchance unfitted ourselves by our training and outlook, but without the manifestation of which amongst the youth of this land, the vindication of Indian nationhood will be delayed, if not frustrated.

May I also not underline, speaking to this notable assemblage of Hindus and Muslims, that our *sine qua non* is the eschewal of the things that disunite and the prizing of the things that

bring us together. Would it be impertinent to refer to the memorable lessons taught by the Quran when promulgating the doctrines that

“Every nation had an Apostle,

There is not a nation but a warner has
gone among them

And all nations have had their guides” ?

Shall we not remember also that in another passage it is laid down

“Do not abuse those whom they call upon besides Allah, lest, exceeding limits, they should abuse Allah out of ignorance” ?

A University would best serve its object when it disciplines the intellect and emotions of those who are gathered amidst its surroundings so as to lead infallibly to the policy of “live and let live” and of mutual toleration, a heritage that we have derived from Asoka and Akbar and many of their illustrious successors.

I have been at some pains to peruse not only the literature relating to the foundation and the growth of this University but the illuminating Addresses of my predecessors during previous Convocations who have wisely stressed the importance of its basic ideals, who have pleaded for freedom from shibboleths, for an inculcation of a sense of proportion and for the growth of an integrity of mind following upon the integration of knowledge ; and it will be my endeavour not to repeat the obvious nor to speak on topics with which my auditors are better acquainted than

myself. Suffice it, however, to say that I range myself with those who, like Sir Akbar Hydari, have striven to get rid of the mental overstraining, the stifling of originality and the gulf between the products of higher education and the masses which have until recently been the disquieting features of University life in India. In establishing this University in 1918 one of the ideals set before themselves by the founders was the insistence on Urdu as the medium of instruction and English as a compulsory second language, the aim being to combat those evils to which I have just adverted. As a concomitant of such an endeavour, the Translation Bureau was brought into existence to acclimatize and to create technical and scientific terms and to translate the great classics of other lands to serve as models and an inspiration. The Travancore University has followed your example and is trying to do similar work for Malayalam and Tamil which are the two main languages spoken in the State and both of which have well-developed literatures. The choice of an Indian language as the medium of instruction, the adoption of a unitary type of University which would be both an Examining and a Teaching body and the Translation Bureau as well as the wise provision of residential quarters for as large a number of students as possible, appear to be the base upon which a fine superstructure is being raised. Differences of opinion there have been on some of these points but who can gainsay that not only was the experiment worth making but it has also

been an invaluable object lesson? From the papers that have been placed before me I see that valuable results have already accrued. Over 400 publications, ranging from treatises on Zoology and the Dynamics of a Particle to translations of literary and historical classics, have been ushered into existence. Your research institutions have turned out notable results in Mathematics, the Physical Sciences and Zoology and it is proudly claimed that these achievements have not been hindered but helped by the adoption of Urdu as a medium. Your University has a wide range of activity and I gather that nearly 2,000 students are studying the Arts and Sciences, Theology, Law, Engineering and Medicine, and that 500 students are in residence. It may interest some of you to know the lines on which we are proceeding in Travancore and I make bold to indicate them inasmuch as, in the pursuit of learning and culture, every institution, making an honest effort towards the attainment of a clearly perceived ideal, may have something to teach to and to learn from its compeers. We started with the inestimable advantage of a widely diffused system of education dating at least from 1800 A. D. and initiated by a great Maharani who made it her policy, much in advance of many European countries, to render easily available to each village the benefits of a school and a hospital or dispensary. We have seven Government and four private Colleges, most of which were affiliated to the Madras University. Travancore is fortunate in possessing the highest

standard of literacy in India both in regard to men and women and, with some justifiable pride, I may point out that to-day more than 750,000 pupils are attending Primary, Secondary and Collegiate institutions in the State, over 40 per cent. of the men and 30 per cent. of the women in Travancore being literate. We found, however, that the education that was imparted was not real in that it did not link itself with the life of the people at large. The lack of contact between the so-called elite and the masses was painfully obvious. The realisation of the dignity of labour and the desire and aptitude to do things, to make things, to create things, did not keep pace with literary acquirements or the facility of writing and talking. Notwithstanding the high standard of education, impracticability threatened to be the net result of one hundred years of vast expenditure in money and energy. The fruitful pursuit of theoretical and applied science and the efflorescence of the arts did not go hand in hand with the spread of literacy; and, above all, it was found that the strain of the studies and of examinations was weakening the physical stamina of the students. We had to remind ourselves, to start with, that physical efficiency is the cornerstone of a complete life. Not for nothing did the Taitriya Upanishad declare ;

युवा स्यात् साधु युवाध्यायकः ।

आशिष्ठो दृढिष्ठो बलिष्ठः ।

तस्येयं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात् ।

“Let the young man, during his tutelage be a good student, diligent in his studies, disciplined in mind, firm of purpose and strong in body. To such a student comes the wealth of the world in abundance.”

Indeed, the ancient Hindu seers went so far as to declare that even the knowledge of the Absolute was not attainable excepting by the strong—strong in body as well as in spirit :

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः ।

It is a thousand pities that we have not maintained the intensely practical outlook of our forefathers who laid down as elementary maxims of daily life that not only should we not swerve from the Dharma but that we must not give up efficiency and the acquisition of a competence.

धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम् ।

कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम् ।

भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् ।

Keeping such objects in mind, the Travancore University and the Colleges and Schools working under its stimulus have set before themselves the ideal of organised physical exercise, the formation of a University Labour Corps as a part of training in manual labour, and the yoking together of the advantages of the Western and Eastern schemes of physical culture. Team work and the cultivation of the faculties of leadership are the contributions made by Western games like cricket, hockey and football,

but it is sought to add to them the special aptitudes and advantages that accrue from the indigenous games and exercises like wrestling, fencing and single-stick and, above all, those breathing exercises and what are called *Yogasanas* whose manifold advantages are now becoming apparent to Western educationists and which, even more definitely than Western games, create suppleness and endurance in the human frame. I feel I cannot sufficiently stress the importance of physical fitness for the next generation. Quite apart from the demands that may be made upon us legitimately in the defending of our country, the need for a well-developed physique is making itself apparent as the days pass by and as we witness those debilitated specimens which our Universities turn out at the end of a prolonged course of intellectual exertion. In this connection, I may be pardoned for quoting what Lord Ellenborough once said, speaking to students of Law. He averred that the lawyer should cultivate, first and foremost, physical health and then common sense and then an ability to wait and finally a love of the profession for its own sake. This exhortation has a special significance for us and is indeed particularly apt in relation to the present conditions of India.

In every educational discussion, it is well to keep in view that a University, by its very connotation, should be universal not only in the sense of embracing the whole of knowledge within its ken but also in dealing with all the

comprehensive and many-sided needs of humanity, physical, psychological and emotional as well as intellectual. In short, a University should concern itself with every aspect of life and should afford an adequate preparation for life. A Chinese philosopher who is also an artist in the English language, Lin Yu Tang, very recently described science as being a sense of curiosity about life; literature as an expression of the wonder at life; art as a taste for life; philosophy as an attitude towards life and religion as reverence for life. But science, literature, philosophy, art and even religion itself, would be truncated and fail in their purpose if the objective were forgotten, namely, that they are a part of life. One of the drawbacks of our system of education has been its lop-sidedness or rather its lack of symmetry. It starved the emotions and it adhered to rigid and purely intellectual and memorising tests. This is why those who were charged with the foundation of the Travancore University thought it necessary, at the same time, to start an academy for the resuscitation of the old Indian dances, art-galleries, institutions for teaching arts and crafts and schools for the teaching of music, all these being essential complements of culture. In a recent radio discourse, a great Greek scholar, Professor Gilbert Murray, pointed out with much force that the Greek word "Schole", the original of our school, meant *leisure* and that the Roman word for school was "Ludas" meaning *play*. The Greeks knew that the necessary should be wedded to the beautiful in education

and our ancients also knew and practised this doctrine. It is surely on account of our forgetting these lessons that there has been amongst our educated men a certain lowering of aims and a one-sided outlook. To attain the desired ends, the main requisite is the competent and discerning teacher even more than laboratories, research-scholarships, libraries, hostels and playgrounds, because none of these will serve as an equivalent to that intimate contact of spirit with spirit which it was the purpose of the Ashrams and Forest Universities of ancient India and the medieval Universities of Europe to supply. In other words, it is the teachers that make a University and it is their impact upon the intellect and the emotions of the students that constitutes the special contribution that a University can make to national life. Need I remind my listeners that Muslim civilisation and Muslim ideals were wholly sympathetic to this point of view? May I recall to your minds the story of the Naishapur University wherein there dwelt as fellow-scholars at the same time many students who travelled from far-off countries to sit at the feet of Imam Mowaffaq. To him was sent Nizam-ul-Mulk from Tus with Abdus Samad, Doctor of Laws. Later on, Nizam-ul-Mulk became the Vizier of Alp Arslan (or the Lion) and his son Malik Shah, son and grandson respectively of Toghrul Beg, the founder of the Seljukian dynasty of which we hear so much in the story of the Crusades. We read in his *Wasiyat* or Testament, a counterpart of Chanakya's *Kautilya Nitisara*, that among

his contemporaries were Hasan-al-Sabbah, the famous or notorious brigand-chief, and the famous poet, astronomer, and philosopher Omar Khayyam. It is stated that, after finishing their tutelage and when they were about to take leave of their teacher, these three made a mutual promise that they would share each other's fortunes, whatever they may be. Hasan joined Government service but intrigued against his lord and master and was exiled and finally became the head of the Ismailians. He and his followers seized a stronghold near the Caspian Sea and he became known as the Old Man of the Mountains. Nizam-ul-Mulk, by his learning and his administrative integrity and capacity, came to the front and became a minister under successive rulers and to him repaired Omar Khayyam who wanted no office but desired to lead a life of study and literary composition. Nizam-ul-Mulk, mindful of his old promise, obtained a pension for him and Omar Khayyam became a devoted student of astronomy and re-fashioned the calendar and initiated the Jalali Era under Sultan Malik Shah. Gibbon in his well-known history praises this system and gives it a place higher than that assigned to the Julian Calendar. Omar produced astronomical tables and under the pen-name "Khayyam" or Tent-maker, was the author of the "Quatrains" which have acquired world-wide celebrity and are known to us as the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam in the version of Edward Fitz Gerald. The intimate relations between the teacher and the taught and between fellow-disciples

exemplified by such stories are illustrated by similar anecdotes in the history of the Pandavas and were observable as a feature of Universities like those of Taxila, Kanchipuram and Nalanda. My point is that the greatest results were achieved in the past and can be expected in the future from that close co-operation of mind with mind which only a sympathetic and competent teacher with a marked personality can produce among his students. Before I pass from Omar Khayyam, let me quote three verses from the Rubaiyat to demonstrate how closely in the past Hindu and Muslim thought approximated, at least in Philosophy and how little reason there is to emphasise differences and cleavages in thought and speculation between the inheritors of the Hindu and Semitic cultures :—

Whose secret Presence, through creation's
veins
Running, Quicksilver-like, eludes your pains:
Taking all shapes from Mah to Mahi ; and
They change and perish all—but He remains.

A moment guess'd—then back behind the
Fold
Immerst of Darkness round the Drama roll'd,
Which, for the Pastime of Eternity,
He does Himself contrive, enact, behold.

I sent my soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-life to spell,
And after many days my Soul return'd
And said, "Behold, Myself and Heav'n and
Hell."

I am tempted to be carried away from the main path but I cannot refrain from giving another example of the mutual sympathy or rather identity of outlook amongst thoughtful men belonging to every civilisation. Let me refer to the masterpiece of another great product of two Muslim Universities, Herat and Samarkhand, the latter of which was founded by the great Timur alias Tamerlane. I quote from Salamān and Absāl and this is the English translation of the Persian poem by Jami, the pen-name assumed by Nuruddin Abdur Rahman, a student of the great Sufi master, Saaduddin Kashgari :

Thou movest under all the Forms of Truth,
 Under the forms of all Created Things ;
 Look whence I will, still nothing I discern
 But Thee in all the Universe in which
 Thyself Thou dost invest and through the
Eyes
 Of Man, the subtle Censor Scrutinise,
 No Entrance finds—no word of THIS and
THAT ;
 Do Thou my separate and Derived Self
 Make One with Thy Essential ; Leave me
room
 On that Divan which leaves no Room for two.

How true it is that ripeness of culture and the consequent insight lead to similar results in widely differing climes! These verses may be a paraphrase of one of our Dasopanishads.

Whereas the ancient Hindu Ashramas and the Gurukulas that have been responsible for the

Upanishads and the various sciences and arts, ceased to be active factors some centuries ago, it is to the glory of the Muslim world that its scholars re-lit the torch of learning, set about gathering wisdom from all sources including India and Greece and Egypt, improved on their masters and kept up the pursuit of knowledge through many centuries until they yielded place to European Universities which were frankly and avowedly their pupils and followers. As early as the ninth century A. D. there were four Schools of Law under celebrated Ulemas situated in various parts of the Arabic world. Damascus and Baghdad, Naishapur and Bokhara, Cairo, Seville and Cordova were great seats of learning. The University system of Europe and the culture of the Renaissance were derived ultimately from them. Starting, no doubt, with Theology as their main preoccupation, their activities were then extended to Canon Law, to the study of Grammar, Lexicography, Logic, Metaphysics, Arithmetic, Mensuration and Algebra, in each of which branches of knowledge notable contributions were made. Although Islam is supposed to be a rigid faith, these centres of thought made many contributions to rational philosophy and science and even to-day the names of Ghazali, Abul Hasan Al Ashari, Ibn Sina who was called Avicenna in European literature, and Averroes of Spain, are well-known to scholars. Being a Hindu, I am naturally attracted to the Sufi philosophers and poets but not only in mystic speculation but in many other branches of enquiry the world is eternally indebted to

Arab and Saracenic influence. As in the case of India, so in early Muslim civilisation, there was no sense of false pride or of exclusiveness in matters intellectual. Indian drama is indebted to the Greeks as also is Indian medicine. The Muslims did not disdain to adopt the philosophy of Plato whom they took to their bosom under the Arabic name Aflaton or to learn from Aristotle's many-sided genius. Mathematics owed a great deal to Brahmagupta and to Bhaskara but revolutionary progress was made by their Arab successors. Arab alchemy and chemistry progressed vastly under the guidance of Rhazes and of Jabir known in Spain as Gebir and Ibn Sina already referred to as well as Mansur who may well be termed one of the fathers of Chemistry. But none of these disdained to acknowledge their indebtedness to other races and climes. The history of Astronomy which started under Egyptian and Hindu influences is typical. Caliph Mamun's academy of Baghdad and the Hall of Wisdom of the Fatimites were the originators of many of the modern scientific developments. The celebrated Haroun Al Rashid got Ptolemy's Treatise on Astronomy translated from the Greek, and observatories were established at Baghdad where planetary observations were conducted. Eclipses were studied in Cairo. Observatories were also started in Persia, and Ulugh Bey the grandson of Tamerlane was himself a competent astronomer. The Arabs, in fact, introduced Egyptian and Indian science and literature, including folklore and fables like the Panchatantra, into their

own countries but soon became creators and masters and not merely learners, and the Revival of Learning in Europe originated from their labours. Modern Geography and the art of History owe not a little to Arab and Saracenic impetus. This exchange of culture and the friendliness of mutual obligation have been persisting throughout the range of literature and science, although they seem to have lost their power and influence in recent times. And it is a matter for profound satisfaction that the Urdu literature of to-day can number among its ornaments not only Hali and Akbar and Iqbal but also Puran Singh and Premchand.

That your Translation Bureau proceeds on right lines would be evident from a contemplation of the fact that after the Dark Ages in Europe, the new scholarship began when Archbishop Raymond started schools for translations from Arabic as well as from Greek and Latin into the vernaculars of Europe. This process was paralleled during the Moghul times when Persian translations were made of the Vedas, the Upanishads, Sanskrit Itihasas, dramas, poems and animal-stories like the Hitopadesa and Panchatantra. The Moghul period is perhaps the finest exemplification of the conscious assimilation of Hindu and Saracenic thought and art forms. The Hindustani and Urdu languages are as conspicuous instances of such a fusion as the Taj and Fatehpur Sikri and the miniatures of the Mughal and Rajput school.

If I have been at some pains to deal with these unifying tendencies and developments, it

is for the purpose of enforcing, with all the power at my command, that in the realms of science, art and literature, there have been and should be no mutually exclusive compartments and that the processes of osmosis, of adaptation and of assimilation, have been going on for mutual advantage, and with mutual benefit throughout the ages. Why then should this development now stop short and not be extended to all the activities of life, inner and outer, banishing every form of intolerance, narrowness and short-sightedness and stressing fundamental unities rather than differences? This, to my mind, is the first and foremost service that Universities can render to national life. The next duty with which they should charge themselves is the re-orientation of education so as to banish the problems of educated unemployment and to make the educated man an integral component of Indian agricultural and industrial life and not an excrescence nor an accident. The research and extension departments of the Universities should be so arranged as to achieve this end. In order to serve such a purpose we in Travancore have brought into existence a Research connected with the University which has concentrated its efforts, for the time being, on local requirements and local problems, the study, for instance, of paddy diseases and of cocoanut pests, improved methods in respect of tea and rubber cultivation and the utilisation of rubber latex, scientific study and improvements in connection with our extensive salt factories, the production of iodine

and other products from sea-weed, the foundation of an aquarium as a research centre and the refining of shark-liver oil as a substitute for cod-liver oil, the problems connected with power-alcohol and the study and analysis of our mineral sands and other deposits which are now utilised for many industrial purposes. The close contact established between our Engineering College and the P. W. D. Workshops and the war technicians' scheme is also calculated to serve a similar object. Let me not omit, while dealing with these practical aspects, to emphasise that the background of University life should be freedom as well as discipline. The utmost freedom of thought, of discourse and of disputation should be allowed within the four walls of the lecture room and the debating hall. Neither in respect of the teacher nor to the taught should there be any inhibitions; but the right exercise of that very freedom demands overt discipline and the restraint that is involved in keeping away from the outer politics of the hustling and the marketplace and the forum and from the inevitable controversy and turmoil which in the case of young men and women should be reserved for a period when character is already formed, when co-ordinated thoughts can be formulated and when the mind and the spirit have already been welded into shape in the crucible of the University so as to enable its alumni to face the problems of the world with balance, with perspective, with determination and with vision.

Speaking to the graduates of the year, I have no special message to deliver save this: that the

times are perilous and that our problems are complex and make many and varied demands on you. Some of you have succeeded greatly, some not so well. To many comes the thought that the door to success is too often labelled "Push" and to those who are self-effacing this idea is often bitter; but whatever may be the academic success which you have achieved and whatever you may make of that success, remember that all of you must determine, as a result of this period of preparation, that your lives should not fluctuate idly without term or scope. Let each of us strive and know for what he strives, so that we may

Still to the unknown turn a cheery face,
Then at the end of life
Thank life for life.

Aptly and adequately to fulfil our large ambitions we should, above all, remember the old exhortation:

सङ्गच्छध्वं संवदध्वं
सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।

"Let us wend our way together, let us speak with one voice, and let our minds be united in harmony."

WORLD FORCES AND THE SUPER-STATE¹

It is always difficult for any one to make an accurate appraisal of world forces at a given moment. History as it is lived through and written, as has been so revealingly pointed out recently by Mr. Duff Cooper soon after he resigned his post as First Lord of the Admiralty, comprises a great deal of contradictory assertions and counter-assertions and of tendentious matters inseparable from the conflict of ideals and policies. It comprises reports, speeches, correspondence, Parliamentary papers and despatches, much of which is confused, some of which may be deliberately propagandist and some may be the resultant of deep prejudices. Honest error and blundering may characterise yet other portions. It is therefore a mere truism to say that only subsequent enlightenment will help to distinguish contemporary truth from falsehood ; and as Herodotus has remarked, the further the historian is removed from his subject, the better will his judgment be on affairs. But it is equally true that what the historian gains in impartiality he loses in appeal and atmosphere.

Speaking of revolutions, wars and intrigues in his days, the Latin poet, Horace, says :

The ups and downs of pacts and leagues,
And wounds as yet unhealed by time ;

¹Address to the 64th Theosophical Convention, Adayar, Madras, on the 29th December 1939.

Such are the themes you treat, who dare
 (A risk which many a heart dismays)
 To stir hot ashes which may flare
 At any moment to a blaze.

Any study of world movements to-day has to pluck its material from such a blaze. But whatever judgment on smaller matters or comparatively trifling issues may be arrived at by the student of contemporary affairs, it cannot be gainsaid that the period from 1930 to 1938 is appropriately referred to as a period of "collapse", as it has been in fact described, in a recent history of international affairs compiled by a totally non-partisan and judicially-minded body of observers. In Europe the difficulty of reparations was believed to have been settled by the adoption of the Young Plan of May 1930. It was considered that relations with Germany had been improved by reason of the complete evacuation of the Rhine-Land. Draft Conventions regarding disarmament were produced at regular intervals and the Kellogg Pact for a very short period appeared to mark a crucial stage in the elimination of war as a factor in the relations between nations. The expulsion of Zinoviev and his associates indicated to many minds the jettisoning of the policy of communist interference with the domestic affairs of other countries and there arose in Russia a series of Herculean social and economic efforts at reconstruction beginning with the Five Year Plan for industrial development through the utilisation of hydro-electric power and through the nationalisation of finance, agriculture and industry.

In the Far East, similarly, communist propaganda had been checked between 1927 and 1929 and orderly progress seemed to be possible. In America a series of pacifications and Conventions for conciliation and arbitration were entered into; and the United States until 1929 enjoyed a period of unique prosperity. In the Middle East, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Egypt and large parts of Arabia, a period of prosperity was foretold.

It was at this moment that economic causes, more than anything else, produced profound alterations in world affairs and the economic upheaval of 1929 was declared in December 1930, by a celebrated economist, to have produced a crisis which "will be but a prelude for a dark period to which the historian of the future will give the name 'Between two Wars'." As early as 1931 a book was published with the title "Can Europe Keep the Peace?" New economic tendencies had gained ascendancy and economic equilibrium was at an end; and between 1931 and 1939, the system of collective security completely broke down and organised propaganda and the picking of quarrels so as to effect a re-distribution of territories and a capture of markets by means of aggression came to the fore-ground. The financial debacle of 1929 in the United States, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the new orientation of policy in Italy and Germany from 1933, have been the landmarks of this period of collapse.

One of the main traits of the present-day European world is the existence of a despair on the part of the masses in respect of a society, which to them, seems no longer rational. Obviously, forces like Fascism and Nazism can only be regarded as transitional stages in development but at the same time it would be a just observation that the present totalitarian tendencies cannot be overcome by the adoption of socialism of the old type or of capitalistic democracy but only by a fresh non-economic orientation of life and of society based on inner harmony rather than on all-round acquisitiveness and a harking back to spiritual rather than to temporal values. In Europe, neither the forces of the right nor of the left have yet fully realised that a successful fight against totalitarian concepts cannot be possibly succeeded by the deification of the Economic Man who was the Patron Saint of the Victorian Age. Acute observers have not been oblivious of this aspect and it is remarkable that an Austrian publicist, Peter Drucker, as early as May 1939, asserted that a Russo-German War alone may save the West from being drawn into a general conflagration. Such a war would probably be fought to maintain the society of the Economic Man who used to subsist on the theory and practice of lip-service to democracy in politics and adherence to rigid dictatorship on the part of industrialists, armament-makers and financiers. Therefore, according to him, such a war was inevitable. In the light of subsequent events, his words seem prophetic. "The efforts

of the European Left Wing parties is directed towards a united front between the democracies and Russia and their contention that such an alliance would usher in democratic Socialism has done greater harm than any political mistakes of the past twenty years."

Whether or not we agree with this author in the assertion that the West has to be prepared for an attack by the East and that this attack will decide the future of Europe, we must admit the validity of the argument that the enthronement of the so-called bourgeois society and the quest after the Capitalistic millennium have produced the present crisis in Europe and, through Europe, in the world. The individual has to be freed from the limitations of this concept. Such freeing can take place not solely by resistance to totalitarian ideas on the field of battle, but by the release of new forces in society. In fine, it is an inescapable conclusion that a new order can be produced and the dignity and the security of the individual re-established only if economic progress as such is relegated to a secondary place and man's life is dedicated primarily to non-economic aims.

We have, at this moment, reached a condition of what has been legitimately termed "International Anarchy." In order to resolve this anarchy, statesmen often turn back to pre-war political alternatives and there is now proceeding a considerable discussion regarding a new balance of power and a new concert of Europe. As is well known, the old concert of

Europe was designed to frustrate the dangerous ambitions of rival States, but it must be remembered that, when the concert was in full force, all the so-called great powers enjoyed more or less equal status and were more or less prosperous and satisfied. Into such a world have intruded new ideological cleavages and new standards of conduct; and old theories of gentlemanliness and of the policy of live and let live are receding to the background. Much of the responsibility for this result is due to a tendency on the part of political philosophers and also of statesmen to indulge in the game of make-believe and in what has been called wishful thinking. When I attended the sittings of the League of Nations in 1926 and 1927, it was regarded as almost sinful to suggest that there could be another world-war or that there were any fundamental defects in the constitution and working of the League of Nations. Indeed most of us willingly persuaded ourselves that a new world was being born; but as time passed, it was discovered that the international cement was lacking in the edifice and the fabric therefore crashed.

Some years ago it used to be stated and repeated that if you wish for peace, you must be prepared for war. But at the time when such statements were made, men did not realise what modern wars were apt to become. At the present moment, judging from what is happening in that confused medley of battle fronts extending from Japan to the North Sea, it is a

waiting and watching game at the front and much of the damage done is not in pitched battles but sporadically and with cruel aimlessness in the air, on the high seas and in the countryside and destruction and disintegration are rained from the air or from under the surface of the sea on non-combatants as much as on the fighters. The conclusion to which one is driven is that the time is already over-ripe not only for clear thinking as to the possible future of humanity but for the avoidance of what I have called wishful thinking in governmental policies and that the greatest attainment of freedom would be to secure freedom from prejudice—colour prejudice, race prejudice and the prejudice of propagandist ideals.

It was one of the comfortable fallacies of the immediate past that a new Era had emerged of material prosperity and of a scientific re-valuation of the Universe and its values and that the 19th and 20th centuries marked a kind of climax or apogee of human progress. But to adopt the French proverb, the more the world changes, the more it remains fundamentally the same. Whatever else the history of the last few years may have taught humanity, it cannot but drive home the belief that although mankind has made many conquests in the spheres of production, transport, and destruction and in the elimination of time and distance by aeroplane and broadcast and television, in mental and moral outlook it has hardly advanced since the time when *primaeval* Scers in India, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt cogitated

over the fundamental problems of the world and were able to transcend their material environment and arrive at intuitive and eternally true conclusions. The ideal of the practical brotherhood of man and the League of Nations is almost as old as humanity. The Ruler of Egypt, Akhnaton, thought of such an expedient 4000 years ago. But dealing only with historical times one cannot forget that the religious wars of Europe and the history of that continent from the treaty of Westphalia is almost an exact replica of the state of things which was re-duplicated many centuries later by the treaty of Versailles. The terrible religious conflicts and revolutions that supervened about the year 1650 led not only to many treaties and many arrangements but also to something much more really important, seen in perspective, than such treaties,—a book by a great lawyer named Grotius. In his monumental treatise, "*De Fure Pacis et Belli*" was envisaged the modern science of International Law and, partly influenced by it, a miniature League of Nations was set up on the Rhine in 1658, the Member-States of which bound themselves to settle their quarrels by the methods of conciliation. It is true that this book was not more successful than the teaching of the Western churches in preventing wars and revolutions, but more than almost any other factor, it has affected the judgment of the European world regarding wars that are right and wars that are not right and the legitimate obligations and rights of combatants and non-combatants. This miniature League of Nations

came to a speedy end by being too ambitious. France was admitted into the Union and the body at once became a military and aggressive Confederacy. The League of Nations like its predecessor has failed by reason of its being used or believed to be used by a few States and by reason of the failure of leading nations to pay serious allegiance to its professed ideals. Its failure was inevitable after the abstention of the United States and the inactivity and lack of enthusiasm on the part of European powers in the matter of disarmament and in regard to economic policies, as was manifested in the Economic Conference of 1932 of which I was a disillusioned participant. I am appending a list of Alliances, Treaties, and Pacts which has been recently compiled and which shows how much, or rather how little, the League of Nations may be regarded as an effective factor.

In this state of things, is it surprising that the thoughts of men have turned to the future and the foundations of a new order which can bring to an end the possibility of conflicts like those of the present day actual and potential—and which may hope to maintain intact those indications of civilised life, those treasures of architecture and sculpture, painting and the other arts including literature and those symbols of progress which are encountering the risk of annihilation. Even more important than the maintenance of the outer symbols of man's evolution is the value of keeping unimpaired the functioning and fulfilment of the human

spirit. Thus it is that thoughtful men everywhere have been attempting to remould the world nearer to the heart's desire. Emil Ludwig, the brilliant biographer of contemporary personalities, has outlined a new Holy Alliance. In his brochure published in 1938, he adverted to the Holy Alliance of 1815 whose purpose was to combat the preaching of revolution after Napoleon's defeat and which started by declaring Christ to be the true king of all nations, whose stewards would be the ruling Princes. The Alliance was open to all Christian Kings but Great Britain and the Pope did not join it and its fate is a matter of history. The philosophy of 1815 is not the philosophy of 1939 or 1940, but the necessity exists now (as it existed then) of controlling those who are likely to disturb the peace of the world. Ludwig considers that such an Alliance is possible with the United States as a component part. It is an ironic commentary upon the fallibility of human judgments and a proof of the rapid march of history that in discussing this Alliance Ludwig is able to say that the aims of the Soviet Union are quite different from those of other great powers because Moscow sets her great socialistic ideal against the old-fashioned craving for more land, more cities and an Empire. Russia, in his words, never ceases to strive towards that ideal in spite of all vicissitudes. How different seems to be the reality! It is clear that many of Ludwig's hypotheses have already become obsolete. But he is on sure ground when he makes an appeal for the

abandonment of what has been often described as Autarchy. He defines the aims of the future as (1) a reformed Socialism as the national gospel, and (2) the United States of Europe as the International policy. He pleads for such social adjustments without recourse to war as may be possible. The conquest by science of time and space has already eliminated many old notions and, whether they like it or not, nations are much more closely linked together than many thinkers could foresee. The disappearance of the worship of mere numbers and of the captains of organisation and industry, the seeking of welfare no longer in external aggressivenesses but inner concentration, the establishment of the State not as the main purpose of life but as the means of justice are declared to be the ends and objects of that Alliance.

More or less on similar lines there have appeared many books in Germany, France and America, one of which has recently created a sensation. Early in 1939, Clarence K. Streit in his "Union Now," writing as one who spent many years in Geneva and represented in Europe the "New York Times" analyses the causes of the failure of the League of Nations. Streit does not attribute the failure, as many others do, to the emergence of new ideologies such as Communism, Fascism or National Socialism, or the propensities of dictators or the failure of Democracies. He sees the reason of its present plight in the attempt of all nations to seek prosperity while unwilling to

give up the root cause of war and poverty which he describes to be the result of an emphasis laid throughout the world on National Sovereignty. It is proposed by him and many other contemporary writers that the only chance for the survival of the world as we know it and as it might be, would be the pooling of some part of National Sovereignty and the eventual growth of a universal system of World Government which would be invincible against aggression and which would help to remove all economic and racial barriers. The chances of a Federal Union as contemplated by Streit have been studied with sympathy by the Marquess of Lothian in the "Ending of Armageddon," a book written by him just before he became the ambassador to Washington. The difficulties to be faced comprised (a) the persistence of the tradition of National Sovereignty and national pride and customs. (b) The difficulty of combining in a Federal Union so-called Dictatorships and so-called Democracies (c) The Colonial question with which is closely intertwined the problem of the political and economic control of one people over another or what is called Imperialism. The machinery that Mr. Streit has proposed is a combination of the Parliamentary and Presidential system in a constitution based on the American model which avoids the difficulties of a Parliamentary Executive in the English sense. The problem is to bring into existence a Union of Nations which will allow full scope for national and racial differences but will, at the same time, unite all their inhabitants

under a law which will end war and make reasonable prosperity and liberty secure. Whatever else such a new constitution seeks to do, it will certainly have to attempt a limitation of economic nationalism as it is now madly pursued and, secondly, a very drastic limitation of armaments by the creation of a Super-State with an Armed Force and the prohibition of arming by individual countries excepting purely for internal defence. Such ends cannot be achieved in a moment or without very careful preparation and thought and discussion; but it is demonstrable that the present system of National Sovereignty has led to an insensate competition in armaments and economic autarchy which constitute a negation of a will to peace. No international order based merely on the optional co-operation of equally self-sufficient Sovereign States can prove stable because all Sovereign States, as the history of the League has proved, have necessarily to look after their own self-interests. The Super-State of the probably distant future will have to assure National Self-Government to all Units but will have to put into a common pool all the resources for Defence and Order, Currency, Trade, Communications and Migrations and possess all the powers necessary to implement and finance its activities. A Federal Union on such lines is being contemplated by many persons in widely separated regions.

Within the last few weeks, Harold Nicholson, a member of Parliament, has approached this

problem in a brochure entitled "Why Britain is at War." After having delivered an indictment against Germany and the Nazi theory of life and patriotism, Mr. Nicholson faces the fact that if and when the Nazis disappear, communists will probably come in, followed perhaps by a period of internal disorder. No League of Nations or similar body can deal with problems produced by such happenings unless it possesses armed forces and unless the Member States of what, with the usual complacency of European writers, has been called by him "The United States of Europe" make a substantial sacrifice of their national sovereignty. As a necessary concomitant the forces of each State will have to be reduced to the size required by its own internal needs. Nicholson finds it essential as a part of his thesis to lay down that no country should be allowed to possess any aeroplanes at all, whether civil or military, and that the Super-State will alone have to operate all the great international air routes and possess a trained international air force with pilots drawn only from the smaller countries. All these requisites assume sacrifices and surrenders of many public utility undertakings like international transit, airways, posts and telegraphs.

To have envisaged these problems and the solutions attempted in respect of them is necessarily also to realise the inherent complexities of the position and the manifest difficulties in the way of a satisfactory solution ; but that the perilous state of the world needs a complete

re-ordering of national forces and a re-orientation of human ideas and ideals hardly admits of controversy. Humanity is literally at the cross-roads and on the choice that it now makes will depend the future of civilisation as we now know it.

The contribution that India can make to such a solution may, at the outset, appear to be insignificant. India does not count from the point of view of war excepting as a comparatively minor entity in the British Empire. The talk that is indulged in now and then of immediate independence is fantastic in the light of what is taking place daily around us. If India were to declare its independence to-day, apart from internal convulsions, she would be the prey of one or other of the predatory powers, unarmed and undisciplined as she is. The question has to be dealt with only from the point of view of a Commonwealth of Nations wherein Britain would more speedily and more effectively than has hitherto been the case, prepare India for self-defence in the military, naval, and aerial sense and even more in the industrial and economic sense as a preliminary to her entry into a world-organisation on terms of equality and self-respect. In other words, the condition precedent to the rebuilding of a new system is preparedness—preparedness of men and material, and energies and spirit. After such a status is attained by India and China, they can be useful and indeed probably decisive factors in the shaping of a new World Polity. The ideals of

India have been shaped for her by her Seers and her thinkers. These ideals are inconsistent with defeatism or dejection. They are incompatible with unmanliness. They cannot be reconciled with faint-heartedness. Weakness masked by religious expression draws down the hardly veiled contempt of Sri Krishna when, in the Second Chapter of the Gita, he asks the question "In such a crisis, whence comes upon thee, O! Arjuna, this dejection, this un-Aryan and disgraceful pessimism?" And he proclaims "Yield not to unmanliness, O! son of Prtha, ill doth it become thee. Cast off this mean faint-heartedness and arise, O! Scorchers of thine enemies." Lest there should be any doubt on this matter, in the 31st Verse of the same Chapter, the Supreme Teacher asserts the sanctity of a righteous war and, in words that should be enshrined in the heart of every Indian, he defines Yoga itself as involving efficiency in work and activity—कर्मसु कौशलम्. This is part of the Hindu heritage and these ideas are in the lineal succession of those precepts that have come down from the Vedas, down to the most recent times.

One of the authentic modern apostles of Hinduism, Swami Vivekananda, in his Karma Yoga declares that activity always means resistance, "Resist all evils, mental and physical, and when you have succeeded in resisting, then will calmness come. It is very easy to say: "hate nobody, resist not evil". But we know what that kind generally means in practice. When the eyes of society are turned towards us, we make

a sign of non-resistance but in our hearts it is canker all the time. We feel the utter want of the calm of non-resistance ; we feel that it would be better for us to resist. "Plunge into the world," he adds "and after a time when you have suffered and enjoyed all that is in it, then will renunciation come, then will calm come." This was India's message, although it is apt to be obscured by those who will misread it or misinterpret it.

In dealing with world situation, therefore, we cannot afford to forget that the first step should be to combat evil forces and resist them actively, openly, unflinchingly, fighting physically and morally for what is conceived to be the right decision. After the fight will come a time for peaceful contemplation of the scheme of the new world that can be built only after false ideals have been overthrown and injurious systems of thought and practice disestablished. To many of us, therefore, the doctrine of non-violence, in the form in which it is often preached to-day, the doctrine of non-participation in the combat raging all around us and the doctrine of quiescent, passive resistance such as is sometimes advocated, seem to be the negation of all that Hinduism and the highest ideals of humanity stand for.

Sir John Woodroffe, one of the most sympathetically intuitive students of Indian thought, has, in an essay on the *Tantrasastra* pointed out what is too often ignored and what one should

never be weary of repeating, namely, that it is wrong to talk, as many of our unfriends and some even of our friends do, as though India produced nothing else but Sadhus, Yogis, Mahatmas and philosophers. The past life of India flowed along many channels. It has not only meditated but also *worked* in every sphere of activity. To quote from Sir John Woodroffe's *Shakti and Shakta*, "there have been in India through the ages the splendid Courts of great Kingdoms and Empires, skilful administration (Rajadharma), practical autonomies of village and communal life (Prajadharma) prowess in war and in the chase, scientific work, a world-commerce and prosperous agriculture, a monumental and sumptuous art (Where can we find stronger and more brilliant colour?) and a life of poetry, emotion and passion, both written and lived." Such a life lived in fulness of self-expression is every moment creative and from it alone can emerge the unity to be ultimately achieved by the individual self with the world soul. No amount of logic-chopping can deprive the following invocation, contained in the Taittiriya Aranyaka of the Krishna Yajur Veda, of its full-blooded and realistic significance. "May we see the Sun for a hundred autumns, may we delight and rejoice for a hundred autumns, may we hear and discourse wisdom and keep our places and be unvanquished for a hundred autumns!" In the Tantrasastra, it is often repeated that without the knowledge of Shakti, liberation is not possible.

But this principle of religion is true of the outer and phenomenal life also and is based on the realisation that man is a magazine of power. The service of the Devi in any of her aspects is as much worship according to the true Shakta as are the traditional forms of the ritual Upasana. India herself is also one of the forms of that Shakti. The service of India as a Mother Form has thus to be regarded as an aspect of religion which is called true patriotism and which, on a proper reading of Indian philosophy, is not in conflict with what is higher than itself, namely, the true service of humanity and what is higher still, the realisation of the Supreme and overshadowing self. This is the lesson that is preached by the Karma and the Raja Yoga and this is the lesson re-inforced by the Tantras. It may be that the world, as we have known it, is destined to undergo profound mutations and a succession of crises, but amidst these ruins, let India, at the time of rebuilding, make her own contribution and that contribution in the outer political and economic sphere is quite consistent with the supreme aspiration of Indian thought—the fulfilment of the truth “तत्त्वसमि —“That Thou art”—the identification of the Individual firstly with humanity, and ultimately with the Universe,

सहनाववतु सह नौ भुनक्तु

सह वीर्यं करवावहै

“Let us together achieve common protection, let us together enjoy the fruits of life and let us unitedly exhibit the quality of heroism.”

तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु

मा विद्विषावहे

“Let us study with enlightenment and let us forbear from hatred.” In this inspired utterance from the Upanishads, what a perfect summary do we obtain of the true philosophy designed by our spiritual progenitors of human life as it may and should be lived!

APPENDIX *

ALLIANCES, TREATIES AND PACTS

THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT. The signatories are Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Hungary and Manchukuo.

(The Anti-Comintern Pact though nominally an ideological agreement against Communism is so worded that it gives the signatories the right to interfere with armed forces in any country where they may claim that Communism has an influence. It can therefore serve as an excuse for attack on any country.)

GERMANY has a Military Alliance with Italy, the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), a Friendship Pact with Russia, and an agreement for Military Assistance with Spain.

ITALY has a Military Alliance with Germany and an Agreement for Military Assistance with Spain. Anglo Mediterranean Agreement (1938).

JAPAN has a Military Alliance with Manchukuo.

SPAIN has Military Agreements with Germany and Italy and a Non-Aggression and Friendship Pact (1939) with Portugal.

HUNGARY has Non-Aggression Pacts with members of the Little Entente (which did

* Appendix to the Address on WORLD FORCES AND THE SUPER-STATE.

not prevent her from benefiting when Czechoslovakia was taken by Germany, by seizing Ruthenia.)

MANCHUKUO. A puppet state of Japan.

ENGLAND has Treaties of Alliance with France, Portugal, Egypt and Iraq. She guarantees the independence and vital interests of Poland and Roumania by bilateral treaties. She guarantees the independence of Turkey and Greece. Italian Mediterranean Agreement (1938).

FRANCE has bilateral Treaties of Mutual Defence with England, Poland, Roumania, Jugoslavia and shares with England the guarantees for Greece and Turkey.

RUSSIA has a Treaty of Mutual Defence with France, Non-Aggression Pacts with Germany, Poland, the Baltic States, Finland, Norway and a Treaty of Mutual Friendship with Turkey now being enlarged to a Military Defence Pact.

POLAND has Treaties of Mutual Defence with France, England, Roumania, a Treaty of Non-Aggression with Russia, and by the Protocol of 1921, the Pact of Conciliation and Arbitration of 1925, and subsequent diplomatic arrangements, is interested in the protection of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania against aggression.

PORTUGAL has a 400 year old Treaty of Alliance with England. She has just signed a Friendship and Non-Aggression Pact with Spain.

ROUMANIA has Treaties of Mutual Defence with France, England and Poland. As a member of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente she has Treaties with Greece, Turkey and Jugoslavia. She has a Non-Aggression Pact with Bulgaria. (The Balkan Pact was established in 1934 to guarantee the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans. With the extinguishing of Czechoslovakia as an independent state the Little Entente is dead.)

TURKEY has Conventions with Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Russia. Turkey is a member of the Balkan Pact and is signing a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with England and France and a Military Pact with Russia. GREECE is a member of the Balkan Pact and is guaranteed by England and France.

BULGARIA has a Treaty of Friendship with Turkey and has signed Non-Aggression Pacts with the other members of the Balkan Pact, but has not become a member of it.

YUGOSLAVIA is a member of the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact. She has a Treaty of Friendship with Italy and a Treaty of Mutual Defence with France.

THE BALTIC STATES, Latvia, Lithuania Esthonia, are united by the Treaty of Good Understanding and Co-operation (1934). Latvia and Esthonia are united by the Defensive Alliance of 1934. Lithuania since the settlement of the Vilna and Memel

questions is more closely tied to Poland, which considers that the independence of the Baltic States is one of vital interest to herself. Russia has signed Non-Aggression Pacts with all the Baltic States. Latvia last week signed a Treaty of Non-Aggression with Germany, and Esthonia is expected to follow suit.

SCANDINAVIAN ENTENTE is composed of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. Norway and Finland have Non-Aggression Pacts with Russia. Denmark and Sweden have a military understanding together for holding the Skaggerrack.

HOLLAND has no Alliance with any country. She only desires to protect her independence and colonies.

BELGIUM has her neutrality guaranteed by Germany, France and England.

SWITZERLAND has her neutrality guaranteed by Germany, France and Italy.

THE NEW WORLD ORDER ¹

Men belonging to my profession are not supposed to suffer from shyness but, I am afraid, I am about to be an exception to that rule just now. But I assure you that it is not my fault. It is the fault of my friend Mr. Dixon. This morning, quite casually, I asked him *apropos* this lunch, what I was supposed to talk about. In a kind of casual manner, Mr. Dixon said "something about your profession" and he gave a hint which was very timely and necessary and that is that I am not expected to speak for more than twenty minutes.

Well, in that predicament, I thought I might imitate what a lazy painter is supposed to have done on a particular occasion. A patron asked him to paint the picture of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, and the destruction of the Egyptian pursuers. He kept inactive for many months notwithstanding the importunities of the patron. After six or eight months the patron got quite impatient and wanted to see the picture. When further excuses were unavailing, the patron was taken to a carefully shrouded canvas and after having roused expectations, the painter removed the covering and there was nothing except the canvas with a splash of red paint on it. He was

Speech delivered at a luncheon party held at the Rotary Club, Ernakulam, on 17th January 1942.

asked what it all meant and where the Israelites were. The painter said, "It is quite clear, the Israelites have crossed the sea." "Where are the Egyptians?" asked the patron. "Oh! they are drowned" was the reply.

I thought that after having made a prefatory remark that Mr. Dixon had warned me not to speak for more than twenty minutes, I might spend that period in explaining why I am not able to speak at all and sit down imitating that painter. However, my respect for the Rotarian movement and my regard for those who have kindly come here to take part at the lunch prevents my following such an illustrious example and I have determined to speak to you for a few moments on a subject which does not appertain to my profession. Furthermore, Mr. Dixon was not able to enlighten me as to what my profession was. The task was rather difficult because I have been a journalist, a lawyer, an administrator and all sorts of other things. But I do not propose to speak on any of these things. I am going to put in a plea for discomfort.

Speaking to Rotarians on an occasion of this kind, being fully cognizant of the ideals of the Rotarian movement, being equally conscious of the great events that are happening around us and the grave issues impending on them, a few thoughts may be presented which, I imagine, might act as a kind of stimulus—I dare not say tonic, albeit, only at the risk of being confuted and contradicted. There is a great deal of talk taking place today about the new order, about

the world that is coming into being after the present conflict ended, and ended, as we all hope, with the triumph of the right. But beneath and beyond all this talk, there are one or two fundamental ideas which are apt to be lost sight of amidst the welter of small controversies and comparatively insignificant problems. One of these things is that the world has been, during many decades—indeed for more than a century—engrossed in the pursuit of material prosperity to an extent which was not good for the world. Look at the history of Europe, of America and, to a minor extent, the history of the countries even like India. We imagined, until the cataclysm came, that trade and commerce would always be growing from more to more, that prosperity and all that goes with commerce and material well-being and the accumulation of capital would be the inevitable concomitant and symbol of our society. The result of it was that, side by side with the increase of material prosperity, there came about a decline in sincerity of spiritual interests, a craving for comfort, a craving for many possessions, luxury and love of ease, the idea that the present structure of society is and will be the best in the best of all possible worlds. With all this came about a lowering of aims, the habit of management and compromise and appeasement and the cult of the politic. Old hopes grew pale and old sanctions were weakened. Religion ceased to be decisive. Moreover, this craze for comfort and multiplication of gratified wants led to mental and spiritual indolence and a disinclination to face the harder realities of a difficult and changing world.

Frankly, it appears to me that the manner in which science and invention have gone about their business, the way in which wealth has accumulated in a lopsided fashion, the way in which wealth has been spent indiscriminately and unthinkingly, the manner in which inequalities of distribution, both of goods and of wealth or rather the insignia of wealth, have been allowed to take place in the world, were leading the world to a precipice—a precipice of which only those few were unaware who stood to profit by an asymmetric civilisation. In other words, spiritual inertia and the desire to let well alone have been the watchwords of latter-day society. I think that after the world has passed through this crisis and when people are trying to design a finer system, it is essential to eschew many of the things which are at present taken to be inevitable. One of such things is the place which wealth holds in society. Thanks to the income tax, and the supertax and excess profits tax, there is not likely to be much wealth left in the hands of the present owners of wealth. It looks very much indeed as if the rich men and the bloated syndicates would soon become extinct as the dodo. A levelling down is inevitable but it is hoped that this will be accompanied by a levelling up. As a result of the manufacturing and industrial age there came about a reluctance to face the great personal responsibilities of the world and thought became confused, wavering and latitudinarian. The glorification of money and organised methods of making money at the

expense and to the detriment of the common man and society at large led to the formation of great trusts, and acquisitive groups. This war is wiping many of these out of existence and, whether rightly or wrongly, willy-nilly, the State has become the biggest employer of labour and perhaps will survive as the only capitalist. In many ways, therefore, the old system of society is being overturned but side by side with a re-distribution of wealth, side by side with the eschewal of the vulgar pomp and demonstration of wealth and a return to simplicity of living and of thinking, there must be a desire to face discomfort—the discomfort of facing big and inconvenient issues, the discomfort of deliberate thinking and planning. *Laissez faire* and all doctrines preaching on the lines of “the race to the swift and devil take the hindmost” must be given up as well as many other worn-out theories. We have to nerve ourselves for the tasks that are ahead of us from a new point of view. Indeed, it may be said that in England and in the continent of Europe and America, ten or twenty years ago, too many things were taken for granted. It was taken for granted that the nations that were prosperous would be allowed to continue so indefinitely and that the other races and nations would be content to be onlookers of the game. It was taken for granted that the ordering of society, with the distressed struggling masses at one end of the scale and the over-luxurious capitalists who were neither the most intelligent nor the most creative section of the people at the other end of the scale, was part of the divine

dispensation. Money-making in the market and stock-exchange was taken to be the art of arts. All this culminated in a mental and spiritual rottenness which all of us have observed with concern in many countries, which, coupled with a senseless riot of luxurious living, threatened to produce a dangerous upheaval amongst the underdogs. All these things will probably be destroyed as a result of this war. Cataclysmal as this war is, catastrophical as it has already been, it may well be a blessing if mankind is roused from the pursuit of prosperity for its own sake and is made to realise that spiritual values are the only things that count, and that arrogance, assertiveness, domination and the arts of the market-place are not the things that are the be-all and end-all of society and existence. If such a re-ordering of society comes into existence, if such a changed outlook dawns on us as a result of this war, then this war may be a means of spiritual salvation. But to enable that to be done, all wise men, all thinking men, must try from now to play their part in the building of that braver and better world.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON SRI SANKARACHARYA.¹

It was my good fortune this afternoon to come here and obtain spiritual and other sustenance in this institution started by Mr. T. K. Balasubramania Aiyar. He described to me the features, the very carefully designed aspects, the symbolism that characterises the architecture and sculpture of this place and I have been deeply impressed with the enthusiasm and the love of the great Acharya which has animated my friend. During his visit to Madras he had told me that, if I came to Trichinopoly and Srirangam, I should come here and say a few words about Sankara. I agreed to do so, although I realised that my preoccupations and the scantiness of leisure, which a somewhat crowded life has made inevitable, gave very little occasion to concentrate study on the fountain sources of our scriptures. But it has been one of my great privileges to have come across, in a hereditary capacity, two of the occupants of the spiritual throne of Sringeri. My father and mother both received *Upadesa* at the hands of the late Sri Nrisimha Bharathi Swami and I count it as one of the privileges of my life

¹ Speech delivered at the Sri Sankaragurukula, Srirangam, in February 1940.

to have known the late Swamiji and the present Swamiji. Fired by their example, animated by them, I have been somewhat of a close student of Sankara and what Sankara has meant to the world.

Before I go into that topic, will you allow me to take a brief conspectus of the world of to-day from the point of view of the philosophical appraisal of the happenings around us and the future? During the time that I was a student and during the middle age of Sir T. Desikachariar, my esteemed friend, we all came to the conclusion a tentative and provisional conclusion, albeit a strong one that the new sciences that have altered the outer aspects of the world, the advances that had been made in the conquest of physical matter, must and cannot but profoundly disturb our psychical and spiritual balance. We came to the belief that the explanation for many puzzling phenomena would be afforded by the higher Physics, Chemistry and Astronomy and the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Mondal, Freud and those who followed those great masters. Later, however, all our preconceptions and the purely materialistic outlook were modified on account of the researches of a long line of illustrious scientists and thinkers; and I shall only recount the names of Einstein, Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans, in order to explain what I mean. To-day those fundamentals of Science and of life, space and time which were supposed to be the basic principles of the Universe—space,

time, causality,—all these have assumed new shapes. Space is supposed to be a function of time, space is supposed to be infinite, yet limited. The fourth dimension is mathematically proved to exist. All phenomena are relative and are functions of consciousness. Nothing is real, and it is not only the maxims of the Vedanta, but of Sir James Jeans which postulate that the teaching of modern science amounted to a realisation that all phenomena and events are a function of the mind. In other words, space does not exist by itself and time does not exist by itself. The doctrine of relativity which we owe to Einstein had been preached 2500 years ago, or even earlier, by the great Upanishad Karthas, and they affirmed that everything is imaginary but that there is one immanent mind or supreme consciousness whose Maya manifestations are the physical causations and appearances. So, as a result of laboratory experiments and mathematical calculations, the earlier materialistic theories and hypotheses have vanished and we have come back to the Vedanta, according to which the only thing that exists is the supreme mind of which all minds, all phenomena, are a part and which is the summation, embodiment and integration of the Universe and its evolution. That is the present state of modern Science. In other words, modern science—European and American Science—the science that we owe to people like Einstein and Niels Bohr has led to this conclusion, that those firm foundations on which life and the problems and phenomena of life were accepted

to be based and understood to rest are shifting and that a new philosophy, a new conspectus, a new appraisal of those phenomena is essential and therefore we come back to these daring speculations which characterised the ancient sages of the world.

Let me take you through some of the great religions of the world. Amidst many differences, you see the assertion of the supremacy of mind over matter and the phenomena of matter. Take Christianity which is a simple faith in a certain sense, its creed resting upon belief in the help and succour of a particularly evolved soul, Jesus Christ. We know that on the basis of the direct, simple, faith of the Teacher—the great Christian mystics and various thinkers who lived from the 3rd to the 11th century—built up a superstructure which, if carefully examined, is not very different from the Vedanta and is, to no small extent, derived from Plotinus and Plato who owed a great deal to Egypt and India. Take Islam. It again depends upon one or two hypotheses or doctrines of faith, namely, the universality and the oneness of God and the belief in an Apostle of God, but on the basis of that faith, simple, direct, democratic and absolutely close to the hearts and conscience of the people, there has been built up the elaborate edifice of Sufism which, if carefully examined in the works of Jalaluddin Rumi and Omar Khayyam, will be discovered to be not very different from the Vedanta. Our faith, if you read our Vedanta literally, is also a faith

which recognises certain great Powers, certain specific divinities, attributes or emanations of the divine. Bhakthi, worship, love, reverence—these things lead to salvation. That is a simple faith, but as human problems became more and more complicated and people began to delve deeper and deeper below the surface, they found that a more comprehensive synthesis was necessary and great Apostles have come amongst us to perform that task. One of them was Sankara. I should not be accused of being irrelevant or comparing and contrasting the greatness and qualities of different Apostles in a spirit of laudation or disparagement. Nevertheless, Sankara presents to my mind a unique combination and the union, in the same person, of two qualities generally found separated. There are some who ascend to the heights of physical discipline and intellectual analysis; there are some who take a difficult path and attain the high peaks where, in the rarefied air of abstract thought, they commune with the Infinite. Others ascend the summits by boundless love and compassion and faith. Tukaram, Kabir, Ramdoss, were examples of persons whose affection, intense longing and personal devotion to some ideal of theirs (as in the case of St. Francis) led them to dedicate their lives and everything that they cherished to their particular ideal or *Ishta Devata*. That is the difference between what is called *Gnana* and *Bhakti*. It is not given to everybody to unite those qualities in the same existence or body. Sankara was able to

do that. He was one of the rare examples of the union of the abstract and the concrete.

When we think of Sankara, with what do we mainly associate him? We associate him with the great Bashyas on the Brahma Sutras and Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita and various other commentaries which contain the most abstract analysis, the most meticulous and microscopic examination, of the phenomena of matter and spirit, evil and good, duality and oneness, with a power of analysis and introspection, utilising dry and passionless thought. And yet the same person was responsible for the Dakshinamurthi Stotra, the Saundarya Lahiri, the Ananda Lahiri and the other clinging, fervid, passionate Stotras and for all those manifestations of the Divine in language as impassioned, as lyrical, as full of rapture and personal devotion as the outpourings of the mystics of the Christian and Muhammadan religions, and of our great men like Tukaram, Kabir and those wandering generations of singers who even to-day are one of the glories and accompaniments of Northern India life.

That by itself is a miracle, but there is another aspect which is not always realised and recognised even by people who know the life of Sankara. Sankara is reported to have passed away when he was about thirty two years old. We in this scientific age with aeroplanes, motor cars and all conveniences find it very difficult to undertake a journey from Madras to Kashmir, but several centuries ago, the great sage Sankara started on an expedition when he was

sixteen to twenty years of age according to tradition, went to Badrinath and founded one of his monasteries there, to Srinagar where he worshipped at the shrine and left his Chakra, to Dwaraka on the borders of Kathiawar where he founded another monastery, to Puri in Jagannath and to another place amongst those forest tracts in Mysore which then was the Rishyasringa Asrama, the present Sringeri. He then came to Kanchi and various other places. Not only did he do all that, but throughout his journey he controverted, disputed, he triumphed and he carried his particular gospel with him. Yet, with all this tireless work, he was able to find time to write some of the most exquisite poems in the Sanskrit language, exquisite alike in diction, in imagery and in outlook, was able to produce some of the most wonderful and subtle analyses of the manifestations of the human mind and mental processes. In addition, he was able to bring into actuality the *Advaita* doctrine which is one of the greatest solutions of the problems of human life. Whether that doctrine is held by others or not, there is no doubt that the intellectual and spiritual achievement of Lord Sankara has made a deep impression on the history of world-thought. It has made an impress on many religions and cults, which has not been openly acknowledged.

Hinduism, as so many people have said in terms of criticism, and as I repeat in terms of justification and praise, is a great golden umbrella which shelters many forms of thought,

many practices and many approaches to the Divine. Underneath that golden umbrella there is space for the doubter, the *Charvaka*, for the believer in the doctrine of stern predetermination of the Buddha. There is space for the pursuit of the personal God. There is space for that renunciation of everything including personal Godhead and the identification of the supreme self with one's self which is synonymous with the Vedanta. That is a great and golden umbrella that has sheltered all forms of thought and speculation and it is an umbrella which is still standing, notwithstanding the fury of the elements and those batterings and shatterings which have affected other forms of thought. Its stability is, in no small sense, due to the work of Sankara, because it was given to him to reconcile all the aspects, and, in his *Bashyas* and in his poems, what he has sought to do is to give explanations which comprehend the actualities of life, at the same time that they reach above and beyond them to a synthesis typified in the four *Maha Vakyas* of the *Upanishads*, identifying the Universe with the self that is both within and beyond it and explaining existence and death and action by the theory of *Maya*.

We know very little of the great personage, but one may try to collect, not from any biographical works, but from his minor poems and fragments, a kind of picture of the man as he was. It is very difficult in the case of Hindu savants and philosophers to get the real picture

because neither our great authors nor our great artists sought to obtain personal glory or immortality of fame. In a certain poem he prays to be released from four kinds of Fate. The things that he expostulated against, the things he wanted to be guarded against and which he regarded as dangers to healthy spiritual life were (1) the act of being a Purohit—the act of being the outer intermediary between the Divine and man, a position that too often leads to arrogance and obscurantism and exploitation; (2) carnal lust as a darkener of the mind; (3) political leadership as the headman of the community—a status that is too often accompanied by self-soaking and corruption and the process of cheapening oneself by doing everything that is necessary to make oneself a leader; (4) election as Pontiff.

पैरोहित्यं रजनिचरितं ग्रामणीत्वं नियोगः

माठापत्यं ह्यनृतवचनं साक्षिवादः परान्नम् ।

What a flood of light do these verses throw upon the psychology of Sankara? Sankara was a person who shunned publicity and who sought to retreat within himself. We hear of Christ going to the wilderness, the retirement of the Christian mystics and the withdrawing into a Vana or to some retirement, of our great men. All that is the result of this particular mode of thought.

In another set of verses, speaking of the principles of Advaita, Sankara has stated in the *Manisha Panchaka* that one was secure so long

as one realised that one was Brahman and that the world was Maya Kalpita—the creation of the mind—and had no separate existence. Eddington, the modern scientist, says the same thing in a different language and with a different emphasis. Sankara was, however, infinitely tolerant. To those whose temperament leads them to devotion to particular divinities or manifestations, let there be no hindrance or obstruction because, out of the very boundless nature of love, will come the realisation of something beyond that love. This was his message and that is how I reconcile these abstract theories with his hymns. He regards Love and Bhakti as a milestone in the path, as steps leading to the citadel on high, wherein sits enthroned the ultimate truth of Vedanta that nothing exists apart from the great entity, call it Brahman or Over-Soul, that that Over-soul is yourself and myself and that all our conflicts and difficulties are due to an illusion which makes for separateness where no separateness exists. The vision that comes both to the Bhakta and the Gnani is the vision, not of anything outside one's self, but something within one's self—that vision may be obtained partly by physical means, because the conquest of the body is necessary for the conquest of the mind, but, after the body has been conquered, the mind has to be canalised and then the spirit is merged in the Supreme. Sankara attempted in many ways to tread the path which has been trodden by several philosophers and prophets, but his glory is characteristic in that he effected a synthesis, a

harmonious adaptation of these various ideals and made it possible for people with different equipments, with different heredities and different life-histories to follow their own bent of mind, their own philosophy but, at the same time, to aspire beyond that individual philosophy to that supreme revelation in which the individual soul merges into the Infinite and is not differentiated from that by interposed obstructions and which, however it may be termed, is the one thing which exists and which has created everything, is immanent in everything and is yet transcendental.

THE TASK BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE (1).

I have regarded it always as one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been enabled to come here and serve His Highness. The more one comes into contact with His Highness and the members of his family, the more one realises how singular and unique they are in all royal qualities and, what is not quite so common, in qualities which are of a more human and home-like character. Their tact and sympathy and willingness to enter into other peoples' difficulties and make allowances for mistakes are such that it is a real joy to work for them. Moreover, there is no gainsaying the fact that there is hardly any spot in India where given co-operation, given one-pointed endeavour and communal harmony, more can be achieved than in Travancore. Nature has been kind to Travancore in the vegetable kingdom, the animal kingdom and the human kingdom. If a critic were disposed to be censorious, he would say that the only trouble is that the people of this country have not yet realised what opportunities they have before them. There is a little too much of separateness in thought and conduct and of the distinctively critical faculty and too little of

(1) Speech delivered on 24th February 1940 at Bhaktivilas, Trivandrum, in reply to the Address presented by the people of Karamanai.

discipline and conjoint work. But I am glad to say that that phase is gradually passing. I feel that before each one of us there is a great task.

That task is three-fold. The *first* is that those who are socially, or by the dictates of our religion or usage, or by achievements, placed in positions of wealth, status or dignity, should forget their position or rather use it for the benefit of others lower down and remember only the duties that go with status and station. There is a beautiful French expression "*noblesse oblige*". It means that nobility entails obligations (and the emphasis is on duties rather than rights). It is, therefore, necessary for those who belong to what are called higher, educated and advanced communities to work for the good of others and not keep aloof, not allowing themselves to be dragged down to lower levels, but bringing the others up. There is always a tendency in all these efforts at consolidation where, like water, you find yourself being dragged down to lower levels. That must not be so. It must be not subsidence, but aspiration, or ascent always and therefore these communities must not bring themselves down, but keep themselves up and pull the others up. *Secondly*, there must be, and I cannot put this too strongly, much less of a desire to achieve the second best in life. What I find here is this: almost every young man and indeed almost every young woman, are always thinking of how to secure something safe, some petty job with a pension at the end so that they might subside into quiescence. The element of adventure

the element of taking risks, is not ingrained in us here and if this country has to become influential and wealthy, if this country has to harness its natural resources for the purpose of advancing its material interests, that element of adventure, that element of taking risks, that element of not being contented should be encouraged and diffused and should co-exist with mutual trust. *Thirdly*, we must have internal peace. Many people have asked me the question how it is that, having taken certain political steps and adopted certain political doctrines in British India during my political days there, I am taking an ostensibly different line to-day which is unpopular in certain quarters and styled reactionary in some others. May I explain myself, though not in the sense in which an author said "Who excuses himself accuses himself"? In order that any country might achieve a great position, especially in these days of great industrial and other competitions, it must have internal peace and rest. This is a primary necessity and any element or tendency the object of which is to minimise that peace will have to be combated with all the forces available. Again, the problem that confronts Travancore is primarily and essentially economic. As I have had occasion to say elsewhere, what is called democracy practically does not exist in the economic sphere anywhere in the world of to-day. In the countries which have obtained political democracy, there is too often a rigid, acquisitive and ever-spreading oligarchy or autocracy, and in fact it may be said that in most European countries

and in America, where what may be called political democracy has been achieved more or less completely, the wealth and resources of the country are in the hands of a small number of successful men who are actually exercising a dictatorship using political democracy and the franchise as a smoke screen and acquiring control over an apparently Free Press. Fortunately, here we have all the makings of a society divorced from such elements. Fortunately, here we have no millionaires, although there are some who are referred to as such by a figure of speech in certain controversies of recent origin. There are also no paupers in the sense in which pauperism exists elsewhere. This is a land of the middle-class. But, owing to some social laws and thanks to the increased population, that land of the middle-class is fast becoming a land of the extremely poor. That is the actual fact to-day, and before the problem of poverty and basic livelihood is solved, the political problem cannot be appropriately dealt with and therefore it is necessary, even though certain wrong impressions may arise, that the economic problem must be faced and solved within a limited time before attention can be bestowed on other problems.

There is one thing which, I must say, has been of great concern and continual wonder to me. In this place alone there were two tendencies visible which are not so discernible elsewhere. From the year 1912, when I was first professionally consulted by His late Highness, I was amazed to find that notwithstanding

the fact that in almost everything that matters Travancore stood ahead not only of most other Indian States but of many provinces, I could rarely obtain from a Travancorean a true account of Travancore and too often there was veiled or open sarcasm or reproach or a ventilation of some grievance. This is not the case with other States or Provinces where the criticism, if any, is mingled with just pride in and love for one's own land. Such pride must be cultivated and I think that it is growing. I trust that every one of us here will help a little to see that that legitimate pride is maintained. That does not mean that people are exempt from criticism, legitimate criticism, provided it is not personal, vindictive or destructive.

Before I conclude, let me for a moment dwell upon another topic. The question of the Indian States and especially of a State like this which has been never conquered or annexed, is conditioned upon certain contractual and other duties and obligations to the Paramount Power which it is part of our *dharma* loyally to discharge. Subject to that there can be no appeal from the people of Travancore or by the people of Travancore to anybody excepting His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. So, when one is confronted, on every possible and impossible occasion, with letters or telegrams or complaints or appeals to a Mahatma or other personage or this head of the Government or that Archbishop or other dignitary, I consider it is our duty, at any cost, effectually and without possibility of resurrection, to destroy that tendency,

that constant dependence on some people or some person outside the State and the feeling that there is always a tribunal of last resort. In order to achieve this purpose, certain steps have to be taken and will be taken. Provided that these things are understood, take it from me that His Highness and those who advise him are only too alive to the value of public life, to the value of criticism, to segregate themselves from them. In fact, every newspaper that continuously and fulsomely praises the State or the administration of this State or His Highness' adviser is doing a kind of disservice. Every act, every gesture of legitimate criticism, provided it is couched in the proper language and is intended to remove legitimate discontent, is a positive service. Knowing this, this Government will proceed along those lines of economic, social and constitutional progress which are called for in the conditions of this country, provided and only provided these precedent conditions are fulfilled, namely, that the approach is towards His Highness and not to anybody else, provided the economic factor is also borne in mind and provided there is that union of hearts without which true progress would be impossible. I am very glad to see, what you have alluded to in your Address, that the communities are beginning to realise that they should come together and work together for the glory of their country. That feeling is like a pebble thrown into a reservoir or tank. First of all, there is a small circle, then there come widening circles until they melt in the

wide circumference. So, let this small instinct of unity increase from strength to strength, from depth to depth, until it envelopes the whole country and let the beginnings of the great World Order of the future be thus established. Without harmony and without common effort the baffling problems of life can never be faced and will never be adequately solved.

“ YOUTH AND WHAT IT NEEDS ”

I feel, as I might very naturally on an occasion of this kind, some amount of embarrassment in as much as I am addressing a Madras audience so large and so young as this and so new to me. Moreover, as so many kind words have been stated and perhaps so many expectations have been roused, I feel it is perhaps inevitable that those expectations should be disappointed. And personal references of the type in which my friend Mr. Solomon indulged, however pleasant in the intimacy of a drawing room or an office room, are not always appropriate to persons who may not see the relevance or the justice of many of the remarks in an assemblage of this character. I do not propose to indulge in biographical rejoinders or autobiographical reminiscences on this occasion.

I have been asked to speak to the members of the Y. M. C. A. on *Youth and what it needs* and I proceed to discharge my task as best as I may. But before I do so, I desire, at the outset, to pay my tribute to the Association under whose auspices we have met to-day. As your Secretary has reminded you, it has been my good fortune to have been associated with the Y. M. C. A. from its beginnings, its small beginnings in Madras. It has been my good fortune to have

Speech delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, on the 14th December 1939.

helped the Y. M. C. A. in the period of its struggle and during the period when it passed through a time of tribulation, when it required some amount of encouragement and some amount of out-spoken statements in its favour when some of the high and the mighty in this land were ranged against the Y. M. C. A., its outlook and its activities. It was given to me to be amongst a small band of persons who held the view and impressed it upon the people that the Y. M. C. A. did not concern itself with activities deleterious to any interests whatsoever and that it was one of the wholesome influences of Indian life. I believe that I, along with others, was successful in the effort I then made, and I am happy to say that from that day to this I have had no occasion to swerve from my opinion that the Y. M. C. A. is one of those healthy, salutary and useful influences making for physical well-being, making for mental salubrity, making for moral uplift, making for a non-doctrinal, non-narrow joint effort and that the Y. M. C. A. has been on the whole one of the formative elements in Indian life. It is in that way that men like myself, who have been very strong adherents of the ancient faith to which I am proud to belong, have felt. It is consistent with the highest ideals of the Hindu faith to which I belong to be members and adherents of the Y. M. C. A.

Having said that, I propose to talk to you on the particular subject to which I have already alluded, but before I do so I think I shall

have to read to you what, about a hundred years ago, the great German poet—who, nevertheless was one of the greatest universal poets of the world—Goethe in “Faust” said. He speaks of the relative functions of the young and the old. Here is a young man of thirty talking to a man of sixty and expressing himself thus:

“We have won the world :

Yes, youthful man

Hath won it: meanwhile what have
you been doing ?

Slept, nodded, dreamed, weighed,
thought plan after plan,
Suggesting still, and languidly
pursuing ?

Old age is a cold fever’s feeble flame,
Life’s peevish winter of obstruction
chilling,

Man is at thirty dead, or all the same
T’were better kill you while you are
worth killing.”

That is often, too often, the feeling of youth towards age because youth is often full of new impulses stirring within itself, full of new patriotisms, full of the messages of new apostles, full of new ideas that age is obstructive to youth and youth will not be allowed its own way. Therefore, it is that I thought it worth while on this occasion to speak to you, as an old man trying for a moment to speak in terms of youth, and trying to speak as to what I should do or would do if I were young. What

is the position that faces the youth of to-day? The first thing that occurs to me is this: the youth of to-day is, to a much greater extent than the youth of my days, subject to the domination of what the logicians call "idols of the market place," subject to what may be called the influence of the journals and newspapers and of the transient ideas of the time. In our days, we were much greater revolvers than the youth of to-day. Indeed there is not sufficient revolt in the young man of to-day. You may not agree with me but the fact is as I have stated. I shall explain it; and, although some of you may differ from me in what I am going to say, I am deliberately going to say things with which you are likely to differ from me, things which may not be palatable to many of you, things which may make you think, which may irritate you. But it is necessary that you should be made to think so that it might at least help you in the effort to attack me tomorrow—not to-day I hope. As I said, there is not sufficient revolt in the youth of today. Let me give an instance. How often do we hear to-day of what is called "the theory of non-violence, the cult of non-violence? Was India ever non-violent? Should it be non-violent? I say 'No': Emphatically 'No'. When India counted for anything, India was magnificent. India conquered; India was heroic; India was a land of splendour, a land of worldly greatness; India colonised; India was a great country; India won and after winning renounced. The Turiya or Sanyasa Asrama was the

last of the Asramas and followed the Brahmacharya, Grahasta and Vanaprastha Asramas which cannot be said to be non-violent. To say that the message of Hinduism was *ab initio* non-violent is not truth. It is not true Hinduism, it is not Hindu philosophy. I submit it is Jainism, it is one aspect of Tolstoyism. It is one of the latter-day aspects of Christianity. It is not Hinduism. But, some-how or other, great men say it is, and it is accepted at its face value. Nobody has a word against it. And whatever people say, it is accepted. By this I do not suggest that you should fly at the next man's throat. But this idea of turning one cheek even before the other cheek is smitten is a remarkable theory of protest.

What is the genius of Hinduism? Hinduism is a self-expression, a self-determinative idea of what may be called the glorification of all that the spirit and the body stand for and all that the mind and the soul can express at its highest altitude. After having done the most that was possible in this world and known all that the world could give and then to give up, to renounce, was a glory. Therein lies your glory. Something counts for something when you give up something, not when you give up nothing. That was the meaning of true *Sanyasa*. That was the meaning of non-violence. And I say that if young men think over these things, study these things, question these things, then there is some hope for us; but to accept these things simply because some great man says so, is a very bad sign of the times.

The next point on which I wish to dwell for a moment is this. One of the most engaging traits of youth is to be sure of oneself and one of the beauties of youth is to be sure of oneself. The more wrong you are, the more surely right you think yourself to be, because the generosity of the impulses of youth, the very firmness of its convictions and the exuberance of its emotions make its convictions thorough and comprehensive. But, the point about youth is that just as it is convinced that it is correct, just as it is sure that what youth thinks is correct, so also youth must make allowance for the neighbour's corrective convictions. There must be an allowance for the neighbour's convictions and allowance for the neighbour's point of view. That is an aspect which is too often absent to-day. But I hope that youth will betimes begin to cultivate that quality.

The other point is this. All of us are no doubt hero-worshippers, and, unless we are hero-worshippers in some sense, there is no salvation for us. But hero-worship is nothing unless, along with a discriminating worship of the hero, you also see that there must be many varieties of heroism in the world. We ought to be able to speak out courageously. For instance, if some great man should say one day that a Constituent Assembly was the one thing that was wrong and that the literacy-franchise was the last thing that he was going to advise, and three months later the same great man

says that Constituent Assembly and literacy-franchise are the things that India should now have, it does not necessarily follow that the whole nation should be deemed heterodox unless it holds the same opinion at both stages as that great man. These are matters of which you must beware. No nation can ever come to its own, can ever achieve what is due to it unless there is discrimination in these matters. I am choosing these examples from the political sphere but there are many other spheres of life as well from which such examples could be drawn. For instance, take the world of Art. We know, as a matter of fact, that to-day our drama is suffering an eclipse because singing has been the bane of our theatre. Whenever a man falls ill, he must fall ill to the tune of music. Whenever a man has to die, he must die to the tune of music. There is not enough public opinion which can discard music in favour of what may be called real drama, and that is really because there is no direct and healthy criticism or independent thinking. It is not because we have not got it. There is a great deal of critical and constructive thinking in the youth of today, but what is lacking in them is the canalising, regimentation and disciplining and ordering of these thoughts along definite channels.

I have travelled a great deal. I have seen a great deal of the youth of the world. Between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five—I am not saying to flatter the youth of Madras or of

India—there are no groups of young men in any part of the world to equal Indian youth, either in subtlety of intellect or capacity for logical and constructive thought. Whether you go to the University of Oxford or Cambridge, the average Indian youth can beat any English or French or German youth of his own age. But whereas at the age of twenty-five the Indian youth stops growing, the other begins growing at twenty-five and goes on growing. The English boy, the French boy thinks in union ; works in union. He has got group opinion. His research is conducted in groups. He discusses, he indulges in the most erratic and wild opinions. He discusses communism, the necessity for the assassination of his neighbours, the necessity to get rid of all the institutions. He is generally Radical at fifteen, Socialist at twenty, Liberal at twenty-five and before thirty becomes Conservative. But what happens in our case ? Our expansion or our development is personal and individual. Just as our music, just as our religion is personal, individual and non-congregational, so also our politics, our thought, our general way of looking at things are complex with the result that we do not make that mark in the world, that mark upon society that we are entitled to make and should make. Therefore, that again is an opinion which I am placing before you for your earnest consideration, namely, that you should discuss amongst yourselves and come to conclusions. There is a great deal talked about as to whether

students should take part in politics. You can talk about politics if you like, discuss it fully and fearlessly, come to some kind of definite conclusion within your own groups for the conduct of your life. The formation of group ideas and group ideals of conduct and what is called regimentation of thought are what distinguish life elsewhere from life in India, and the lack of these makes a tremendous handicap amongst us. Why is it that we have no literary periodicals worth mentioning? Why is it that we have no scientific periodicals worth mentioning? Why is it we have no medical periodicals worth mentioning? It is not because we have not amongst us intelligent literary or medical men or scientists. We have great scientists, great politicians and great men in many fields. But they do not pool their resources; each man makes his own individual utterance; delivers his own message. This is the view which, with all humility but with all earnestness, I wish to place before youths.

For Hinduism there is one great peril and in referring to that peril, I am full of nervousness and trepidation because those busy pencils flying before me (referring to the newspaper reporters) are making me feel nervous. One great drawback to the formation of healthy public opinion is the maker of public opinion—the newspaper. Newspapers fulfil a great purpose in the modern world but fulfilling as they do great purposes, they also serve to canalise public opinion because, after all, newspapers have to get a certain amount of circulation and

in order to get a certain amount of circulation, they have, of necessity, to please. In order to please, they have to adopt certain slogans. In order to adopt slogans, they have to adopt certain modes of thought and methods of expression which will go down with the populace. In day light they have to grow hysteric or get blue in the face and purple with indignation, and they transmit that indignation, they transmit that emotion to the readers who think that editorial indignation is sincere. Very often it is, but sometimes it is not. Very often some people are much more apt to be influenced and misled. Having been in the position of an editor myself for some time, I know a little more about the inner secrets of the trade, perhaps more even than some gentlemen connected with it. Take for instance this thing about which there is a great deal of talk to-day—England and Anglo-Saxon method of Government. I want to talk perfectly plainly to-day on this matter. Until the 18th century, England was governed by a system of very wealthy landlords buying seats and selling seats in the House of Commons. That would be a correct description of the system of Government until about 1790. From 1790 to 1830 England was governed by a series of manufacturers and merchants selling seats in the House of Commons for their sons-in-law, their dependents and their slaves who became members of the House of Lords and sometimes members of the House of Commons. From 1830 to 1870 what is called responsible Government was at its

glorious peak and at that time Party System was in its most brilliant apex—thanks to men like Disraeli and Gladstone—and that went on practically till 1914. From 1914 up to now, there has been no party-system of Government. It has been more or less a Conservative Government which has been flourishing since then. Nevertheless, look at newspapers. They make it appear that practically from 1600 until now England has been governed by a democracy all through, from the times of the Magna Carta down to the present day, which has never been the case. All that I am saying is that students should think for themselves and see how far the things presented to them are correct and see if we can adopt other systems with such differences as will suit our country. That is what I would again emphasise strongly. Do not think that I have come before you merely to tell you that I know so much and I could have done such wonderful things and that the youth of to-day were going wrong. Not at all. All of us might have gone wrong. All of us when young, before we were fifty, might have thought that in ten years everything would be different. We thought we were going to change, shatter to bits, shatter the world to bits and reform the world. But we did not do anything of the kind. We have been mistaken. It is only through mistakes, it is only through illimitable errors, that the world can be remoulded and rectified—that the world for which we are yearning and striving could come to perfection. Let me conclude by reading to

you what Browning says of work, human work and the result of work:

“ As it was better, Youth
Should strive, through acts uncouth,
Toward making, than repose on aught found made ;
So, better, age; exempt
From strife, should know, than tempt
Further.”

“ Not on the vulgar mass
Called ‘ work, ’ must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price ;
Over which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice:

But all, the world’s coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the man’s account ;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man’s amount,
Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped ;
All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.’

SOME GREAT MEN I HAVE MET. ¹

What are the characteristics of great men? Great men may be of two different types or kinds—men who have resolutely and definitely set before themselves certain ideals for achievement and who have laboured continually and strenuously to attain those ideals and have achieved them. But not less great are they who have loftier ideals perhaps placed before them but have not attained success. Some of them have met great failures in their lives and their careers, but they too are to be deemed great, for, in the words of the English poet, it is the strife that counts and not the result achieved. Judging in that way, during the last 24 or 48 hours I cogitated over the many great men whom it has been my good fortune to meet in the course of my travels and at various other junctures. I would assign a very high place indeed to one who had definite ideals albeit narrow and who achieved them. That was Kemal Pasha, whose death occurred so recently. Nothing rejoiced me more than the readiness and the cheerfulness with which Turkey came into this struggle which is now being waged in Europe. But many of you may not be aware what was the task set before himself by Kemal Pasha and

¹ Address at the High Range Club, Munnar, on 4th January 1940.

what he did to discharge that task. It may be, my judgment of the man is coloured by the circumstance that I hold his example as of paramount importance and of vital significance to us in India. What was the problem with which he was faced? He, unlike statesmen in India, was faced with a fairly compact country composed of just one or two minorities and of predominantly Turkish population. But that Turkish population was quite uneducated. The women of Turkey wore veil, and the veil and purdah were stricter there than in most other places. Religious fanaticism leading to obscurantism and all that goes with ill-comprehended religion was pervasive in Turkey and into that scene came Kemal Pasha who made up his mind that the salvation of Turkey consisted in the secularisation of Turkey. In other words, he was one of those who realised that one of the great elements of human life was religion and without the consolations of religion little that happened in life can be of real utility, but he also felt strongly that there was difference between religion and religiosity, between religion and fanaticism, and that there was unnecessary display of religion in ritual and outward appearances. That kind of religion Kemal Pasha made up his mind to get rid of. To do this required great courage. But he went about it with characteristic thoroughness and very soon obtained the unique distinction of being for a time the most hated man among the Muslims. He abolished the Khalifat, an institution which was regarded as practically synonymous with certain aspects of Islamic

faith for many centuries. They believed that he would make himself the Khalif. He refrained from doing so. He then set about making people modern-minded in the real sense. He insisted on the bowler hat, not an elegant structure at the best of times and one not very ornamental or apt to be a thing of beauty especially to people of Kemal Pasha's mind. But he regarded the bowler hat as a symbol of progressive force in western civilisation. He said : " let the fez cap go". He identified the fez cap with what may be called 'fanaticism'. He went even to extremes with the ultimate idea of getting rid from Turkey of the notion of expansion. What is conflicting humanity to-day? Germany wants to become greater. Russia wants to absorb Finland. Kemal Pasha was the one man who said : " We do not want a greater Turkey. We shall not bite more than we can chew". Instead of extending, he constructed Turkey. He planned for progress without territorial expansion. He deliberately made up his mind to restrict and intensify his ambitions, and having restricted his ambitions to that very small corner of Europe, he modernised that country, started industries with the assistance of most progressive nations. He secured the services of a Frenchman to teach his army; he secured an Englishman to teach his Navy, a German as an industrial expert and a Swiss for something else. He never got too many of the same nationality into Turkey. So he went on and tried to make his own people take their place and the result was that, in the course of fifteen

to twenty years, he had made of Turkey a living national entity, progressive and able to take its place amongst the effective nations of the world.

I am taking another example of a very different kind of man—Lord Haldane. Speaking purely as a lawyer, as a person who had devoted some attention to matters of philosophy and of religion, I have not in my life met a more essentially great man, great man in every sense, than Lord Haldane. He died slightly vindicated, but throughout the latter part of his life there were few people more derided, more hated, more virulently attacked than Lord Haldane, because, in a rigmarole speech in a University, he claimed Germany as his spiritual home, and as very often happens, national and racial passions ran high and people thought he was a traitor to the cause for which England stood. And it was long after that one of the great Admirals wrote to Lord Haldane: "We could not possibly have won the last Great War if you had not made the British Navy what it was". Lord Haldane was a man who, amidst obloquy and criticism, made up his mind that England should be strong navally, and solely for that purpose, indeed, without public recognition, without public knowledge or cognisance, he worked. He learnt the tricks of the trade. He rebuilt the English navy and the result of it was he was hounded out of office as a pro-German and his house was not safe for him. It was during one of those periods of persecution that I met him and he told me:

“Well, this will pass” but he said (what I still remember): “To-day, people hate Germany, tomorrow, they will run after Germany; the day after tomorrow, they will again be at war with Germany” and he said (it was after the Treaty of Versailles) that as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, France would insist on making herself so difficult to Germany and Germany would fight France and there was no help for it but that we should go to school again and learn that the only salvation lay in a world of Union of States. Lord Haldane was a person of profound pre-vision, labouring amidst difficulties towards a great end, of real and fervent optimism and love of one’s own country which transcends all obstacles and handicaps with which one is confronted. In these qualities Lord Haldane was almost supreme, and I would commend his life to those who are gathered here to-day as the life of a man who amidst persecution kept his torch burning, the torch of power, of fervent patriotism, of sustained scholarship and of sustained true philosophy devoted to great and noble ends.

I shall take, as my next example, one with whom I came into frequent contact during the sessions of the League of Nations, a man who may be said to have definitely failed and that is Lord Robert Cecil. There was hardly one man who commanded such universal respect in Europe (though few people agreed with him) as Lord Robert Cecil. He was an unflinching idealist. They all knew that he was fervently

desirous of peace. He was desirous of peace in a sense in which no nation and no representative who came to the League was desirous of peace. He went over to the delegates from various countries and endeavoured to make them realise for a time—though only for a time—the underlying ideals of the League of Nations as he conceived them to be. He was one of the greatest missionaries for the world-order and world-civilisation based on the existence of world-consciousness, implemented by world-forces operating as one. Lord Robert's mission may be said to be a terrible failure. That is the one judgment that could be pronounced. But shall we not say that he was one of the great formative forces of the world whose work to-day is unrecognised and indeed unrecognisable and whose inspiration and stimulus will work like a ferment and produce a better world, a world fitter to live in?

It might have been useful if the League had afforded chances for realising what could be done by men not exactly great but who had other faculties and gifts. There was a person who is now unfortunately not very much in evidence, Signor Titulesco of Rumania. He was one of the most plausible men that anybody could meet. He wanted to make Rumania the centre of the Balkan influence in Europe and wanted to make England and France stand by Rumania and, at the same time, wanted to be in the good books of Italy and Russia, and the way in which he achieved it was by a series of charming lunches and dinners. Without being exactly great,

he was effective in the sense that he made personal acquaintance with men of divergent views and achieved many things. He was just the opposite of Robert Cecil and was a hard-headed realist.

Dr. Nansen, the great Arctic explorer, also came to the League and he brought fresh air both literally and metaphorically. He belonged to a hardy nation and was really a prototype of that nation. He was one of the heroic figures in European politics, free from all evil. He recognised truth and was prepared to declare the truth as he saw it. There were not many in European politics or Indian politics like him.

I could go on multiplying these instances, but, amongst the great men that England produced whom it was my good fortune to meet, were two or three to whom I must refer before passing on. One of them is Mr. Lloyd George. He, like many others, has gone through many phases in life and, at present, if a proverb might be quoted which says that anecdotage is one of the last infirmities of dotage, Mr. Lloyd George is in his anecdotage-stage and he is not much of a force excepting when he gives us startling speeches in the House of Commons. He is a man who has the gift of being able to rouse the passions and the patriotism of the people as very few people could do. He could deliver great speeches with facts and figures. He is an example of the extent to which a bad orator can be a great speaker. When he delivered speeches, there was something about him, a kind of atmosphere,

a kind of appeal which it was impossible to diagnose but which literally swept people off their feet. He had the tremendous capacity for choosing his experts and encouraging them time and again until they secured success.

There were very few men like Mr. Lloyd George in history, who succeeded in getting devoted workers. One of them was Mr. Montague, a much misunderstood man. As a Jew, he was considered beyond the pale by certain sections of society and there was a certain amount of resentment against him. His scheme for India's reform was an impossible scheme, while he was the truest friend of the country. He was determined, in spite of being misunderstood, to make India a real factor in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In his task he was enthusiastic but often tactless and he nearly succeeded but not quite.

Lord Reading was another great man, whom Mr. Montague selected as the Viceroy of India. He was a great man in many ways. His intellect was sharper and keener than that of almost any human being of his generation and he did, according to his lights, a great deal both for England and India but there was something lacking somewhere. It was perhaps humanity.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Briand and Mr. Stressman were persons whose names I cannot but mention on this occasion.

Another great man whom I cannot omit from the survey of great men is Lord Willingdon. My judgment might be coloured by personal loyalty

and my close friendship with him for many years. But if only people will remember what India was like when he came to Bombay and Madras as Governor, if people will remember what India was like when he became Viceroy, they will realise what Lord Willingdon was able to do. He grasped the essentials of the Indian problem which was that the Indian was proud to a fault and felt keenly both encouragement and any slight offered to him. He knew that India had a great heritage, a great history and a great past. He knew that the people of India were not willing to be treated as second-rate imitations or *izzat* as it is called in Northern India. Prestige was one of India's frailties or faculties. He realised that and his infinite tact amounting to greatness saved him from many faults from which abler, more overtly successful men have not escaped. He made India comparatively prosperous. He always strove for the greatness of this country and for the glory of this country, but at the same time, realised that in securing that greatness and glory, good words, *savoir-faire*, the art of pleasing, tact—these are as much the tasks and duties of statesmen as other things which might be more spectacular but do not always produce the same happy results.

Now taking the general history of the European and the American world, I may perhaps say that the greatest men in the sense of men who have achieved good results by carefully well-directed means are people like Kemal

Pasha, like Lloyd George, and like other statesmen I have referred to. I have deliberately not referred to contemporary persons like Mussolini and Hitler or the late Pope, for obvious reasons. I have met Sgr. Mossolini and I regard him as one of the most constructive forces of the modern world. Whether his policies subsist or not, the constructive work that he has done in Milan and Naples, the resuscitation of the glories of Rome, the work of settlement he has started in Rome, will mark him out as one of the dominant personalities of the world.

But leaving these men for a moment and entering into India, I consider that, of all the men whom it has been my good fortune to meet, the greatest, undeniably, was Swami Vivekananda. Many of you may have heard of him and I shall account it a great privilege if what I am able to say this evening will elicit your curiosity sufficiently to make you see a little of the work he did. One of the great characteristic features in this country is what has been wrongly described its spirituality, *viz.*, its addiction to the influence of the spirit rather than of any other activity. But people forget that when India was evolving the Vedas and Upanishads, India was great in arms, in culture of all types, in painting, in architecture. But there came a period of transition, of defeat. And even more than defeat, defeatism which made India lose its paramountcy in the eyes of the outer world and made her fall back upon fanaticism and a resignation to what was considered the inevitable, which was the cause of much that was happening at present. It may be said

in passing that it is characteristic of Indian Culture and of Indian History that the greatest results can be achieved in India only by the men who renounced, who gave up, and that is the origin of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, as well as of sadhus, preachers and sanyasis and Hatha Yogis. Indian civilization was unique in this respect that not arms, nor wealth, nor power, but learning and poverty were regarded as the hall-mark of greatness. Now, in that world, came Swami Vivekananda who, although not in the authentic and real line of teachers and seers, nevertheless infused into India that modernness of outlook and approach, by which India will do well to profit. Swami Vivekananda joined up the triumphs of the West and of the East in a new India which had to live and rebuild a new life. It was my good fortune to sit at his feet and I regard it as a matter of profound misfortune that he died at the age of 33. His contribution to India was the message that true religion and the Vedanta were compatible with manliness and did not connote scorn of the true message of the West, namely, its practical idealism.

Another great man whom I regard as one of the foremost of Indian Statesmen is Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar, who was Dewan of Mysore. He was a man of the type whom India needs to-day. He started the Hydro-electric enterprise in Mysore. Great powers, influential men, warned him that it was a wild-cat scheme and stated that it was going to reduce Mysore to bankruptcy. His own engineers spoke against

it and therefore he sat down and began to study the whole subject of engineering and hydro-electricity himself, and, with the help of engineers got down from America and against the wishes of those in the seats of the mighty, he started the scheme and Mysore to-day is what it is because of that Scheme. He was a realist in every sense, a profoundly religious man. but his religion co-existed with fruitful activity and downright directness of speech and action. He, like Swami Vivekanada, believed that India had lost the habit of *doing*, though it still retained the habit of *thinking*. It was bringing back into India the chronic habit of *doing* things continually that enabled her to achieve the best results.

The Marquess of Curzon, in addition to being Viceroy of India, was the chief archaeologist of India, chief restorer of Ajanta frescoes. His was an inimitable heroism, the heroism of a man who stuck to his duties.

Another man in Indian politics, perhaps the greatest man, was Gopalakrishna Gokhale, who introduced the habit of close study and reasoning in the practice of politics. He was responsible for the Primary Education scheme of India. He was a real Servant of India and the society that he founded will, I trust, carry on his ideals.

It is not possible to finish a survey of Great Men without a survey of Mahatma Gandhi. I had the misfortune to differ from him in respect of practically every item of his programme and I believe that he is responsible for much of the spiritual and political obscurantism of

today and that his lead in politics is wrong and anachronistic. It is yet my duty to speak of him as one of the authentically great men of India and of the world. Without any advantages of birth or of personality, mainly by adherence to faith and that magnetism which comes of faith strongly held and strongly believed in and strongly preached, he has established a directive influence not only in India, but the world at large. He is a true *yogi* of the kind produced often in India. Such preceptors have often brought great good and have equally often been disturbing and reactionary influences. But still one cannot forget the fact that so far as the name of India goes, Mahatma Gandhi has done more to raise the self-respect of India, to make the Indian name honoured more than almost any other man of the last fifty years. From a man who has spent himself without any reserve for the good of his country, who has tried to preach the faith that he holds dear, homage cannot be withheld. But greatness has its handicaps and drawbacks as well as its advantages. And, to-day, I fervently believe that the mission for which Mahatma Gandhi stands is a mission which is the very reverse of the mission of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and Swami Vivekananda in their several spheres. But his greatness must be realised, even though one may feel it was tending to make India what it should not be, instead of making what it may be, could be, and, God Willing, will be.

INDIA'S DEFENCE (1).

It is needless to say that this is one of the crucial moments in the history of the world. His Majesty's stirring Empire Day Message states the position with frank clarity and that supreme confidence and self-reliance which are illustrative of the general attitude of the British. It is realised that what is involved is no longer any territorial adjustment or compromise but the continuance or the disappearance of the British Empire, whose strength and far-flung might have aroused the ill-concealed jealousy and hatred of the peoples and communities who have been describing themselves as the "have nots". Full expression was not, for many years, given to such sentiments because of the earlier start that Great Britain had in the race for Empire and Commerce. But students of European History cannot but be aware that during the last thirty years many nations have been casting envious eyes on the Empire and preparing themselves for a struggle similar to the present, though, perhaps, no one guessed or dreamt that it would be as great and as pervasive as it now threatens to be.

To an Indian, surveying the situation and aware of the implications of the present conflict,

(1) Speech delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Ootacamund, on 2nd June 1940.

there is, alas ! much ground for sorrow. It is elementary knowledge that the population of India is more than two-thirds of that of the British Empire. It cannot but be admitted also that practically everyone in India is united in the belief, whatever political creed each one of them professes and whatever ideals he may hold, that no possible alternative to the present regime can at present be contemplated. It can be stated without the slightest fear of contradiction that no political party and no sensible individual in India can reconcile itself or himself to a conquest of this land by, let us say, Russia or Japan.

In most of the discussions that are now taking place, it is also too often forgotten that the educated classes of India, whether they fully acknowledge it or not, are, in essence, the most closely knit to the existing order of things in the British Empire. The artisan, the agriculturist, the small manufacturer, and the proprietor of a small business concern, is in reality not so much affected by the issue and he and his compeers are an essential component of society and economic life, whoever may be the ruler or whatever may be the form of Government. It is the big industrialist and the educated person that will be utterly helpless if any calamity should befall the British Empire. The large majority amongst the educated know no language but English and their own mother tongue, the latter being too often neglected. They are trained in the English method of conducting affairs, [in the use of Anglo-Saxon political

terms, in the aspiration towards what have been termed British ideals and, in short, they may be described without cynicism as the unacknowledged off-spring of British ideology, who will feel helpless in default of the British connection. This aspect has not been sufficiently emphasised or borne in mind either by the ruling or the so-called higher classes in India or by the bulk of the middle-classes. We are thus vitally interested in what is happening around us and in what the future may bring, and yet, what is the future of affairs? One of the longest coast lines of the world has no adequate indigenous navy or air force to protect it. The air force established either for offence or defence is negligible. Wholly forgetful of the fact that the war of to-day, as is being demonstrated every moment, is a war of well-directed or mis-directed intelligence, a war of brains and not a war of muscle and sinew, people still speak of the so-called distinction between the martial and non-martial races of India. It is ignored that England obtained a foot-hold in India largely through the loyalty and the courage and fighting qualities of the Madrassee forces that Clive raised. For many reasons, I do not analyse the figures of the regular British Forces in India, of the British Cavalry regiments, of the battalions all of whom, according to statistics, are not even rifle battalions, of the very small Royal Artillery corps and the Royal Air Forces of which the total personnel is less than 4000. I think I am correct in saying that the Royal Tank Corps formation has 21 British Officers,

less than 300 other ranks and about 62 followers. I shall not weary the audience by adverting to the figures of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps and the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. But I cannot conclude this survey without pointing out that the authorised strength of the Indian State Forces is just over 50,000 and the state of things may perhaps be best summarised by scrutinising the list of effectives of 1939 and remarking that there were about 6000 officers with King's Commissions of whom 390 were Indians and that there were about 4000 Indian Officers with Viceroy's Commissions and 50,000 British other ranks and one and a half lakhs of Indian other ranks, and this for a country with a population of nearly 400 millions. A mere study of these figures will demonstrate how sadly lacking India has been, and is, in all the elements of self-defence.

A theory has held the field that the process of equipping India for self-defence must be a long-drawn one, that it takes decades for the creation of the Officer mentality and endowments and that the Punjabee soldier will not serve under the Bombay Officer and so on. The more one hears these arguments, the more one despairs of the future. On the 28th May Sir Edward Grigg announced on the radio that in twelve days 400,000 people volunteered for local defence in the British Isles. The forces that are being raised in the United Kingdom are derived from all classes including the black-coated office clerks and the many groups in England

and elsewhere which till now have had no experience or traditions of war and no desire to enter into any war. If, today, we can develop in India a sense of the imminent risk which is ahead of us and a sense also of unity such as that which inspires every grade and class in England and which has helped over-night to change the British Constitution and to create an unparalleled and regimented national effort and to bring about a comprehensive dictatorship, albeit voluntary, in a country which has prided itself upon individualism, liberty of trade, sanctity of private property, sanctity of person and freedom of movement, then perhaps there is some hope for us. Also, as Sir Chimnalal Setalvad has recently reminded us the outstanding question is the necessity for England to trust India, not in the direction of calling together an impossible Constituent Assembly but by arming and training India speedily and effectively by modern methods and by equipping India to face modern conditions. If this process had been undertaken ten years ago, this war would probably not have been started. Five million well-armed men in India would give any nation pause before trying conclusions, but to say so is to forget that England committed the same mistake within her own country as she undoubtedly did in India, though not to the same extent. This is not the time, however, for reproaches or recriminations. This is the time for effective action. What shall it be? The first essential is to fight with all our might and main against what Lord Sri Krishna had

described in the Second Chapter of the Gita as the attitude of dejection and of unmanliness and of faint-heartedness at a time when Arjuna was under the impact of theories of non-violence and of meek acceptance of the unacceptable. This theory has unfortunately affected the psychology of our people to such an extent that it becomes a national duty to combat it.

The next essential is to condemn in no uncertain terms the pharisaic attitude of those who are willing to be neither on this side nor on that, but confine themselves to expressing vague sympathies and dwell amongst the clouds.

Much has been said of disunity between the Hindu and the Mussalman or between one community or class and another. That disunity will not be eliminated by such statements as have been recently made in response to Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons or to the Viceroy's appeal. That disunity will not be removed by fallacious theorising like that of Prof. Keith who, at this moment, thinks it fit to start a propaganda against the Indian States. This unity will be attained, in my humble opinion, mainly, if not solely, by working together to banish the evil that we may have to encounter. It is in the training-fields of India, it is in the Army Corps of India, it is amongst the trained youth drawn not from one corner of this vast country but from every part of it, it is by means of the impact of these young minds with the realities of the world, that this unity will be achieved and not otherwise. A welcome, though

belated, attempt has been made in the Communique which was published in Simla on the 25th of May announcing that orders have been issued to implement plans for the raising and equipping of forces to India's maximum capacity. If these orders are carried out in the spirit and for the purpose of arousing truly national feeling and producing a national Army, Navy and Air Force, and ultimately of evolving a national spirit of resistance of the enemy and of comradeship and joint action for common purposes, then there is room for rejoicing. But the fruition of the hope depends on the willingness of the British and the Indians to work against time, to work with will, and to work in unison. May the Great Powers inspire us in this direction and prosper our efforts!

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MUSIC AND THE RADIO*

I have complied very readily with the invitation to broadcast a few words on *Music and the Radio* from the Trichinopoly Station. Trichinopoly is rendering a real service to music-lovers in South India and to those who appreciate Carnatic music, by encouraging new talent and patronising those who are acknowledged experts. Until recently the melodies of the North were not adequately appreciated here, although now and again great Professors of the art have given exhibitions of their talents in Madras and elsewhere. But so far as South Indian Music is concerned, it was practically a sealed book to the rest of India excepting amongst colonies of Madrasedes following various professions all over the sub-continent. The Trichinopoly station has fulfilled one of the main objects of the Radio as an instrument of popular education. All over the world there is a tendency to obtain cheap applause by playing to the gallery and by lowering standards ; and I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that far too often in European broadcasts we hear blatant strains of sensational jazz music often approaching vulgarity and wholly lacking in appeal to the higher

*Broadcast Talk at the Trichinopoly Broadcasting Station on Sunday the 11th February 1940.

instincts. While no one desires that the Radio should be always highbrow or obscure and while it is also true that it cannot exercise its legitimate influence unless the desires and the tastes of the multitude are catered for, yet taking a long view of things, I hold it is the duty of the producers to act as the agents for the purification and the purifying up of tastes. In the dissemination therefore of news and the utterances of leaders, the responsibility of organisers of broadcast is very great. Some care is taken by the British Broadcasting Corporation in according permission to the transmission of speeches by air and in this respect there is a wholesome difference between the methods adopted by the Corporation and those of some foreign agencies which insert loud-mouthed advertisements of pills, liver cures and soaps, interspersed amongst strains of music or items of news. Propaganda through the air can be both an elevating factor and a powerful means for inflaming popular passions and racial and communal ill-will. There is not much of that type of propaganda indulged in India at the present moment but we must be on our guard against the intrusion of that element. The appeal and the influence of music as well as of the public speaker have been greatly enhanced by the introduction of the radio and a singer can now reach far wider audiences than were within his reach until recently and topical subjects and harmonies can be circulated simultaneously with great effect.

The great opportunity has now opened itself of bringing home to the people of India,

and especially South India, the works of composers who had been either forgotten or ignored and who had given place to people of questionable talents. There was a great vogue for cheap melodies introduced especially by what used to be called the Parsee drama and by the unfortunate vogue of the harmonium. There is now a wholesome tendency to go back to classical music, and the Radio can play a great part in this purification and in this enthronement of the right type of music. At the same time, no encouragement should be given to musical gymnastics. The radio may well be the means of simplifying our performances and making them understood by others than the expert. I am glad that the Trichinopoly Station is making diligent efforts to secure and give due publicity to those in the line of classical composers and musicians.

It therefore behoves the Directors of organisations in charge of broadcasting to take care that the programmes chosen are of the right type and that, in the encouragement of talents, more heed is paid to the claims of art than to those of novelty or vulgarity in appeal which, while securing a large immediate audience, might defeat the ultimate objects of what is bound to become one of the most effective factors in the moulding of public opinion and of public taste.

THE MESSAGE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.(1)

Let me, in the first place, acknowledge the variety of the refreshment, spiritual and mental, which all of us have received from the two discourses to which we have listened with attention. The first speaker, the Swamiji (Swami Tapasyananda) narrated certain revealing anecdotes illustrating the many-sided versatility and the powerful and yet playful intellect of Swami Vivekananda. To the second speaker (Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar), the worthy son of a great scholar and Sanskritist, we have been indebted this evening for a complete conspectus of Hindu philosophy in so far as that philosophy has been crystallized and sublimated by Swami Vivekananda. To me falls another function and I propose, within the limited time which alone I can allow myself, to speak to you about one or two aspects of the Swamiji's life and teachings.

First of all, I would emphasise, with your leave, the universality of Hinduism and I desire to lay special emphasis on that aspect because, too often, in the strife and conflict of the day and the hour, it is forgotten. Where else, ex-

(1) Presidential Address delivered at the 78th Anniversary of Swami Vivekananda at the Ramakrishna Math Hall, Mysore, on 4th February 1940.

cepting in our glorious integration of faiths which is called Hinduism, do the Saivite cult, the Vaishnavite cult, the believer and even the doubter, come under the one beautiful golden umbrella of all pervasive religion ?

यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनः

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।

अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः

सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

“ May Hari, the remover of sin, the Lord of the Universe, whom the Saivas worship as Siva, the Vedantics as Brahman, the Buddhists as Buddha, the Naiyayikas clever in logic as the Agent, the followers of the Jaina doctrine as Arhat, the Mimamsakas as Karma--grant us the boon of boons ! ”

The poem reiterates that all paths lead to the same result. But this is not academical theorising. We, in this country, have realised it in practice, and we must be proud of it. Consider the history of the rest of the world and contrast it with the history of India. Consider that from the beginning of the Christian era, Christians have flourished in India without persecution as honoured guests, and so have Jews and Parsis. Consider that excepting a few short intervals of bigoted persecutions, the Buddhist and the Jain have also been able to make their contribution to the sum total of the Hindu culture. What would Tamil literature be without the contributions of the Jain authors who were the great progenitors

of Tamil grammar and Tamil poetry? And so, through the ages, India has definitely exemplified the saying of Sri Krishna that by whatever path, in whatever manner the approach is made to Him, He would be ready to receive the aspirant. But, as marked as that universality, is another aspect of which Swami Vivekananda was both the embodiment and the exponent, and that is the unshakable courage of our faith. We have no real priesthood in the narrower sense of dictation of specific dogmas and specific and restricted revelations. Every form of speculation was free for the philosopher and the man of religion. There was no height, no depth, to which he could not ascend or descend whilst travelling within the boundaries of that supreme tolerance and that supreme comprehension which is another name for our faith. If I were asked what was the specific contribution that Swami Vivekananda made to modern life, I would say that, both in his life and in his teachings, he typified the Universality, the unity and the courage of our faith. That was why he was always intolerant of weakness. That was why, as the lecturer said, the Swamiji emphasised, reiterated strongly as an element of religion, not weakness, not a mere quiescence, not the negative aspects of life, but the dynamic, the active aspects of existence. What did he do in his own life? Romain Rolland, in what he calls the Periplus of two years of Vivekananda's life devoted to wanderings which extended over two years and ended in Kanyakumari, says that having gone beyond the range and the boundaries

of India and not having enough money to hire a boat to get to an islet situated just beyond the shores of Cape Comorin, from where he wanted to contemplate the whole of the continent of India and all that it meant, he stripped himself and swam across to that islet which is less than a quarter of a mile away and then contemplated not only the physical vision of India but the spirit of India, brooding, communing, re-creating and reviving herself and the people of India from age to age. After that, he went to America and to England, and wherever he went, he preached the gospel of universality and of courage, and, in so doing, he was not by any means alone. He was in the authentic line of our teachers. For, what does our Yajur-Veda say when it speaks of the Brahma and the Kshatra elements as conjoint and indispensable ?

इदं मे ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं चोभे श्रियमश्नुताम् ।

The Brahmin asks the searcher after truth, asks not only for spiritual knowledge and insight but also for that valour which is both spiritual and physical, with which alone perfection can be achieved. That is the essential message of the Swami.

In this connection, I am reminded, and I would like to remind you of it, what a Western poet has said regarding the spirit of India. The spirit of the East, the genius of the East, says that poet, is reposeful, patient, undemonstrative, luxurious, enigmatically sage. That is the picture which is portrayed of us in the far-off shores of the world and by which too often we portray

ourselves. If Swami Vivekananda has done anything, he has shattered, and I hope our future history will shatter, illusions that we are merely reposeful in the sense of negative quiescence, that we are patient in the sense of abiding, with evil, in inertia and therefore tolerant of evil, that we are undemonstrative in the passive way. Our Vedanta is not an enigma; it is one of the most scientifically conceived ideals. Today, as Mr. Balasubramania Aiyar has so thoroughly and well pointed out, it is admitted on all hands that the physical discipline insisted upon in our Yoga treatises is a carefully devised and elaborately developed plan to produce physical well-being and suppleness, without which mental and spiritual suppleness cannot be achieved. In the world of today more and more men, not only amateurs like some recent writers on the Yoga from the West but men of deep thinking and perspective have begun to realise that the body is not a thing to be despised but an instrument to be used for the achievement of the highest ends of man. The body as an instrument of salvation was an active accompaniment of the true spiritual purpose, according to our gospel, and from the body to the intellect and thence to the spirit all progress has to be made. And that was the message which Swami Vivekananda carried and, that above all, to my mind, is the appropriate message to the modern world. There are two passages in the Swami's writings to which alone I shall advert. Speaking of Hinduism, Swami Vivekananda says:

" It possesses absolute liberty and unrivalled courage among religions with regard to the facts to be observed and the diverse hypotheses it has laid down for their co-ordination. Never having been hampered by a priestly order, each man has been entirely free to search wherever he pleased for the spiritual explanation of the spectacle of the universe. "

The curious point about such discussions is that Europe and America speak of liberty and of courage. True, they have achieved, or rather demanded, liberty in the political sphere. But they have not achieved complete liberty and courage in things which do not belong to politics. That has been one of the primeval heritages of our country.

In another passage the Swami asserts :

" As soon as a man or a nation loses faith in himself, death comes. Believe first in yourself, and then in God. A handful of strong men will move the world ". " Then be brave. Bravery is the highest virtue. Dare to speak the whole truth, always, to all without distinction, without equivocation, without fear, without compromise. "

These are essential teachings of the Swami. What do they mean for us? Today, we in India, are a subject race in a sense and we are too often apt to imagine ourselves to be subject in every sense. We are not a subject nation and

that was one of the texts of Swami Vivekananda. He sought to point out that liberty and courage appertain not so much to outer environment as to one's inner self. At the same time, he was one of those who did not despise what the West could give to the East. He always stressed the value of organisation, mutual help and the comradeship in work and appreciation which are the glories of the West. He realised that India had a message, that India had spiritual gift and heritage, but he realised also that the West had done a great deal of important and useful work in organising, co-ordinating social service and other forms of service. That is where our society and our development have been somewhat weak. We have too often been content to rest on our own oars, thinking too much of our distant past and our surroundings, and not coming down from the heights in order to mix in the market places, to move the masses and bring to them the light of truth. To do so is the ideal of the Ramakrishna Mission and it is one of the glories of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda that they brought into practice that regular, systematic, continuous, patient, undemonstrative mode of working. Having aroused the nation in that way, Swami Vivekananda preached ultimate faith in the God-head of man and reliance of man upon himself which is the fulcrum, the ultimate pivotal point, of the manifold varieties of our creed.

This evening, after having listened to the two speakers who have enlightened us and after having contemplated the Swami's short life so full of events and yet so woefully incomplete for us, I can only say that the whole progress of

India has been prejudicially affected by his untimely demise, for he was the one man who could sublimate politics and yet could make politics 'real, who could convert the pining of the beggar into the demand of the strong, not turning the other cheek merely because one cheek is smitten, but even if you turn the other cheek, to do it in strength and not in surrender. Had Swami Vivekananda lived, he would have elevated and organised politics so as to make of it a sword or a spear, and not merely a shield or even a coat of mail. May it be given to us humbly and reverently to complete his task! We shall follow his teachings, each one of us, trained not to succumb to small irrelevancies in teaching, not to succumb to false glammers, not to succumb to the second best but to remember that we are the heirs of a religion of courage, of determination, of dynamic faith and of achievement, achievement in the outer sphere which is as great and as important to the nation as achievement in the spiritual field. Far be it from any one who calls himself a Hindu to despise the magnificence of the world, the achievements in the outer sphere of conquest and art and science and literature which characterised Ancient India. It is after the attainment of that magnificence that India developed the quest of the Supreme. Renunciation is the sublimation and the rounding of a full life. That is one of the lessons to be learnt from Swami Vivekananda. So let us follow him in all veneration and service, being true to him and courageous and brave and deserving of the heritage which has been undoubtedly ours and which it is open to us to recover.

SRI NARAYANA GURU—A GNANI OF ACTION¹

When I was asked to participate in this evening's function held to commemorate the attainment of Samadhi by Sri Narayana Guru, I thought that this would be an occasion on which perhaps a wider survey than is normally attempted on such occasions, may be essayed; and therefore, my friends, you will forgive me if I do not, at least at the commencement of my remarks, confine myself to the life history and the achievements of Sri Narayana Guru. I would, with your permission, try to cast my eyes over the whole course of the history of India and of the Hindu faith. And I can do no better, by way of preface to my task, than quote from a somewhat forgotten poem by Matthew Arnold. He says in a poem entitled 'Progress':

"Children of men! the unseen Power,
whose eye

Ever accompanies the march of man,
Hath without pain seen *no* religion die,
Since first the world began."

That truth, embedded in those felicitous terms by a western seer, has been a truth

¹ Speech delivered on the Samadhi Day of Swami Sri Narayana Guru at Trivandrum on 21st September 1942.

cherished and maintained through centuries, nay, millennia by this ancient land. As a Sanskrit verse says :

“Whether one follows the faith of Vishnu or Siva or Buddha or the great Mahavira, whether one is wedded to the doctrine of faith or the doctrine of knowledge, one attains the same end, however diverse the paths might be.”

That language of tolerance, that language of comprehension of different ideas and different environments, has been amongst the glories of this country. Throughout the history of India, unlike the history of some other countries, there has always been this vitality, a vitality which distinguishes itself in the toleration, nay, in the absorption of differences. As in the human body, so in the life of every faith and religion, this vitality is tested and is manifested by the manner in which each circumstance, each new impact, each new sense or sensation is assimilated and made a part of the true being. There are many germs which afflict each one of our sensory organs, but a healthy organism not only can stand the impact of those germs and those evils but can extract good from everything.

Let us cast our eyes back. Which country in the world, which great faith can surpass—I do not wish to be understood to be making invidious comparisons and I deliberately choose my phrases—which faith can surpass ours? There was the time of the Vedas when men awoke to a new consciousness of Nature and

of natural forces which were deified and propitiated by sacrifice. Thereafter came the speculations of the Upanishads, far-reaching and daring. Then came the Buddha, going counter to many of the cherished beliefs of the people around him, working against the very doctrine of sacrifice which was the main thing asserted, glorified and emblazoned in the Vedas, preaching a new doctrine of compassion and of Karma and deliverance—and yet India hailed him as a *Jagat Guru* and an incarnation. Then again came the great Jaina teacher Vardhamana Mahavira who expounded the doctrine of Ahimsa to an almost over-accentuated extent, but who again was no respecter of past beliefs.

I shall not weary you, my friends, but let us recount the names of those daring men who, throughout the history of India and of Indian religion, have ever broken new ground, have ever ploughed up the old field and implanted new seeds which bore new, fresh and glorious crops. After the speculations of the Upanishads, and after Buddha and Mahavira, there came many faiths. Coming only to mediæval times, what do we find? We find Sankara, rigid in his logic, ascetic in his outlook, exacting and intellectual almost to severity. Side by side with him were Ramanuja and the great Thenkalai Alvars whose methods and approach were so different and who were also acclaimed great teachers. In Bengal there was Chaitanya, who trod the paths of mercy and loving kindness. Then there came the faiths which sought to unite Hinduism

with other cults, the outpourings of Kabir, the faith of the Sikhs, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

You may turn whichever way you like, new men have arisen suited to new times. They have preached new ideals, started new methods of enquiry and religious practice, new forms of thought and belief and aspirations, but they were in the lineal descent of those great seers who saw, and having seen, produced what we delight to call *Srutis* and *Smritis*.

What I am endeavouring to point out in these very brief excurses is that throughout the history of this ancient and great land, there has been a vitality of religious and social belief, and it is untrue to say that there has been stagnation, intellectual, social or moral, in this country. This country, on the other hand, has been alive and will continue to live, notwithstanding that many parallel civilizations have not been so fortunate as ours has been.

Now I come to my task. Sri Narayana Guru was among those seers and teachers whom this country has never failed to produce when the society and the life of the society needed them. He came into the world at a time when there was that inevitable reaction which follows upon a crisis in the life of every nation and race. About the time he was born, India was passing through one of those sloughs or quagmires when life around was stagnant. He lived until

he was seventy-two. He was born near Trivandrum and established his first Ashram a few miles from Trivandrum and then he shifted to Varkalai and Alwaye. His influence was felt in many parts of this country. I do not now propose to go through his life. The lives of such saintly men, the lives of all such reformers seem, to all outward appearances, lacking in events. They do not adopt hysterical moods or attitudes. They live apart from other men until the time comes when they extend their active and sympathetic help to all men. Such was the life of Sri Narayana Guru. I have been reading his life by Swami Dharma Thirtha. I do not propose to go into the details of his life. Sufficient is it for us to know that he realised himself. He not only realised himself but he realised the needs of those around him. Of the two species of gospels, the gospel of withdrawal within oneself and the gospel of going out of oneself to help one's fellow creatures, the second gospel appealed to Sri Narayana Guru as it appealed to Buddha, Ramanuja, the great Alvars and the great saints of the Saivite persuasion.

His main contribution was the affirmation of one religion and one caste. He was born at a time and in a country where, as Swami Vivekananda said, the manifestation of caste-spirit had outrun all that could be tolerated and had become something which was difficult for the people to understand or to justify. Born in such a country and born in such environments, he devoted himself to the task of breaking down those barriers and uniting the people around him.

His work was slow, imperceptible and sometimes conservative to his followers. When the Vykom-Satyagraha was on, his followers urged him to take a formative and dynamic part in it. But he preferred to follow a path of stillness and quiescence, thinking that the process of time would cure the ill. A message to this effect went from him. He was not a daring reformer in the outer sense ; but his message went deep into the heart of the people. And a religious message or a social message is judged by the fruits of its reaction on the people.

I am glad to say that the community to which he belonged and the community for which he worked has realised the importance and the significance of his mission. It is one of the few communities which has really been more closely knit because a man like Sri Narayana Guru lived in the midst of that community. The members of that community have come together, they have learned to live together and they have learned to act together. There have been backslidings and there have been difficulties. But I hope that the community will never give up what it has learnt from the message and life of Sri Narayana Guru. Not only that community but other communities may take a lesson and make themselves coherent and vital, uniting, assimilating and absorbing all that is good and acting in union, for in union is strength. I cannot do better, before closing, than translate from the French, in a somewhat free rendering, what that great scholar M. Romain Rolland said

of Sri Narayana Guru, in his life of Ramakrishna.

“It might be said that he was a *Gnani* of action, a great religious man who nevertheless based his religion on intellect and who had a very vivid sense of the requirements of the people and their social necessities. He has contributed a great deal to the uplift of the depressed classes in South India.”

To have earned that praise, to have earned it so totally, so completely as Sri Narayana Guru did, is to have achieved for himself a niche in that great temple which India has been building patiently, laboriously, continuously, through the centuries, a temple which stands for tolerance, a temple which stands for the glorification of the things of the spirit over things material. That temple will never be completed. It will go on building, as long as humanity is evolving. That temple we shall have to add to, in our generation. We shall not allow it to fall into ruin by neglect, by callousness or by inaction. Sri Narayana Guru was one of its great builders and his is an example not only to the people of the State, but to the people of India who cannot but realize that he belonged to the lineage of our authentic teachers and who should learn to appraise the value of his message and translate it into practice.

ISLAM'S MESSAGE OF UNITY¹

A few months ago, I was invited to take part in this function of declaring a mosque open. This mosque has been constructed, as I am informed, on the site of a previous religious institution pertaining to the Moslem community, which originated many centuries ago. Thanks to the liberality and the piety of Mr. Thangal Kunju Musaliar who has spent a considerable amount for the purpose of constructing and renovating this place of worship, the mosque has now become ready for its sacred use and I have been asked to officiate in this ceremony.

I assure you that I regard my presence here and my taking part in this ceremony as of significance. It is not often that a member of another faith is called upon to join in a function of this type. I regard this circumstance as of happy augury coming at this time in the history of our country, when, more than anything else, unified effort between the various communities that inhabit our great continent is a desideratum. And, after all, is such a unity so difficult to achieve? Is it so much beyond the region of the practical? I venture to assert it is not. Those who have bestowed their attention on the Gandhara sculptures know that on the hills and

¹ Speech delivered on the occasion of the Opening Ceremony of a Mosque at Kilikollur on 26th July 1942.

valleys of Afghanistan, the Greek and Hindu culture combined to produce masterpieces of art. Those who have studied the architecture of Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikhri and Lucknow and Lahore and Bijapur, need not be reminded that it was by the union of the artistic achievements of the Hindu and the Muslim that those glories of Indo-Saracenic art came into being. It was not in a spirit of aloofness, it was not in a spirit of separation, it was not in a spirit of mutual hostility or exclusion, that literary influences, Hindu and Arabic and Persian, penetrated each other, that the Hindustani music and the Carnatic music became welded into one indissoluble whole and that, in the architecture and in the arts, common aspirations towards artistic perfection manifested themselves in joint work and joint endeavour. But I shall not dwell any longer on what may be called the side-issues.

I am thankful for the compliment paid to me in extending an invitation to speak on Islam to-day, a compliment deserved, if at all, by the fact that I have been for many years a close and earnest student of your sacred and secular books and I am to-day going to speak to my Muslim friends with special reference to Islamic faith. I want my Muslim friends to realise, as I want my Hindu co-religionists to remember, that each religion, each faith, that moves the masses and brings about an approach to the Divine is like one facet in a precious stone, a diamond let us say. A diamond is cut with many facets. If you

look at that diamond through one facet, you see certain aspects. If you look at it through another facet, you see others. All great religions of the world emanating alike from the Supreme owe their origin to and have their vitality in that variety in unity. Take, for instance, the faith of Islam. It was born in a country of deserts and oases. It was born in a country where Nature does not smile, where hard work is essential even for bare sustenance and where the horse and camel, travelling from oasis to oasis, are the symbols of life and activity of the nomads.

Face to face with such surroundings, the Arab peasant, the Arab thinker, had no room for those psychological exuberances, for those elaborations, for those embroideries which are the feature of other religions. Take my own faith for instance. Hinduism, manifold as it is, divided into many sects and sub-sects as it is, nevertheless was nurtured in a country where Nature was rich and plentiful and where pantheism, the vision of the Divine in everything that was around a person, came naturally to man, as Nature did not wear a forbidding character ; and so I interpret the sub-divisions and the development of my faith and your faith partly on such grounds and partly also, or I should rather say mainly, because, to each man, to each community, to each race, Revelation comes in a specific and separate fashion. How did it come to the Arabs? They, as I said, were bred in the desert, they were hard livers and straight thinkers. To

them after many years of polytheism and of idol worship there came a Message which, in the language of our Upanishads, has been stated to be '*Ekameva advitiyam Brahma*'—the one without a second. That Message came to the Prophet Mahomed and that Message he experienced in himself and expounded to the world in a manner which the world cannot easily forget.

Let me pause here for a moment. Born amidst a race which had developed many pristine customs including constant tribal raids and slave-holding and polygamy, it became necessary for Mahomed to lay it down that there should be a maximum number of wives in regard to marriage. He checked the tendency that was manifest in this matter. Born in a race and amidst environments the reverse of gentle, he found it necessary to preach the message of gentleness, '*Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahim*.' It was as Rahman and Rahim, as the embodiment of compassion, of mercy, that he appealed to the Creator and this precept was most important for races that did not practise much compassion or mercy. It is very often taken for granted that Islam and the faith of Islam, is a hard religion. Far from it. The word Islam, like the cognate word Salam, stands for peace. The Prophet's foremost message was the message of the unity of the Supreme, and the second, the message of gentleness and compassion.

The other great contribution of the Prophet Mahomed to the religious thought of the world

was that brotherhood of laymen which he established and the eschewal of a priestly class, each man being his own priest. This does not of course exclude the existence and authority of the Ulemas and the Doctors of Divinity who, like other teachers, influenced the masses. He called himself, and others too call him, either Nabi or Rasul ; Nabi meaning the warner, Rasul meaning the messenger or the ambassador. He did not call himself an incarnation. He called himself a person to whom Revelation had been given by the great Power that rules the world. He was nothing else but either Nabi or Rasul. He preached the unforgettable doctrine which is often forgotten, the doctrine of tolerance. It is one of the facile things that are said of Islam that it conquered the world with the sword and that successive rulers went about the country offering destruction or conversion as the sole alternatives. Whatever the subsequent history may have been, I shall, with your permission, place before you the original exhortations of the Prophet. In the tenth chapter and the forty-seventh verse of the Koran it is definitely stated : *'And every Nation had an apostle.'* In the thirty-fifth chapter and the twenty-fourth verse of the Koran it is stated : *-'And there is not a Nation but a warner has gone amongst them.'* This word 'warner' or the announcer' is the same word as 'Nabi, which I referred to. And finally he has stated : *'All Nations have had their Gods,'* in the thirteenth chapter and the seventh verse of the Koran. In another portion the Prophet Mahomed says, in reply to a question, that as a matter of

fact, these rules and regulations applied only to those who were called Kitabis, the men of the Book—the men who swore by the Revealed Religions, as for instance the Hebrews by the 'Old Testament and the Christians by the New Testament, and the Muslims by the Koran. He stated in the sixth chapter and the one hundred and ninth verse of the Koran '*Do not abuse those whom they call upon besides Allah*' and the verse goes on to say : 'If you do that, you will tempt them to abuse the name of Allah and that is good neither for themselves nor for you.'

The religion, therefore, of Mahomed as was conceived by the great Prophet, was not a religion of division or persecution or hatred; it was not a fissiparous religion, but was a religion of tolerance and of toleration. It is essential for us to remember all that to-day, and remembering it, to try to live up to the teachings of the great Prophet. If the world is in a sorry pass to-day, if wars and persecutions disfigure the world of to-day, it is because the Hindu has lost sight of his Upanishads, the Muslim has lost sight of the Koran and the Christian Nations have not only lost sight of but almost annihilated the lessons of the New Testament. It is necessary for us in this country, it is necessary for us in the world of to-morrow, in the reconstruction of to-morrow, in the remoulding of the destinies of the world, it is necessary for us—to however humble an extent—to live up to that Message and those Revelations which I have placed before you.

But the Message of unity of the Prophet Mahomed has a special significance, over and above what I have already stated. Islam is perhaps the only religion which has, in the main and effectually, got rid of all the distinctions of colour and of race. Those who have travelled in China and Egypt, in Persia, and in the far-flung regions where Islam holds sway, know that, to the Muslim, the Negro and the Arab and the European Muslims are alike brethren in a real and vital sense. The colour prejudice which is responsible for half the troubles of to-day, the race prejudice, the so-called superiority of the White over the Brown or the Black—these things are working havoc in the world of to-day. The Nazi religion of the Superman, the cult of the White man in South Africa, the degradation of the Negro and the stand-offishness of the Hindu towards the backward communities are unknown to Islam. The Muslim faith does not recognise distinction of caste and of colour, a feature which has characterised Christian life though not Christ's teachings and Indian life though not the teachings of our Upanishads. That, to my mind, is probably the greatest contribution made by the Islamic faith to the sum-total of the civilisation of the world.

I have done. There are many other aspects on which one might dwell. But, speaking as a stranger to the faith to the men of the faith, speaking on an occasion when I have been called upon to discharge a unique part, I think I have said enough to show that, being a staunch and faithful follower of my own faith, not only do I

see nothing irreconcilable between that faith and Islam but I feel that both of them working together might do a great deal to bring about that new life in India, that resurgence, that new society which will be an example for all the world.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION*

It has given me much gratification to have been present on this occasion in the midst of this vast assemblage not composed solely of the members of the Nair Service Society or of the persons belonging to that community of which the Society is an exponent and a representative, but members of many other communities and their leaders. Having come here, I have been treated to utterances which have filled my heart, as they must inevitably fill the heart of any administrator, with satisfaction and gratitude. I listened with interest to the tributes paid to the Nair Service Society and its leaders and to the varied activities of that Society, such tributes emanating from friends like Mr. Kuru-villa, Mr. Kumaran, Mr. P. S. Mohamed, Mr. Ayyan Kali, Rev. Fr. Romeo Thomas, Mr. Thuppan Namboodiripad and others. There is no justification for my descanting at length upon the *raison d'être* and the activities of the Nair Service Society ; because, obviously, in so doing, I shall be speaking to those who are already convinced and who are amongst the converted. Nevertheless, on an occasion of this kind, I

*Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Nair Service Society, Changanacherry, on 7th May 1940.

must perform certain essential duties. I shall proceed to do so, and then address a few words to this great meeting upon certain topics of general import.

I have been today the fortunate bearer of a Message from His Highness the Maharaja to the Nair Service Society. What does that message say ; and what does it signify ? It means that His Highness has been apprised of the work, in many directions, that the Nair Service Society has attempted, and, on the whole, successfully achieved. His Highness prays and hopes that such efforts will culminate in that result for which all of us, who are anxiously looking forward to the progress and uplift of the State, are working. What is that consummation ? What is that result ? What is that programme ? It is this and nothing less : that in this State and in this country, there should no longer be any fundamental difference in outer programme and inner comradeship. It is very true that no man can jump out of his own skin, that every man owes certain duties to the family in which he is born, owes certain obligations to the community of which he is a component part, owes certain inescapable obligations to the country of which he is a citizen, owes certain duties to the race from which he derives. He cannot but be subject to those obligations and must feel a proper pride in his ancestry, his family, his community, his country and in his race. He cannot forego his personality. But he has a further permanent duty which transcends the family, transcends

the tribe, transcends the community, transcends the State and transcends the country, namely, to realise the oneness of human endeavour, the unity of human relations and human aspirations and ideals, the end of humanity being *to live and let live*.

Having said that, I have next to point out one or two matters of great significance. It is not for nothing that the great *Mundakopanishat* has stated:

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यो

न प्रमादात्तपसो वाप्यलिङ्गात् ।

Illumination does not come to the man who is feeble, who is weak ; it comes to the man who is strong and who, confident of his strength, makes a programme and carries it out, and consolidates and utilises his strength for the greatest good of the greatest number. It does not come to the purposeless dreamer of vague ideals nor even to a disciplined sage unless he wisely directs his energies towards a pre-determined objective. That is the message which a humble disciple of the great Rishis like myself would wish to convey, if I had the power to do so, to this assemblage and, through this assemblage, to the vast assemblage outside these walls. I wish to do so because, whether it is the individual man, whether it is the family or the community, unless it realises its strength, unless it evinces that strength, it shall not count for much in the procession of humanity and of civilisation. So it is that organisations like the Nair Service Society

have a certain and an indubitable value. It may be asked: "What is the use of these communal organisations?" : "Are they not likely to promote narrowness, divisions, divergences, disharmonies?" Yes, and No; Yes, if the idea of these communal organisations were to accentuate the fact of the separateness of the community; No, if it is realised that the community's function is to utilise the natural advantages and inherited aptitudes of the community and to make its work a part of the general progress of humanity. There is no gainsaying this fact, namely, that every man has his own separate contribution to make towards civilisation, as every community has. Some are born under certain traditions and under certain historical and other environments. To them certain tasks are easier than to others. To others it is possible to do something else. It is therefore wise for each community to realise its history and its potentialities, to live in its present and to make proper use of the present to achieve the right future for itself.

It was stated in one of the speeches to which I listened with interest this evening that the Nairs in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries were *Nayakas*, were warlike and achieved great distinction in society and in war for themselves. Today, in the conditions in which India finds herself, she is defenceless, unarmed, and it is impossible to evoke in practice those qualities for which the Nairs were famous in the past. No one has regretted more than I, no one has felt

more intensely the shame, the degradation of a great country populated by 400 million people who are now practically unarmed and uninstructed in modern warfare and who are unable, therefore, to help in the present conflict in the cause of humanity, in the cause of liberty and all that humanity must hold dear. That is our position today. But if the Nairs are warriors or descendants of warriors, there is ground enough, opportunity enough, occasion enough, for them to remember those traditions and live up to those traditions, to bring those traditions into practice in other spheres of activity. For, what does a war-like community stand for? What does a training, a tradition like that, a history like that, stand for? It stands for discipline, for leadership, for readiness and willingness to follow the right leaders. It stands, above all, for regimentation and co-ordination of efforts, such regimentation and co-ordination of efforts being transformed, canalised into new courses and methods. Therefore, the members of the Nair Service Society need not rest on their oars; they need not brood in melancholy over the distant and half-forgotten past. Let them remember their past and make it useful for the present. So shall they make up their sum-total of contribution to human progress. It is because I feel that the Nair Service Society is, in its own way, performing such useful functions in certain spheres that I have come here as representative of Government to bless its labours on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee.

What is the main trouble and difficulty in the country today? What is our handicap? What is the obstacle for the realisation of those ideals for which, individually, communally, racially, we are struggling? What is the obstacle, save the great tragedy of Indian history—disunity, disharmony, division, and a lack of wise leadership and elementary comradeship and discipline? Many movements are started. Those movements, after progressing well for a certain time, begin to start the germs of disunity. There are differences of opinion, relevantly and irrelevantly put forward, some people conceiving it to be their duty to accentuate the differences, more than to emphasise the congruences. So, those organisations suffer shipwreck. An organisation like yours, which has stood for twenty-five years, which has withstood all infantile ailments and pains and the travails of childhood, which has withstood and surmounted all those peculiar tribulations and temptations which are common to youth, and which is now travelling towards manhood with a unity of purpose and a certain amount of discipline, is worth encouraging; because, out of such discipline, work will come, and, out of work, the capacity to do greater and finer work.

In one of the speeches of today it was said that the Nair Service Society has accumulated five lakhs of Rupees. It was stated that it has instituted many schools, that it has done much work in many directions including propaganda for the Temple Entry Proclamation. Yes, it has done

all that and I know, in the educational and other spheres, the Society has turned out formative work. But what pleased me even more than the recounting of those exploits and achievements was the undercurrent of feeling that ran through all the speeches, that throughout these twenty-five years it has been under the guidance of the same set of people. That, to my mind, is the biggest contribution which the Nair Service Society has made. No work, no great achievement, is possible unless confidence is reposed by the people in a leader or group of leaders, unless a person who is for the time being put in charge of certain responsibilities is given the chance and the opportunity to fulfil those responsibilities. Very often, the man who is put forward may not be the best available. Very often, he may develop shortcomings, acerbities of temper, impatience and certain defects inherent in his own composition. Very often, people are anxious to demonstrate how much better they can do things than the person who is actually trying to do those things. But if there is one great lesson which we can learn from English history, especially that relating to the last two hundred or two hundred and fifty years, it is this. To the English people, it does not matter who the leader is, but the leader is followed until he is put aside if the need arises. That is the lesson which I would, with all the emphasis at my command, preach to the Nair Community and to the other communities. There may be much greater men than the persons who now constitute

the present Cabinet in England; nevertheless, the English tradition, the English sense of discipline, the English sense of solidarity, is such that once a Cabinet is established, its behests will be followed, especially when there is a crisis. I find that, in the history of this Society, there have been very few interruptions or changes, if any. On the whole there has been a certain concerted action, disciplined obedience to the leaders for the time being, willing adherence on the part of the leaders to the ideals of the Society. For that, indeed, I congratulate the Society. As I said, I do not congratulate it so much on the five lakhs of rupees which it has accumulated. To my mind, money, in human affairs, in the case of such organisations, is nothing, less than nothing; it is men and personalities that matter. Let me now add that a much finer, more onerous, more responsible, more difficult and more trying labour, a task which is well-nigh baffling in its complexity, is ahead of the members of the Nair Service Society. The Nair Service Society should now so function, so work as to be one of the fruitful tributaries of the great river of Indian life like the Jumna or the Saraswati that join the great Sangom, of national uplift, national endeavour, national progress, re-orientation and national growth, each component stream watering its own fields and bringing its own colour and quality into the integrated current but not modifying the direction of that current. For this reason, it gave me singular satisfaction to hear the remarks that fell from Mr. Kuruville.

He made an appeal and he uttered, in effect, a challenge. He asked certain questions and answered them. So long as the communities in this State realise, and act on the realisation, that in their Maharaja they have got a unifying personality, who is anxious to weld all the components of the body corporate into one for the purpose of the task before the country, their future is assured. But, in the evolving of that future, the goodwill of everybody is necessary, and Mr. Kuruvilla and others have promised that good-will and the co-operation born of it. I am glad that the Nair Service Society has, on the whole, embarked on the policy of active good-will. Nothing pleased me more than the efforts by which the Nair Service Society co-operated with the Ezhavas, co-operated with the Catholics, co-operated with the backward communities, co-operated with the other sections of Christians and the Muslim communities, to bring into existence the recent scheme in relation to the Public Services. Public Services are, to my mind, a small matter and too much emphasis is laid on recruitment to them. They are and must be a fractional and unimportant part of national endeavour. That the Nairs were able, being in a position of vantage as my community also is, and should have been willing, to give up that position of vantage solely with a view to bring about national consolidation, is a very good sign. I congratulate them and the other communities on the happy results of their conjoint work. In the face of what is happening elsewhere in India,

in the face of the great disunities, and divisions like the conflict between the Hindu and the Muslim communities, let us remember that we are in a singularly blessed position and let us strive to maintain it. Today, in this State, fortunately for historical and other reasons, the Hindu-Muslim problem does not exist. It is conspicuous by its absence mainly for this reason, namely, that the Hindu has been anxious and willing to recognise the existence and the individuality of the Muslim faith and the Muslims have done similarly by the Hindus. That has been the history of Travancore Royalty which has always evoked the completest loyalty of their Muslim subjects. That example has spread to the mutual relationship of the communities. I hear, now and then, about certain difficulties that arise between the Hindu and the Christian communities. It gave me very great pleasure to hear the speeches of Mr. Kuruvilla and Father Romeo Thomas. Father Romeo Thomas delved into history and produced reasons why the Christians and the Hindus in the past lived together like brothers because they were brothers not only racially but in feeling and habits. It is really not necessary to go into history. Each community coming into India, until very recently, enjoyed the hospitality of India, intellectual as well as physical hospitality. Which community is there, which religion is there, which is so all-embracing as ours? The great Buddha who fought against certain aspects of the Brahminic cult, who fought against sacrifices, against Karma Yoga—such a person is regarded by us as

an incarnation. Today, in the mosque at Nagapatam, a large portion of the income is derived from Hindus who offer vows in that mosque. In Trichinopoly there is another mosque, in the management of which a person present in this audience has got a right to a share.* Not a little of the income of this mosque also is derived from the Hindus. I myself, when I was at Ajmer, was taken to the chief mosque there and was told that one of the things that every visitor has to do is to offer roses at that mosque, and I did so and thousands of Hindus have done so and continue to do so. Similarly we find that, when the Christians first came here, they were given honours, titles and status equal to that of the highest classes amongst the Hindus. Reference was made to this by Fr. Thomas. Let us not however dwell solely in the past. What at present can possibly divide these different communities is nothing at all except comparatively small things like Public Services, which can be harmonised. They have to be solved in a spirit of mutual accommodation and all causes for discord would immediately disappear.

Mr. Kuruvilla referred, and very legitimately, to his policy and to the policy of the Christian community towards conversion. I am glad he did so, because any conversion not based on faith is not conversion but perversion, and any conversion that is based on faith cannot be resisted, should not be resisted. We, the inheritors of

*Khan Bahadur. G. Saiyed Abdul Karim, Inspector-General of Police, Travancore.

the most tolerant of faiths, cannot take any other line.

यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।

अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः

सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व

उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः ।

यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः

कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

. What does that mean? He whom one worships as Siva, another adores as Brahman, a third invokes as Buddha, as Jina, as Karma or as Karta—all these achieve the same result, wending along different paths. "He who bestows life and strength and He whose behests all *Devas* obey, He whose shadow is immortality and death—to that *Deva*, Prajapati, we offer oblation." Belonging to that faith, having those traditions compact of all those ideals, why should we regret and resist differences of culture, differences of faith? I for one feel absolutely certain that, if small distrusts were got over by a policy of adjustment from time to time by leaders who know their business, all these communities can work together. Take the Nairs. The Nair Service Society has told us of its achievements. But what is their task in the future? It is all very well for them to talk of their having been heroes 400, 500 or 600 years ago, and of their wielding sharp swords and long lances and doing valorous deeds. Today,

we want other lances, other arms, other means of work. The first thing that the Nair Service Society must do is to effect a re-orientation of the position and the ideals of the Nair community. What are they now at? They are now unassimilable with the rest of the great wealth-producing communities of the State. You have sub-divided your holdings, fragmented your properties, and become economically ineffective factors in society. The Nair Service Society and the Nair community have got one thing to do before everything else, namely, to make it possible for the Nairs to become appropriate and useful factors in the present economic life. The wars of today, the conflicts of today, the needs of today, are due mainly, if not solely, to economic and financial competition. Where are the great Nair Captains of industry, where are the great Nair pioneers in intensive agriculture, where are the Nair organisers of business, of finance and of labour on the right lines? Until and unless the Nair Service Society takes up the economic and financial programme, it will not have justified its existence. You have to be heroes in the battle of today. And, that is not a small battle; it is not a battle to be ignored or trifled with. It is a battle in which the weakest goes to the wall, in which no mercy is shown. Sympathy, comradeship, all these are fast becoming shibboleths in these present-day conflicts, although we, with our tradition, may strive in the opposite direction. The Nair Service Society must set its house in order. The educational system of the schools of the Society must be so changed that Travancore children will not be dreamers, quill-drivers,

critics, but will become creators, makers, progenitors of industrial and commercial undertakings. In this matter, I am particularly disappointed that even the other communities, which have healthier and better traditions in the artisan, industrial and economic spheres, are fast abandoning those good traditions in favour of unnecessary rivalry with the so-called literary communities. While I say this, let me not be misunderstood as suggesting that I am actuated by a selfish consideration in order that my community should perpetually maintain the superiority of numbers in the offices of the State and in those supposed advantages of having the right or the privilege, in the Secretariat, to operate with their quills and fountain-pens inditing too often ineffectual notes which lead nowhere, lead to no fruitful result. It is not for that purpose that I am saying this ; but because very soon a new scheme of life is bound to come into being. This great conflict in the West can lead but to one result ; there must be and will be—God willing—a golden union of all the States and peoples of the world for common purposes, each country and community doing what it is best fitted for, all co-operating towards a common end. If that ideal is to be reached, we must be self-sufficient in many respects and yet hospitable in many more. If we are to make ourselves effective in the new world, we must make our own contribution to science, discovery invention, education, industry on the large and the small scale and manufacture and organisation. Our watch-word must be that of our

forefathers in the hermitages, namely स्वाध्याय and प्रवचनम्—learning and teaching. That is the work before the Nair community. That work is not easy. The first work before them is to make the members of all the communities realise, not that this man is a Nair, or that man is a Christian, or the other man is a Muslim or Ezhava. The Nair community, having had certain undoubted advantages over the rest, it is up to the Nairs to make the other communities realise, that, in the Nairs, they have true comrades and brethren. It is up to the Nairs to give a re-orientation to their educational and other activities so as to bring about the necessary co-ordination and co-operation of all the communities in the State with a view to make the State an effective economic entity in India and the rest of the world.

His Highness's ideal in regard to the State is well known. His Highness does not conceive of the State as one going on lumbering along beaten tracts of the past. His Highness wants to make the State a real factor in world-polity. It may sound ambitious; but it can be done. I am not saying this to flatter this huge audience. Not in the Nair community alone, but in the Muslims, in the Christians and in the Ezhavas of the State, there are numbers of men highly trained and able to play their part in any field of life's endeavour. What is more, we have in the State certain traditions of loyalty, certain traditions of service, traditions of living and letting live, which are invaluable. Let us

not allow those traditions to perish. Let Nairs, therefore, make it their first duty to get rid of distrust or suspicion on the part of the other communities. In doing so, let it be understood that it cannot be, as is very often regarded in controversies elsewhere, it cannot always be "giving on one side" and "taking on the other." The question, therefore, is not perpetually what sacrifices you are going to make, what safeguards you are going to provide for, but what every one is prepared to give and sacrifice and take, so that you and the other communities in the State may live and march along the way of peace and prosperity, in absolute concord, free from all manner of suspicion and distrust. I feel sure that, if a progressive community like the Nairs makes its resolve perfectly clear, other communities will share the common burden and see that work is done with a view to the general advancement of the State as a whole. Having done that, let us make this country a rich country. If it is necessary to change your social laws, do not have any hesitation to do so. I feel very strongly that, for a time at least, family and property law will have to be changed, or, some other arrangements made by which wealth may remain in tact, at least for one or two generations. What is the use of starting a factory, or complaining that there is no one in this country who is prepared to start a factory, if the fact is that there is hardly one rich man in the community in the modern sense? Otherwise than by the creation of riches we cannot fight on equal terms with competing countries and

localities. That is a real difficulty. There is no use in our having too ambitious schemes in that direction. But, fortunately, there are certain natural monopolies, natural resources, with which we can do a great deal. We can really work so as to make this country rich. Unless it is rich, it will not be respected. It is Kalidasa who, in the *Megha-Sandesa*, says of a cloud that when it is light, it is the sport of the elements but that when it is full of water, it is respected by the wind—पूर्णता गरवाय. Similarly, this country will not be cared for, in the dispensation of things today, unless it is rich and economically and industrially potent. Therefore, it is not in the small spirit of the shop-keeper or hucksterer that I ask the Nair community to take steps to become richer, to make the country rich. I am tired of applications for appointments for Government jobs carrying trifling salaries of 20 and 25 rupees. I hope and wish for a time when people will not look at these appointments and will think of training their children only for industrial and commercial careers. How can that be done unless there is wealth in the country, wealth enough to make it possible for industrial enterprises to be started, ventures which would require capitals of, say, Rs. 10 or 20 lakhs. This State can become effective only if it becomes rich; unless it becomes rich, it cannot get its place in the world. It cannot become rich, unless, in the first place, certain social adjustments are brought about and there exists certain co-ordination of efforts amongst all communities.

I am afraid that I have been sermonising but I have felt that a friendly observer has this privilege. I hope the Nair community will take the advice in the spirit in which I have given it. I have only one word more to say in respect of the members of the other communities who have spoken today. It is a matter of great rejoicing to me. I am sure His Highness will similarly rejoice to hear that, in spite of occasional distrust between certain communities, in spite of little clamours of which one hears the reverberations in the Legislature and on the platform, there is, at heart, a basic harmony among all the communities in the State. Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the four years I have been here than the spectacle I have witnessed and the speeches I have listened to, today here. Let not that spirit be a temporary ebullition, a transient enthusiasm. Let it be your life-work to foster this spirit of comradeship which you have all demonstrated here today, so that, out of this mutual trust, goodwill may result, and small hostilities may vanish for ever, and this State can then get its rightful place in India. That can be done—that can be achieved, with the population and the natural resources at our disposal, with our heritage and our traditions. Shall we not do it? That is my appeal, my hope and my prayer.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

B*

I do not know how to express the feelings of thankfulness and of profound satisfaction that I am experiencing at this moment when a lavish entertainment and such touching tributes have been showered on me. I am deeply thankful, moreover, for the kind, all too kind, and flattering words which have emanated from Your Grace, words which I regard more in the nature of an incentive and a stimulus to further work than as wholly deserved by me for such achievement and such work as it has fallen to me to do.

There is one matter on which you spoke at some length and with a feeling and clarity which I cannot sufficiently admire, namely, the words which you used while referring to His Gracious Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. You pointed out that during many centuries—indeed millennia—the Rulers of Travancore had made it a point to see that all communities, creeds, and all religions flourished, according to their several dispensations, within the State. That great tradition of religious tolerance which has been the unique heritage of

*Speech replying to the toast proposed by His Grace Dr. Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum on the 16th November 1939.

the Maharajas of Travancore, the present Maharaja has inherited, and is developing in an abundant measure.

I think—if I may say so without impertinence—that every word of appreciation and tribute uttered by persons in your exalted position is of inestimable value and great encouragement.

I am, as the head of this administration, especially grateful to the representatives of the Catholic Church for your support and promise of support, for your encouragement and the hope of encouragement. I read in your words much more meaning than appears on the surface. I have been a diligent student of your ecclesiastical history and an admirer of the Papacy as an institution that subserves to the general human craving for authority and direction in the conduct of life. I am a devoted adherent of my own faith, but I have held it to be my duty to study reverently all that has been achieved by your Church in the making of the ancient and the modern world. Those of you, who may not be aware of the contribution that the Catholic Church has made to the human civilisation, may not also be aware of the manner in which that Church has stood throughout the ages for stability, for strength, for faith and charity. It was your great Redeemer that said on a memorable occasion to Simon Bar Jona who was called Peter, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church”; and the church that was built by Peter

and strengthened by Paul has continued with growing strength, with undiminished vigour, unto this day.

You have alluded to the visit paid by His Highness the Maharaja to the Vatican. I had the good fortune of having known His Holiness the Pope (Pius XI) in another capacity when he was Bishop, before he was translated into Papacy. It was therefore with special gratification and with respect that I approached him. The kindness of his reception, the extreme interest he took in his spiritual adherents in Travancore and the manner in which he extended his support to His Highness were beyond all praise ; and neither His Highness nor those who accompanied His Highness can forget what I would venture to call the historic journey to Rome, the historic interview. His Holiness was great in his physical hardihood, for he was one of the greatest mountaineers of Europe, and he was mountaineer in another sense also ; he was mountaineer of thought and he was a great stabilising influence.

These are days when we are face to face with many perils, face to face with attempts to subvert authority, face to face with the re-shaping and re-modelling of ideals—old ideals are crumbling and aggression is assuming a defiant and all-devouring attitude. We do not know the future. Therefore, unless statesmen, administrators, rulers and common men keep their head cool and fight for the right and have faith and charity, the issue would be dismal. You represent what may be called the dyke

or bund, checking the torrent of communism and all those influences destructive of society, and you represent the goodwill that should unite all communities and races and which depends on charity and tolerance. St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians spoke thus of charity :

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, if I have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge ; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, if I have not charity, I am nothing.

That should be our guiding rule in this world ; it is incumbent on us to cultivate the spirit of charity, the spirit of tolerance for those who differ in religion, in politics, charity and tolerance in those many relationships of man with man, and man with the humbler creatures of the world ; without such charity and tolerance this world would be a difficult place to live in. And, in the translation into actual practice of faith and hope and of charity, what is needed is an organisation, a strong, well-knit organisation tending to unity, tending to the strength which is born of that unity. If the Catholics typify anything, if Catholicism means anything, signifies anything, it signifies organisation, close-knit fellowship, union.

The history of Catholicism is wonderful. Its leaders have been makers of miracles in

many ways. It is not for me to refer to the great Popes, to personages like Pope Innocent III and Paul III or Pope Leo XIII. But, just at this juncture, I think it is my duty to refer to two or three great men who have profoundly influenced the Catholic faith and practice. One of them is St. Benedict; he brought into the world the ideal of social service, the combination of manual labour and agricultural work with study and devotional exercises, what amounted to the union of self-abnegation with actual social service amongst the poor and the lowly. Work of another type was done by that great Revivalist, St. Francis of Assissi, who emphasised by himself and through his *fratres minores*, love for children, animals and flowers, that all-embracing love which has made the work of St. Francis of Assissi an abiding possession of humanity apart from the religious aspect of his work. Then came sterner men like St. Dominic and Ignatius Loyola for whom the Pope issued the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* that originated the great Jesuit Order. The Catholic Saints have always been the exemplars of learning, faith, charity and social service in the extreme degree. That has been their history: and—you not only have ancient examples from St. Peter and St. Paul, through Saints Augustine, Benedict and Francis, Pope Innocent III and Leo XIII down to Cardinal Newman. The spirit continues unchanged amongst those now living - I shall not mention names.

It would be wrong on my part, speaking to an audience not composed wholly of the fol-

lowers of the Catholic faith, to forget or to ignore, or to seem not to realise, the criticisms levelled against the organised Catholic Church, as it has been levelled in this connection against the Encyclical *Mirari vos*, the Syllabus of 1864 and the Infallibility doctrine of 1870. It is stated, against the Catholic Church, that it is a bar to progress, antagonistic to modern science and thought. But the ideal of the Catholic Church is not to set itself against progress although it has generally opposed intellectual novelties until they had proved themselves. In this world there is a see-saw of forces ; there is the progressive force ; there is also the conservative force. And, it is up to a person, or groups or institutions, to take up the one aspect or the other. The Catholic Church—as I said at the outset—has always stood for stability. But, it is also wonderful how, as time went on, that Church adapted itself to new things while not giving up fundamentals. The anxiety of the Church has been to see that the faculty of never being moved to rapture should not be confounded with philosophy.

From such a Church any Government, any State, can expect support, if its ideals are to preserve what is best in its tradition and to work strenuously for a bright future. Such help every State has a right to expect from the dignitaries of the Catholic Church ; and I feel confident that our State will get it in an abundant measure.

You have gathered here to-day with your congregations and friends to do honour to a

person who feels that he is not worthy of this honour. These manifestations, at a time when a person is holding a responsible office, are too often likely to be misconstrued. But, Your Graces and Lordships, it will be admitted, have nothing to gain from the State excepting sympathy, and much of the criticism which such demonstrations might ordinarily arouse will be beside the point.

You have spoken of the tolerance exhibited in this State. The State will be injuring itself if it discriminates between religion and religion, or between community and community; its function is to hold the balance even between all communities and all religions. It is with that duty that His Highness has been charging successive administrators. This administrator will be failing in that trust if he betrays that command.

Mention has been made of certain acts, like the Temple Entry Proclamation. The part played in such acts is that of an executant of His Highness's policy. I have said more than once how the part played by His Highness and Her Highness the Maharani was epoch-making. And what did it mean? It meant the same thing for India that the great reformers of all great Churches have sought to do for their faith and their countries, namely, the universalisation of the faith and a process of levelling up and levelling down—down not in order to make the people descend lower, but the giving up of the superiority-complex and the making of people

humbler. That was the message preached by Jesus Christ and by the Prophet Muhamed. That was the matter on which our ancients concentrated ; but we lost the impulse for a time. Now we have regained it, not only regained, but translated it into actual practice. To do so, certainly required strength, resolve, determination, courage. His Highness had these ; and the result was the Temple Entry Proclamation.

You have referred to other administrative acts too, like the reorganisation of Education, the founding of the University, the Transport and Electrical schemes and other economic measures. I thank you for those generous references, but I feel that, in this State, if private bodies, organised groups of people, work together with one-pointed ideals, great things can be achieved. I am never weary of saying that this country possesses infinite material resources ; it enjoys nature's bounty ; it possesses an alert and intelligent population. It needs a little more coherence, more consolidation, and the avoidance of the present heterogeneousness, and the creation of homogeneity. Let that be done, so that many more things can be achieved and this country can stand as an exemplar to the world.

It is not for nothing that the Rulers of Travancore call themselves "SRI PADMA-NABHA DASA." The idea is similar to that underlying the expression "servus servorum Dei". It is with that ideal, and under the

inspiration of Rulers who have such ideals, and who have inherited most wonderful traditions, that we work in this State. And, in that work, the promise of support that you have made, the words of encouragement you have kindly given expression to, are of great value, particularly because you have got a close-knit organisation; you have some power over your congregation for good ends. You are not like some other religions which unfortunately have lost the faculty and power of effectively influencing the thoughts, the feelings, the aspirations, and the ideals of the people. Having the faculty and the will to use it, you have an assured place in the world.

The Rig Veda, our most ancient Scripture, three thousand years ago, embodies a prayer that is both timely and appropriate, and with that I conclude :—

य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व
 उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः ।
 यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः
 कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

RIG VEDA X—121.

“He gives us insight, He gives us strength, Him all beings worship, His shadow is life, His shadow is death. To Him, the Unknowable, let us offer our worship.”

ERRATA

- Page 14** line 26 *For* 'rythmic' read 'rhythmic'.
Page 84 line 22 *For* 'at and end' read 'at an end'.
Page 114 line 1 *For* 'Causalty' read 'casualty'.
Page 144 line 1 *For* 'hat' read 'that'.
Page 151 line 4 *For* 'Hilter' read 'Hitler'.
Page 152 line 20 *For* '33' read '40'.
Page 203 line 5 *For* 'cannt' read 'cannot.'
Page 204 line 12 *For* 'गरवाय' read 'गौरवाय'.



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