INDIA AND EUROPE

A study of contrasts, with a view to discovering Avenues of Cultural Co-operation

BY

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To

VISCOUNT and VISCOUNTESS WILLINGDON

WHOSE LIFE IN INDIA,

AT THE HEAD OF TWO HISTORIC PRESIDENCIES,

IN A TIME OF STORM AND STRESS,

WAS THE EMBODIMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES

OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, GOOD-WILL, RESPECT AND CO-OPERATION,

BETWEEN DIFFERENT RACES, COMMUNITIES, AND CREEDS,

THIS LITTLE BOOK, UPHOLDING THE SAME PRINCIPLES

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In these days, when the claims of Nationalism and Internationalism, Race and Empire,—Regionalism and Universalism, ethnic religions and religious syntheses, art and education, and codes of morality and of expendiency, are being hotly debated from many angles, the following Lectures may be of some interest to those who like to deal with large ideas and generalisations.

There is one subject which I have not attempted to deal with. That is politics in the narrower sense of the term. It is not because I am not interested in politics (even in the narrow sense), for I have followed national and international politics most closely for three decades. But I believe, like Aristotle, in enlarging the horizon of politics even beyond the region of ethics. What ethics aim at doing, in pointing the way to a virtuous life in the individual, politics should do in the lives of communities and nations, so that their collective lives and their relations taken in the mass may not lag behind in the virtues which we admire in individuals. From this point of view the subjects I have treated of—History, Sociology, Art, Religion, and Education—all go to the root of the matter, and provide the sap which should ascend with vigour and put forth the blossoms which we wish to gather in our living politics, whether national or international. In the discussion of root ideas it is best not to mix up the details of specific politics.

The Great War is supposed to have killed Imperialism, Militarism, and Racial Domination. Our descendants three generations hence will be better able to judge of that than we are. But in

the meantime we note that new and small nations are already dreaming of a new kind of imperialism; that much nationalistic enthusiasm is bare-faced chauvinism or racial pride, and that its only excuse is its youth; that there is a sort of vague international spirit, not sure of its aims and objects, and often oblivious of the methods and opportunities which are ready to hand in a well-organised national life; and that there is a shadowy industrial internationalism which is too materialistic and too narrowly pugnacious to care about the higher interests of art, religion, and humanity. Even an acute and statesmanlike exponent of the British Imperial spirit like Lord Milner seems to have conceived his dreams on a racial basis, and to have provoked a legitimate challenge from His Highness the Aga Khan, whose detached position as a religious leader and an international personality, gives him an unrivalled opportunity of judging of the sentiments which form the raw material of great movements.

In this confused atmosphere, the ideas presented in the following pages may strike a note making for that cultural harmony of which the writer dreams. On most points he has only been able to touch briefly, rather by way of suggestion than exposition. Perhaps that is the better way; certainly it is the Eastern way. His object is to strengthen the forces making not only for peace but for real spiritual understanding and insight. That is the great constructive work before humanity.

A. YUSUF ALI.

Ealing, London Aug. 4th, 1925.

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INDIA AND EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL.

THE world is so radically becoming one, on account of the facility of communications and interchange of ideas, that it is important for every section of humanity to state frankly its own views and to understand clearly the views of others, especially in international relations. Frank interchange of ideas.

The phrase "the concert of Europe" was coined by politicians who wished to mask the difference between the Great Powers in dealing with the weaker Powers. Politically, its hollowness was exposed with tragic certainty by the late War. But yet every phrase that obtains international currency creates an atmosphere in the realm of ideas, in which, by a process of solidification, the nuclei of dreams tend to become facts. For many a phrase coined in disingenuousness or cynicism becomes the starting point of a very real and earnest ideal, and an ideal, as soon as it passes through the minds of earnest thinkers and sincere workers, begins its controlling influence on facts, "Concert of Europe" (a) in politics.

and tends to produce new features in human society.

(b) in ideals of culture.

Apply these remarks to the history of the phrase "the concert of Europe." Whatever the tricks in the minds of the originators, it was soon taken up by men whose task was to deal with political ideals. In their hands it became the lever for producing a concert—we shall not say unity—of thought in Europe. Obviously there is a difference between concert of thought and unity of thought. In a concert, the individual notes of thought are not only not the same but must be different, and yet they must all contribute to a common and harmonious effect, which can never be attained by oneness or uniformity. European civilisation in general, if we exclude certain fringes of Europe, has undoubtedly attained a concert which we can count upon as one of the forces of the future. The thought, the art, the philosophy, the science and the life of the people of Europe (defined with the qualification referred to above) have tended to borrow and lend influences beyond national boundaries. Now even legislation, state experiments, and social and health work are following the same lead. When certain prejudices and passions born of the late War are dead (I do not disguise from

myself the fact that it will take a long time before this consummation is achieved), we may look forward to a real concert in the thought and sentiment of Europe, which will be helpful to humanity. But it will only be helpful to humanity if it will enlarge its circle. Otherwise it will be harmful to humanity, just as a small combination or clique in a society may be harmful to the interests of the whole.

Enlargement of such ideals : East and West.

What is this enlargement which I have in view ? It is perhaps too great a bound to jump from Europe to the world at large—to generalise, say, from a mind of the refinement of Shakespeare or Leibnitz or Comte to a mass of Hottentots or Papuan cannibals. But is there not a generalisation, a widening of the horizon, which is indicated by historic associations, by common bonds of linguistic and racial affinities, by common strivings in the realms of ethics, poetry romance, and philosophy, and above all, by a common fund of religious ideas, whose roots have penetrated different soils and produced a great number of branches and sub-branches ? Will Europe recognise its affinities to the East, its comradeship with the East, its debts to the East,—even its injustices and ingratitude to the East ?

"East" too wide : India a more practical thesis.

"The East" is a very wide and vague term. The moment I have used it, I feel the need for circumscribing it. I am prepared to hold and justify the thesis that there is an under-lying concert of Asia as there is of Europe; that Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian and Lao-tse civilisations have a cultural bond at least as real as that of Europe; that there is nothing inherently impossible in the ideal that Turk, Persian, Arab, and Egyptian, Indian, Burman, and Central Asian, Malay, Javanese, Chinese, Japanese and Korean, and even Siberian, (I am thinking of the new Siberian culture which is said to derive from Europe), can co-operate and work out a cultural concert of real force and harmony. But to enlarge on the many elusive questions raised by this theme would carry me far beyond the bounds of this paper, and I do not by any means propose to do so. For the time being I propose to confine myself to the simpler theme of my own country, India. India herself, with its vast population of 320 millions, nearly one-quarter or one-fifth of humanity, offers a sufficiently wide field for unlimited discussion. It also offers sufficient variety to make my instructed hearer or reader rub his or her eyes in wonder at my rashness,—and perhaps my simplicity in calling it a simple theme. In

reply I would say that I have *not* called it a simple theme. I have called it simpler in comparison with a wider and more intricate theme. I realise to the full its diversity and intricacy, and ask for your sympathy in venturing to tackle it in a short paper for your consideration and discussion.

India: to give and receive cultural gifts

Let me say at once that the India I present to you is not a Vedic India or a Puranic India, a Buddhist India, or a Hindu India, a Jain India, or a Muslim India, or a British India. Modern India is none of these things, and yet it is all of these things, and many other things besides, for it absorbed and assimilated in its broad river of thought a good deal that comes from Europe—from France, from Germany, from Holland, from Denmark, from Turkey—which is not British and which in some respects contrasts with similar things British. My object is to visualise the idea of a country—shall I call it a Being?—which was mature in thought before any of the nations of modern Europe were born, which has since grown further in spite of relapses, and which now stands before the world, full of new hopes and aspirations, ready to offer what is hers to give, and to receive what is yours to offer—on the single condition that the offering and the

receiving shall not be made an occasion for arguments of superiority and inferiority or for compulsion or patronage. All gifts are best which are given and received in simplicity, in the spirit in which we take the blessings of Nature, and also her lashings and corrections. In the moral world there is a borderland where a blessing is indistinguishable from a correction.

Her relations with the ancient world.

The cultural relations of India with the rest of humanity in the ancient world are full of interest for us at the present day. We do not know precisely how the Aryan waves of invasion came to India, or what precise stage Dravidian civilisation had reached in India before the Aryan invasion. We do know by inference from later facts that the Dravidian civilisation was scarcely if at all inferior to the Aryan civilisation which displaced it in Northern India. From evidence such as certain pottery marks which archæologists have discovered in Southern India, it is probable that ancient Dravidian civilisation was in touch with early Mediterranean civilisation. But probably the Dravidians had got absorbed in a more primitive aboriginal culture and were stagnating when the Aryans came, fresh with the energy of new settlers from colder and more hardening climates. Archæologists tell us that the Hittites

Boghazkeui in Asia Minor had knowledge of Vedic gods and were in communicaion with what might be called Brahmanism. It is not certain whether this means that Asia Minor was on the route of the Aryan march from South-eastern Europe to India, or that the original home of the Indo-Aryans had been in Central Asia, or perhaps in the more Arctic regions favoured by the Brahman scholar Bal Gangadhar Tilak, but they had thrown off offshoots of their culture westwards after settling in India.

Strength of the Indo-Aryans.

But we may regard it as certain that the Indo-Aryans came as a pastoral and migratory people, with the virtues and faults of such people. Among their virtues was a more intimate contact with the mobile forces of nature as opposed to the stagnant steady forces beloved of the agriculturalists. They therefore brought a sunnier outlook, with a greater capacity to deal with the contrasts between sun and snow, mountain and valley, river and forest, the eternal brooding plains and the vigorous freshening storms and monsoons and lightning. We accordingly find them more attuned to battle, and their life and philosophy are governed more by the larger and deeper aspirations to progress in physical discovery and boldness in

spiritual speculation. It may be that the Semitic and Sumerian civilisations of Mesopotamia or the ancient Egyptian civilisation of the Nile Valley or the Chinese civilisation of Eastern Asia had an earlier settled and continuous history. But among the many branches of the Aryan race, the Indo-Aryan pre-eminence in point of time and vision will scarcely be doubted. Their brother Aryans who developed Greek and Latin civilisations also built upon, absorbed, and were influenced by preceding cultures in the regions over which they spread themselves. But whilst they remained on the full highways of the world's population movements and cultural conflicts, and were therefore subject to more sudden and frequent revolutions, the Indo-Aryans (and also the Chinese) got into geographical pockets, where their cultural scope was more placid and their comparative isolation gave then a chance of more continuous traditional development.

Greek attitude to the East.

When Herodotus wrote in the 5th century B.C., he looked upon Egypt and Babylonia as motherlands of culture, which he viewed with awe and admiration. He knew nothing (except very vaguely) of the great cultural wealth of India or of the Buddhist movement, which was one of the world's greatest upheavals of

spiritual thought. The India of Herodotus was a small strip of North-West India incorporated in the Persian Empire. His theme was the conflict between Persia and Greece.

Secular conflicts between Est and West. Greek strength and weakness.

Stripped of its political aspect, it was the historical beginning of the secular conflict between the East and the West. The Trojan War was an earlier and legendary phase of the same conflict. The conflict has lasted ever since with varying fortunes in ebb and flow. Reading between the lines, it is obvious that the epic fight of Herodotus was between a young and growing culture of the West against the old and superior culture of the East, which was however getting effete. The Greek philosophers naturally did not lay much stress on the Eastern masters from whom they learned so much. But we can see that the torch came from the East, and it is no disparagement to the vigour and beauty of Greek culture to say that its special quality of grace and spiritual elevation came from the East. The more concentrated opportunities afforded by the City States gave the Greeks that prince of idealist thought, Plato: that flower of practical refinement in architecture, the Parthenon; and that quintessence of passionate poetry, the

tragedies of Sophocles. I do not subscribe to the fashion of lauding the Greek contributions to political liberty. Their so-called democracies mainly meant mob rule, with large populations held under slavery. The best of their philosophers protested against their democracies, and some of the world's worst rulers were to be found amongst their Demagogues as well as their Tyrants. The merit of Greece was that it developed a maritime and mobile civilisation, with freedom in thought, beauty in literature, and some of the loftiest aspirations in civilisation ever preached in the history of humanity. Except for the maritime mobility, which was a geographical accident, ancient India can match her own contributions against those of Greece and not be ashamed in the process.

Contribution of Rome.

The civilisation of Rome was a more complex structure than that of Greece, and has also a more continuous relation with that of modern Europe. Some critics would deny to Roman civilisation the title of culture. But surely everything that tends to the refinement, organisation and unification of human life is entitled to the name of culture. Law and political organisation are as much instruments of culture and human development as art, poetry and philosophy.

Although the latter have a more direct spiritual significance, their free and unfettered growth requires favourable legal and political conditions. These were admirably provided in the evolution of Roman society, from the small oligarchy of Alba Longa to the somewhat obscure development of the Kingship, the rapid growth of the social and political fabric of the Republic, the gradual extension of the Civitas throughout Italy and later throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond. The later Roman Empire summed up in itself the fruit of centuries of Western culture,—in politics, in law, in civic organisation, in literature and literary methods, in science, in philosophy, in art and in social life.

How Roman Empire absorbed northern as well as Eastern elements.

The extension of the Roman Empire to large tracts of Asia and Africa as well as to the Northern tracts of Europe brought within its purview two elements which play a very important part in the later cultural history of the world. One was the German, the Scandinavian, the Gothic and the Slavonic element, which I here group together, although in any more detailed consideration they would have to be considered apart and separated. The other was the Oriental element, wherein also we may discern many shades. The Slavonic was affected by its contact

with the Tartar, Chinese, Persian, and what is vaguely called Saracen elements. The Roman Empire was like a wireless receiver, sensible to waves of culture from all sides. One of the most potent and epoch-making influences of the East on the Roman Empire was in the realm of religion. The Christianity of the East, born in Syria, with seeds gathered from Arabia, Egypt, Mesopotamia and further East, was certainly modified by Greek philosophy and Roman Imperialism; but allowing for all modifications, it yet effected a religious conquest which profoundly altered the whole outlook of the West. Both territorially and in respect of ideas and culture, the Roman Empire in the fourth century had become too diverse and unwieldly to hold together on its old basis, and it is not surprising that it broke up into the Eastern and Western Empire.

Spirit of Eastern and Western Roman Empire.

This division was not merely political; it was also ethical and cultural. The cultural division manifested itself in the later centuries most strongly in the division between the Eastern (Byzantine) Church and the Roman Church. The Eastern Church itself fell between two stools. With reference to the Western Roman Empire it was Eastern, but with reference to the East itself, it was Western.

In a conflict of centuries it underwent the fate that always befalls middle parties. It was doomed to extinction or absorption either in the East or the West. Most of it was absorbed in the East, and the last fragments of the Eastern Byzantine Church are now only dragging on a struggling existence, and it will remain to be seen with what side they will ultimately throw in their lot.

Papacy and two comprehensive points of view.

The rise of the Papacy in the Western Empire and its struggles with the Empire in Medieval Europe are themselves symptoms of a conflict between elements representing East and West after they had been incorporated in Western culture. Earnest students of Dante know quite well that the struggle was not merely between Church and State, or between Italy and Germany, or between opposing classes of merely political thought. It touched the fundamentals of life and culture. If ultimately the Empire won, it was a victory which was not final. For the struggle still goes on between the point of view which urges that life should be mainly governed by spiritual forces and that the highest philosophy should deal with the Absolute—the Eastern view,—and that other view,—the Western or Roman view—that social life is best regulated by law and the

magistrate and the armed forces of the State, and that philosophy vainly dreams of the Absolute and is only successful in contenting itself with relativity, tangible facts, and the realm of nature and exact science. That struggle has taken a new form in our own day, and the balance inclines alternately to one side or the other. Contrast Hegel with Bergson or Psychical Research with Wundt and Freud. In poetry, read Rudyard Kipling over-against Maurice Maeterlinck, and place, side by side with Maeterlinck, Rabindranath Tagore's "Gitanjali," or Iqbal's "Message of the East." Neither the school of "Shining Armour" nor the disciples of Tolstoy, nor the infinite shades of opinion between them have had the last word. And India will have a great deal to say before humanity will discern the truth which underlies these conflicts.

India's gift of Buddhism.

Let us go back a little in time, and resume our consideration of India, the particular part of the East we are interested in. The first historical point of time at which India comes into cultural relations with the outside world was in connection with Buddhism. From the beginning of the preaching of that great Teacher, the message was intended to be communicated to the whole of humanity. Humanity was contemplated as steeped in suffering and ignorance. The removal

of the ignorance was one of the means for the understanding of the true nature of suffering, and for the attainment of that peace of the soul which was held to be the highest goal of life. It was therefore natural that missionaries should be sent out to all countries then known in India, to preach the gospel of Buddha. The West did not then count for much, especially in the horizon of India, although the Greek beginnings of philosophy were already holding out a rich promise of the intellectual harvest that was to come. It is not that India and Greece—or at least Ionia—were unknown to each other. At that time India held the relationship of teacher to disciple with reference to Greece. It may not be correct that Pythagoras and his philosophy were a mere reminiscence of Buddha-Guru and his teaching. But there are many indications in the traditions of the shadowy figures of early Greek philosophy to point to Greek respect for Indian thought, and possibly to some borrowings from India by means of travel.

Asoka's missionary activity.

In the reign of Asoka (third century B.C.), we find a definite record of conscious missionary activity from the side of India towards the West. We know that Asoka sent out Buddhist teachers and friendly cultural messages, amongst

others, to the kings of those countries into which Alexander's Empire was divided after his death. We know that Syria, Epirus, Macedonia, Egypt and Cyrene were among the countries which were approached by Asoka not only with reference to the spiritual teaching of Buddha, but also with regard to certain matters of public administration, such as the planting of trees along the road-side, the provision of wells and inns, the construction of hospitals for men and animals, and other works of public utility. Asoka's grandfather had received in his capital the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, who wrote an account of India and her social and political institutions. Fragments of this account still survive, and show that Megasthenes had a very high opinion of the civilisation of India, and the character of her administration and her people. Even if that account was more rosy in hue than the facts strictly warranted, it is an interesting glimpse of the mentality with which the West approached the East in the third century, B.C.

Significance of Alexander's Empire

Alexander's conquests in the East are often spoken of as an instance of the conquest of the East by the West. If we examine the matter closely, we shall attach a different kind of significance to

Alexander's Empire. When Alexander had conquered Persia, he adopted Persian dress and Persian manners. He gave posts in his army and his administration to Persians as well as Greeks. When he conquered beyond the frontiers of Persia (he did not go very much beyond those frontiers), he adopted the same policy. In Central Asia as well as the north-west corner of India which came under his sway, he appointed local rulers and no doubt supported local institutions. Greek military organisation had been perfected by him. But the Macedonian Phalanx and the Alexandrian strategy were as much innovations in Greece as in the rest of the world. And after all, in the minds of the Greeks, Alexander himself was a Macedonian Barbarian. The Greek art, literature and philosophy of Athens had undoubtedly a message for the distant regions reached by Alexander's arms. The Mauryan Empire which Asoka inherited was itself founded on the strength of the superior strategy and discipline which Asoka's grandfather learned from Alexander's invasion in the north-west corner of India. But India and the East had their own civilisation and culture, of which they were justly proud, and which they gave in reflex waves to Greece and the western world through the

communications established by Alexander's Empire. There are few sections of humanity anywhere or at any time, which cannot profit by intercourse with other sections of the human family. The great merit of Alexander's Empire was that it established high-ways of communication —not only material high-ways but high-ways of thought and of inter-racial sentiment—over wide stretches of the then known world. The Roman Empire after him profited from these high-ways and extended them. A similar profit can be traced in the great migrations and race comminglings which threw into a hotch-potch Eastern Asia, Central Asia, Persia, India, and many countries in the west, in the centuries between the second century, B.C., and the seventh century, A.D. The same kind of moral and material profit accrued to the world when the clear and uncompromising message of Islam went ringing through the world from the Pacific to the Atlantic in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Commingling of Cultures.

The Græco-Buddhist art of north-western India is an epitome of the cultural contact of East and West in the first centuries of the Christian era. It was independent of race or country, and though called Buddhist, it was really independent of religion or creed; for it gave

(as well as received) fresh elements to the narrower school of Hinayana Buddhism The spread of this art meant the spread of Indian culture to the now depopulated regions of Central Asia, fitly called Serindia by Sir Aurel Stein. Here was a blending of India, China, Turkestan, Persia, and Greece. The philosophy of India travelled to the schools of Alexandria, which sent back their reflex waves to India.

Rome and India.

The Roman Empire did very little directly for India, although we know from the coins of the Flavian emperors found in southern India, how brisk was the commerce between the Roman Empire and Southern India by way of the Red Sea. Roman culture of the finer sort was an echo of Greek culture, but Roman law and administration left their impress in Western Asia, and Egypt, and waves of their influence no doubt reached India from the Alexandrian schools. To the eastern world, Rome and Greece—Ionia—were identical. When the Hindu records speak of Ionians—Yavanas—we are to understand either Greeks or Græco-Bactrians or Parthians or any of the numerous influences that affected the Roman Empire in Asia. "Rum" in Muslim literature means Byzantium or the Eastern Empire. Pliny's account of India does not show much advance of

cultural knowledge concerning that country beyond what the Greeks of the time of Megasthenes has possessed, although the navigation of the Indian Ocean had then been better explored, and the commercial possibilities of India and her productions were better known.

Islam: Crusades.

The Arabs of the seventh to the tenth centuries obtained a much more intimate knowledge of India, and part of that knowledge filtered through to Europe. But these centuries were the centuries of the predominance of Islam, in conquests as well as in achievements of learning and culture. The advent of Islam to India produced a contact between two branches of the East. The Hindu branch had at that time fallen into ways of stagnation. The Muslim branch brought a new vigorous outlook and a greater experience of Western methods, and contributed very largely to the fabric of medieval and modern India. In religion it taught moral fervour, the right of private judgment, and robust commonsense, instead of sacerdotalism, esotericism, and quietism. In social life it preached and practised brotherhood instead of caste. In architecture it brought the dome, and grace and stately proportion, where there had been massiveness and excessive ornamentation. In administration it

believed in roads and communications, useful public works, a legal system governed by precedents, a well-defined fiscal system, and a disciplined army and civil service, in place of divine rights of kingship and consecration, priestly supremacy, class privileges, and a dispersion of power in the State by the multiplication of local customs. Muslim culture and organisation were themselves a compound of Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Byzantine influences in western Asia. The Crusades added another element of conflict as well as of mutual loans and borrowings. But Europe had few direct dealings with India and little direct knowledge of India, until the veil was partially torn asunder by the Venetian Marco Polo. His account of India is neither full nor accurate, but he led the way to the intellectual curiosity, which, in the interests of commerce and material gain, impelled the maritime nations to break their way through to India and render inert and eventually destroy the intermediate power of the Muslims.

Age of maritime discovery: its consequences

We now come to the age of maritime discovery, which added the continents of North and South America to the patrimony of Europe, and eventually the continent of Australia also. Ultimately its effect was to bring Asia, and Africa too,

under the political sway or influence of Europe. The age of maritime discovery completely altered the outlook of Europe towards the rest of the world. Its immediate result was the extinction or absorption of the American Indian races and the enslavement of large masses of the African populations. Negro slavery, as practiced by the Spaniards, Portuguese and the English, was a very different thing from the domestic slavery of the ancient world or of the eastern world. The gang slavery of Spain and Portugal ended in the absorption of the slaves. The gang slavery of the Anglo-Saxon races has left as its legacy the Negro Problem of the United States of America and the exclusion policy typified by the White Australia or the White South Africa, or the White East Africa policies of the British Empire. Gang slavery is dead, but the spirit behind it survives, and unfortunately its application affects large masses of cultured humanity whose civilisation is older than that of Europe. With the advent of the Industrial Era in the eighteenth century, was invented another form of slavery, viz., Industrial Slavery. This Industrial Slavery has had far reaching effects on the social, commercial, and political life of the countries of Europe internally,

as well as their ideas of political dependencies and their economic organisation. The reaction against it threatens another upheaval which may undermine the root principles of organised civilisation itself.

How indigenous Americans confused with Indians.

When the age of maritime discovery started, the first and principal aim in the minds of Europe was the discovery of India and her riches. The accidental discovery of America in the process has left lasting confusion in the European languages (except German) between the aboriginal inhabitants of America and the native inhabitants of India, who, though poles asunder, are both called Indians. The illusive power of words has often gone to the unconscious shaping of policy. Theories of the superiority and inferiority ofcivilisations have grown up and flourished. Even when expressly disclaimed, they have been in the back ground of the mind of Europe, and vitiate the relations which should subsist between the different members of the human family. Japan in her economic and political organisation has been an apt pupil of Europe, and in her military and naval organisation, has been more than a match for the nations with which she has come into conflict. Yet Japan suffers, in common with the rest of the eastern world, from the colour and racial bigotry of Europe and America.

Contending European Powers in India.

Vasco da Gama's landing at Calicut in 1498 and the establishment of Portuguese dominion in India have left little of permanent import beyond memories of the Inquisition and certain masses of a mixed Christian population which form one of the problems of future India. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, but Holland found its permanent field for commerce and partial colonisation in the islands of further Asia. The entry of France into the Indian arena was short-lived, though brilliant. The ultimate prize in India went to the British, who, by their genius for organisation, by their admirable qualities of holding together diverse elements in their political system and their Empire, and by their unique capacity for team work, are responsible for the growth of modern India within the last two hundred years.

Conflict in India political.

The conflict in India between Europe and the East was in the earlier stages purely a political conflict. It was a conflict between contending European powers, some on the verge of decadence and others winning fresh laurels in the race for world supremacy, and the great Mughal Empire which was crumbling to decay from a variety of causes which we have no time to examine now. There was also a scramble between the many contending country-

powers which were hoping to seize some fragments of the Mughal Empire. There was a network of intrigue, cross purposes, and varying combinations among the country powers and the foreign powers. The people themselves were divided into different races, creeds, and interests, and were content to favour the side which promised the best security against anarchy or the richest spoils in furtherence of their own sectional interests. There was no racial bias; if there was any, it was in favour of the Europeans, who brought superior armaments and methods of warfare on sea and land, and who were detatached from the local quarrels which always loom large in civil wars and commotions. It seems to have been understood on both sides that there was to be no interference with cultural institutions.

Cultural isolation impossible

But the modern State is nothing if not intrusive. It was an impossible ideal to set before itself to refrain from interfering with the religious, moral, and social ideas of the people whose economic and political fate was placed in its hands; and on the other hand it was against human nature for a people to say with lofty arrogance, "you are not of our race; you are not of our blood; we despise what you possess; we shall keep ourselves intact from your superstitions and futilities." When social

and industrial legislation came into fashion with the rise of Liberalism to power in England after the Napoleonic wars, echoes of that tendency inevitably reached India. A mass of legislation was undertaken in India which trenched upon the deep-seated prejudices of the people. More than all, an educational policy was launched which turned the Indian mind into channels of British thought in the fields of politics, ethics, and social standards. The process was gradual, and its logical implications were hardly suspected for two generations. None the less, it went on permeating the receptive soil of the Indian mind. It was not long before it was realised that theories of political liberty, social equality, and imperial partnership were fine to enunciate but difficult to apply in practice. Nor was it pleasant for those entrenched behind privileges, to step down voluntarily and offer the hand of fellowship and partnership without reserve or qualification. This briefly is the explanation of all the political troubles and make-shifts in British India since the close of the last century.

New outlook after the Great War.

The Great War submerged all landmarks in international politics, but it also radically altered the internal political, economic, and social structure of nations and empires. How it will ultimately

shape the policy of Britain in India or the relations of the Indian people with the British Empire, or the internal forces of the social structure within India herself, are momentous questions which are outside the scope of this paper.

Indian attitude to European Culture.

Let us now address ourselves to the present and the immediate future. India has had a reaction against the Anglomania which ruled supreme two generations ago. She has been disillusioned with some of the political aims she had set before herself or the political " baubles " which, as some critics say, were held out to her. She has also discovered the flaws (some of them were merely psychological) in the social and moral institutions of the Anglo-Saxon world, with which she had been in love not so long ago. In her confusion and despair she is apt to turn to new nostrums and follow after new prophets. She is apt to welcome Communism and the dreams of economic Nihilism which have brought such disaster to the Russian system of States. There is a school of Hinduism which goes back to the primitive Vedic way of life, and would abolish machinery, railways, motor cars, the economic system of the division of labour, and the whole of the modern system of interlocking international relations, cultural and material. It

would, if it could, relinquish all the conquests which the brain of man has won over the forces of nature, and consider asceticism as the perfection of moral and spiritual life. This is not a movement of faith but of despair,—not of " soul force " but of weariness and morbid self-isolation. There is a parallel movement in India Islam, which, in dwelling on a vaguely conceived past, forgets the tangible realities of the immediate future.

India's cultural salvation.

This way does not lie the salvation of India. The salvation of India lies in a close grip of the realities of her situation and the situation of the world at large. These realities are apt to be dimmed in her sight by her moral revulsion from the idols which she had set before herself and which she had found to be made of stone or clay. She will require much searching of heart. She will have to face her many internal problems with candour and in a practical spirit. She will have to say to herself, " what has been and is, are factors that cannot be neglected in the shaping of my future; how can I best use them as stepping-stones to the new temple which I want to raise, to enshrine my ideals ? " More than this: she will also have to abate a little of her pride. The watchword of a " self-sufficing Indian Culture " suffers from the same tone of

arrogance which we are criticising in others. We have (I hope) something to teach, but we have also much to learn.

Europe's duty.

There is a counterpart to this process of self-searching, which has to do with Europe. I know Europe lies bleeding from the wounds of a catastrophe, which have not yet been healed and which will yet take a long time in healing. But I am not a pessimist, and I do not think that an attitude of despair will help matters. There are many signs to show that reason will assert her supremacy, and international love and amity (if we do not expect too much from these noble ideals in our imperfect world) will wave their healing wand and recover for us the power which we lose in conflict. The League of Nations, with all its faults and imperfections, and they are many, is going about in the right way in building slowly and rallying round its standard all the nations whom it can persuade of its good faith and its power to further the progress of mankind. Hitherto it has shown signs of being captured by an inner ring, which naturally does not give confidence to the weaker powers, or the smaller nations, or the new spirit that is rising in the East. It is an excellent thing that it is concerning itself with moral, health, and labour programmes, and even with questions

of intellectual organisation. Whatever its successes may be in these spheres of work, it can never render unnecessary many other agencies for the cultural advance of mankind.

CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGICAL.

Sociological comparisons helpful.

In discussing the history of the cultural relations between India and Europe, we came across many big ideas that went beyond the bounds we set to ourselves. Ideas can never be isolated geographically. I now wish to discuss the contrast between India and Europe from a sociological point of view. A right understanding on these matters will go some way towards suggesting a solution of important world problems.

Europe individualistic.

Looking at the question from a general point of view, we are entitled to use the term " individualistic " for the European structure of society, and " socialistic " for the Indian structure. " Socialistic " must not in this connection be understood in the political sense. It must not be understood to mean that the needs, wishes, and character of the individual are subordinated to those of society. In every society there is an inter-play between the forces of the individual and the forces of society. Without it organised

society would be impossible. The balance between these forces is not necessarily stable. At different periods either the one or the other predominates, and in varying degrees. But we are, I think, entitled to generalise, and to say that society in Europe has been hitherto based on the rights of the individual, to which all activities of society are supposed to minister; whereas in India the process is reversed and the ideal has been that the individual must efface himself in order to subserve the needs of the family, the tribe, the caste, the clan, or other aggregate which forms the unity of society. We are not for the moment considering the State and its political activities, but merely the social relations between individuals in one or more graded aggregates.

Western Christianity individualistic.

Whether this difference is due to the teaching of European Christianity, I will not stop to consider. To my mind it is clear that the bifurcation is visible in Christianity itself,—Western Christianity as influenced by later Roman law and Roman institutions, and Eastern or original Christianity, in which the brethren not only mortified their flesh but their individuality. They not merely held their goods and possessions in common (if possessions they can be called), but even gave their spiritual and mental

processes over to the safe keeping of a Confessor or at least the Church.

Individualistic concepts in marriage.

One result of such fundamental opposition was reflected in the ideas governing the institution of marriage. In the West marriage came to be regarded as a purely individual concern. The rights were the rights of individuals. Their relations between themselves were governed by considerations of individual happiness, or well-being, or feelings and sentiments (love, attraction, passion, etc.) The possible children were also individual possessions, to be moulded according to the ideas or idiosyncracies of the individual parents,— both or either. Even as a solemn religious rite, it regarded the individuals as constituting the units which stood before God for worship and praise. If the personality of one was merged in that of the other for social, legal, or religious purposes, the united individual was still an individual.

Contrasted with their opposites.

On the other hand the "socialistic" marriage had wholly different incidents. Its purpose was the furtherance and perpetuation of society. The rights and duties connected with it were such as subserved the ends of society rather than the individual. Plurality of wives is in almost all cases opposed to the happiness of individuals,—both the husband and

the wives. But such a sacrifice was permitted and even in some cases demanded in the interests of society. For example, a childless wife was considered as not entitled to object to the husband marrying another wife for the sake of progeny, —either with or without divorce. The need of replenishing the depopulations of war may also demand the sacrifice of the individual. In more primitive societies the needs of civil labour, which went with the spindle, to free the warriors or hunters, pointed in the same direction. Many of the fundamental differences in the basic conceptions of divorce are explained by this difference in the points of view.

Psychology of selection.

The selection of partners was not an individual concern, but the concern of society. Even if the maiden chose her husband herself by the rite of "Swayamwar," considerations of family, clan, or tribe were predominant; and her choice had to be exercised by solemn rite, in public meetings, and at a single séance. It would have been considered improper or indelicate to put forward individual feelings as an explanation or extenuation of a choice not approved by society. In all cases the choice had to be ratified by the consent of the parents and priests, acting in this respect as delegates of society. A striking instance of this

psychology is furnished by the story of Savitri. She plights her troth to a young man in every way eligible. He is of good family; he is strong and healthy; he is powerful and well connected; he is learned and devout; he is handsome and attractive. Savitri's parents themselves approve of the choice, and give their consent. But the priest and seer sees beyond the feelings and actions of individuals. He knows that a curse rests upon the bridegroom who is to die a year after his nuptials. Society demands that such a marriage is not to be celebrated. The struggle in the mind of Savitri is very instructive. She does not take refuge in the dictates of love. She does not refer to her feelings at all. She refers to a consideration which, if disregarded, cuts at the very basis of society. She has given her word, and fidelity to the promise is more important for the stability of society than the feelings or even the well-being of the individuals. If it is ordained that she must be a widow within a year, she would gladly take this sorrow, but she must keep her word. Ultimately her heroism in pleading before Yama, the god of death, not for herself, but for her husband's family, ancestors as well as descendants to be, triumphs over the decrees of the gods themselves. But the

pleading and arguments reveal her inner mind as conceived by the poet and lay bare the springs of her action.

Prohibition of widow re-marriage.

The Hindu prohibition of widow re-marriage is to be referred to a similar set of ideas. It may be true that long inherited collective prejudices may have some say in the matter, and we must link it with *sati*; but it is obvious that it is mainly based on considerations of the solidarity of the family and of society. The family in the Hindu scheme is a Joint Family, consisting not only of parents and children, but of brothers, cousins, grandparents, grandchildren, etc, comprising many generations. The widdow belongs to her husband's family, and if she were to marry again, and enter another family, there would be many complications in the law and custom of Joint Families. Further, in a state of society in which every woman must be married young, there is no room for widow re-marriage. The needs of the individual must give place to the needs of society.

Caste.

Caste is another institution in which the rights of the individual are very much circumscribed in the supposed interests of society. First, it narrows the circle of marriage. Such restrictions may have been dictated by motives of racial purity

or of eugenics, but their disastrous and dwarfing effects on individuals have not yet shattered the institution as a living force. Secondly, it prevents the free and elastic readjustment of economic groups in society, according to changing circumstances and changing methods of production and distribution. But the founders of caste fixed their gaze on the advantages of hereditary callings, hereditary skill in handicrafts, and probably also (though this must be stated with bated breath) on the advantages, to the priviledged castes, of guarding and preserving their vested interests. They therefore stereotyped the institution and prevented the transformations which are healthy to a living organism. Thirdly, it prevents the growth of territorial patriotism and national consciousness. On the other hand, in a medley of many races, creeds, and clashing interests and institutions, it has served to preserve Hinduism from disintergrating and collapsing in the march of centuries. Caste in some form or other is not, or has not been, unknown in other countries. But elsewhere, the advancing tide of individualism has swept it away from the main structure of national life, while it persists in every corner of the social structure in India.

Centralisation in State

When we come to purely political ideas, we shall be struck with the highly centralised form which the State has assumed in modern Europe or the even more perfectly centralised form theorists like Bluntschli and Austin have given to it, contrasted with the polycephalous—or even formless—State which figures in the ideas and practices of India. In the West the centralising tendency began with the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. It gradually gathered to itself all the threads of the people's lives, and sought even to regulate public and private worship. The account given by Tacitus of more primitive societies in the *Germania*, which were free and elastic, throws into strong contrast the centralising tendencies of the Roman Empire. The Roman mantle fell on the Frankish kings, who sought, however clumsily, to weld together many heterogenous tribes by a strong political bond pointing to a single emperor as head of the State. The medieval clash of ideas between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines betokened two streams of unification pointing in different directions. The Guelphs wanted to concentrate all power, political, social, economic and religious into the hands of the Pope, while the Ghibellines wanted to effect a similar concentration in the hands

of the Emperor. The strong centralising tendency was the mainspring of both movements. Great minds like Dante gave the whole of their intellectual genius to the enthronement of that idea. The Holy Roman Empire sought a unity of Europe by means of a super-State, whose boundaries were enlarged by conquest, marriage and treaty. With the Emperor Charles V., the newly discovered continent of America was brought within the same centralising grasp.

Later developments

While these movements were for territorial expansion and centralisation, the policy of Louis XIV of France was directed to a more intensive centralisation within the State itself. His dictum is well known: "*L'état, c'est moi.*" The centralised monarchy of France set the fashion for centralised monarchies in England and elsewhere. The latest examples were the highly centralised empires of the Czars in Russia and of Prussia in Germany. These two mighty empires have collapsed as the result of the Great War, but it remains to be seen whether the democracies of the present and the future will elect to conform to the highly centralised type, or to the pluralistic types of Guild Socialism or the Union of Soviet Republics. While there is an undoubted and strong movement in Europe for decentralisation

and the constitution of multiple seats of power in a State, mainly in forms of industrial democracies, the established form of the State in Europe still remains highly centralised, with all powers in one vital centre and all functions subordinated to the dictates of the State. Whether the League of Nations is a prelude to fresh developments in political thought and practice, it is yet premature to say with any degree of confidence.

The Indian State.

The ideas of the State in India have been developed in a wholly different atmosphere. Here the State is only one —and not the most important—institution for cultural development. Religion is a far more important factor and claims to embrace more universally the activities of the people. A glance at history supports this proposition. The Vedic king was also a priest, and his priestly functions gave him more importance than his kingship. The idea of a temporary leadership or dictatorship being vested in the king for a particular emergency, with the reversion of the power to the priest or the people, is not unknown in ancient Indian speculations. The Vedic term "Vishpati," as applied to a king, meant nothing more than "lord of the village," with hardly any of the great centralised powers which we associate

with a centralised monarchy. He was just a village elder, with other elders, among whom he was first amongst equals.

Growth of Kingship.

In the time of the Brahmanas a certain development of the imperial idea took place, and the ceremonies which the king went through at the coronation implied consecrated conquest. Prof. A. B. Keith thus describes them. "The king is clad in the ceremonial garments of his rank, is formally anointed by the priest, steps on a tiger skin to attain the power of a tiger, takes part in a mimic cattle raid, assumes the bow and arrow, and steps as a conqueror to each of the four quarters an action paralleled in the coronation of the Hungarian king. A game of dice is played, in which he is made the victor." (Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, p130.) This imperial idea of conquest and subjugation is also pressed with great vigour by Kautilya in his Artha-Shastra, which was written about 300 B.C. But in spite of this it is clear that the influence of a king extended beyond his political frontiers and was more connected with his religious prestige than with any formal political power. This is especially seen in the history of Asoka. He sent out religious missions in all directions beyond the political boundaries of his power, and expected roads and hospitals to be

constructed and the law of Buddha to be followed in other kingdoms besides his own. In his own kingdom, while he exercised moral censorship, the economic life of his people was outside his control or the control of the State.

Muslim Kings.

Under the Muslim political ascendancy in India, new political ideas came into the country, in the same way as other ideas and institutions. The Arabs, with whom Muslim civilisation starts, had no kings, but only tribal chiefs. The first kings in Islam were those established in Damascus in imitation of the Byzantine imperial kingship on which Islam gradually encroached, and which it finally overthrew. But the Byzantine imperial power at Constantinople, though it claimed to be a continuation of the Roman Empire, was much weaker in its central organisation than the power of Rome as it was centred in her early Cæsars. The Damascus kingship established no political tradition. It was obviously a foreign intrusion into a theocratic state. It was the khalifate the Umaiyads held, which they tried to transform into a kingship.

The Khalifa.

The Khalifa was in essence the successor to the Prophet, the head of the religious State, in which the functions of Church and State were combined. Amongst a people like the Arabs, who were

intractable to the dictates of any one man, even the religious headship took the form of a democratic Council limited by its Constitution, i.e., by the Sacred Law, which it could not alter or legislate about, but which it could only administer or interpret. Even in the matter of administration or interpretation, the powers of any one man were strictly limited, as consultation with the people was laid down by the Prophet himself as one of the cardinal principles to be followed.

The Sultan.

The first assumption of the title of Sultan was not till three centuries and three quarters after the Prophet's death. The word "Sultan" originally means in Arabic "power" in the abstract. The Sultan therefore was the depository of power charged with the administration of the Sacred Law. But he could not even interpret it. He had to go for its interpretation to the religious dignitaries, and in the last resort to the Khalifa himself. Thus the Sultan has constitutionally even more limited powers that the Khalifa. Attempts were made to combine the Khalifate and the Sultanate or Kingship in one person. It may even be said that the normal condition theoretically was the union of temporal and spiritual power. But when the Kahlifa had actual temporal power, he generally

exercised his religious functions through a deputy. In the case of rulers other than the Khalifa himself, the usurpation of religious power, whenever attempted, failed disastrously. Notable instances are the attempt of Akbar, and of a Tughlak sultan before him in India.

Many activities outside sphere of State.

Abul Fazl, the great panegyrist of Akbar, defined the position of the king as a servant of the people, to whom taxes are paid as wages for guarding and portecting them. The protective function of the king is also emphasised in Hindu law. And in either system the king, as representing the State, is merely the policeman or watchman. The State did not interfere with the inner lives of the people, or with their economic occupations or with their local customs or institutions. Side by side with the State, even though subordinated to it, but not in all cases subordinated to it, were many activities which were recognised as beyond the sphere of State interference. The most prominent of such activities was religion. Amongst economic activities that the State left more or less automonous were foreign shipping and commerce, and ancillary activities, which were left to little groups by themselves, such as established a footing in medieval India. They led to the creation of those ex-territorial

jurisdictions which are being abolished in this twentieth century. The great ideal of seers like Mawardi, which contemplated an intrusive collective interest in all the affairs of men, public and private, referred to the Khalifate or the theocratic State, and not to any secular State. The secular State merely gathered taxes, and in return protected the people from wars and crimes of violence.

Religion, family, land, law, art.

It would be possible to run this contrast between India and Europe through numerous other departments of life. In religion, most interest has been centred in Europe on the organisation of the Church and the machinery of spiritual ministration. The questions of doctrine have played a less important part. In India there is hardly any organisation or comprehensive machinery for spiritual administration. With regard to the idea of the family, we have already referred to the Hindu Joint Family system, which, with the system of adoption, renders the family perpetual and unlimited, in contrast to the Western family, which is a short-lived association of a very few persons, who are constantly passing out of the family circle. In their ideas of land India and modern Europe show also a marked contrast. The Indian mind could not conceive of an ownership in

land; its land policy was based on an equitable assignment of the usufruct. In the region of law, the Indians separated ethics less sharply from law than Europe does. In their view the sanction of a law was not force, but the appeal to the conscience. There is therefore no legislation by majority, but only an interpretation, by competent and well qualified men, of eternal and immutable laws. The laws may also be personal rather than territorial. Two men living in the same village may have different private laws applicable to them. On the other hand two men living in different political jurisdictions may be subject to the same law. In Art India seeks symbolism rather tham realism. The attempt to represent the abstract or the spiritual in the concrete or the material is felt to be inherently impossible, and any materialistic realism is felt to be a mockery of the spiritual or the abstract.

Constructive study of contrasts.

In setting down these differences and contrasts, I do not necessarily praise or defend any given systems, or attempt invidiously to adjudge one as superior to another. Institutions must be judged by their relative merits. Even in Europe many of the tendencies which I have indicated as foreign to its genius are making their influence felt. In India,

under British and European influence, the political ideas of the present day are, as regards the school in power, reflections from the West. But some of the old and ingrained ideas are reasserting themselves and seeking to oust their opposites. The task of all lovers of humanity is to study each one of them, in their separate settings and bearings, and attempt to estimate their relative values in the ever changing stream of public and private life. Unless we do so with a serious purpose, we are liable to have our vision narrowed and to obstruct each others' progress. A comparative study helps us to understand our own environment better. Most of the strivings of human nature in other environments have a message and a meaning for us even in constructing a reasonable and progressive scheme of life for ourselves. It is only in this way that we can rise from the accidental, conditioned by time or space, by geography or history, and soar into the serene regions of the eternal verities.

CHAPTER III.

ART.

Art the best revealer of inward human spirit.

THE true inwardness of the human spirit can best be discovered in Art. In Indian history, especially, where so many of the "facts" are mere fictions or probable conjecture, the history of Art furnishes a more certain criterion of what people thought and felt in different ages. In comparing Indian Art with the Art of other countries, we also get a more objective basis of comparison. The works of Art tell their own tale. Good Art, vigorous Art, or high-aspiring Art can never be mistaken for false, or feeble, or degraded Art. If you take the Art of two countries or peoples at their best, you will be able to judge the essential characters of those countries or peoples more surely than if a self-seeking panegyrist or a prejudiced detractor were allowed to intervene. Art may also help to remove misunderstandings or enable diverse groups of humanity to work together, for the progress of the whole human family.

Variety of Indian Art.

Indian Art is more varied and more locally adapted than that of most other

countries. It also covers a longer period and has a more continuous history. Its wonderful variety arises from the fact that its population contains nearly every strain of human culture. Each group or community, in seeking self-expression through its Art, is able to put forward a fresh contribution. Sometimes these different streams are able to mingle together and produce a great river which scoops out a well defined permanent channel through history. Among the nations of Western and Central Europe national life has been so unified that we miss the fertilising influence of this rich variety. There is more vigour, more definiteness, more nationalism, but there is less experiment, less daring, less exploration of what is considered unusual or perhaps unattainable.

Its local adaptations.

The local adaptations of Indian Art are also very remarkable. To people accustomed to the standardised styles of Classical Renaissance or Gothic architecture, the architecture of India appeared at first a chaotic mass, without any definite styles and without any precise meaning. They were accustomed to trace variety only on the scale of time. Certain ages were characterised by certain features. With time, there was a progressive mastery of technique or material. Progres-

sive growth in human knowledge enabled definite results to be achieved with better success by fresh methods. Or it may be that taste and fashion changed with the mode of life, and affected Art in a corresponding degree. Such changes on the scale of time we shall also observe in India. But we observe in addition a rich variety in contemporaneous Art, which is due to a happy adaptation by the artists to the climatic or geographical conditions in which they are working, and even more so to the social and technical environment, to which their genius responded in a more plastic fashion. We have thus Buddhist and Gandhara Art over-lapping each other. Later, we have Gupta, Chalukyan, and Buddhist art over-lapping in point of time. Later again, in the times of the Muslims, we have Pathan, Indo-Saracenic, and Mughal styles,—not indeed over-lapping each other all the time, but gradually evolving in different forms and in different localities. A study of the architecture of Agra or Delhi is not enough to give us a complete idea of the artistic activities at any given time. Cities like Ahmedabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur, or Bidar, or ruins like those of Mandu (in Malwa) or Gaur (in Bengal) have wonderful monuments, whose artistic features are not only

traceable to different tastes or different historical traditions, but also to a closer adaptation or affinity to local conditions.

Its continuity through an extraordinarily long period.

The long period covered by Indian Art, taken with its general continuity, is another remarkable fact, and reflects the general spirit of its cultural development. It may be that ancient Egyptian Art, and possibly ancient Assyrian Art covered a longer period. But when they died, they were absolutely buried in the *débris* of time, and have had to be laboriously dug out by the work of resourceful archæologists. Subsequent Art in those regions had little reference to the monuments of the great past. Classical Art in the same way terminated abruptly at the Barbarian invasions of Europe. In any case its duration was comparatively short. Byzantine Art was really Eastern Art, and had more affinities with subsequent Saracen or anterior Persian Art than with the old classical styles of the heyday of Greek Art supremacy. Gothic Art as a living force barely lasted four centuries. The various Renaissance schools of painting seemed to be associated with particular men of genius. They lasted for short periods. The later revivals of Gothic or Classical Renaissance Art are merely intellectual translations, not the outpourings of a special collective spirit

that sought expression in new adaptations of a continuous artistic tradition. The history of Indian Art is less individualised. In some of the latest artistic work produced in India we can trace mannerisms which are as old as the Caves of Ajanta. The gateways of Asoka's Stupas do not look such archæological curiosities in India as they would in another country, after a lapse of twenty-one centuries. The result of every archæological discovery in India adds materially to the strength of the revival which is taking place at the present day.

Enormous area of influence.

The enormous area over which Indian Art has extended its appeal has widened its catholicity as well as its influence. In the early centuries of the Christian era the whole of Central Asia, at that time a much more important cultural centre than it is at the present day, was under the sway of Indian Art. Buddhism extended that sway to China, Tibet and Japan. On the other side, Siam, Java, and the Islands of the Eastern Archipeligo felt the influence of Hindu and Buddhist Art. Boro-Bodur in Java is almost as good a place for the study of Indian Art as any in India. Ceylon is geographically a part of India, and there is nothing surprising in its being within the circle of India's artistic influence.

Decorative design: skilful manipulation of patterns.

The Indian artist is particularly skilled in decorative design. Here there is perhaps an even more continuous history than in other branches of artistic work. His " Grammar of Ornament " may not have been formulated or put forward in specific propositions. But instinctively the Indian artist follows designs and patterns that are specially adapted for Indian work and readily recognised wherever they occur. The shawl pattern is an instance in point. No Kashmir shawl can be completely satisfactory without this hall-mark of the " Turanj." It has invaded other textiles, and usually occupies, in the garments both of men and women, the exact position where it could be most effectively displayed. It occurs in book-binding and in mural painting, in similar advantageous positions. The patterns for carpets are similarly distinctive. The Mirzapur or Agra carpet-weavers are catholic in their tastes, and willing to use any patterns proposed. But you will invariably find that any other patterns proposed are adapted and brought into line with the general Indian ensemble of which the Indian artists are so proud. Some years ago I had the priviledge of making a special study of the patterns on silk fabrics produced in the United Provinces

of Agra and Oudh. I was struck with the remarkable persistence of similar patterns used in textile work, in book-binding, in mural decoration, in wood-carving, in damascene work and other kinds of metal decoration,—at the same time that such use was perfectly adapted to the material and the occasion every time.

Spiritual Themes.

Examine the figure of the Buddha and his face in Indian sculpture. I suppose there is no subject on which more artistic skill and more spiritual enthusiasm have been lavished than in the attempt to interpret some small phase of the Buddha's life and teaching, as understood at different times and among different peoples. In repose, or in preaching; in lonely contemplation, or in converse with crowds of disciples; in the deer park at Benares or in some wild dream of a previous incarnation; as a child with the burden of the world's sin and sorrow still screened from him, or as the hero of the Great Renunciation, wandering about and mortifying his flesh to find the secret of Destiny; as the lord of calmness and enlightenment, who had fathomed the mysteries and wished to point out the way to all the unfortunate and the erring, no less than as the supreme incarnation of Pity and Love, which saw the Nirvana

without a trace of triumph because of the thousands who did not yet see ;—these are just a few of the sort of motifs that the aspiring artist revolved in his spiritual memory and set up as the themes which he was to suggest through his Art. Chinese and Japanese iconography may have worked out more concentrated themes for the representation of the Buddha. But the Indian artist seemed to be on more intimate terms with his subject, even if his technical equipment was inadequate or his craftsmanship seemed to be altogether unequal to the great task which he had set himself.

Technique not the supreme test in Art.

It is sometimes objected that Indian sculpture is not beautiful like Greek sculpture, and that therefore its artistic appeal is inferior. This can only be conceded if we define Art as nothing but perfection of technique. But no Art can afford to disregard the spiritual aims which are in the mind of the artist. It is quite true that success depends upon the ability to convey the meaning of the artist to those to whom he exhibits his work. If the technique is faulty, his success will be the less. But we are also entitled to look to the grandeur of the conception which the artist had in his mind or soul. Some of the Dutch painters of still life represent a plate of

fruit or a flask of wine with perfect mastery, but can we say that that class of work can be put on a level, as a work of Art, with such a masterpiece as Rembrandt's "The Night Watch" or Raphael's "Madonna Ansidei"? The "Venus of Medici" and the "Apollo Belvidere" are magnificent works of art and genius. They present the "human form divine" as only masters can present it, showing the beauty of the physical body illuminated with something of the spirit, the higher part of man's nature. But even so the chief appeal of Greek Art is to the glorification of man's or woman's body, in its most athletic or muscular form, or the representation of the outer forms or events of nature or human life. The early Italians of the fourteenth or fifteenth century attempted something greater, something more difficult to reproduce in material Art. In the degree to which we try to understand their aims and ideas and their methods of achievement, shall the greatness of their Art be revealed to us. Can we not make the same claim for the Indian artist, who was, if anything, even more ambitious to handle spiritual or abstract ideas or stories?

Hindu and Buddhist Artists.

The methods followed by the Indian artists were somewhat different from

those of European artists. The Hindu and Buddhist artists were content to let their Art remain symbolical rather than aim at any realism. Perhaps, considering the themes they aimed at, it may be presumptuous for us to say that they were wrong. Perhaps it may also be added that if they had bestowed more attention on drawing or on form so as to conform more exactly with physical appearances, they would have distracted the attention of those to whom they appealed, pushing these minor matters to the front and leaving their main and primary meaning in the background. Plenty of argument is possible on such a subject. Contempt of technique is a dangerous attitude and may conceal incompetence, ignorance, or laziness. Careful attention to technique may advance the highest purpose of the artist. At any rate we have to take the artists as we find them. We find them so intensely concentrated on the expression of something abstract or spiritual that they disdain to bestow too meticulous an attention on the human physical form or on the ideal beauty of athletic figures.

Mughal portraiture.

The Mughal artists, in their best portraits, follow a happy mean. Their likenesses are admirable, as well as alive.

But they furnish the likenesses with a conventional background or with no background at all, as if to emphasise the fact that the background if any was a mere decorative feature and was not to be allowed to distract attention from the central fact, the subject of portraiture. Quite frequently the figure of the portrait is also in a conventional pose or attitude, while the face is filled in with great care, and expresses not only static character, but an emotional moment of intensity, in which the artist is especially interested. Many of the Mughal portraits have the figure drawn and painted by a disciple, while the master artist reserves to himself the task of filling in the face, the features, the character, and the emotional intensity of the moment. The other features are decorative, while the best resources of Art are reserved and concentrated on the real human spiritual interest. We may almost call this mannerism a kind of Romanticism, an attitude of mind that delights in the unusual and the wayward, and loves to exalt it above everything else that could be taken for granted. If we bear this in mind we shall be saved from invidious comparisons between the Court painters of the Mughals and such great Western masters of

portraiture as Rubens or Van Dyck, Lawrence or Hoppner.

Animal portraiture.

The subjective and symbolical attitude of the Indian artist is nowhere better exemplified than in his treatment of animals. Perhaps it may be permissible to generalise that Eastern Art has understood animal life and tried to portray it with more spiritual feeling than Western Art. This tendency may be seen in full force as early as the Assyrian sculptures, in which the lion and the bull receive a sympathetic treatment almost human. The gigantic winged quadrupeds of Assyrian sculpture have a character and a human meaning that haunt us, and makes us completely forget that they are pure creatures of the imagination.

The elephant in Indian Art.

But no artists have excelled the Indian artist in his understanding of the elephant and his symbolic use of him. He showers on the elephant an affection that almost amounts to reverence. I have before my mind a picture of an elephant fight painted in Lucknow in the days of the Nawabi. Two elephants are wrestling together as if for the pure joy of fighting and testing their strength. Their huge brute strength is certainly indicated. But the artist wishes us more to notice their agility, keenness, and skill. Though there are Mahouts on their backs, and

attendants round them, all these human figures are suggested rather than drawn. The Mahouts are not directing the elephants. They seem to be helpless appendages which the elephants are tolerating and treating rather protectively while they are testing their strength between themselves. The decision with which they try to bring the gigantic strength of their bodies to bear on their struggle is Homeric. The agility with which their trunks play round each other suggests not only skill and pride but also the desire to cause no more hurt than is necessary in an affair of honour. Their legs and feet are in attitudes that correspond to the different recognised tricks in Indian wrestling. Their eyes and their faces have a lively expression that makes them appear as if they perfectly understood each other as polished adversaries that would never dream of taking an undue advantage or transgressing the well established laws of the game. The river, the bridge, and the Lucknow background are incidents that have a remote bearing on the game.*

Lyric of design.

Even Arabesque designs and ornamental sculptures of foliage can be made

* The picture is reproduced at page 270 of Bernier's "Travels in the Mogul Empire," Constable's edition, London, 1891.

to yield a wonderful lyric in the hands of Indian artists. I have in my mind's eye a beautiful lace-like tracery pierced out of stone in the window of a mosque in Ahmedabad. It is Sidi Saiyad's Mosque,—not one of the famous Mosques that people go from far and near to see. Lightly esteemed in the decadence of art, it was used, until a few years ago, as a subordinate revenue office, the resort of thousands of men bringing in their money to pay to the State, quite unconscious that a great work of art was within their sight. The design is marvellously adapted to the size and position of the window. Its main feature is a group of palms and other trees, to the mystic number seven. Their branches are carried in delicate curves all round to fill the space of light. The intertwining is so skilfully done, that you feel that while the design is decorative, the beauty and harmony of nature are not violated. It is a kind of pink sandstone (I am speaking from memory); the light that filters through its pierced spaces itself acquires a delicate shade of pink, as if it has passed through some stained glass particularly finely toned down. In a sunny land like India, in a bright and brilliant city like Ahmedabad, the pink tones and the small interstices create a sort of subdued atmosphere well

adapted for prayer and praise, for which the building and tracery were originally designed. Glass would have obstructed the free circulation of air, a thing not to be thought of in a warm climate.

Colours and tones.

The choice and harmony of colours are among the strongest grounds of appeal in human Art. The old fresco paintings in Ajanta are now in subdued colours. They have stood the wear of more than twelve centuries (they are not all of the same date); this may account partly for the subdued tone of colouring. But I think that the artists there intentionally avoided brilliant colours as a predominant feature partly because they wanted their colours to harmonise with the semi-darkness of the caves, and partly also because the religious pictures, whether Buddhist or Hindu, require a prevailing yellow chrome, such as the ascetics wear in every-day life. There are, however, bits of brilliant tones, especially where royal feasting is depicted. But the most glorious riot of colour is seen in Muslim Art. In the encrusted tiles, which recall a very characteristic branch of Persian Art, we see brilliant tones of metallic blue, green, and other colours. They perfectly harmonise with their surroundings. In the exterior of buildings they flash an artistic glow under

the influence of the Indian sun. Some of the domes are wholly covered with faience or translucent tiles. Their rich deep blue is calculated to mingle with the light blue of the open sky, and to throw up the building like an ethereal palace poised in the air. Where there is a golden finial, the enchanted effect is still further enhanced. Where green is used, it is chosen in a shade which harmonises with the prevailing tone of the surrounding foliage, and gives the effect as if the building were a work of nature instead of a work of Art. This is possible in a region where the trees do not shed their leaves in the winter. The Mughal buildings are usually designed along with the gardens surrounding them. The gardens form an integral part of the structures. The paths and alleys, the avenues, trees and parterres, and the streams and fountains are all intended to unite the effects of nature and Art in a great harmonised whole.

Secret of pigments. Colour reserves.

The secret of the colours and dyes used by these artists in not preserved. The art of manuscript illumination has died out. The art of fresco painting still lingers, but has lost its past glory. In portraits and human groups the painters loved to use colour not only as a means for suggesting atmosphere and light, but

also for indicating stress or emphasis. Golden halos are thrown behind the heads of royal personages. Their dress is of the choicest, but at the same time very simple and without artifice. Their jewels are few, but their quality and priceless value are clearly shown. There is an air of elegance and refinement, —very different from the "barbaric splendour" with which European immagination complacently endowes the figure of an Oriental potentate. More rein is given to colour in the matter of women's clothing, and still more where a garden scene with flowers is intended to form a principal feature.

Mosaics and inlaid colours.

We know that Greek statutes were coloured and Greek marble buildings were sometimes inlaid with marbles of different colours. The later Byzantine style made a great point with mosaics of precious stones. It is doubtful whether this style was derived from the East or the East derived it from Byzantine Art. In Mughal Art it is an established feature, but gets added grace and richness from its catholicity in using the devices of Florentine or Venetian artists. But the basic ideas remain its own. Costly gems of many colours and from many climes are used, as well as mother-of-pearl and

coloured stone or marble of great variety. But the concentrated mosaics of Eastern Europe are not the fashion. The ornamentation is spread out widely. There is a sprig of a flower here, another there, and so on at wide intervals over the walls and columns. None of the patterns are exactly repeated. Though the cost is enormous, the effect is that of simplicity and undesigned natural opulence, like the wealth of colour in a garden of bright flowers, or the subtlety of tones in a landscape of irregular lines and mingling lights and shadows.

Pearl Mosque of Agra.

It may be of interest if I try to describe my impressions of two buildings in Agra, which are gems of Mughal architecture and may be reckoned amongst the finest artistic monuments of the world. They are both due to the genius of Shah Jahan. One is the Pearl Mosque (Moti Masjid), and the other the Taj Mahal. The Pearl Mosque of Agra is artistically the most beautiful mosque that I have seen, and there are few famous ones that I have not seen. In size it is quite small, but its exquisite design gives it the fulness and compactness of a round lustrous pearl set amongst a crowd of straggling jewels. Its inside is entirely of marble, white, blue, and grey veined. The floor is marble. The inscription is in Arabic

letters of black marble inlaid in white, and looks itself like an ornament in Arabesque design. Its gentle, almost unperceived, slope, upwards from its entrance to the noble Mihrab or niche pointing towards Mecca, is itself symbolic of the gradient of the spiritual life from its contact with our every-day affairs to its goal in the final state of bliss and perfection. A mosque is partly an open-air building, and there is in all cases a designed play of light and shade. But the Pearl Mosque of Agra has achieved its designer's intentions with admirable though unobstrusive subtlety. For comparison we may go to another world-famous monument. In the great masterpiece of Greek architecture, on the Acropolis of Athens, there is a subtle curve in the floor, and there must have been subtle effects of light and shade in its interior, though we do not realise them in its present roofless state. There is a unity in Art, even though the Artists' minds are far apart, both in time and space and in the immediate aims they hold in view.

The Taj. The Taj Mahal has been described in prose and verse by some of the greatest judges of art and beauty, but no description can ever exhaust its merits. It was not a monument of self-glory, but of

love. It was the embodiment, so legend tells us, of a dream which the "Lady Taj" had in her dying moments. She had borne thirteen children to Shah Jahan, and died at the fourteenth child-birth. But her life had been one of inspiration and strength to her husband, and he was never the same man after her support was removed. He commenced building it immediately after her death, and it was twenty-two long years before it was finished. It breathes the spirit of affection, reverence, adoration. The symmetry of its design makes it appear the same from many points of view. The soundness of its construction makes it look as fresh and perfect as if it had been finished yesterday, though it has stood for nearly three centuries. The costliness of its ornamentation does not detract from its simplicity and grace.

Beautiful in situation, construction design, embellishment, and garden.

Its situation must have been carefully thought out; for it commands Agra, not imperiously, but, as a work of art should do, gently and persuasively. Some of the buildings that stood around it when it was built no longer exist, but we know enough of them to realise that, matchless as it is, its surroundings were not unworthy of it. It stands in a well proportioned and well laid out Mughal garden, which is entered from the south. The great

massive gateway acts as a screen: like the curtain of a great picture which the artist likes to keep screened, until the very moment when you can take in all its beauties at one glance. The south entrance enables you to see it with the sun shining on its white marble at most hours of the day. At its back, to the north is the broad stream of the Jumna. The bed of the river here is rocky and rugged, and if you see the Taj reflected in its broken current from across the river, you see a wholly different reflection from that which meets your gaze when you enter through the gateway and look into the placid rectangular reservoirs in the garden. In the garden, also, are some raised platforms from which you can observe the beauties of the building standing out against the blue or grey sky. The Taj itself stands on a raised open platform which lifts it up above the gardens. The marble in the interior is inlaid with precious gems of many colours—porphyry and jasper, turquoise and sapphire, diamond and ruby, mother-of pearl and cornelian. There are many kinds of costly wood used in the doors. The lighting is managed with perforated marble screens. The whole atmosphere within and without is, in the words of the inscription on the Lady Taj's tomb,

" sanctified and exhalted." And this is perhaps the highest praise which we can accord to the success of the artist's design.

I must not omit to say a few words about music. That branch of Art is particularly helpful in bringing peoples together. And there is less understanding between Indian music and Western music than there need be. I acknowledge that music has fallen to a low ebb in modern India. Its revival in archaic forms is not likely to lead to any remarkably tangible results, while the attempt to use cheap harmoniums and be content with banal airs is not likely to lead to true artistic developments. Many Indian ears profess to be unable to enjoy Western music, and many Westerners return the compliment in the converse sense. The difficulty lies in a failure to realise the separate historical development of each. It must be remembered that modern European music is barely four centuries old. On the other hand Indian music is not an undeveloped art, but a highly developed art on different lines. Its minute subdivisions of tones and semitones, its reliance upon melody rather than harmony, and its neglect to devise new instruments to meet the fresh needs of an Art that should always be young, MUSIC.

have thrown it into a very remote corner of Indian art. The want of a written notation has added to the difficulties of its general cultivation. It has become the monopoly of too narrow a band of professional enthusiasts. It is possible to lead it back to natural methods of development. It will come to its own when it is rescued from its stagnant backwaters and brought again into the fresh streams not only of national life, but of the world's artistic life.

An old reminiscence

A little personal reminiscence may be pardoned as it serves to illustrate my theme. I knew a Hindu ascetic to whom music and religion were one. He had taken a vow of seven years' silence. He kept it faithfully, but during the long period of his silence he expressed his soul on his Sarangi, a little old-fashioned Indian violin, which perhaps he had himself refashioned out of rude materials. Whether there was an audience or not, did not matter in the least to him. He preferred having no audience to having an audience which intruded upon his highest thoughts with either praise or admiration. After his vow of silence was over, he still talked very little, as he got into the habit of doing without words. But he was never more happy than when he was allowed to pour his soul out on his

Sarangi, regardless of time or place.

Meeting of two masters

A Swiss musician of note was out in India, and I invited him to listen to this picturesque figure, with his snow-white beard, his bare head, his saffron garment, and his leopard-skin slippers. The Swissman heard him and was puzzled. He could not ask questions, because it was part of the understanding that no questions should be asked. His puzzled face was itself an incentive to Moni Baba (for that was the ascetic's name), who played more brilliantly than ever. The two musicians got interested in each other and played and heard each other again and again. The Swissman had the greater gift of verbal expression. He told me that he had at length understood Indian music and had a high appreciation of it. He enjoyed hearing this wonderful exponent of it. I believe that he made a sort of working hypothesis in his own mind, of the steps necessary to develope Indian music and bring it into line with modern needs without abandoning its traditions. I believe that a step further in that direction has been taken by some Dutch musicians. I am no musician myself, but I thoroughly enjoy and appreciate good music, whether Indian or European. I believe that further contact between them will be good for the

cultural advancement of my country and people. Some Indian students who have studied the Western system of music have made a great success of it, both in composition and in interpretation. May we not hope that a greater understanding and appreciation on both sides will further the cause of human solidarity in culture!

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

RELIGION plays such an important part in Indian life that it is absolutely essential that we should give some attention to it in discussing India's relations with the rest of the world. In Europe religion is sharply distinguished from secular matters. It is possible for people to co-operate in most of the affairs of life without enquiring about each others' religion. At one time religion was co-extensive with life. Now it has become the individual's private affair. There are many people who regret this change of attitude. But about the fact there can be no doubt whatever, and it has some bearing on the relations of India with Europe.

Different attitudes towards Religion.

In discussing religion in reference to India, it is no part of my purpose to criticise or expound, or to present a summary either of history or of actual beliefs. My purpose is to examine some of the leading ideas, in order to see whether any contrasts that we find make it impossible in the first place for the followers of the two great religions of

Whether they preclude co-operation in India itself, or between India and Europe.

India to work together in all the great cultural movements of their country, and in the second place to co-operate with the larger world in shaping its cultural movements. If we can carry out this two-fold task, and find that not only is the co-operation possible from both points of view, but that it is eminently desirable, we shall have helped to destroy a whole bundle of prejudices which stand in the way of human progress.

Indian Muslims and Pan-Islamism.

The leading religions of India, as everyone knows, are Islam and Hinduism. Islam is a world religion. The Muslim communities in other parts of the world may be organised in closer communities, and there are many countries enjoying full political autonomy, in which the Muslims form the majority of the people, and Islam is the State religion. This is not the case in India. But the Indian Muslims nevertheless have a position and responsibility of high importance. Their bond of brotherhood with Muslims of other countries makes the horizon of the Muslims wider. They are actuated by world-wide sympathies, and great movements in Europe, Asia or Africa, which affect other Muslim communities, have their repercussions in India. The Pan-Islamic movement, which is vague and ill-defined, and more a matter of

sentiment than of political organisation, naturally claims a large part of their attention. They are sometimes accused by their Hindu brethren of being less patriotic, as they look beyond the borders of India for their religious and perhaps social inspiration. The familiar word "ultra-montane," as applied in France to Roman Catholics who look to Italy for religious guidance, is applied by the Hindus to the Muslims of India. It is even sometimes suggested that Indian Muslim politics are dependant upon extra-Indian conditions. This charge is quite unsustainable. There is nothing to justify "ultra-montanism" being cast in the teeth of the Muslim community in India. They are as keen as their Hindu brethren to take their proper place in the political development of their own country.

Islam blots out racial boundaries.

The Muslims are taught by their faith to rise above prejudices of race. All races are equal in the Muslim brotherhood. Other universal religions have similar ideas of brotherhood, but none carries it out to the same extent as it is carried out in Islam. It was so in the days of the Prophet and his immediate successors. It is so now, when the number of races and countries is infinitely larger within the pale of Islam.

There have been periods in the history of Islam when racial bigotry showed its ugly head, but it was the racial bigotry of different races placed for the first time in close political and social juxtaposition. The religion itself did its best to discourage such racial bigotry, and on the whole it succeeded. It may justly be claimed that racial bigotry became less acute as social association and intermarriages tended to blot out racial divisions. At the present day I am not prepared to say that the sentimental feeling of brotherhood in Islam, which is very real, would stand the acid test of political or national rivalries, if the outside pressure on Islam were removed. In the Great War the break-up of the Turkish Empire showed the racial fissures that existed and that gaped wider under the stimulus of interested suggestions from outside. But a reaction is already visible, and there is no doubt that the teaching and the social system of Islam tend to unification and the blotting out of artificial racial boundaries.

No priesthood.

Another feature of Islam which will be an inestimable asset in the movement for bringing it into line with modern world forces is that there is no priesthood. Many of the faults and weaknesses of the

churches have been due to a narrow, selfish, or ill-trained priesthood. I am quite willing to concede that these three drawbacks—especially the first and the third—may be removed by good organisation and an enlightened public opinion. But a priesthood, especially if it is invested with notable privileges, is prone to cling to the past and resist fresh adaptations. It also hampers the common-sense growth of spiritual ideas, while it accentuates ritual and dogma. A priesthood favours church organisation, while a religion which relies entirely upon lay support and lay public opinion is able to exert a more intimate influence on the practical affairs of life.

No caste.

There are no castes in Islam. The result is that its social organisation is freer and more adaptable and its economic organisation is also more flexible and capable of wiser direction. The general environment of the Indian Muslims may and does result in the creeping in of the caste idea among them, but it can be easily thrown off in favour of that fuller social system and that freer national life which are essential to modern communities. The freedom of worship, without any reference to dogmas or social position, enables every Muslim to exercise the right of private judgment in

religious matters.

Hinduism ethnic in origin, but universal in philosophy.

Hinduism in its origin is ethnic, like the old religion of the Greeks and Romans. In part it is a bundle of customary beliefs and magic rites. These hold sway over the grosser minds, but the more refined and enlightened never acknowledge their supremacy, and either take refuge in nature-worship or rise to the highest conceptions of philosophy. As soon as we get to this atmosphere, we get to a set of ideas whose appeal is not limited to one nation or people, or to one period of time. From that point of view Hinduism can rise to the position of a great world-religion, were it not for its caste system and its Brahmanical priesthood. Buddhism, which was a development of Hinduism on these lines, made rapid progress all over Central and Eastern Asia, but the strength of the caste idea strangled it in India, and completely destroyed it in the home of its birth in the course of a few centuries.

Not unchanging: new schools.

It would be a mistake to look upon Hinduism as an unchanging system. Even the peculiar social system which has evolved and elaborated caste as its outstanding feature, has gradually undergone transformation. Its noblest minds have roamed as freely in the great

wide spaces of the world's thought as any outside its pale. Islam first, and then Christianity, have had their impact upon Hinduism, not to mention many spiritual and material forces from within that assisted in its evolution. In the course of centuries it has thrown off new movements like the Bhakti School, Sikhism, the Kabir Panth, the Brahmo Samaj, and the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj is a modern and aggressive movement, which attempts to abolish caste, to emancipate women, and to build its organisation on modern representative lines. It also attempts to proselytise. Under the orthodox Hindu system a man or woman not born within the pale of Hinduism could never become a Hindu. One born within one caste could not pass into another, although in this respect there are some very old precedents to the contrary. A man or woman born in Hinduism could, if he or she defied caste, become an outcaste. But he could not throw off the fetters of his birth. In initiating the reform towards proselytism, the Arya Samaj is enlarging the horizon of Hinduism, but it is doubtful whether it will affect any large number of people outside the Hindu pale except possibly the semi-Muslimised lower castes which had

ceased to be reckoned as Hindus. This last feature has embroiled it with the Muslims. Apart from the Arya Samaj, there are other movements, mainly of an intellectual nature, which are based on national lines and aim at a freer interpretation of Hindu institutions and traditions. One of such movements is associated with the honoured name of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

Non-Brahman movement.

Among the Hindus of Southern India, the difference between Brahmans and non-Brahmans has been hitherto accentuated in so marked a degree that a strong non-Brahman protest movement has arisen. This non-Brahman movement looked in the first instance to its political rights under the new Constitution, which gave the citizens of India a vote. But its extension to other spheres of public interest has been rapid. The non-Brahmans are successfully making good their claims to higher standards of education and social life. Their voting strength in the Maratha country will also give them an opportunity of improving their economic position. The Marathas are the backbone of the modern industries connected with cotton manufacture in Bombay and the Deccan. How far these movements will tend to strengthen or weaken

the exclusive position of the Hindu fold as opposed to non-Hindus it is difficult to say.

Cause of conflicts.

The chief conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in modern India arise not out of religion but out of political conditions. It is a kind of class warfare, disguised under the form of religious conflicts. The chief occasions for such conflicts arise out of public processions and ceremonial sacrifices. The real causes are more deep-seated and are to be found in the facts: (1) that the Muslims were the conquerors of India and have lost their power, but have not adjusted their vision to the changed conditions; (2) that having governed the country for nine centuries they were for many generations unwilling to come under the new political and educational systems of British India, and have therefore largely lost ground both economically and politically; and (3) that the Hindus, being in the majority in the country generally, claim the privilege of the majority to dictate to the minority, while the Muslims feel that their social organisation and their past experience and position entitle them to a place different from that of a mere minority in a homogeneous nation.

Remedies: educational and political.

The causes of conflicts being thus mainly political, their remedies will largely depend upon political and educational movements. As I am not discussing politics in this connection, nor the internal affairs of India, it is necessary to look at this question from a broader standpoint. There are many basic points of contact on which the Hindus and Muslims of India can found a cultural unity and become co-operative branches in a progressive nation. This process had been all but accomplished under the Mughal Empire. In the British Empire the strength of India as against the rest of the Dominions will depend upon the unity of Hindus and Muslims in India. That unity will also be a condition of India's status in the world at large.

Fundamental conceptions not irreconcilable

Even in regard to religion the fundamental conceptions on which Hindu and Muslim belief and practice rest in India are not irreconcilable, though they are somewhat different from those which rule in the West. The Hindu word for religion, Dharma, means Duty. It refers directly to Conduct. The Hindu Dharma, or standard of duty, may be different for different classes of individuals, and one class is held to have no right to quarrel with another because its

Dharma is different. The Muslim words for religion are Din or Iman. Underlying both words is the conception of faith or belief or trust. In so far as the belief or trust is in the higher Power to which we wish to make our wills accordant, it corresponds with the attitude of the Hindu School of Bhakti. In so far as it implies trustworthiness in ourselves it implies ideas of conduct, and brings us to the conceptions of Dharma. Only it prescribes universal standards of conduct for all classes.

Religion in European history.

The origin of the word Religion, which has its counterpart in all European languages, has been disputed. Some derive it from the Latin *Legere*, to collect, to gather together—referring to the priestly function of collecting all that appertains to worship. Others derive the word from the Latin *ligare*, to bind, referring either to the bond which binds religious persons to their God, or to the corresponding bond which binds them together in worship. From either point of view, the predominating conception of religion in Europe is that of organisation rather than of conduct, of a church rather than of individual ethics. We see in history that most of the religious wars in Europe have been about matters of church organisation or discipline and

rarely about matters of belief or conduct. It may be said that church organisation implies creeds and beliefs, and the boundary between the two is very hard to define. It is quite true that in the religious wars between Catholics and Protestants in Europe, the position of the Pope, which was in dispute, involved also many matters of belief and conduct. But it can, I think, be justly said that the chief stress was on church organisation. The questions in dispute were mainly such as the following: is the church or the civil power to be supreme?: is there to be a right of private judgment?: has each nation the right to make its own national church, or is the church universal to dominate over all? In internal religious wars the questions have been about the liturgy, church government by bishops or elders, and so on.

Common-sense methods of building up unity.

The Hindus and Muslims have now lived together side by side in India for nine centuries. Their social life has had many adaptations by mutual contact. Their every-day thought has also undergone similar adaptations in many particulars. Their points of view have been brought closer together by economic artistic and political contact. If on the one hand it is true that an extreme school of Hindu revivalism aims at

forcing the Hindus apart from the Muslims or at absorbing the minority in the majority, there is also a tendency on the other side, among extreme Muslims, to travel back part of the road which they have trodden through the centuries, and discard even the harmless forms and ceremonies which they have adopted in India. The more reasonable course is to review the situation from the point of view of common-sense. India can never become the land of Vedic Hinduism again without great loss to herself. Nor can the Muslims suppose that they can ever put back the clock of history and start as if nothing had happened since the days of Akbar and Shah Jahan. The attempt to make up their quarrels in the face of a supposed common enemy is a hollow attempt. Its want of sincerity as between the two communities foredooms it to failure. True and lasting friendship can only be founded on a basis of self-respect and mutual respect. The school which will rescue India from its morass of stagnation or of frantic politics will be the school that studies history frankly, and is not afraid of its lessons. It does not mask differences by hiding its head under the sands like an ostrich.

Religion above any organised churches.

The contribution which English culture has made to Indian life and thought is not a negligible quantity. English thought is in many cases merely European or modern thought that comes through English channels. The outstanding feature of modern cultural developments in the world is their catholicity. Religion, art, and science are dissociated from race or country. We adopt a scientific view of history. We correlate all facts of race, climate, history, economics, art, psychology, and spiritual gifts with religion and man's outlook on the future. Comparative religion has also evolved an idea of Religion as distinct from its many forms as seen in the organised churches. It is quite open to individuals or races to follow or adopt any particular forms they like or find suitable to their environments. It is no disrespect to Religion to say that any given forms in which we embody it may be subject to the imperfections incident to all human institutions. The highest Religion, based on Revelation and on a belief in God's direct dealings with humanity, is not inconsistent with our recognition of each others' failings and the necessary shortcomings of any visible institutions into which we translate the Divine message.

Missionary movements: old and new.

The Christian Missions started with an idea quite different from that which many Christian Missionaries themselves hold at the present day. The original division of the world into Christian and Heathen is no longer maintained by any sensible people. The word Heathen or Pagan itself has acquired a poetic association which makes it almost a word of praise. Many of the greatest minds of Christendom are frankly Pagan in their outlook and ideals. There are many intermediate shades of religion between Paganism and Christianity of the extreme ecclesiastical type. China and Japan as well as India have revealed modes of religious thought that are the same as Christian if we except matters of dogma, creed and organisation. A great deal of modern Missionary work is confined to the educational sphere. Some of it is medical, and in the latest phase a great deal of it is concerned with improved agriculture, improved training in handicrafts, and the provision of improved economic conditions. In this way any great movement, political, literary, artistic, ethical, or even economic, may be a Missionary movement, and there should be reflex influences as between all individuals and nations. Where this is not recognised and frankly

accepted, Missionary movements are bound to fail and may even do more harm than good.

Reflex action from the East.

The East originally carried on its Missions in the spirit which I have commended. Men went abroad freely among all classes and nations, and by their conduct and example as well as by an intelligent exposition of their views, where such exposition was desired, spread their religious and ethical ideas, almost unconsciously. There was no assumption of arrogance. There was undoubtedly faith and a belief that what we see as truth ourselves should be presented for acceptance to everyone else, and a natural spiritual delight when that acceptance became an accomplished fact. But many of the Eastern religions are now copying other methods. They are organising professional Missionaries. They raise funds by highly coloured accounts of the degradation existing in other lands and by rosy pictures of the welcome with which their propaganda and message are received. The subscribers are annually regaled with exaggerated accounts of imaginary successes backed up by arithmetical data. While such foreign propaganda absorbs a considerable amount of resources and energy, their own people are left in ignorance and vanity, and very

little effort is made to help them. Such methods I strongly deprecate, and I consider them alien to the true spirit of Eastern religion.

How Comparative Religion should be studied.

Many of the Universities in Europe have Chairs of Comparative Religion. Unfortunately the great religions of the East are studied as sociological phenomena to be bracketed with witchcraft, cannibalism, taboo, and the primitive rites of the most backward communities. These undoubtedly have an historical interest of their own. But if Religion in its highest manifestation is to be studied with reverence and with any hope of its throwing light on modern problems and saving us from the effects of individual and organised selfishness, the approach will have to be through other paths, and the literature on the subject will have to breathe another spirit.

The quest for the highest truth.

In my view the religion of all thinking men is the same, however different may be the philosophy by which they explain their spiritual instincts, or the moulds in which they cast their spiritual hopes. When once this lesson is grasped in India, Hindus and Muslims will be able to work together more efficiently for their country. When they further realise that modernism in thought and action, in spiritual and material outlook, as evolved in Europe,

is a natural stage of evolution in which the whole of mankind has an interest, and to which the whole of mankind has contributed, there will be no obstacles to their taking their rightful place in the human quest for the highest truth, the truth that relates to our inmost spiritual being and our ultimate destiny in time and eternity. On the other hand, the religious experiences and spiritual cravings of India have much in them that will help the thought of modern Europe, as it has helped its thought in past history.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION.

IN a crisis like the present in the world's history, the key to the solution to most questions will be found in Education —improved and adapted to the new mentality of the world. It is no figure of speech to say that we have entered a new era after the close of the Great War. The Great War not only destroyed many Empires which were supposed to be firm and strong. It destroyed many great systems of thought and life which were supposed to be based on the immutable foundations of human nature. There is no doctrine in politics that is not now questioned. There are no conventions of social life, which may be held to be secure. There is no phase of religious opinion that is not attacked. There is no school of Art or Literature which does not feel the shock of the cataclysm. Nationalism, which had become a sort of fetish, has, by the very zeal with which it has been pushed forward, created a reaction in favour of internationalism. And no one seems to know what

The cataclysm, and new revolts.

internationalism means or how it is to be achieved. Even the pure sciences have felt the dreadful onslaught. The atom has been dethroned from its impregnable position, and Einstein's Relativity has shaken the foundations of the Newtonian Solar System. It is not all due to the war. Many of these movements had their seeds in the air before, but the storm has lodged them in unexpected places. Timid voices have become brazen. Clamours and hesitating revolts have been precipitated by the great unhinging of social institutions, of which the War itself was a sympton and manifestation.

Fresh foundations necessary.

How shall we find a way through this jungle of confusion? While the old wood was there, solid and substantial, there was something to which new ropes stretched out could be attached. So much of the old wood has been burnt out. The new saplings have not yet got an independent life of their own. To train them we shall have to start from the very beginning, and build up new foundations carefully thought out, new roots carefully nurtured.

The rising generation.

It will be well if we recognise from the outset what the purpose of our education is to be, for then we can adapt its contents and methods to that purpose, and construct our machinery for achieving our

objects.* Adult education can only be at best, a preparation for the truer direction of the education of children. I do not deny that the enrichment of adult life is an end in itself, but the transformations wrought by adult education are of a less far-reaching and permanent character than those we look to in the education of our children. Education must mainly look towards the rising generation.

Problems to be faced.

What is our object with regard to them? Do we want to make them good citizens? If so, what do we mean by good citizens? Some people might insist on extreme nationalism, others on internationalism of various shades. Or do we want them to be good, efficient economic units for society? The Communists would interpret this in one way, the Socialists in another way, and there might be various differences of economic views among the advocates of mass production, cottage industries, manual art-work, etc. What are the methods that we shall follow? Shall we leave the children free to learn what they like, or to learn nothing if they so chose? Are we to teach them individually or in classes? Is knowledge

* An admirable exposition of this subject is given in Mr. St. George Lane Fox-Pitt's "Purpose of Education," of which a new edition has just come out.

as important as conduct, and how are we to teach or train in the building up of character? Is freedom of emotional expression an end in itself? What are the subjects to be taught? Are we to set apart some children for the classics and the humanities, others for commercial or economic direction, others again for manual work in field, workshop, factory, or mine? How are we to teach history, or science? And are we to teach history science, and art to all or to some, or how? Is history to be pure knowledge, or a guide to conduct, or a form of literary art for the satisfaction of the æsthetic sense, or an instrument for strengthening the religious or national bias? How shall we build up the machinery by which schools are created, managed, controlled, and co-ordinated? What is to be the relation between pupils, teachers, and parents, or between primary schools, secondary schools, colleges, universities and research endowerments, or between local authorities in towns or villages or private associations, as against the State or complex federal States? All these are mere specimens of the sort of questions that may be asked and must be faced if we are to construct a comprehensive system of education. It would be foolish to attempt so gigantic a task in the space

at my disposal. I would only discuss a few contrasts arising out of the burning questions in India and Europe, in order to see how far we may be able to help each other.

Burning questions in India : (a) Denominational Education.

If we examine the subject minutely, all the questions that are relevant to education require attention in India. But there are a few which have special urgency, and which we shall do well to examine. One of the most important of these is the question of denominational education. A few years ago denominational education became all the rage. Not only denominational schools and colleges, but also denominational universities were founded amid universal acclamation. There has been some disillusion since. It has been seen that denominational education if pushed too far tends to strengthen and perpetuate denominationalism in religion, that denominationalism overflows into social life and tends to permeate it, and that it embitters politics and hampers political progress. But where two communities like the Hindu and the Muslim are organised in opposite camps, and have a separate consciousness which is not only religious but also racial, economic, and social, and where they are not equally matched in numbers and resources, a

number of compromises have to be made. Fortunately the State schools being undenominational, the experiment of denominational schools on a limited scale can be tried without undue encroachment on the national edifice. But the State schools treat knowledge as if it had no spiritual bearings. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this neutral character of State education is weakening the foundation of morals and the stability of society. Moral education has been proposed as a substitute, but no entirely satisfactory formula has yet been found. On the whole the true solution, in the present conditions of India, will probably be found in a better system of separate religious instruction, in which denominationalism will be minimised as far as possible, and Religion will be taught as a force making for universal toleration and brotherhood rather than for sectarianism and conflict.

(b) Classical versus Modern Education.

The eternal fight between Classicists and Modernists takes a special form in India. The Classics mean for Muslims the Arabic and Persian Classics. For Hindus they mean the Sanskrit Classics. For an appreciable number of Hindu and Muslim students who hope to pursue European education (not necessarily but generally in Europe), they mean the

Greek and Latin Classics. As opposed to these several Classics, there is the English language and the many modern vernaculars of India, of which those possessing a respectable body of literature number not fewer than nine or ten. The claims of several of these conflicting Classics have to be settled for a given area or a given individual. Hitherto English has been the medium of instruction for higher studies in State institutions. But the use of one of the Indian vernaculars as a medium of instruction has already become a question of practical politics. The Osmania University in Hyderabad State has adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction. In the higher study of the Oriental Classics, again, there is the issue between the old and traditional methods that have been followed in the East for many generations and the new and critical methods suggested by modern European scholarship. The higher criticism intangibly raises questions of race and religion, especially where sacred languages like Arabic and Sanskrit are concerned. It will be seen that the question is enormously more complex in India than it is in most other countries. Its final solution will only be reached when we have provinces divided on a linguistic basis, and there is a

sufficient degree of Hindu-Muslim unity to render it essential that a general knowledge of both cultures should form a part of all higher education.

(c) Literary versus practical.

The virtual absence of education among the large mass of artisans and workers raises another question of very practical importance. As education has hitherto been confined to the literary or professional classes, the character of that education has been mainly literary. But every step by which education seeks lower strata in the social scale renders that literary education more of a misfit and an anachronism. The practical secondary and middle schools, which teach the useful arts and raise the general tone of technical knowledge among the vast masses of the people, are few and far between. A Government Commission which recently reported (Sir Thomas Holland's Commission) went deeply into the question of industrial education. But the problem I am referring to is not merely that of industrial education. All education, including the highest, should have a more practical bent given to it. Economics as taught in the Universities are so theoretical that they lead to no fruitful applications to the actual problems of Indian life. All knowledge must be kept close to what the learner can see and test

for himself. This is a good rule even in philosophy, which deals with abstract concepts. The practical bent in education is a more crying need in India than elsewhere, on account of our ingrained theoretical psychology.

(d) Catholicity versus limited points of view.

I have said that all higher education in India has been mainly in the English language. But its tone and content has also been mainly English. History has been taught through English spectacles. While our knowledge of English History is fairly full and even minute (but not necessarily intelligent), our knowledge of Continental or American history is usually a blank Worse than that, our knowledge of our own history is often one-sided and distorted. A strong revulsion has set in, but it is not a source of unmixed satisfaction to those who would face the question in a dispassionate temper. One distortion does not justify another. It does not improve intellectual knowledge or clarify vision, if the narrowness of the filed is maintained, but the distortion is from another angle, and in degree somewhat worse than before. As India is a part of the British Empire, it ought to know a little more about the other parts of the Empire. In this respect also our education fails. As regards the other countries of Asia the deficiency

is most lamentable. The only solution to this question is enlarged interest on the part of India in the world outside, and a deeper and more understanding interest on the part of the world at large in India herself.

(e) Reaction from science, and dreams of the primitive.

The last point I shall mention in Indian education is one that arisen out of the movement for Swaraj (self-government). Every progressive son and daughter of India would aim at the progressive enlargement of India's liberty. But there are fantastic forms which the movement takes, which can do no good. The so-called "national" schools and colleges were founded without sufficient funds or organisation, and have been miserable failures. The teaching that the results of all modern inventions and discoveries and the conquest of science over nature are evil and should be rejected, is a pernicious doctrine and ought to be rooted out of education. The support and encouragment of home industries is a patriotic duty which every citizen ought to carry out and practise, but that is a very different thing from saying that India should scrap all machinery and go back to the days when every man and woman spun a little cotton with a hand-spinning machine and clothed himself. The cult of the Charkha (spinning wheel) as a test

of moral and civic virtue is not one that is likely to liberalise education or improve its quality, or to lift policies out of the region of narrowness and hypocrisy.

Big. questions in Europe.

Let us now glance at a few of the burning questions in the field of education that agitate modern Europe. It may be said at once that to generalise about Europe is impossible and unprofitable. At the same time, in my view, it is possible to state a few of the big educational questions in Europe, and compare them with some of those which I have stated in speaking of Indian education. Even the questions which I have treated as specially Indian are really Indian forms of problems that agitate other countries, and are thus of world-wide significance. I should take care in discussing the five or six European problems of education, not to touch on any that have a purely local interest or arise out of purely national conditions.

(a) Youth must seek expression.

The first great point that occurs to me is the place demanded and taken by youth in the new education. Old traditions are dying not only in teachers but in pupils, not only in teaching but in learning. In the countries depopulated by the War, there is probably a larger proportion of old persons in the population than is normal. But the lessons of

the War have sunk deep, and there is no doubt that youth is claiming more and more preponderance in all spheres of activity, and not the least in the sphere of education. It is surprising how most of the educational movements are led by comparatively young teachers or educationists. They get a better hearing in politics, and in State and Town administration. They are in closer touch with the pulse of national life. Among the elder men there is a sense of weariness. Among the younger there is a sense of confidence,—some would say of overweening confidence. They are anxious to try experiments; they are willing to adapt themselves; they welcome new opportunities for themselves and their pupils. The age of compulsory instruction has also been raised or is about to be raised in many countries; and an intermediate class of young persons is being created who may be outside the scheme of compulsory education, but who are still kept as it were in the educational precincts, so that their transition from education to life may not be too abrupt and they may have better chances in the coming economic struggle.

(b) Sex emancipation.

The emancipation of women and the equality of sexes, conceded at least in theory, raise other questions in the field

of education. Most of the newer Universities in Europe are full of women. Some of them have more women students than men. And the women students are keener about the subjects that make for culture as against vocation than the men. Are the subjects to be taught to them to be precisely the same as those taught to the men? Are the curricula to be bifurcated? Or are there to be common curricula in all grades of education, or in the higher grades, but so modified as to meet the needs of the new factor in education? How is the presence of women going to affect men's education? It is certain that the equality of the sexes demands that no avenue to knowledge or employment should be closed to one sex —nay, further, that there should be an equality of opportunity all through. On the other hand, sentimental considerations have to be balanced by the practical. It would be race-suicide if the nervous forces and faculties of both sexes of mankind were to be so exhausted in the struggles of practical life or in the undoubtedly strong demands made by the pursuit of higher knowledge, that the claims of the home, of children, of marriage, and all the seeming drugery that many of these things imply, were put into the background. The movement is

still too new to have produced its adjustments. Indeed the full gravity of the problems has not yet been realised. It is not purely an educational question, but raises many social questions of the highest import, such as the future incidents of marriage, the ordering and service of the home, and questions of birth control and Malthusian ethics.

(c) Freedom in Education.

A question fiercely debated is that of greater freedom in education,—freedom for the teacher, freedom for the pupils, freedom and variety in subjects, elasticity of organisation, and relaxation of control as between private agencies, municipal bodies, and the State at large. It is even possible that the League of Nations, in its Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, may extend its interest to education. The more we decentralise in education, the better adapted it is for the actual needs of communities. I doubt whether even a municipal area is not too large to lay down a policy for education. The different occupations and social grades, and even the different geographical quarters, may have their special needs. Even in a school or a class taken as a whole there may be need for further decentralisation and individual attention. Freedom in all matters is essential if we are to achieve the best results. But

with freedom should go a desire for co-operation, for comparing notes, for emulation. There should be no vested interests. Some of the older Universities are already coming to be looked upon as vested interests and are in their turn jealous of new movements and unsympathetic towards new ideas. Even the new Universities are in danger of getting into a rut. As soon as a movement is established, and becomes orthodox, there is a danger lest it should look upon anything outside its pale as heresy or rebellion, and likely to unsettle the thoughts of the young. But all progress takes place through unsettlement and adjustment. Reasonable freedom helps the process, while unreasonable constraint produces violent convulsions and prevents the natural operation of healthy processes.

(d) New economic re-grouping.

The new economic re-grouping of society must also be taken into account in education. Socialism and Communism may be catch-words in some people's minds, but they are passionate slogans in the mouths of many men who must be accounted potent factors in the Reconstruction. The time is past when they can be ignored or the conditions which called them forth be neglected and held of no account. It is equally the duty of those who believe in them and those who

do not believe in them to take counsel together, and see that the dust of passionate economic controversy is not allowed to cloud the issues of education. It seems to me that the talk about Communist colleges and Communist universities is on a par with that about Conservative colleges or Conservative universities. It will widen the breach instead of healing it. In knowledge we have to pursue the objective truth. Although that may appear to be an impossible chimera, it is well to hold up the ideal before ourselves.

(e) New tone of international relations.

The new tone of international relations makes it necessary to consider whether education should be intensely national or have an international tinge. The boundaries between intense nationalism and chauvinism are hard to define. Nationalism has undoubtedly served its purpose in history, but it is necessary to take stock of the achievements of all nations in the building up of the future educational fabric. I do not think it is possible to form any definition of internationalism which would help us in developing our educational systems. A great deal of what is called internationalism is merely a vague reaching out of the human mind towards something different from our drab every-day life or far from our immediate surroundings. Many of the pictures of other nations painted by

social reformers and enthusiasts are far from the truth and beside the mark. They may do a great deal of harm in their reflex action, even if, or specially if, they are laudatory and uncritical. In testing the truth it is best to stick to what is immediately within our ken. But the spirit which wishes to recognise the merits, work, and achievements of other races is necessary in education no less than in international organisation. That spirit is gaining ground everywhere, and deserves every encouragement.

(f) Study of history.

That spirit can be shown in the most practical form in the study of history. The best approved modes of writing and teaching history make of history a science and art which embraces every department of human activity. It also revises the comparative valuation of the different departments. It seeks to restore the economic and spiritual efforts of mankind to the more important place which they undoubtedly occupy in human life. Facts of conflict and war, within and without, may be more dramatic and more sensational. But they should undoubtedly be placed less prominently before the human mind in constructing its map of life, if we believe in human co-operation and the solidarity of the human race.

In this direction there are movements in progress in all countries as well as international movements of note. The intellectual Co-operation Committee of the League of Nations has untold possibilities before it. The international Moral Education Congress has a programme that fits in with many of the national movements. Those in the English-speaking countries are sufficiently widely known in the Anglo Saxon world. It may be interesting to call attention to the movement for Radical School Reform in Germany, (Bund Entschiedener Schulreformer), which is seeking to give expression to the spiritual needs of the new and disillusioned Germany which has arisen after the War. Its attitude will perhaps be best understood by a reference to the admirable Synoptical History Tables for the period 1500—1920 compiled by Dr. Siegfried Kawerau.

Synoptical History Tables (international).

For different countries and for convenient periods of time, there are set out in parallel columns facts grouped under the following headings :—

a. Economic development

b. Social conditions and movements

c. Spiritual Life { Religion and Church; Philosophy and Science; Literature and Music; Painting, Sculpture and Architecture; Education and Training

d. State Organisation from within. { Law; Government; Administration; Armed Forces

e. Foreign or International Politics

This convenient grouping indicates a fresh valuation of the different elements in the growth of human thought, organisation, and society.

World Federation of Educational Associations its ideals.

The world Federation of Educational Associations, which was organised at San Francisco in July, 1923, and has just (July, 1925) concluded its first Biennial Conference in Edinburgh, is also founded on the belief that educational aims are universal throughout the world. It insists on an organised system of pre-school education; believes in the teaching of geography, history, and civics not only from a national but also from a modern sociological and international point of view; wishes to emphasize in world history the progress from conflict to conciliation; dreams of a world

university, with a co-ordination of educational forces; interests itself in International relations; and affirms the importance of character training and health Education.

The sum and crown of Education.

If history is studied in the new spirit, it is likely to be the sum and crown of education. It would carry out the wise old injuction to man: "Know Thyself." It would strip controversies of their local, sectional, or national bitterness. We shall see in the struggles or errors of our weaker brethren something that has happened or may happen to ourselves. It would help to throw up class war or hatred or international or religious conflicts in their true light—as sins against the human spirit. It may offer an antidote to materialism, the poison which, like the sorcery of Circe, turns men into brutes and swine.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS.

OUR theme has been to study the contrasts between India and Europe in order to discover how the solidarity of the world may be strengthened and what avenues of co-operation lie open to us on both sides. It is not open to India to isolate herself. She has sometimes tried to isolate herself in past history, but isolation has usually meant stagnation. It has also been broken by the clash of arms. There is a tendency to seek a new kind of isolation. A narrow view of events makes some people sick of Europe, European science, European medicine, and European civilisation. To encourage this tendency is to plunge India deeper in the mire.

Isolation not good for India.

We all realise the shortcomings of European civilisation. They are realised nowhere more than in modern Europe. Some of the cynicisms or criticisms of European wits or thinkers are accepted in India at their face value. What we ought to realise is that European civilisation is modern civilisation, built on the

European civilisation the heritage of the world: if there are diseases, there are elements of recovery.

experiences of many centuries in the East and in the West. We Easterners have had at least as much to say in the progress of humanity as the people of the West. To turn away from European civilisation as if it were something alien or hostile to us is to misread the lessons of history. On the contrary we ought to welcome in it all the seeds of progress, and all the healthy elements that help to conquer or subdue the ailments to which any human systems would be liable. The worst horrors of the late War should not blind us to the fact that Europe with the help of America has set about the task of reconstruction in an earnest spirit. If Asia or India were to stand aside with contempt or with despair, it would only mean that its own chance for helping in the solution of the world's problems and for righting old wrongs and remedying the drawbacks of its own position are minimised. Fortunately Japan is in the full tide of the movement for participating in everything that tends to obtain peace and to preserve it. There are many disturbing elements, but if the human mind is true to itself, and the members of the human family are loyal to each other, the human spirit must ultimately conquer as it is meant to do. China lies prostrate in its own weakness and internal

divisions, but no one doubts that a gifted people like the Chinese, to whom the world owes many of its discoveries, arts, and ethical ideas, must ultimately recover and take their rightful and fitting place in the human family. Can India afford to lag behind ?

Europe must respond.

We want Europe on its side to understand India, her past history, and her present aspirations. For a variety of reasons, false ideas of race or cultural superiority have gained ground, but on that score perhaps no nation or people or community has a right to cast the first stone. But in the new world to be, we want to use every agency, political, economic, educational, and social, to prevent false ideas from dominating the intercourse of men. The choicer spirits and the noblest teachers have always realised and taught the brotherhood of man. We must bring that idea home to the man in the street and the man in the market-place.

Clash of ideas : time will sift the true from the false.

In history the clash of East and West has not been merely a clash of nations or races, but also a clash of ideas and systems of thought and life. If our dream, to render the clash of arms less frequent if not impossible, is realised, we shall still have to deal with the clash of ideas. Such a clash has often meant a commingling or compromise : where there has been

a fair field, it has meant the rooting out of the false, and the recognition of the true. If we believe, as I believe, that the destiny of humanity is ever upwards, we must be thankful for such gains as we have won from the past, and we must seek for similar moral gains in the future. The attitude of calmness, patience, and confidence, which our Eastern institutions inculcate, has been of great value to us; and many Western seers have hankered after it, to replace the attitude of hurry, excitement, sensation, and general unsettlement, which seems to be fostered by an uncurbed growth of exuberant or misapplied vigour and energy. Is it too much to hope that a really earnest spirit of understanding will enable us to shed the worst and seek the best?

Mixture of races.

If the human family is one, and we are aiming at perfect concord and co-operation, is it possible to avoid a mixture of races? This has been the one sure factor in history for the extinction of racial feuds and the re-invigoration of old stocks. I speak on this subject with all becoming reserve and diffidence. But there is so much pseudo-physiological nonsense talked on this subject, in support of political prejudices and dog-in-the-manger policies, that it is desirable to raise the question, as affecting intimately

the future progress of mankind towards unity and peace.

Selective process in the art of history.

The writers of history must set themselves the task of seeing the truth, not through the smoke-coloured spectacles of national prejudices, but through the transparent medium of a love of humanity. To tell the whole truth is never possible except in the make-belicve imagination of those who administer oaths in courts of law. Limitations of time as well as memory dictate a resort to the selective process, which moreover is essential in all forms of art; and not least in the art of literature. As some selection is essential, the selection should be exercised in the direction of helping the human spirit to realise its dignity and solidarity. The tendency must be resisted towards the piling up of the agonies of mankind and all that makes for sensation, false magnificence, or crime.

How Art can build up international brotherhood

The best possibilities for building up international brotherhood lie open through the medium of Art. In this I include literature. But literature is subject to this drawback, that it suffers something through translation from one language to another. But the mutual influences of the different languages on account of facilities of human intercourse are becoming so extensive that this

drawback will operate less and less in the future. On the other hand Art is independent of language. The Art of one country can be easily understood by another. A certain amount of psychological education and imagination is undoubtedly necessary in order to overcome the blinkers of custom or prejudice. It should be the task of future leaders to remove such blinkers. It is because of psychological differences that good Art in one country fails to be appreciated in another, or the Art of one age fails to appeal to another age. When a revival or transplantation is attempted, psychological as well as physical causes may make the results a dismal failure. The fate of Gothic architecture when transplanted to India is a striking instance in point. Appreciation and understanding do not necessarily require transplantation. Many things are beautiful and useful in their own milieu, and should be enjoyed accordingly.

Art should be co-extensive with life.

Art should be co-extensive with life. There is no reason why, for instance, beauty in architecture should be concentrated only on public buildings. Undoubtedly public buildings on account of their importance require more attention than other buildings. But this should be a question of degree only. We could

usefully devote a little more architectural attention to our humblest homes and offices. We might also utilise our great public buildings rather more than we do in Europe. Great cathedrals and churches often lie idle six days in the week. I think that the instinct of the Muslims peoples is right which allows their most beautiful mosques—all mosques—to remain open at all times so that the broken human spirit may come for rest and solace there at any hour and in all moods, and not merely at stated times of service. Our great municipal buildings, theatres, and schools can also be utilised for social purposes during the hours when they are not being used for their primary purpose.

Works of Art to be enjoyed in situ, or in collections or Galleries?

There is another aspect of the appeal of Art: the enjoyment of works of art yields its best results in their own milieu. Does it conduce to the greatest artistic education and enjoyment of the people to have pictures painted and collected in great galleries or museums? The medieval practice was for pictures to be painted for particular places where they were meant to form part of a whole artistic scheme. Architecture, sculpture, drapery, furniture, and all the accessories of a refined civilisation were placed together where living men and women assembled

for high thoughts or noble purposes. Each form of Art assisted and heightened the effects of the other. If we look at the frescoes in the Ajanta Caves in India, we see that each filled its exact place on the wall where it was painted. Should we not aim at the creation of modern art in that spirit rather than in the spirit of producing huge masses of competitive pictures to be hung together in Exhibitions and Art Galleries?

Is Oriental Art less distinctive if it employs modern methods?

In India we have some new schools of Oriental Art. They are breaking new ground, but they are most successful where they catch the spirit of India and present it in modern form, with all the accessories of modern art and technique. Too great an adherence to old mannerisms may defeat its own purpose. I like pictures painted by an Indian who strives to attain the best skill he can attain, and uses the best material and the most approved methods of modern art, in so far as they are suitable for his subject, and yet presents the finest ideas and standards of our artistic history. A Singalese painter, Mr. Amaresekhar, who recently gave an exhibition of his pictures in London, was criticised on the ground that his pictures might have been painted by a European. To me that criticism appears to be pointless, if directed to his

method or technique alone. I recall one picture of his, a landscape of the Lake at Kandy. The atmosphere is that of moonlight. There are two figures, lovers wandering by the embankment round the Lake. They are evidently Buddhists, not only rapt in the silence of the moonlight, but feasting on all the reverent associations which the full moon festivals present to the mind of the pious Buddhist. The Lake seems to respond to their reveries. Such a picture with such a theme must necessarily be distinctive, and breathe the spirit of Eastern Art, for all the excellence of its Western technique.

Music for all: to brighten our work

For similar reasons I advocate a deeper study of Eastern music in the West and of Western music in the East. I grant that the methods and instruments of the one may not be suitable for the other. But the study of both may throw light on the higher principles of either. An artist has the right to choose whatever suits his genius best. The less he is fettered by tradition, the more original work he will produce. I want music not to be the privilege of a coterie only but the enjoyment of every cultivated mind. I do not wish to see music given merely at concerts or on great public occasions. In Indian States music is played at the

Palace when the Prince awakes and when he is going to bed. This custom can be extended and music brought into every hour of our every-day life, so as to elevate and brighten our work and homes. I was delighted to hear classical music played on the beautiful organ in the Reichstag at Berlin at the opening of the International Peace Congress. Great and good music was also given at various stages in the British Empire Exhibition in London, even where the programme was not professedly musical. The extension of such a practice must help greatly in the refinement of our public and private life.

Religion independent of labels.

I have spoken of a few contrasts in religion between India and Europe. I ought to say that I do not lay any great stress on labels. Christianity is the nominal religion of Europe. But there are many features of Christianity that are practised less in Europe than in other countries where the label bears a different name. In Japan, which adopted the outward forms of European civilistaion more than any other country in Asia, both Shintoism and Buddhism are labels that mean a good deal more than is understood from them in Europe. In the same way the Indian religions, when they are labelled Hinduism and Islam,

mean a great deal more than Europe understands by these terms. The social and spiritual ideals of Islam have felt an awakening that renders pointless many of the criticisms that are levelled against it in Europe. The ideal of a union of the churches is a great one and I hope that the horizon of those who are working for it will be so enlarged as to take in the Muslim, the Buddhist, and the Hindu world. It is far from my thought to suggest that any church or religion should abandon the forms or organisations which best help the spiritual life of its own people. But I do plead for a wider mutual recognition of churches and earnest sincere movements, which should bring religious people of all nations and countries closer together.

Education to accentuate unity and common hopes and feelings.

Our national systems of education are responsible for a great many of the false prejudices of race, colour, or culture. In the new education we shall have studiously to remove these. We shall frankly take for granted differences of manners, customs and institutions, as well as of physiognomy, colour, or psychology, but we shall the more accentuate our unity in feelings, hopes and aspirations, and our common interest in the promotion of human progress and happiness.

Study of Indian languages and institutions in Europe.

I should like to see Indian languages and literatures, ancient and modern, made a part of liberal education in the Universities of Europe. The chairs endowed for their study should be filled by men or women representative of the languages or civilisations which they expound. Hitherto the majority of such chairs have been instituted for theological, missionary, or commercial purposes, and sharply distinguished from chairs for the "humanities." I should also like to see travel to the East becoming more an educational movement than one merely for material gain or from purely archæological interest. We want to interest the world in our modern social, religious, and cultural movements. It would be a good thing to have endowed travelling fellowships for this purpose, whose object would be to learn in the country of travel and teach what is so learnt in the home country.

International circulation of educational currencies.

This international circulation of educational currencies will mean the liberation of education from exclusive professional guidance and control, and bring to bear upon it more directly the influence of lay opinion as formed in the practical school of life. The place of parents in the evolution of education should also receive a wider recognition and a more

practical shape. The different movements that are forming all over the world will have a chance of influencing each other, and the essential reforms will be placed in their true perspective in national discussions.

World ripe for cultural harmony.

I have intentionally left out political matters from this discussion. That subject would be a very wide one, and for political purposes the discussion of Europe as a unit is altogether premature. The idea of Pan-Europe has been propounded as a sort of stage in decentralisation from the League of Nations. To me it appears a backward step, especially as the promoters of Pan-Europe leave out the British Empire and Russia from their scheme. But whatever the political groupings may be in the different Continents of the world, it seems to me that the idea of cultural harmony—not necessarily cultural uniformity—is ripe for discussion and for translation into facts.

The Eastern and Western streams of culture.

There are two sacred streams in India—the Jumna and the Ganges—which have a strange appearance just below their junction at Allahabad. The colour of the water in the two streams remains distinct for many hundred yards after the streams have mingled together. It might almost appear at first sight that

the two rivers would never unite. Yet the eternal laws of nature win over appearances created by local differences. Very soon the broad and majestic waters of the united river flow down the thousand miles or so of the course which still remains before they join the salt sea. May we use this as a simile for the two streams of human culture—the Eastern and the Western? Sometimes we are told that the two will never meet. Sometimes we are asked to believe that they are indentical. They are neither identical, nor are they incapable of mingling together. Like the two sacred rivers they both have their factors of value. But human nature will triumph over local differences. If the brotherhood of mankind is realised in our hearts, we shall see that both streams arise from a sacred source in a sort of common spiritual Himalayas dominating our higher life.