

Current Thought

*That which exists is One
The wise name It variously*

—RIG VEDA

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Satyagraha in South Africa

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CHAPTER XXV

GENERAL SMUTS' BREACH OF FAITH (?)

THE reader saw something of the internal difficulties, in describing which I had to draw largely upon my own life story, but that could not be avoided, as my own difficulties regarding Satyagraha became equally the difficulties of the Satyagrahis also. We now return to the external situation.

I am ashamed of writing the caption of this chapter as well as the chapter itself, for it deals with the obliquity of human nature. Already in 1908 General Smuts ranked as the ablest leader in South Africa, and today he takes a high place among the politicians of the British Empire, not to say of the world. I have no doubt about his great abilities. General Smuts is as able a general and administrator as he is a lawyer. Many other politicians have come and gone in

South Africa, but from 1907 up to date the reins of Government have practically been held throughout by this gentleman, and even today he holds a unique position in the country. It is now nine years since I left South Africa. I do not know what epithet the people of South Africa now bestow upon General Smuts. His Christian name is Jan, and South Africa used to call him 'slim Janny.' Many English friends had asked me to beware of General Smuts, as he was a very clever man and a trimmer, whose words were intelligible only to himself and often such that either party could interpret them in a sense favourable to himself. Indeed on a suitable occasion he would lay aside the interpretations of both the parties, put a fresh interpretation upon them, carry it out and support it by such clever arguments that the parties for the time would be led to imagine that they were wrong themselves and General Smuts was right in construing the

words as he did. As regards the events I am now going to describe, we believed and said, when they happened, that General Smuts had played us false. Even to-day, I look upon the incident as a breach of faith from the Indian community's standpoint. However I have placed a mark of interrogation after the phrase, as in point of fact the General's action did not perhaps amount to an intentional breach of faith. It could not be described as breach of faith if the intention was absent. My experience of General Smuts in 1913-14 did not then seem bitter and does not seem so to me today, when I can think of past events with a greater sense of detachment. It is quite possible that in behaving to the Indians as he did in 1908 General Smuts was not guilty of a deliberate breach of faith.

These prefatory words were necessary in justice to General Smuts, as well as in defence of the use of the phrase 'breach of faith' in connection with his name and of what I am going to say in the present chapter.

We have seen in the last chapter how the Indians registered voluntarily to the satisfaction of the Transvaal Government. The Government must now repeal the Black Act, and if they did, the Satyagraha struggle would come to an end. This did not mean the end of the entire mass of anti-Indian legislation in the country or the redress of all the Indian grievances, for which the Indians must still continue their constitutional agitation. Satyagraha was directed solely to the scattering of the new and ominous cloud on the horizon in the shape of the Black

Act, which, if accepted by the Indians, would have humiliated them and prepared the way for their final extinction first in the Transvaal and then throughout South Africa. But instead of repealing the Black Act, General Smuts took a fresh step forward. He maintained the Black Act on the statute book and introduced into the legislature a measure, validating the voluntary registrations effected and the certificates issued subsequent to the date fixed by the Government in terms of that Act, taking the holders of the voluntary registration certificates out of its operation, and 'making further provision for the registration of Asiatics.' Thus there came into force two concurrent pieces of legislation with one and the same object, and freshly arriving Indians as well as even later applicants for registration were still subject to the Black Act.

I was simply astounded when I read the Bill. I did not know how I would face the community. Here was excellent food for the Pathan friend who had severely criticised me at the midnight meeting. But I must say that far from shaking it, this blow made my faith in Satyagraha stronger still. I called a meeting of our Committee and explained the new situation to them. Some of the members tauntingly said 'There you are. We have often been telling you that you are very credulous, and believe in everything that any one says. It would not matter much if you were so simple in your private affairs but the community has to suffer for your credulity in public matters. It is very difficult to rouse the same spirit as actuated our people

before. You know what stuff we Indians are made of, men whose momentary enthusiasm must be taken at the flood. If you neglect the temporary tide, you are done for.'

There was no bitterness in these taunting words. Such things had been addressed to me on other occasions also. I replied with a smile: 'Well, what you call my credulity is part and parcel of myself. It is not credulity but trust, and it is the duty of every one of us, yours as well as mine, to trust our fellowmen. And even granting that it is really a defect with me, you must take me as you find me with my defects no less than with the qualities. But I cannot concede that the enthusiasm of the community is a mere temporary effervescence. You must remember that you, as well as I, are members of the community. I should consider it an insult if you thus characterised my enthusiasm. I take it that you too regard yourselves as exceptions to the general rule you seek to formulate. But if you don't, you do the community the injustice of imagining that others are as weak-kneed as yourselves. In great struggles like ours there is always a tide and an ebb. However clear may be your understanding with the adversary, what is there to prevent him from breaking faith? There are many among us who pass promissory notes to others. What can be clearer and more free from doubt than a man's putting his signature to a document? Yet suits must be filed against them; they will oppose the suits and offer all kinds of defence. At last there are decrees and writs of attachment which take a long time and cost

great trouble to execute. Who can guarantee against the repetition of such flagrant behaviour? I would therefore advise you patiently to deal with the problem before us. We have to consider what we can do in case the struggle has to be resumed, that is to say, what each Satyagrahi can do absolutely regardless of the conduct of others. Personally I am inclined to think, that if only we are true to ourselves, others will not be found wanting, and even if they are inclined to weakness, they will be strengthened by our example.'

I believe this was enough to conciliate the well-intentioned sceptics who were doubtful about the resumption of the struggle. About this time Mr. Kachhalia began to show his mettle and come to the front. On every point he would announce his considered opinion in the fewest words possible and then stick to it through thick and thin. I do not remember a single occasion on which he betrayed weakness or doubt about the final result. A time came when Yusuf Mian was not ready to continue at the helm in troubled waters. We all with one voice acclaimed Kachhalia as our captain and from that time forward to the end he held unflinchingly to his responsible post. He fearlessly put up with hardships which would have daunted almost any other man in his place. As the struggle advanced, there came a stage when going to jail was a perfectly easy task for some and a means of getting well-earned rest, whereas it was infinitely more difficult to remain outside, minutely to look into all things, to make various arrangements and to deal with all sorts and conditions of men.

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Later on the European creditors of Kachhalia caught him as in a noose. Many Indian traders are entirely dependent in their trade on European firms, which sell them lakhs of rupees worth of goods on credit on mere personal security. That Europeans should repose such trust in Indian traders is an excellent proof of the general honesty of Indian trade. Kachhalia likewise owed large sums to many European firms, which asked him at once to meet their dues, being instigated thereto directly or indirectly by the Government. The firms gave Kachhalia to understand that they would not press for immediate payment if he left the Satyagraha movement. But if he did not, they were afraid of losing their money as he might be arrested any time by the Government, and therefore demanded immediate satisfaction in cash. Kachhalia bravely replied, that his participation in the Indian struggle was his personal affair, which had nothing to do with his trade. He considered that his religion, the honour of his community and his own self-respect were bound up with the struggle. He thanked his creditors for the support they had extended to him, but refused to attach any undue importance to that support or indeed to his trade. Their money was perfectly safe with him, and as long as he was alive he would repay them in full at any cost. But if anything happened to him, his stock as well as the book debts owing to him were at their disposal. He therefore wished that his creditors would continue to trust him as before. This was a perfectly fair argument, and Kachhalia's firmness was an additional

reason for his creditors to trust him, but on this occasion it failed to impress them. We can rouse from his slumbers a man who is really asleep, but not him who only makes a pretence of sleep all the while that he is awake, and so it was with these European traders, whose sole object was to bring undue pressure to bear upon Kachhalia. Otherwise their money was perfectly safe.

A meeting of the creditors was held in my office on 22nd January 1909. I told them clearly that the pressure to which they were subjecting Kachhalia was purely political and unworthy of merchants, and they were incensed at my remark. I showed them Kachhalia Sheth's balance sheet and proved that they could have their 20 s. in the pound. Again if the creditors wanted to sell the business to some one else, Kachhalia was ready to hand over the goods and the book debts to the purchaser. If this did not suit them, the creditors could take over the stock in Kachhalia's shop at cost price, and if any part of their dues still remained unsatisfied, they were free to take over book debts due to him sufficient to cover the deficit. The reader can see that in agreeing to this arrangement the European merchants had nothing to lose. I had on many previous occasions effected such arrangements with the creditors of some of my clients who were hard pressed. But the merchants at this juncture did not seek justice. They were out to bend Kachhalia. Kachhalia would not bend, bankruptcy proceedings were instituted against him, and he was declared an insolvent, though his estate

showed a large excess of assets over liabilities.

Far from being a blot upon his escutcheon this insolvency was perfectly honourable to him. It enhanced his prestige among the community and all congratulated him upon his firmness and courage. But such heroism is rarely met with. The man in the street cannot understand how insolvency can cease to be insolvency, cease to be a disgrace and become an honour and an ornament, but Kachhalia realised it at once. Many traders had submitted to the Black Act merely from a fear of insolvency. Kachhalia could have warded off the insolvency if he had wished, not by leaving the struggle,—that was out of the question,—but by borrowing from his many Indian friends who would have gladly helped him over the crisis. But it would not have been becoming in him to have saved his trade by such means. The danger of being any day clapped into gaol he shared in common with all Satyagrahis. It would therefore be hardly proper for him to borrow from a fellow Satyagrahi to pay the European creditors. But among his friends there were 'blacklegs' also whose help was available. Indeed one or two of them actually offered assistance. But to accept their offer would have been tantamount to an admission that there was wisdom in submitting to the obnoxious Act. We therefore decided to decline their proffered aid.

Again we thought that if Kachhalia allowed himself to be declared an insolvent, his insolvency would serve as a shield for others, for if not in all, at least in an overwhelmingly large majority of cases

of insolvency, the creditor stands to lose something. He is quite pleased if he realises 10 s. in the pound, and considers 15 s. quite as good as 20 s. in the pound. For big traders in South Africa generally reap a profit not of $6\frac{1}{4}$ but of 25 per cent. They therefore consider 15 s. as good as full payment. But as 20 s. in the pound is hardly ever realised from a bankrupt's estate, creditors are not anxious to reduce their debtor to a state of insolvency. As soon, therefore, as Kachhalia was declared an insolvent, there was every likelihood that the European traders would cease to threaten other Satyagrahi traders who were their debtors. And that was exactly what happened. The Europeans wanted to compel Kachhalia either to give up the struggle or else to pay them in full in cash. They failed to achieve any of these two objects, and the actual result was the very reverse of what they had expected. They were dumbfounded by this first case of a respectable Indian trader welcoming insolvency and were quiet ever afterwards. In a year's time the creditors realised 20 s. in the pound from Kachhalia Sheth's stock-in-trade, and this was the first case in South Africa to my knowledge in which creditors were paid in full from the insolvent debtor's estate. Thus even while the struggle was in progress, Kachhalia commanded great respect among the European merchants, who showed their readiness to advance to him any amount of goods in spite of his leading the movement. But Kachhalia was every day gaining in strength and in an intelligent appreciation of the struggle. No one could now

tell how long the struggle would last. We had therefore resolved after the insolvency proceedings that the Sheth should not make any large commitments in trade during the continuance of the movement, but confine his operations within such moderate limits as would suffice to provide him with his daily bread. He therefore did not avail himself of the European merchants' offer.

I need scarcely say that all these incidents in the life of Kachhalia Sheth did not happen soon after the Committee meeting referred to above, but I have found place for them here in the shape of a connected narrative. Chronologically, Kachhalia became Chairman some time after the resumption of the struggle (10th September 1908) and his insolvency came about five months later.

But to return to the Committee meeting. When the meeting was over, I wrote a letter to General Smuts, saying that his new bill constituted a breach of the compromise, and drawing his attention to the following passage in his Richmond speech delivered within a week of the settlement: 'The Indians' second contention was that they would never register until the law had been repealed... He had told them that the law would not be repealed so long as there was an Asiatic in the country who had not registered... Until every Indian in the country had registered the law would not be repealed.' Politicians do not reply at all to questions which land them in difficulty, or if they do, they resort to circumlocution. General Smuts was a past master of this art. You may write to him

as often as you please, you may make any number of speeches you like, but if he is unwilling to reply, nothing that you do can draw him out. The law of courtesy, which requires a gentleman to reply to letters received, could not bind General Smuts, and I did not receive any satisfactory reply to my letters.

I met Albert Cartwright who had been our mediator. He was simply shocked and exclaimed, 'Really I cannot understand this man at all. I perfectly remember that he promised to repeal the Asiatic Act. I will do my best, but you know that nothing can move General Smuts when he has once taken up a stand. Newspaper articles are as nothing to him. So I am afraid I may not be of much help to you.' I also met Mr. Hosken who wrote to General Smuts but could elicit only a very unsatisfactory reply. I wrote articles in *Indian Opinion* under the caption of 'Foul Play', but what was that to the redoubtable General? One may apply any bitter epithets one likes to a philosopher or a heartless man but in vain. They will follow the even tenor of their way. I do not know which of these two appellations would fit General Smuts. I must admit that there is a sort of philosophy about his attitude. When I was corresponding with him and writing in the paper against him, I remember I had taken General Smuts to be a heartless man. But this was only the beginning of the struggle, only its second year, while it was to last as long as eight years, in course of which I had many occasions of meeting him. From our subsequent talks I often felt that the

general belief in South Africa about General Smuts' cunning did him perhaps less than justice. I am however sure of two things. First, he has some principles in politics, which are not quite immoral. Secondly, there is room in his politics for cunning and on occasions for perversion of truth.

CHAPTER XXVI RESUMPTION OF THE STRUGGLE

If on the one hand we were trying to induce General Smuts to fulfil his part of the settlement, we were on the other hand enthusiastically engaged in 'educating' the community. We found the people everywhere ready to resume the struggle and go to jail. Meetings were held in every place, where we explained the correspondence which was being carried on with the Government. The weekly diary in *Indian Opinion* kept the Indians fully abreast of current events, and they were warned of the impending failure of the voluntary registration, and asked to hold themselves in readiness to burn the certificates if the Black Act was not repealed after all, and thus let the Government note that the community was fearless and firm and ready to go to prison. Certificates were collected from every place with a view to making a bonfire of them.

The Government bill we have referred to in the previous chapter was about to pass through the Legislature, to which a petition was presented on behalf of the Indians but in vain. At last an 'ultimatum' was sent to the Government by the Satyagrahis. The word was not the Satyagrahis' but

of General Smuts who thus chose to style the letter they had addressed to him signifying the determination of the community. The General said, 'The people who have offered such a threat to the Government have no idea of its power. I am only sorry that some agitators are trying to inflame poor Indians who will be ruined if they succumb to their blandishments.' As the newspaper reporter wrote on this occasion, many members of the Transvaal Assembly reddened with rage at this 'ultimatum' and unanimously and enthusiastically passed the bill introduced by General Smuts.

The so-called ultimatum may be thus summarised: 'The point of the agreement between the Indians and General Smuts clearly was that if the Indians registered voluntarily, he on his part should bring forward in the Legislature a bill to validate such registration and to repeal the Asiatic Act. It is well known that the Indians have registered voluntarily to the satisfaction of the Government, and therefore the Asiatic Act must be repealed. The community has sent many communications to General Smuts and taken all possible legal steps to obtain redress but thus far to no purpose. At a time when the bill is passing through the Legislature, it is up to the leaders to apprise the Government of the discontent and strong feeling prevalent in the community. We regret to state, that if the Asiatic Act is not repealed in terms of the settlement, and if Government's decision to that effect is not communicated to the Indians before a specific date, the certificates collected by the Indians would be burnt, and they

would humbly but firmly take the consequences.'

One reason why this letter was held to be an ultimatum was that it prescribed a time limit for reply. Another reason was that the Europeans looked upon the Indians as savages. If the Europeans had considered the Indians to be their equals, they would have found this letter perfectly courteous and would have given it most serious consideration. But the fact that the Europeans thought Indians to be barbarians was a sufficient reason for the Indians to write such a letter. The Indians must either confess to their being barbarians and consent to be suppressed as such, or else they must take active steps in repudiation of the charge of barbarism. This letter was the first of such steps. If there had not been behind the letter an iron determination to act up to it, it would have been held an impertinence, and the Indians would have proved themselves to be a thoughtless and foolish race.

The reader will perhaps, point out that the charge of barbarism was repudiated in 1906 when the Satyagraha pledge was taken. And if so, there was nothing new about this letter which might warrant my giving it much importance and dating the denial of the charge from it. This is true so far as it goes; but on thinking a little more deeply, it will appear that the repudiation really began with this letter. It should be remembered that the Satyagraha pledge came in almost by accident, and the subsequent imprisonments followed as an inevitable corollary. The community then gained largely in stature but unconsciously. But when

this letter was written, there was a deliberate intention of claiming full knowledge and high prestige. Now as well as before the object aimed at was the repeal of the Black Act. But there was change in the style of language used, in the methods of work selected and in other things besides. When a slave salutes a master and a friend salutes a friend, the form is the same in either case, but there is a world of difference between the two, which enable the detached observer to recognise the slave and the friend at once.

There was much discussion among ourselves when the ultimatum was forwarded. Would not the demand for reply within a stated period be considered impudent? Might it not be that it would stiffen the Government and lead them to reject our terms which otherwise they might have accepted? Would it not be sufficient indirectly to announce the community's decision to the Government? After giving due weight to all these considerations we unanimously came to the conclusion that we must do what we thought to be right and proper for us to do. We must run the risk of being charged with discourtesy, as well as the risk of Government refusing in a huff what otherwise they might have granted. If we do not admit our inferiority as human beings in any sense whatever and if we believe that we possess the capacity for unlimited suffering for any length of time, we must adopt a straightforward course without hesitation.

The reader will perhaps now see that there was some novelty and distinction about the step now

taken, which had its reverberations in the Legislature and in European circles outside. Some congratulated the Indians on their courage while others got very angry, and asked for condign punishment to be awarded to the Indians for their insolence. Either section acknowledged the novelty of the Indians' fresh move by its conduct. This letter created greater stir than even the commencement of the Satyagraha movement, which too was a novelty when it was started. The reason is obvious. When Satyagraha was started, no one knew what the Indians were capable of, and therefore neither such a letter nor the language in which it was couched would have been fitting for that initial stage. But now the community had had its baptism of fire. Every one had seen that the Indians had the capacity of suffering the hardships incidental to an attempt to get their wrongs righted, and therefore the language of the 'ultimatum' appeared in the light of a natural growth and not at all inappropriate in the circumstances.

CHAPTER XXVII

A BONFIRE OF CERTIFICATES

THE ultimatum was to expire on the same day that the new Asiatic bill was to be carried through the Legislature. A meeting had been called some two hours after the expiry of the time limit to perform the public ceremony of burning the certificates. The Satyagraha Committee thought that the meeting would not be fruitless even if quite unexpectedly perhaps a favourable reply was

received from the Government, as in that case the meeting could be utilised for announcing the Government's favourable decision to the community.

The Committee however believed that the Government would not reply to the ultimatum at all. We had all reached the place of meeting early, and arranged for the Government's reply by wire, if any, to be brought promptly to the meeting, which was held at four o'clock on the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque at Johannesburg (16th August 1908). Every inch of space available was taken up by Indians of all classes. The Negroes of South Africa take their meals in iron cauldrons resting on four legs. One such cauldron of the largest size available in the market had been requisitioned from an Indian trader's shop and set up on a platform in a corner of the grounds in order to burn the certificates.

As the business of the meeting was about to commence, a volunteer arrived on a cycle with a telegram from the Government in which they regretted the determination of the Indian community and announced their inability to change their line of action. The telegram was read to the audience which received it with cheers, as if they were glad that the auspicious opportunity of burning the certificates did not after all slip out of their hands as it would have if the Government had complied with the demands formulated in the ultimatum. It is difficult to pronounce any categorical opinion on the propriety or the reverse of such a feeling of gladness without a knowledge of the motives which

prompted each of the audience who greeted the Government reply with applause. This much however can be said, that these cheers were a happy sign of the enthusiasm of the meeting. The Indians had now some consciousness of their strength.

The meeting began. The chairman put the meeting on their guard and explained the whole situation to them. Appropriate resolutions were adopted. I clearly detailed the various stages of the protracted negotiations and said, 'If there is any Indian who has handed his certificate to be burnt but wants it to be returned to him, let him step forward and have it. Merely burning the certificates is no crime, and will not enable those who court imprisonment to win it. By burning the certificates we only declare our solemn resolution never to submit to the Black Act and divest ourselves of the power of even showing the certificates. But it is open to any one to take a copy tomorrow of the certificate that may be burned to ashes today, and if there are any persons here who contemplate such a cowardly act or doubt their own ability to stand the ordeal, there is still time for them to have their certificates back, and these can be given back to them. No one need be ashamed of getting his certificate back just now, as in doing so he will be exhibiting a certain kind of courage. But it would be not only shameful but also detrimental to the best interests of the community to get a copy of the certificate afterwards. Again let us take note that this is going to be a protracted struggle. We know that some of us have fallen out of the marching army,

and the burden of those who remain has been made heavier to that extent. I would advise you to ponder over all these considerations and only then to take the plunge proposed today.'

Even during my speech there were voices saying, 'We do not want the certificates back, burn them.' Finally I suggested that if any one wanted to oppose the resolution, he should come forward, but no one stood up. Mir Alam too was present at this meeting. He announced that he had done wrong to assault me as he did, and to the great joy of the audience, handed his original certificate to be burnt, as he had not taken a voluntary certificate. I took hold of his hand, pressed it with joy, and assured him once more that I had never harboured in my mind any resentment against him.

The Committee had already received upwards of 2,000 certificates to be burnt. These were all thrown into the cauldron, saturated with paraffin and set ablaze by Mr. Essop Mian. The whole assembly rose to their feet and made the place resound with the echoes of their continuous cheers during the burning process. Some of those who had still withheld their certificates brought them in numbers to the platform, and these too were consigned to the flames. When asked why he handed his certificate only at the last moment, one of these friends said that he did so as it was more appropriate and would create a greater impression on the onlookers. Another frankly admitted his want of courage and a feeling that the certificates might not be burnt after all. But he could not possibly withhold the

certificate after he had seen the bonfire and gave it up, from an idea that the fate of all might well be his own fate too. Such frankness was a matter of frequent experience during this struggle.

The reporters of English newspapers present at the meeting were profoundly impressed with the whole scene and gave graphic descriptions of the meeting in their papers. A description of the meeting was sent to *The Daily Mail* (London) by its Johannesburg correspondent, in course of which he compared the act of the Indians in burning their certificates with that of the Boston Tea Party. I do not think this comparison did more than justice to the Indians, seeing that if the whole might of the British Empire was ranged against the hundreds of thousands of able Europeans in America, here in South Africa a helpless body of 13,000 Indians had challenged the powerful Government of the Transvaal. The Indians' only weapon was a faith in the righteousness of their own cause and in God. There is no doubt that this weapon is all-sufficient and all-powerful for the devout, but so long as that is not the view of the man in the street, 13,000 unarmed Indians might appear insignificant before the well-armed Europeans of America. As God is the strength of the weak, it is as well that the world despises them.

CHAPTER XXVIII CHARGE OF FORCING FRESH ISSUE

DURING the same year in which the Black Act was passed General Smuts carried through

the Legislature another bill called the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Bill (Act No. 15 of 1907), which was ostensibly of general application but was chiefly aimed at the Indians. This act generally followed the lines of similar legislation in Natal, but it treated as prohibited immigrants those who could pass education texts but were ineligible for registration under the Asiatic Act, and was thus indirectly made an instrument for preventing the entry of a single Indian newcomer.

It was absolutely essential for the Indians to resist this fresh inroad on their rights, but the question was whether it should be made a plank in the Satyagraha struggle. The community was not bound as to when and regarding what subjects they should offer Satyagraha, in deciding which question they must only not transgress the limits prescribed by wisdom and appreciation of their own capacity. Satyagraha offered on every occasion seasonable or otherwise would be corrupted into Duragraha. And if any one takes to Satyagraha without having measured his own strength and afterwards sustains a defeat, he not only disgraces himself but he also brings the matchless weapon of Satyagraha into disrepute by his folly.

The Satyagraha Committee saw that the Indians' Satyagraha was being offered only against the Black Act, and that if the Black Act was once repealed, the Immigration Restriction Act would lose the sting to which I have referred. Still if the Indians did not take any steps regarding the Immigration Act from an idea that a separate movement against

it was unnecessary, their silence might be misconstrued as implying their consent to the total prohibition of Indian immigration in the future. The Immigration Act too must therefore be opposed, and the only question was, should this also be included in the Satyagraha struggle? The community's view was that it was their duty to include in the Satyagraha any fresh attacks on their rights made while the struggle was in progress. If they did not feel strong enough to do so that was altogether a different matter. The leaders came to the conclusion that their lack of deficiency of strength should not be made a pretext for letting the Immigration Act alone, and that therefore this Act too must be covered by the Satyagraha struggle.

Correspondence was therefore carried on with the Government on this subject. We could not thereby induce General Smuts to agree to a change in the law, but it provided him with a fresh handle for vilifying the community and really speaking myself. General Smuts knew that many more Europeans, besides those who were publicly helping us, were privately sympathetic to our movement, and he naturally wished that their sympathy should be alienated if possible. He therefore charged me with raising a fresh point, and he told as well as wrote to our supporters that they did not know me as he did. If he yielded an inch, I would ask for an ell and therefore it was that he was not repealing the Asiatic Act. When Satyagraha was started, there was no question whatever about fresh immigrants. Now when he was legislating to prevent the fresh entry of any

more Indians in the interest of the Transvaal, there too I had threatened Satyagraha. He could not any more put up with this 'cunning'. I might do my worst, and every Indian might be ruined, but he would not repeal the Asiatic Act, nor would the Transvaal Government give up the policy they had adopted regarding the Indians, and in this just attitude they were entitled to the support of all Europeans.

A little reflection will show how totally unjust and immoral this argument was. When there was nothing like the Immigrants Restriction Act at all in existence, how were the Indians or myself to oppose it? General Smuts talked glibly about his experience of what he called my 'cunning' and yet he could not cite a single case in point in support of his statement. And I do not remember to have ever resorted to cunning during all those years that I lived in South Africa. I may now go even farther and say without the least hesitation that I have never had recourse to cunning in all my life. I believe that cunning is not only morally wrong but also politically inexpedient, and have therefore always discountenanced its use even from the practical standpoint. It is hardly necessary for me to defend myself. I would even be ashamed of defending myself before the class of readers for whom this is written. If even now they have not seen that I am free from cunning, nothing that I could write in self-defence could convince them of that fact. I have penned these few sentences only with a view to give the reader an idea of the difficulties which were encountered

during the Satyagraha struggle and of the imminent danger to the movement if the Indians even by a hair's breadth swerved from the 'strait and narrow path'. The rope-dancer, balancing himself upon a rope suspended at a height of twenty feet, must concentrate his attention upon the rope, and the least little error in so doing means death for him, no matter on which side he falls. My eight years' experience of Satyagraha in South Africa has taught me that a Satyagrahi has to be if possible even more single-minded than the rope-dancer. The friends before whom General Smuts levelled this charge at me knew me well and therefore the charge had an effect over them just the opposite of what General Smuts had desired. They not only did not give up me or the movement but grew even more zealous in supporting us, and the Indians saw later on that they would have come in for no end of trouble if their Satyagraha had not been extended to the Immigration Act also.

My experience has taught me that a law of progression applies to every righteous struggle. But in the case of Satyagraha the law amounts to an axiom. As the Ganges advances, other streams flow into it, and hence at the mouth it grows so wide that neither bank is to be seen and a person sailing upon the river cannot make out where the river ends and the sea begins. So also as a Satyagraha struggle progresses onward, many another element helps to swell its current, and there is a constant growth in the results to which it leads. This is really inevitable, and is bound up with the first

principles of Satyagraha. For in Satyagraha the minimum is also the maximum, and as it is the reducible minimum, there is no question of retreat, and the only movement possible is an advance. In other struggles, even when they are righteous, the demand is first pitched a little higher so as to admit of future reduction, and hence the law of progression does not apply to all of them without exception. But I must explain how the law of progression comes into play when the minimum is also the maximum as in Satyagraha. The Ganges does not leave its course in search of tributaries. Even so does the Satyagrahi not leave his path which is sharp as the sword's edge. But as the tributaries spontaneously join the Ganges as it advances, so it is with the river that is Satyagraha. Seeing that the Immigration Act was included in the Satyagraha, some Indians ignorant of the principles of Satyagraha insisted upon the whole mass of the anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal being similarly treated. Others again suggested a mobilisation of Indians all over South Africa and the offering of Satyagraha against all anti-Indian legislation in Natal, the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State etc., while the Transvaal struggle was on. Both the suggestions involved a breach of principle. I distinctly said, that it would be dishonest now, having seen the opportunity, to take up a position which was not in view when Satyagraha was started. No matter how strong we were, the present struggle must close when the demands for which it was commenced were accepted. I am con-

fidant, that if we had not adhered to this principle, instead of winning, we would not only have lost all along the line, but also forfeited the sympathy which had been enlisted in our favour. On the other hand if the adversary himself creates new difficulties for us while the struggle is in progress, they become automatically included in it. A Satyagrahi, without being false to his faith, cannot disregard new difficulties which confront him while he is pursuing his own course. The adversary is not a Satyagrahi,—Satyagraha against Satyagraha is impossible,—and is not bound by any limit of maximum or minimum. He can therefore try if he wishes to frighten the Satyagrahi by raising novel issues. But the Satyagrahi has renounced all fear, tackles by Satyagraha the later difficulties as well as the former and trusts that it will help him to hold his own against all odds. Therefore as a Satyagraha struggle is prolonged, that is to say by the adversary, it is the adversary who stands to lose from his own standpoint, and it is the Satyagrahi who stands to gain. We shall come across other illustrations of the working of this law in the later stages of this struggle.

CHAPTER XXIX

SORABJI SHAPURJI
ADAJANIA

NOW as Satyagraha was made to embrace the Immigration Act as well, Satyagrahis had to test the right of educated Indians to enter the Transvaal. The Committee decided that the test should not be made through any ordinary Indian. The idea was that some Indian,

who did not come within the four corners of the definition of a prohibited immigrant in the new Act in so far as the definition was acceptable to the community, should enter the Transvaal and go to jail. We had thus to show that Satyagraha is a force containing within itself seeds of progressive self-restraint. There was a section in the Act to the effect that any person who was not conversant with a European language should be treated as a prohibited immigrant. The Committee therefore proposed that some Indian who knew English but who had not been to the Transvaal before should enter the country. Several young Indians volunteered for the purpose, out of whom Sorabji Shapurji Adajania was selected.

Sorabji was a Parsi. There were not perhaps more than a hundred Parsis in the whole of South Africa. I held in South Africa the same views about the Parsis as I have expressed in India. There are not more than a hundred thousand Parsis in the world, and this alone speaks volumes for their high character that such a small community has long preserved its prestige, clung to its religion and proved itself second to none in the world in point of charity. But Sorabji turned out to be pure gold. I was but slightly acquainted with him when he joined the struggle. His letters as regards participation in Satyagraha left a good impression on me. As I am a lover of the great qualities of the Parsis, I was not and I am not unaware of some of their defects as a community. I was therefore doubtful whether Sorabji would be able to stand to his guns in critical times. But it

was a rule with me not to attach any weight to my own doubts where the party concerned himself asserted the contrary. I therefore recommended to the Committee that they should take Sorabji at his word, and eventually Sorabji proved himself to be a first class Satyagrahi. He not only was one of the Satyagrahis who suffered the longest terms of imprisonment, but also made such deep study of the struggle that his views commanded respectful hearing from all. His advice always betrayed firmness, wisdom, charity and deliberation. He was slow to form an opinion as well as to change an opinion once formed. He was as much of an Indian as of a Parsi, and was quite free from the ban of narrow communalism. After the struggle was over Doctor Mehta offered a scholarship in order to enable some good Satyagrahi to proceed to England for bar. I was charged with the selection. There were two or three deserving candidates, but all the friends felt that there was none who could approach Sorabji in maturity of judgment and ripeness of wisdom, and he was selected accordingly. The idea was, that on his return to South Africa he should take my place and serve the community. Sorabji went to England with the blessings of the community, and was duly called to the bar. He had already come in contact with Gokhale in South Africa, and his relations with him became closer in England. Sorabji captivated Gokhale who asked him to join the Servants of India Society when he returned to India. Sorabji became extremely popular among the students. He would share the sorrows of all, and his soul was not

tarnished by the luxury and the artificiality in England. When he went to England, he was above thirty, and he had but a working knowledge of English. But difficulties vanish at the touch of man's perserverance. Sorabji lived the pure life of a student and passed his examinations. The bar examinations in my time were easy. Barristers now-a-days have to study comparatively very much harder. But Sorabji knew not what it was to be defeated. When the ambulance corps was established in England, he was one of the pioneers as also one of those who remained in it till the last. This corps too had to offer Satyagraha in which many members fell back but Sorabji was at the head of those who would not give in. Let me state in passing that this Satyagraha of the ambulance corps was also crowned with victory.

After being called to the bar in England Sorabji returned to Johannesburg where he began to practise law as well as to serve the community. Every letter I received from South Africa was full of praise for Sorabji:—'He is as simple in habits as ever, and free from the slightest trace of vanity. He mixes with all, rich as well as poor.' But God seems to be as cruel as he is merciful. Sorabji caught galloping pthisis and died in a few months, leaving the Indians whose love he had freshly acquired to mourn his loss. Thus within a very short period God bereft the community of two outstanding personalities, Kachhalia and Sorabji. If I were asked to choose between the two, I would be at a loss to decide. In fact, each was supreme in his own field. And Sorabji was as good an Indian as he

was a good Parsi, even as Kachhahia was as good an Indian as he was a good Musalman.

Thus Sorabji entered the Transvaal, having previously informed the Government of his intention to test his right to remain in the country under the Immigrants Restriction Act. The Government were not at all prepared for this and could not at once decide what to do with Sorabji, who publicly crossed the border and entered the country. The Immigration Restriction Officer knew him. Sorabji told him that he was deliberately entering the Transvaal for a test case, and asked him to examine him in English or to arrest him just as he pleased. The Officer replied that there was no question of examining him as he was aware of his knowledge of English. He had no orders to arrest him. Sorabji might enter the country and the Government, if they wished, would arrest him where he went.

Thus contrary to our expectation Sorabji reached Johannesburg and we welcomed him in our midst. No one had hoped that the Government would permit him to proceed even an inch beyond the frontier station of Volksrust. Very often it so happens that when we take our steps deliberately and fearlessly, the Government is not ready to oppose us. The reason for this lies in the very nature of Government. A government officer does not ordinarily make his department so much his own as to arrange his ideas on every subject beforehand and make preparations accordingly. Again, the officer has not one but many things to attend to, and his mind is divided

between them. Thirdly the official suffers from the intoxication of power, is thus apt to be careless and believes that it is child's play for the authorities to deal with any movement whatever. On the other hand, the public worker knows his ideal as well as the means to achieve his end, and if he has definite plans, he is perfectly ready to carry them out, and his work is the only subject of his thoughts day and night. If therefore he takes the right steps with decision, he is always in advance of the Government. Many movements fail, not because Governments are endowed with extraordinary power but because the leaders are lacking in the qualities just referred to.

In short, whether through the negligence or the set design of the Government Sorabji reached as far as Johannesburg, and the local officer had neither any idea of his duty in a case like this nor any instructions from his superiors on the point. Sorabji's arrival increased our enthusiasm, and some young men thought that the Government were defeated and would soon come to terms. They saw their mistake very soon, however. They even realised that a settlement could perhaps be purchased only by the self-devotion of many a young man.

Sorabji informed the Police Superintendent, Johannesburg, about his arrival and let him know that he believed himself entitled to remain in the Transvaal in terms of the new Immigration Act, as he had ordinary knowledge of English, in respect of which he was ready to submit to an examination by the officer if he so desired. No

reply to this letter was received, or rather the reply came after some days in the form of a summons.

Sorabji's case came before the court on 8th July, 1908. The court house was packed full of Indian spectators. Before the case began, we held a meeting of the Indians present on the grounds of the court and Sorabji made a fighting speech, in which he announced his readiness to go to jail as often as necessary for victory and to brave all dangers and risks. In the meanwhile, I had got fairly familiar with Sorabji and assured myself that he would do credit to the community. The Magistrate took up the case in due course. I defended Sorabji, and at once asked for his discharge on the ground of the summons being defective. The Public Prosecutor also made an argument, but on the 9th the court upheld my contention and discharged Sorabji who, however, immediately received warning to appear before the court the next day, Friday, 10th July, 1908.

On the 10th, the Magistrate ordered Sorabji to leave the Transvaal within seven days. After the Court's order was served upon him, Sorabji informed Superintendent J. A. G. Vernon that it was not his desire to leave. He was accordingly brought to the court once more, on the 20th, charged with failing to obey the Magistrate's order, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. The Government, however, did not arrest the local Indians as they saw that the more arrests there were the higher did the Indians' spirit rise. Again Indians were sometimes discharged, thanks to legal technicalities in the cases instituted against them and this also served to redou-

ble the ardour of the community. Government had carried through the Legislature all the laws they wanted. Many Indians had indeed burnt the certificates but they had proved their right to remain in the country by their registration. Government therefore saw no sense in prosecuting them simply to send them to jail, and thought that the workers would cool down finding no outlet for their energies in view of the masterly inactivity of the Government. But they were reckoning without their host. The Indians took fresh steps to test the Government's patience, which was soon exhausted.

CHAPTER XXX

SHETH DAUD MAHOMED ETC. ENTER THE STRUGGLE

When the Indians saw through the Government's game of tiring them out by fabian tactics they felt bound to take further steps. A Satyagrahi is never tired so long as he has the capacity to suffer. The Indians were therefore in a position to upset the calculations of the Government.

There were several Indians in Natal who possessed ancient rights of domicile in the Transvaal. They had no need to enter the Transvaal for trade, but the community held that they had the right of entry. They also had some knowledge of English. Again there was no breach of the principles of Satyagraha in educated Indians like Sorabji entering the Transvaal. We therefore decided that two classes of Indians should enter the Transvaal; first, those who had previously been domiciled in the country, and se-

condly, those who had received English education.

Of those Sheth Daud Mahomed and Parsi Rustomji were big traders, and Surendrarai Medh, Pragji Khandubhai Desai, Ratansi Mulji Sodha, Harilal Gandhi and others were 'educated' men. Daud Sheth came in spite of his wife being dangerously ill.

Let me introduce Sheth Daud Mahomed to the reader. He was president of the Natal Indian Congress, and one of the oldest Indian traders that came to South Africa. He was a Sunni Vora from Surat. I have seen but few Indians in South Africa who equalled him in tact. He had excellent powers of understanding. He had not had much literary education but he spoke English and Dutch well. He was skilful in his business intercourse with European traders. His liberality was widely known. About fifty guests would dine with him every day. He was one of the chief contributors to Indian Collections. He had the priceless jewel of a son who far surpassed him in character. The boy's heart was pure as crystal. Daud Sheth never came in the way of his son's aspirations. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say, that the father almost worshiped the son. He wished that none of his own defects should reappear in the boy and had sent him to England for education. But Daud Sheth lost this treasure of a son in his prime. Pthisis claimed Husen for its victim. This was a sore wound that never healed. With Husen died the high hopes which the Indians had cherished about him. He was a most truthful lad, and Hindu and Musalman were to him as the left and the right eye. Even Daud

Sheth is now no more with us. Who is there on whom Death does not lay his hands?

I have already introduced Parsi Rustomji to the reader. The names of several other friends who joined this 'Asiatic invasion' have been left out as I am writing this without consulting any papers, and I hope they will excuse me for it. I am not writing these chapters to immortalise names but to explain the secret of Satyagraha, and to show how it succeeded, what obstacles beset its path and how they were removed. Even where I have mentioned names I have done so in order to point out to the reader how men who might be considered illiterate distinguished themselves in south Africa, how Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians there worked harmoniously together and how traders, 'educated' men and others fulfilled their duty. Where a man of high merit has been mentioned, praise has been bestowed not upon him but only upon his merit.

When Daud Sheth thus arrived on the frontiers of the Transvaal with his Satyagrahi 'army,' the Government was ready to meet him. The Government would become an object of ridicule if they allowed such a large troop to enter the Transvaal, and were therefore bound to arrest them. So they were arrested, and on 18th August 1908 brought before the Magistrate who ordered them to leave the Transvaal within seven days. They disobeyed the order of course, were rearrested at Pretoria on the 28th and deported without trial. They re-entered the Transvaal on the 31st and finally on 8th September were sentenced at Volksrust to a fine of

fifty pounds or three months' imprisonment with hard labour. Needless to say, they cheerfully elected to go to gaol.

The Transvaal Indians were now in high spirits. If they could not compel the release of their Natal compatriots, they must certainly share their imprisonment. They therefore cast about for means which would land them in jail. There were several ways in which they could have their heart's desire. If a domiciled Indian did not show his registration certificate, he would not be given a trading licence and it would be an offence on his part if he traded without licence. Again one must show the certificate if one wanted to enter the Transvaal from Natal, and would be arrested if one had none to show. The certificates had already been burnt and the line was therefore clear. The Indians employed both these methods. Some began to hawk without a licence while others were arrested for not showing certificates upon entering the Transvaal.

The movement was now in full swing. Every one was on his trial. Other Natal Indians followed Sheth Daud Mahomed's example. There were many arrests in Johannesburg also. Things came to such a pass that any one who wished could get himself arrested. Jails began to be filled, 'invaders' from Natal getting three months and the Transvaal hawkers anything from four days to three months.

Among those who thus courted arrest was our 'Imam Saheb', Imam Abdul Kadar Bavavir, who was arrested for hawking without a licence and sentenced on 21st July, 1908 to imprisonment for four days

with hard labour. Imam Saheb's health was so delicate that people laughed when they heard of his courting arrest. Some people came to me and asked me not to take Imam Saheb for fear he might bring discredit upon the community. I disregarded this warning. It was none of my business to gauge the strength or weakness of Imam Saheb. Imam Saheb never walked barefooted, was fond of the good things of the earth, had a Malay wife, kept a well-furnished house and went about in a horse carriage. Very true, but who could read the depths of his mind? After he was released, Imam Saheb went to jail again, lived there as an ideal prisoner and took his meals after a spell of hard labour. At home he would have new dishes and delicacies every day; in jail he took mealie pap and thanked God for it. Not only was he not defeated, but he became simple in habits. As a prisoner he broke stones, worked as a sweeper and stood in a line with other prisoners. At Phoenix he fetched water and even set types in the press. Every one at the Phoenix Ashram was bound to acquire the art of type-setting. Imam Saheb learnt type-setting to the best of his ability. Now-a-days he is doing his bit in India.

But there were many such who experienced self-purification in jail. Joseph Royeppen, barrister-at-law, a graduate of Cambridge University had been born in Natal of parents who were indentured labourers, but had fully adopted the European style of living. He would not go barefooted even in his house, unlike Imam Saheb who must wash his feet before prayers and must also pray barefooted.

Royeppen left his law books, took up a basket of vegetables and was arrested as an unlicensed hawker. He too suffered imprisonment. 'But should I travel third class?' asked Royeppen. 'If you travel first or second how can I ask any of the rest to travel third? Who in jail is going to recognise the barrister in you?' I replied, and that was enough to satisfy Royeppen.

Many lads sixteen years old went to jail. One Mohanlal Manji Ghelani was only fourteen.

The jail authorities left no stone unturned to harass the Indians, who were given scavenger's work, but they did it with a smile on their face. They were asked to break stones and they broke stones with the name of Allah or Rama on their lips. They were made to dig tanks and put upon pick-axe work in stony ground. Their hands became hardened with the work. Some of them even fainted under unbearable hardships, but they did not know what it was to be beaten.

One must not suppose, that there were no internal jealousies or quarrels in jail. Food constitutes the eternal apple of discord, but we successfully avoided bickerings even over food.

I too was arrested again. At one time there were as many as seventy five Indian prisoners in Volksrust jail. We cooked our own food. I became the cook as only I could adjudicate on the conflicting claims to the ration supplied. Thanks to their love for me my companions took without a murmur the half-cooked porridge I prepared without sugar.

Government thought that if they separated me from the other pri-

soners it might perhaps chasen me as well as the others. They therefore took me to Pretoria jail where I was confined in a solitary cell reserved for dangerous prisoners. I was taken out only twice a day for exercise. In Pretoria jail no *ghi* was provided to the Indians, unlike as in Volksrust. But I do not propose here to deal with our hardships in jail, for which the curious may turn to the account of my experiences of jail life in South Africa.

But yet the Indians would not take a defeat. Government was in a quandary. How many Indians could be sent to jail after all? And then it meant additional expenditure. The Government began to cast about for other means of dealing with the situation.

CHAPTER XXXI DEPORTATIONS

THE obnoxious Acts provided for three kinds of punishment, viz., fine, imprisonment and deportation. The courts were empowered simultaneously to award all the punishments, and all Magistrates were given jurisdiction to impose the maximum penalties. At first deportation meant taking the 'culprit' into the limits of Natal, the Orange Free State or portuguese East Africa beyond the Transvaal frontier and leaving him there. As for instance the Indians who crossed over from Natal were taken beyond the limits of Volksrust station and there left to their own devices. Deportation of this kind was a farce pure and simple, as it involved only a little inconvenience and instead of disheartening them

it only encouraged the Indians still further.

The local Government therefore had to find out fresh means of harassing the Indians. The jails were already overcrowded. The Government thought that the Indians would be thoroughly demoralised and would surrender at discretion if they could be deported to India. There was some ground for this belief of the Government, who accordingly sent a large batch of Indians to India. These deportees suffered great hardships. They had nothing to eat except what Government chose to provide for them on the steamers, and all of them were sent as deck passengers. Again some of them had their landed as well as other property and their business in South Africa, many had their families there, while others were also in debt. Not many men would be ready to lose their all and turn into perfect bankrupts.

All this notwithstanding, many Indians remained perfectly firm. Many more however weakened and ceased to court arrest, although they did not weaken to the extent of getting duplicates of the burnt certificates. Some few were even terrorised into registering afresh.

Still there was a considerable number of stalwarts who were so brave that some of them, I believe, would have mounted the gallows with a smile on their face. And if they cared little for life, they cared still less for property.

But many of those who were deported to India were poor and simple folk who had joined the movement from mere faith. That these should be oppressed so heavily was almost too much to bear.

However it was difficult to see our way to assist them. Our funds were meagre, and then there was the danger of losing the fight altogether if we proceeded to give monetary help. Not a single person was permitted to join the movement from pecuniary inducements; for otherwise the movement would have been chocked up by men coming in on the strength of such selfish hopes. We felt it was incumbent upon us, however, to help the deportees with our sympathies.

I have seen from experience that money cannot go as far as fellow-feeling, kind words and kind looks can. If a man, who is eager to get riches gets the riches from another but without sympathy, he will give him up in the long run. On the other hand, one who has been conquered by love is ready to encounter no end of difficulties with him who has given him his love.

We therefore resolved to do for the deportees all that kindness could do. We comforted them with the promise, that proper arrangements would be made for them in India. The reader must remember that many of them were ex-indentured labourers, and had no relations in India. Some were even born in South Africa, and to all India was something like a strange land. It would be sheer cruelty if these helpless people upon being landed in India were left to shift for themselves. We therefore assured them that all suitable arrangements would be made for them in India.

But this was not enough. The deportees could not be comforted so long as some one was not sent with them to be their companion and guide. This was the first batch

of deportees, and their steamer was to start in a few hours. There was not much time for making a selection. I thought of P. K. Naidoo, one of my co-workers, and asked him:

'Will you escort these poor brothers to India?'

'Why not?'

'But the steamer is starting just now.'

'Let it.'

'What about your clothes and food?'

'As for clothes, the suit I have on will suffice, and I will get the food from the steamer all right.'

This was a most agreeable surprise for me. The conversation took place at Parsee Rustomji's. There and then I procured some clothes and blankets for Naidoo and sent him on.

'Take care and look after these brothers on the way. See first to their comforts and then to your own. I am cabling to Sr. Natesan at Madras, and you must follow his instructions.'

'I will try to prove myself a true soldier.' So saying P. K. Naidoo left for the pier. Victory must be certain with such valiant fighters, I said to myself. Naidoo was born in South Africa and had never been to India before. I gave him a letter of recommendation to Sr. Natesan and also sent a cablegram.

In those days Sr. Natesan perhaps stood alone in India as a student of the grievances of Indians abroad, their valued helper, and a systematic and well-informed exponent of their case. I had regular correspondence with him. When the deportees reached Madras, Sr. Natesan rendered them full assistance. He found his task easier for

the presence of an able man like Naidoo among the deportees. He made local collections and did not allow the deportees to feel for a moment that they had been deported.

These deportations by the Transvaal Government were as illegal as they were cruel. People are generally unaware that Governments often deliberately violate their own laws. In face of emergency there is no time for undertaking fresh legislation. Governments therefore break the laws and do what they please. Afterwards they either enact new laws or else make the people forget their breach of the law.

The Indians started a powerful agitation against this lawlessness of the local Government, which was adversely commented upon in India too so that the Government every day found it more and more difficult to deport poor Indians. The Indians took all possible legal steps and successfully appealed against the deportations, with the result that Government had to stop the practice of deporting to India.

But the policy of deportations was not without its effect upon the Satyagrahi 'army'. Not all could overcome the fear of being deported to India. Many more fell away, and only the real fighters remained.

This was not the only step taken by the Government to break the spirit of the community. As I have stated in the last chapter, Government had done their utmost to harass the Satyagrahi prisoners, who were put to all manner of tasks including breaking stones. But that was not all. At first all pri-

soners were kept together. Now the Government adopted the policy of separating them, and accorded harsh treatment to them in every jail. Winter in the Transvaal is very severe; the cold is so bitter, that one's hands are almost frozen while working in the morning. Winter therefore was a hard time for the prisoners, some of whom were kept in a road camp where no one could even go and see them. One of these prisoners was a young Satyagrahi eighteen years old of the name of Swami Nagappan, who observed the jail rules and did the task entrusted to him. Early in the mornings he was taken to work on the roads where he contracted double pneumonia of which he died after he was released (7th July, 1909). Nagappan's companions say that he thought of the struggle and struggle alone till he breathed his last. He never repented of going to jail and embraced death for his country's sake as he would embrace a friend. Nagappan was 'illiterate' according to our standards. He spoke English and Zulu from experience. Perhaps he also wrote broken English, but he was by no means an educated man. Still if we consider his fortitude, his patience, his patriotism, his firmness unto death, there is nothing left which we might desire him to possess. The Satyagraha movement went on successfully though it was not joined by any highly educated men, but where would it have been without soldiers like Nagappan.

As Nagappan died of ill-treatment in jail, the hardships of deportation proved to be the death of Narayanswami (16th October, 1910). Still the community stood

unmoved; only weaklings slipped away. But even the weaklings had done their best. Let us not despise them. Those who march forward are generally apt to look down upon those who fall back and to consider themselves very brave fellows, whereas often the facts are just the reverse. If a man who can afford to contribute fifty rupees subscribes only twenty five and if he who can afford to pay only five rupees contributes that amount in full, he who gives five must be held to be a more generous donor than the other who gives five times as much. Yet very often he who contributes twenty five is needlessly elated at the false notion of his superiority over the contributor of five rupees. In the same way, if a man who falls back through weakness has done his utmost, he is really superior to another who leaves him behind but has not put his whole soul into the march. Therefore even those, who slipped away when they found things too hot for them, did render service to the community. A time now came when greater calls were made on our patience and courage. But the Transvaal Indians were not found wanting even so. The stalwarts who held to their posts were equal to the service required of them.

Thus day by day the trial grew more and more severe for the Indians. Government became more and more violent in proportion to the strength put forth by the community. There are always special prisons where dangerous prisoners or prisoners whom Government wants to bend are kept, and so there were in the Transvaal. One of these was the Diepkloof Convict Prison, where there was a harsh jailer, and

utmost regularity and without the slightest break in any particular. Though married, he had been leading a life of Brahmacharya or celibacy for many years past. * Again by controlling his palate he has accustomed himself to giving his body only such kind and only so much of nourishment as are necessary for its support and maintenance. For even months on end, I have seen Mahatmaji subsisting on three meals a day (morning, noon and evening), each meal consisting of sixteen ounces of goat's milk, three slices of toast, or an equivalent quantity of flour Bhakri †, a score of grapes or raisins, and a couple of oranges.

I have heard that before the days of Non-co-operation, Mahatmaji used to spend two hours every morning grinding wheat into meal. He was so weak of body, yet he was able to do so much physical labour, merely because he was so strong in will. Till quite recently, he used to travel only third class. At the period of his life he had to suffer much insult and ill-treatment at the hands of fellow-passengers. Sometimes he would be taken as a cowherd and treated as such; sometimes he would be mistaken for a "Jat", i.e., an ordinary cultivator, and turned out of his seat. But he would submit to all this insult and hardship without disclosing his identity. One day a member of the Ashram said to me casually,—"You, friends are now travelling in the company of Bapuji quite comfortably indeed. But there were days when he would carry his own luggage on his head, and walk any distance from the station to reach his destination." That of course, is now impossible; for Mahatmaji has to give every moment of his time to the work of the nation. But truth to say

* Vide p. 79 of the English translation of his *Guide to Health*.

† Bhakri is a kind of Gujarati bread.

Mahatmaji would make no distinction between the old style of travelling and the present. Rather, if the question were put to him, he would perhaps tell you that in the old days he enjoyed his freedom of movement; but now travelling second class or by motor according to prescribed programme was not a little irksome.

This is by no means a display of false humility, or an outward affectation of dislike for material pleasures and comforts. I do not think that anything could ever come from Mahatmaji which he did not truly believe in. From my seven months' almost uninterrupted intercourse with him, I have come to believe that it is not possible for him to cherish any falsehood even in his dreams. But the question may very well be asked,—'How is it possible that Mahatmaji should suffer pain because he has to use things which are conducive to bodily comfort, and which, because they are pleasurable, are coveted by people at large?' To elucidate this point it would be necessary for me to show how in all important matters of his life and activities, in his habits and manners, he differs from the vast majority and has chalked out an independent course for himself.

Thus, arriving at the Ashram, it did not take me long to notice that although he was its founder and presiding deity, he lived there as if he was no better than a guest; all his authority had been relegated to other hands. So if anybody came to him with a petition in connection with Ashram matters, he would reply that he was there as a guest, and it was not for him to exercise any authority or grant any prayer. Though born in a middle-class family, he had not kept any property for himself. The expenses of the Ashram were being defrayed by a number of friends. So many books or writings of his were being

sold in the market, and yet he would not exercise his right of proprietorship nor would he take anything from publishers in exercise of such right. In furtherance of Congress work, Mahatmaji had to undertake tours from one end of the country to the other; and yet he would not take a farthing from the All-India Tilak Swaraj Fund to defray his tour expenses. Towards keeping riches for personal use or enjoyment, his attitude was practically one of complete indifference or detachment. When Mahatmaji would return from a tour to the Ashram, common people from the town or from the surrounding villages would come in throngs to have his Darshan, and would offer him not only fruits and flowers as an act of worship, but also coins of various amounts. That was a decent source of income to the Ashram for the daily collections went up to a high figure. But, after a time finding that his work was suffering on this account, he directed that the offer of such presents should be prohibited.

Mahatmaji, as is well-known, has not renounced family and turned an ascetic; he has throughout lived his life as a householder with wife and children. But even here there is something characteristic of the man. Thus while Mahatmaji has never been found wanting in promoting all that is conducive to their true welfare, still he could never bring himself down to the level of an ordinary man of the world whose one thought is how to serve the material interests of his family. I could never detect any the least discrimination made by him in his treatment of the members of his own family as against those who did not belong to it. Rather, if anything, it had appeared to me that towards his associates and followers, he showed a greater consideration. It is this

equal attitude and equal treatment towards all that has earned for Mahatmaji the honoured title of "Bapu" or Father. In Guzarat he is best known by the name "Bapu". Thus the right which his sons claim when they call him "Bapu" is no monopoly of theirs, but is equally shared with them by the general public. All this becomes apparent when one has lived with him for some little time. Then it does not take long to discover that those who in the first instance sought to approach him on terms of equality would begin to address him as "Bapuji" not very long after.

What ordinarily happens is that people take kindly to those who would speak well of them, and are repelled by those who would speak ill. But in the case of Mahatmaji, I had so far observed a complete reversal of this rule. No panegyrist could ever hope to ingratiate himself with him. A certain gentleman from Madras had written a book with its title as "The Gospel of Gandhi." When Mahatmaji saw that the word "gospel" was used as the title, he felt pained beyond measure. He told me that the use of the word with reference to his teachings was a direct insult to religion itself. On another occasion, a certain article from a British newspaper* containing eulogies of Mahatmaji had come to be reprinted in *Young India*. Mahatmaji was then on tour, and he came to notice it only after the particular issue was out. This publication disturbed and distressed him beyond words. When one attains to a position of power and prominence among his fellows, the usual rule is that a certain section of his countrymen would begin to speak in high praise of him, while another section would find fault with him. In the case of Mahatmaji also I noticed the same thing. Every

* "The Glasgow Herald."

day he used to receive many letters. There were some among these which would shower encomiums upon him, while others would have no words too strong to express their disapproval or condemnation of him. Sometimes I would read out to him one or two letters containing his eulogies and I found that eulogy gave him no pleasure, but left him rather wan and dejected. But on the contrary, whenever any criticism or condemnation was read out to him, he would listen to every word with rapt attention, anxious to discover how much or how little of truth there might be in it. In the days of the Bombay riots,* Mahatmaji was inundated with letters from the Parsis of Bombay, both men and women, containing the foulest abuse of him. I read out everyone of these letters to him; but I saw that such abuse made not the least impression on him, for he remained as calm as ever. To be attacked in this foul manner, and yet to remain wholly unaffected by it,—such self-control appeared to me at the time as something quite exceptional.

One thing that struck me as equally extraordinary was that those who opposed him received at his hands a measure of consideration, honour and affectionate solicitude which he would not ordinarily extend even to the most devoted of his followers. Any eulogy pronounced on him or his qualifications or virtues would leave him cold and indifferent, and that is all the gain which the panegyrist could expect at his hands for all his pains. Now it may well be granted that Mahatmaji's best wishes were unremittingly showered upon his devoted followers, which went a great deal to purify and ennoble their lives. Never-

* On the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, who landed at Bombay November, 17, 1921. *Vide* a later chapter under the heading. "The Bombay Riots."

theless from all that I have seen, my feeling is that as between opponents and friends, his love and tenderness were reserved more for the former than for the latter.

For the humiliated and the oppressed, Mahatmaji's sympathy is deep and unstinted; and nowhere else could he expect anything like it. Mahatmaji's heart instinctively goes out to the person who has incurred everybody's displeasure. On one occasion, for some reason or other, many inmates of the Ashram were averse to accord consideration and attention to a certain person, whose ways and manners had become the subject of criticism in Ashram circles. Mahatmaji also disapproved of the conduct of that person. But from the day that he came to discover that the Ashram public had become unkind, from that day onwards he made it a point, in spite of a thousand and other pressing duties every day to go and visit the person in question, who was soon reinstated in public favour. Mahatmaji's psychology in matters like this is worth nothing. Whenever he sees anybody under him behave untruthfully or do anything dishonestly, Mahatmaji's practice invariably is to examine himself in the first instance, to see wherein he himself might have erred. He holds that unless there was some lurking wrong or untruthfulness in his own character, people working in intimate touch with him could not be guilty of such wrong conduct. My honest belief as the result of my association with him at close quarters is that Mahatmaji's life is so transparent, clear, and pure that he has hardly anything to hide from public view.

How exactly Mahatmaji should have been able to attain this lofty standard of purity and unaffected simpleness, by pursuing what definite spiritual processes should he have succeeded in purging him-

self to such an extraordinary extent of the impurities and imperfections of ordinary human nature—is a question which occurs naturally to most aspirants after higher life. But here I am unable to posit anything definite for although I have lived with Mahatmaji uninterruptedly for seven long months night and day, I do not pretend to have any special knowledge of his life's inner discipline except of course what could be gleaned from the outside. For Mahatmaji was not given to discussing matters of such discipline. That side, the inner religious side of his life, he seemed to be anxious to veil from public view as much as possible. Such at any rate is my conviction, judging from all that I have seen of him. But there is one thing about him which is most clear to me. It is that he has an undying faith in Truth and the pursuit of Truth as a spiritual force; and that for the sake of Truth there is nothing which Mahatmaji cannot give up. I have been led from this to hold that Mahatmaji's spiritual cleansing has followed as a natural effect,—the effect, namely, of the light of Truth constantly beating upon him and transmuting his life and character.

Born of a Vaishnava family, the instincts of a Vaishnava are bred in his bones. His childhood and boyhood having been passed in Guzarat where the teachings of Jainism hold sway over the minds of the people, he must have in no small measure come under the influence of such teaching in the most impressionable period of his life. During his stay in England and in South Africa, he came in contact with many religiously minded Christians, and under their influence studied the Bible and the teachings of Jesus Christ with profound respect. He has also associated with many devout Mussalmans. Further he has a wonderful power of disentangling and

seizing on the vital truths of every religion which has saved him from falling into the snares of sectarian ideas and the narrowness of sectarian feelings. In these days a copy of the Gita is always to be found with him, and the Gita has become his guide, friend and philosopher. It is like a necklace which he wears round his neck. He is an England returned barrister, and yet in many ways his habits and manners are those of a devout Hindu.

Along with a copy of the Gita, Mahatmaji used to keep in his Khaddar bag a rosary of "Rudraksha" beads. But I had never seen him using it. During the critical days of the Non-co-operation movement, on two mornings going to remove his bedding, I found the rosary lying near his pillow, and I thought that he must have used it over night. Again, in September 1921, when he met Mr. Mukerji in Calcutta Mahatmaji told him that when reciting God's name he used his rosary and it was shown by Mahatmaji to Mr. Mukerji; but that by actual experience he had found that if he went on taking God's name while turning the spinning wheel, that did him greater good than telling the beads; and that he had come to believe that if people took to the wheel as a religious discipline their minds would naturally turn towards god. Writing on the "moral aspect" of hand-spinning in India in his *Young India*, Mahatmaji has given expression to the very same sentiments. Thus we find him writing as follows:—"And I verily believe that when millions take to it (the spinning-wheel) as a sacrament, it will turn our faces godward."* I know nothing in detail of the

* It (handspinning) will save our women from forced violation of their purity. It will, as it must, do away with begging as a means of livelihood. It will remove our enforced idleness. It will steady the mind. And I verily believe that when millions take

manner of his praying; but I have oftentimes seen him working away at the wheel with deep one-pointed attention; and the thought had come to me many a time that Mahatmaji probably practised the Ajapa* mode of prayer. But whence or how he had learnt that system of prayer is more than I could say.

I have placed before the reader just so much of the religious side of Mahatmaji's life as has directly come under my personal observation, or as I have been able to comprehend. Various attempts are being made by various people to probe and estimate from various points of view his all-sided greatness, and thus to arrive at an integral view of his distinctive personality. But I hold that it would never be possible to arrive at a synthetic understanding of Mahatmaji's character, so long as there is no deeper understanding and appreciation of the religious side of his life, that side which is ever welling up from both within him and without;—'within him' in his pure, ennobling, self-effacing thoughts; and 'without', in the shape of his daily disinterested acts and activities. Mahatmaji is very fond of a certain hymn composed by the great saint-poet of Gujarat, Narasaya'. Very frequently at prayer-time, this hymn would be sung to him. When Mahatmaji was going to bid farewell to his beloved Ashram after his arrest, it was the same hymn that he asked those that were there to sing to him. It would seem that Mahatmaji's whole soul breathes out through that hymn. It paints so fully the whole cast of his mind and the deepest

to it as a sacrament, it will turn our faces godward. This is the moral aspect of spinning."

* "Japa" is the silent recitation of God's name along with the telling of the beads. The "Ajapa" system is the silent recitation of God's name following the natural course of respiration.

8 10th March, 1922 (10-30 p. m.)

longings of his spirit that I must give below the full text of the Gujarati original together with the translation.

“वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिये,
जे पीड पराई जाने रे ।
परदुःखे उपकार करे तोये,
मन अभिमान न आने रे ॥
सकल लोकमां सहुने वंदे,
निंदा न करे केनी रे ।
वाच काछ मन निश्चल रासे,
धन धन जननी तेनी रे ॥
समष्टि ने कृष्णा त्यागी,
परस्त्री जेने मात रे ।
जिह्वा थकि असत्य न बोले,
परधन नव झाल हाथ रे ।
मोह माया व्यापे नहि जेने,
दृढ वैराग्य जेना मनमां रे ।
राम नाम शुं तालि लागी,
सकल तीरथ तेला तनमां रे ॥
वणलोभी ने कपट रहित छे,
काम क्रोध निवाय्या रे ।
भने नरसैयो तेनुं दरशन करतां,
कुल पको तेर तर्था रे ॥”

Translation :—“He is the true Vaishnava who knows and feels another's woes as his own. Ever ready to serve, he never boasts.

“He bows to every one, and despises no one, keeping his thought, word and deed pure. Blessed is the mother of such a one.

“He looks upon all with an equal eye. He has got rid of his lust. He reveres every woman as his mother. His tongue would fail him if he attempted to utter an untruth. He covets not another's wealth. The bonds

of earthly attachment hold him not. His mind is deeply rooted in detachment (renunciation). Every moment he is intent on reciting the name of 'Ram'* (God). All the holy places are ever present in his body.

“He has conquered greed, hypocrisy, passion and anger. A sight of such a Vaishnava, says Narasaya, saves a family through seventy-one generations.”

It will be seen that this celebrated hymn

* An incarnation of God whose praises are sung in *Ramayana*.

of Narasaya praises the name of 'Ram.' Once also when Mahatmaji after a whole day's work and fast was feeling thoroughly exhausted, I heard him heaving a heavy sigh and taking the name of the Lord thus —“Shree Ram, Shree Ram.” Further having regard to the reverential manner in which he speaks of Tulsidas's 'Ramayan' and listens to hymns in praise of 'Ram', I have come definitely to believe that he recites the name of “Ram,” as an act of divine worship.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER XXIII

A PEEP INTO THE HOUSEHOLD

We have seen in a previous chapter that though the expenses of the household were heavy, the tendency towards simplicity began in Durban. But the Johannesburg house came in for much more overhauling in the light of the Ruskin teaching.

I introduced as much simplicity as was possible in a barrister's house. It was impossible to do without a certain amount of furniture. The change was more internal than external. The liking for doing personally all the physical labour increased. I therefore began to bring my children also under that discipline.

Instead of buying baker's bread, we began to prepare unleavened wholemeal bread at home according to Kuhne's recipe. Common mill flour was no good for this, and the use of handground flour, it was thought, would ensure more simplicity, health and economy. So I purchased a hand-mill for £ 7. The iron wheel was too

heavy to be tackled by one man, and easy to be managed by two. Polak and I and the children mainly worked at it. Mrs. Gandhi also occasionally lent a hand, though the grinding hour was her usual time for beginning kitchen work. Mrs. Polak now joined us on her arrival. The grinding proved a very beneficial exercise for the children. Neither this nor any other work was ever imposed on them, but it was a pastime to them to come and lend a hand, and they were at liberty to break off whenever tired. But all the children including those whom I shall have occasion to introduce later, somehow, generally never failed me. Not that I had no laggards at all, but most did their work cheerfully enough. I can recall few youngsters in those days fighting shy of work or pleading fatigue.

We had engaged a servant to look after the house. He lived with us as a member of the family, and the children used to help him in his work. The Municipal sweeper removed the nightsoil, but we personally

attended to the cleaning of the closet instead of asking or expecting the servant to do it. This proved a good training for the children. The result was that none of my sons developed any aversion for scavenger's work, and they naturally got a good grounding in general sanitation. There was hardly any illness in the home at Johannesburg but whenever there was any, the nursing was willingly done by the children. I will not say that I was indifferent to their literary education, but I certainly did not hesitate to sacrifice it. My sons have therefore some reason for a grievance against me. Indeed they have occasionally given expression to it, and I must plead guilty to a certain extent. The desire to give them a literary education was there. I even endeavoured to give it myself, but every now and then there was some hitch or other. As I had made no other arrangement for their private tuition, I used to get them to walk with me daily to the office and back home,—a distance of about 5 miles in all. This gave them and me a fair amount of exercise. I tried to instruct them by conversations during these walks, if there was no one else claiming my attention. All my children excepting the eldest, Harilal, who had stayed away in India, were brought up in Johannesburg in this manner. Had I been able to devote at least an hour to their literary education with strict regularity, I should have given them, in my opinion, an ideal education. But it has been their as also my regret that I failed to ensure them enough literary training. The eldest son has often given vent to his distress privately before me and publicly in the press, the other sons have generally forgiven the failure as unavoidable. I am not heartbroken over it, and the regret if any is that I did not prove an ideal father.

But I hold that I sacrificed their literary training to what I genuinely, though may be wrongly, believed to be service to the community. I am quite clear that I have not been neglectful in doing whatever was needful for building up their character, and I believe it is the bounden duty of every parent to provide for it properly. Whenever, in spite of my endeavour, my sons have been found wanting, it is my certain conviction that they have reflected not want of care on my part but the defects of both of their parents.

Children inherit the qualities of the parents, no less than their physical features. Environments do play an important part, but the original capital on which a child starts in life is inherited from its ancestors. I have also seen children successfully surmounting the effects of an evil inheritance. That is due to purity being an inherent attribute of the soul.

Polak and I had often very heated discussions about the desirability or otherwise of giving these children an English education. It has always been my conviction that Indian parents, who train their children in thinking and talking in English from their infancy, betray their children and their country. They deprive them of the spiritual and social heritage of the nation, and render them to that extent unfit for the service of the country. Having these convictions, I made a point of always talking to my children in Gujarati. Polak never liked this. He thought I was spoiling their future. He contended with all the vigour and love at his command that if children were to learn a universal language like English from their infancy, they would easily gain considerable advance over others in the race of life. He failed to convince me. I do not now remember whether I convinced him of the correctness of my

attitude, or whether he gave me up as too obstinate. This happened about twenty years ago, and my convictions have only deepened with my experience. And though my sons have suffered for want of full literary education, the knowledge of the vernacular that they naturally acquired has been all to their and the country's good, inas much as they do not appear the foreigners they would otherwise have been. They naturally became bilingual, speaking and writing English with fair ease, because of daily contact with a large circle of English friends, and because of their stay in a country where English was the language chiefly spoken.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ZULU 'REBELLION'

Even after I thought I had settled down in Johannesburg there was to be no settled life for me. Just when I felt that I should be breathing in peace, an unexpected event happened. The papers brought the news of the outbreak of the Zulu 'rebellion' in Natal. I bore no grudge against the Zulus, they had harmed no Indian, I had doubts about the 'rebellion' itself, but I then believed that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world. A genuine sense of loyalty prevented me from even wishing ill to the Empire. The rightness or otherwise of the 'rebellion' was therefore not likely to affect my decision. Natal had a Volunteers' Defence Force, and it was open to it to recruit more men. I read that this force had already been mobilised to quell the 'rebellion.'

I considered myself a citizen of Natal, being intimately connected with it. So I wrote to the Governor, expressing my readiness, if necessary, to form an Indian Ambulance Corps. He sent immediately an affirmative reply.

I had not expected such prompt acceptance of my offer. Fortunately I had made all the necessary arrangements even before I wrote the letter. If my offer was accepted I had decided to break up the Johannesburg home. Polak was to have a smaller house and Mrs. Gandhi was to go and settle at Phoenix. I had her full co-operation in this decision. I do not remember her having ever stood in my way in matters like this. As soon therefore as I got the reply from the Governor, I gave the landlord the usual month's notice to vacate the house, sent some of the things to Phoenix and left some with Polak.

I went to Durban and appealed for men. A big contingent was not necessary. We were a party of twenty-four, of whom, besides me, four were Gujaratis. The rest were ex-indentured men from South India excepting one who was a free Pathan.

In order to give me a status and to facilitate work, as also in accordance with the existing convention, the Chief Medical Officer appointed me to the temporary rank of Sergeant Major and three men selected by me to be sergeants and one to be corporal. We also received our uniforms from the Government. Our Corps was on active service for nearly six weeks. On reaching the scene of the 'rebellion,' I saw that there was nothing there to justify the name of 'rebellion.' There was no resistance that one could see. The reason why the disturbance was magnified into a rebellion was that a Zulu chief had advised non-payment of a new tax imposed on the Zulus, and had assegaied a sergeant who had gone to collect the tax. Whatever may be the case, my heart was with the Zulus, and I was greatly delighted, on reaching the headquarters, to be told that our main work was to be to nurse the wounded Zulus. The Medical Officer in charge welcomed us.

He said the White people were not willing nurses for the wounded Zulus, that their wounds were festering, and that he was at his wits' end. He hailed our arrival as a godsend for those innocent people, and he equipped us with bandages, disinfectants, etc., and took us to the improvised hospital. The Zulus were delighted to see us. The White soldiers would peep through the railings that separated us from them and try to dissuade us from attending to the wounds. And as we would not heed them, they would be enraged and pour unspeakable abuse on the Zulus.

Gradually I came into closer touch with these soldiers and they ceased to interfere. Among the commanding officers were Cols. Sparks and Wylie who had bitterly opposed me in 1896. They were surprised at my attitude and they specially called and thanked me. They took me to General Mackenzie and introduced me to him. Let not the reader think that these were professional soldiers. Col. Wylie was a well-known Durban lawyer. Col. Sparks was well-known as the owner of a butcher's shop in Durban. General Mackenzie was a noted Natal farmer. All these gentlemen were volunteers and as such they had received military training and experience.

The wounded, we were in charge of, were not wounded in battle. A section of them had been taken prisoners as suspects. The general had sentenced them to be flogged. The flogging had caused severe sores. These, being unattended to were festering. The others were Zulu friendlies. Although these had badges given them to distinguish them from the 'enemy', they had been shot at by the soldiers by mistake.

Besides this work I had to compound and dispense prescriptions for the white soldiers. This was easy enough for me as I had

received a year's training in Dr. Booth's little hospital. This work brought me in close contact with many Europeans.

We were attached to a swift moving column. It had orders to march whenever danger was reported. It was for the most part cavalry. As soon as our camp was moved, we had to follow on foot with our stretchers on our shoulders. Twice or thrice we had to march forty miles a day. But whenever we went, I am thankful that we had God's good work to do. We had to carry to the camp on our stretchers the Zulu friendlies inadvertently wounded and to attend upon them as nurses.

CHAPTER XXV

HEART'S SEARCHINGS

The Zulu 'rebellion' was full of new experiences for me and gave me much food for thought. The Boer War had not brought home to me the horrors of war with anything like the vividness that the 'rebellion' did. This was no war but a man hunt, not only in my opinion, but also in that of many Englishmen with whom I had occasion to talk. To hear every morning reports of the soliders' rifles exploding like crackers in innocent hamlets, and to live in the midst of them was a trial. But I swallowed the bitter draught, especially when the work of my Corps consisted only in nursing the wounded Zulus. I could see that but for us the Zulus would have been uncared for. This work, therefore, eased my conscience.

But there was much else to set one a thinking. It was a sparsely populated part of the country. Few and far between in hills and dales were the scattered Kraals of the simple and so-called 'uncivilised' Zulus. Marching, with or of without the wounded, through these solemn solitudes, I often fell in deep thought.

I pondered over *brahmacharya* and its implications, and my convictions took deeper root. I discussed it with my co-workers. I had not realised then how indispensable *brahmacharya* was for self-realisation, but I clearly saw that one aspiring to serve humanity with his whole soul could not do without it. It was borne in upon me that I would have more and more occasions of service of the kind I was rendering, and that I should find myself unequal to my task if I was engaged in the pleasures of family life and in the propagation and rearing of children.

In a word, I could not live both after the flesh and the spirit. On the present occasion, for instance, I should not have been able to throw myself in the fray, had my wife been expecting a baby. Without the observance of *brahmacharya* service of the family would be inconsistent with service of the community. With *brahmacharya* both would be perfectly consistent.

So thinking I became rather impatient to take a final vow. The prospect of the vow brought a certain kind of exultation. Imagination also found free play and opened out interminable vistas of service.

Whilst I was thus in the midst of strenuous physical and mental work, a report came to the effect that the work of suppressing the 'rebellion' was nearly over, and that we would be soon discharged. A day or two after I heard this we were discharged, and in a few days we got back to our homes. After a short while I got a letter from the Governor specially thanking the Ambulance Corps for its service.

On my arrival at Phoenix I broached with zest the subject of *brahmacharya* to Chhaganlal, Maganlal, West and others. They liked the idea and accepted the necessity of taking the vow, but they also

represented the difficulties of the task. Some of them set themselves bravely to observe *brahmacharya*, and some, I know, succeeded also.

I too took the plunge—the vow to observe *brahmacharya* for life. I must confess that I had not then fully realised the magnitude and immensity of the task I had undertaken. The difficulties are even to-day staring me in the face. The importance of the vow is being more and more borne in upon me. Life without *brahmacharya* appears to me to be insipid and animal-like. The brute by nature knows no self-restraint. Man is man because he is capable of, and only in so far as he exercises, self-restraint. What formerly appeared to me to be extravagant praise of *brahmacharya* in our religious books seems now, with increasing clearness every day, to be absolutely proper and founded on experience.

I saw that *brahmacharya*, which is full of that wonderful potency, can by no means be an easy affair, and certainly not a mere matter of the body. *Brahmacharya* begins with bodily restraint, but it does not end there. The perfection of *brahmacharya* precludes even an impure thought. A true *brahmachari* will not even dream of satisfying fleshly appetite, and until he is in that condition, he has a great deal of ground to cover.

For me the observance of even bodily *brahmacharya* has been full of difficulties. To-day I may say that I feel myself fairly safe, but I have yet to achieve complete mastery over thought which is so essential. Not that the will or effort is lacking, but it is yet a problem to me wherefrom undesirable thoughts spring their insidious invasions. I have no doubt that man possesses the key to lock out undesirable thoughts, but every one has to find it out

for himself. Saints and seers have left their experiences for us, but they have given us no infallible and universal prescriptions. For perfection or freedom from error comes only out of grace and so seekers after God have left us *mantras* as *Ramanama*, hallowed by their own austerities and charged with their purity. Without an unreserved surrender to His grace, complete mastery over thought is impossible. This is the teaching of every great book of religion, and I am realising the truth of it every moment of my striving after that perfect *brahmacharya*.

But part of the history of that striving and struggle will be told in chapters to follow. I shall conclude this chapter with an indication of how I set to the task. In the first flush of enthusiasm, I found the observance very easy. The very first change I made in mode of life was that I stopped sharing the same bed with my wife or seeking privacy with her.

Thus *brahmacharya* which I had been observing willy-nilly since 1900 was sealed with a vow in the middle of 1906.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA

Events were so shaping themselves in Johannesburg, that this self-purification on my part was, as it were, a preliminary to Satyagraha. I can now see that all the principal events of my life culminating in the vow of *brahmacharya* were secretly preparing me for it.

The principle called Satyagraha came into being before that name was invented. Indeed when it was born, I myself could not say what it was. In Gujarati also we used the English phrase 'passive resistance' to describe it. When in a meeting of Europeans I found that the term 'passive resistance' was too narrowly construed,

that it was supposed to be a weapon of the weak, that it could be characterised by hatred and that it could finally manifest itself as violence, I had to demur to all these statements and explain the real nature of the Indian movement. It was clear that a new word must be coined by the Indians to denote their struggle.

But I could not for the life of me find out a new name, and therefore offered a nominal prize through *Indian Opinion* to the reader who made the best suggestion on the point. As a result Maganlal Gandhi coined the word 'Sadagraha' (Sat=truth, Agraha=firmness) and won the prize. But in order to make it clearer I changed the word to 'Satyagraha' which has since become current in Gujarati as a designation for the struggle.

The history of this struggle is for all practical purposes a history of my life in South Africa and especially of my experiments with truth in that sub-continent. I wrote the major portion of this history in Yeravda jail and finished it after I was released. It was published in *Navajivan* and subsequently issued in book form. Sjt. Valji Govindji Desai has been translating it into English for *Current Thought*, but I am now arranging to have the English translation published in book form at an early date, so that those who will may be able to familiarise themselves with my most important experiments in South Africa. I should recommend a perusal of my history of Satyagraha in South Africa to such Gujarati readers as have not seen it already. I will not repeat what I have put down there but will in the next few chapters deal only with a few personal incidents of my life in South Africa which have not been covered by that history. And when I have done with these last, I will at once proceed to give the reader

some idea of my experiments in India. Therefore any one who wishes to consider these experiments in their strict chronological order will now do well to keep the history of Satyagraha in South Africa before him.

CHAPTER XXVII

MORE EXPERIMENTS IN DIETETICS

I was anxious to observe *brahmacharya* in thought, word and deed, and I was equally anxious to devote the maximum of time to the Satyagraha struggle and fit myself for it cultivating purity. I was therefore led to make further changes and to impose greater restraints upon myself in the matter of food. Again while the motive for the previous changes was largely hygienic, the new experiments were made from a religious standpoint.

Fasting and restriction in diet now played a more important part in my life. Passion in man is generally co-existent with a hankering after the pleasures of the palate. And so it was with me. I have encountered many difficulties in trying to control passion as well as taste, and I cannot claim even now to have brought them under complete subjection. I have considered myself to be a heavy eater. What friends have thought to be my restraint has never appeared to me in that light. If I had failed to develop restraining to the extent that I have, I would have descended lower than beasts and met my doom long ago. However, as I had adequately realized my shortcomings, I made great efforts to get rid of them, and thanks to this endeavour I have all these years pulled on with my body and put in my bit of work with it.

Being conscious of my weakness and unexpectedly coming in contact with congenial company, I began to take an

exclusive fruit diet or to fast on the *Ekadashi* day, and also to observe *Jan-mashtami* and similar holidays. I began with a fruit diet, but from the standpoint of restraint I did not find much to choose between a fruit diet and a diet of food grains. I observed that the same indulgence of taste is possible with the former as with the latter, and even more, when we get accustomed to it. I therefore came to attach greater importance to fasting or having only one meal a day on holidays. Moreover if there was some occasion for penance or the like, I was glad to utilise it too for the purpose of fasting.

I also saw, that the body being now drained more effectively, the food yielded greater relish and the appetite grew keener. It dawned upon me that fasting can be made as powerful a weapon of indulgence as of restraint. Many similar later experiences of mine as well as of others can be adduced as evidence of this startling fact. I wanted to improve and train my body, but as my chief object now was to achieve restraint and a conquest of the palate, I selected now one food and then another, and at the same time restricted the amount. But the relish was after me, as it were. As I gave up one thing and took up another, this latter afforded me a fresher and greater relish than its predecessor!

In making these experiments I had several companions, the chief of whom was Hermann Kallenbach. I have already written about this friend in the History of Satyagraha in South Africa, and will not therefore here go over the same ground. But Mr. Kallenbach was always with me whether in fasting or in dietetic changes. I lived with him at his own place when the Satyagraha struggle was at its height. We discussed our changes in food and derived

more pleasure from the new diet than from the old. Talk of this nature sounded quite pleasant in those days, and did not strike me as at all improper. Experience has taught me, however, that it was wrong to have dwelt upon the relish of food. One should eat not in order to please the palate but just to keep the body going. When each organ of sense subserves the body and through the body the soul, its special relish disappears, and then alone does it begin to function in the way nature intended it to do.

Any number of experiments is too small and no sacrifice is too great for attaining this symphony with nature. But unfortunately the current is now-a-days flowing strongly in the opposite direction. We are not ashamed to sacrifice a multitude of other lives in decorating the perishable body and trying to prolong its existence for a few fleeting moments, with the result that we kill ourselves, both body and soul. In trying to cure one old disease, we give rise to a hundred new ones; in trying to enjoy the pleasures of sense, we lose in the end even our capacity for enjoyment. All this is passing before our very eyes, but there is none so blind as those who will not see.

Having thus set forth their object and the train of ideas which led up to them, I now propose to describe the dietetic experiments at some length.

CHAPTER XXVIII

KASTURBAI'S COURAGE

Thrice in her life Mrs. Gandhi narrowly escaped death through serious illness. The cure was due to household remedies. At the time of the first of these occasions Satyagraha was going on or was about to commence. She had frequent haemorrhage. A medical friend advised a surgical opera-

tion, to which she agreed after some hesitation. She was extremely emaciated, and the doctor had to perform the operation without chloroform. It was successful, but she had to suffer much pain. She however went through it with wonderful bravery. The doctor and his wife who nursed her were all attention. This was in Durban. The doctor gave me leave to go to Johannesburg, and told me not to have any anxiety about the patient.

In a few days however I received a letter to the effect that Kasturbai was worse, too weak to sit up in bed, and had once become unconscious. The doctor knew that he might not, without my consent, give her wines or meat. So he 'phoned to me at Johannesburg for permission to give her beef tea. I 'phoned back saying I could not grant the permission, but that if she was in a condition to express her wish in the matter she might be consulted, and she was free to do as she liked. 'But,' said the doctor, 'I refuse to consult the patient's wishes in the matter. You must come yourself. If you do not leave me free to prescribe whatever diet I like, I will not hold myself responsible for your wife's life.'

I took the train for Durban the same day, and met the doctor who quietly broke this news to me: 'I had already given Mrs. Gandhi beef tea when I 'phoned to you.'

'Now doctor, I call this a fraud,' said I.

'No question of fraud in prescribing medicine or diet for a patient. In fact we doctors consider it a virtue to deceive patients or their relatives if thereby we can save our patients', said the doctor with determination.

I was deeply pained, but kept cool. The doctor was a good man and a personal friend. He and his wife had laid me under

a debt of gratitude, but I was not prepared to put up with his medical morals.

'Doctor, tell me what you propose to do now. I would never allow my wife to be given meat or beef even if it means her death, unless of course she desires to take it.'

'You are welcome to your philosophy. I tell you that so long as you keep your wife under my treatment, I should have the option to give her anything I like. If you don't like this, I must regretfully ask you to remove her. I can't see her die under my roof.'

'Do you mean to say that I must remove her at once?'

'Whenever did I ask you to remove her? I only want to be left entirely free. If you do so, my wife and I will do all that is possible for her, and you may go without the least anxiety on her score. But if you will not understand this simple thing, you compel me to ask you to remove your wife from my place.'

I think one of my sons was with me. He entirely agreed with me, and said Kasturbai should not be given beef tea. I next spoke to my wife. She was really too weak to be consulted in this matter. But I thought it my painful duty to do so. I told her what had passed between the doctor and myself. She gave a resolute reply: 'I will not take beef tea. It is a rare thing in this world to be born as a human being, and I would far rather die in your arms than pollute my body with such abominations.'

I pleaded with her. I told her that she was not bound to follow me. I cited to her the instances of Hindu friends and acquaintances who had no scruples about taking meat or wine as medicine. But she was adamant. 'No,' said she 'pray remove me at once.'

I was delighted. Not without some

agitation, I decided to remove her. I informed the doctor of her resolve. He exclaimed in a rage: 'What a callous man you are! You should have been ashamed to broach the matter to her in her present condition. I tell you your wife is not in a fit state to be removed. She cannot stand the least hustling. I shouldn't be surprised if she died on the way. But if you must persist, you are free to do so. If you will not give her beef tea, I will not take the risk of keeping her under my roof even for a single day.'

So we decided to leave the place at once. It was drizzling and the station was some distance. We had to take the train from Durban for Phoenix, whence our settlement was reached by a road of two miles and a half. I was undoubtedly taking a very great risk, but I trusted in God, and proceeded with my task. I sent a messenger to Phoenix in advance, with a message to West to receive us at the station with a hammock, a bottle of hot milk and one of hot water, and six men to carry Mrs. Gandhi in the hammock. I got a rickshaw to enable me to take Mrs. Gandhi by the next available train, put her into it in that dangerous condition, and marched away.

Mrs. Gandhi needed no cheering up. On the contrary, she comforted me, saying 'Nothing will happen to me. Don't worry.'

She was mere skin and bone, having had no nourishment for days. The station platform was very large, and as the rickshaw could not be taken inside, one had to walk some distance before one could reach the train. So I carried her in my arms and put her into the train. From Phoenix we carried her in the hammock, and there she slowly picked up strength under hydropathic treatment.

In two or three days of our arrival at

Phoenix a Swami came to our place. He had heard of the resolute way in which we had rejected the doctor's advice, and he had out of sympathy come to plead with us. My second and third sons Manilal and Ramdas were, so far as I can recollect, present when the Swami came. He held forth on the religious harmlessness of taking meat, citing authorities from Manu. I did not like his carrying on this disputation in the presence of my wife, but I suffered him to do so out of courtesy. I knew the verses from the Manusmriti, I did not need them for my conviction. I knew also that there was a school which regarded these verses as apocryphal, but even

if they were not, I held my views on vegetarianism independently of religious texts, and Kasturbai's faith was unshakable. The scriptural texts were a sealed book to her, but the traditional religion of her forefathers was enough for her. The children swore by their father's creed and so they made light of the Swami's discourse. But Kasturbai put an end to the dialogue at once. "Swamiji," she said, "whatever you may say, I do not want to recover by means of beef tea. Pray don't worry me any more. You may discuss the thing with my husband and children if you like. But my mind has been made up."

Reviews and Notices of Books

ART

LITTLE BOOKS ON ASIATIC ART Vol. I—THE SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES
By O. C. Ganguly. Editor, Rupam. Price Rs. 2-4/- (23 Illustrations and 10 diagms.)

The South Indian Bronzes is the first volume in the series which O. C. Ganguly contemplates to bring out under the caption, "The Little Books on Asiatic Art." It is really the author's earlier great work "South Indian Bronzes" in a nutshell.

This interesting little book contains two parts. The first twenty three pages of written matter with ten suitable diagrams tries to give a connected history of the gradual growth of Southern Indian Bronzes through the Gupta period (the 5th and the 6th century A. D.) and the reigns of Pallavas and Cholas up to the 13th and the 14th century. This craft of casting bronze images, according to Mr. Ganguly, had its first inspiration from Buddhism but later the

new wave of Shaivism carried it to its acme giving a new direction and founding the real school of South Indian Bronzes. What the author says may be true so far as the growth of the craft is concerned in Southern India but the real history of this particular branch of Indian Sculpture is really lost in oblivion. For all we know there may very well have been earlier and contemporaneous schools in other parts of India, only nothing can yet be definitely stated on the archeological finds and other materials so far available.

Indian Art is really a vast field with still many unexplored and unknown regions in it. The time is not yet come when a connected and complete history of its many branches can be written. Indian Sculpture is a subject much less known and understood than Indian painting. A vast amount of materials almost bewildering in its variety is already discovered and a still vaster quality may be scattered all over the

length and breadth of the land and yet more may lie buried under the ruins of our past cities. In Indian painting we can trace clearly defined schools flourishing at different periods of Indian History. A masterpiece from Ajanta or Bagh can hardly be confused with one of Rajput School or one from the brush of Molaram. But the same can hardly be said of Indian sculpture.

India was a self-forgetful land where great poets and artists came and passed away like wayside blooms of lilies in village ponds. To create beautiful temples and images was so much a part of the religious life in those days that nobody ever thought anything about it. Just as dawn came in all its glory, colour and sweetness, just as spring burst forth in its verdant magic of life, just as a cuckoo poured out its heart in liquid joy, so even the very common artists then produced masterpieces.

Not only was the race gifted but the artists also were trained with the help of the Silpashastras and a long habit of meditation to raise the human form into its perfected and divinised type. To quote the author in this connection, "when a cycle of practice in image making evolved a masterpiece—a perfect plastic interpretation of a theological conception, i. e. the figure of Nataraja (which went through numerous evolutions before it achieved the perfect type in Chola bronzes) there was a natural tendency to perpetuate and hand down a perfected masterpiece, through the means of artistic canons and rules, so as to prevent degeneration of the plastic conception in the hands of less gifted artists. The images once interpreted in a perfected form, were systematised in set formulas types, and repeated for many centuries and were not permitted to be deviated from at the caprice of individual artists."

What the author says is true. India wanted to create perfect types and divine forms. The aim of art and literature and in fact all the activities of life was the same as that of yoga. It was the realisation of the divine within and the manifestation of it in life. The Silpashastras gave dhyanas of every divine form in terse Sanscrit verses which the artists were required to commit to memory and contemplate upon and thus try and develop their inner vision. This was how the artists could sense the truth behind each perfected form and actually visualise it before casting or cutting it in metal or stone.

Mr. Ganguly's notes on the rules of the Silpashastras giving measures for figures of gods, goddesses and human beings are very interesting, specially that portion dealing with Bhogas or the Sways of the body and the Mudras or the poses of the hands. These are accompanied by suitable diagrams showing different varieties of the poise of the hand and fingers, such as Lamba hasta, Nidrita hasta, Gaja hasta, Kataka hasta etc. Mr. Ganguly says, "The poses of the arms and fingers constitute another peculiarity of the Southern images which distinguish them from those of the North. In the movements of the arms and fingers, the Indian artists have devised a "highly formalised and cultivated gesture language, which has been the means of interpreting the feelings and motives of the mind and has been skilfully utilised by the Southern Sthapatis, as effectively as the gestures of the body (bhargas), in conveying by values of movements, ecstatic raptures and spiritual moods.....Some of these gestures, apart from their significance and symbolism, are wonderfully articulate with a grace and a tenderness which is truly spiritual and non-human. These movements of the hands and figure-plays (Mudras) have been

characteristically called by Sukracharya as divya Kriya or divine-action."

The Bhangas as well as the Mudras are not conventions but are truth movements of an illumined body which has begun to be conscious of the divinity within of which it is the outer and imperfect expression. When man succeeds in outgrowing his limited human consciousness and bring down and live the higher Ananda or Light in his even temporarily illumined human body, the human frame becomes conscious, and responsive to that power in a state of blissful identification with it and in that state these eternally true movements spontaneously manifest themselves. When Sri Chaitanya or Sri Ramakrishna passed into the illumined state their bodies automatically fell into these sways and poses of hands and feet—gestures that by their beauty, harmony and secret power reveal the Shiva within.

Not only these movements but each form of Shiva or Vishnu, each perfect type of an Indian Temple, each Gopuram or stupa is a spiritual realisation first and a plastic interpretation afterwards. Like a Yogi, an artist or a sculptor may not be conscious of the Divine but either by training or by nature his mind has the habit of falling quiet and allowing the higher inspiration to open vistas of truth and beauty. This constant flow has opened his being to the higher Light and through that channel all his artistic creations come and materialise. Great musicians or dancers reproduce many of the poses and bhangas which are characteristic of our figures of Gods and Goddesses. In their moments of tense rapture and ecstatic *bhawas* Divine Ananda become dynamic ripples out into these movements of grace and loveliness which is hardly of the earth. The body held for the time being in a responsive

poise to something higher, becomes a ready channel for the higher beauty which flows out of its abundance and simmers and scintillates through these lovely gestures and sways. The mortal sheath when spiritualised or even held in temporary possession is thinned and attenuated of its earthy coarseness and can no longer hide what is behind, it behaves like a thin wet garment on a lovely body clinging only to show the beauty it hides. Such a body becomes a mirror instead of a sheath.

The Silpashastras give hints in the form of codes and measures but they are not by themselves enough to help the Sculptor create a Nataraja. There are many Dhyani Buddhas or Natarajas carved in stone or cast in bronze but all are not of high artistic value. It is quite possible for a less gifted artist to satisfy all the rules and canons of the Silpashastras only to produce a perfect yet soulless form of Shiva or Vishnu.

The Second part of this interesting book are the 23 plates including the frontispiece and their eight pages of description. The plates are,

1. Kala Samhar Murti of Siva.
2. Nataraja or Nritya Murti of Siva.
3. " " "
4. " " "
5. Chandra Shekhar Murti of Siva.
6. Dakshina Murti of Siva.
7. Uma-Saheta Murti.
8. Uma (detail from last plate.)
9. Dakshina Murti of Devi,
10. Adhar Shakti.
11. Kaliya Damana.
12. Kodandaram.
13. " another view.
14. A Saiva Devotee, unidentified.
15. " " another view.
16. Appar Swami.
17. Tiru-gnan-Sambandha Swami.

18. " " " another view.
19. Sundara-Murti Swami.
20. " " side and back view.
21. Surya.
22. Dipa-Lakshmi.
23. (Frontispiece). Bhikshatan Murti of Siva.

Among these some of the fine specimens are Sundara Murti Swami, a Siva devotee, Dakshina Murti of Devi, Uma and Nataraja. In Tiru-Jnan-Sambandha Swami specially in Sundar-Murti Swami the Sculptor has expressed a wonderful calm and indrawn state. Most of these Bronze images are very artistic, of an order showing less of beauty and lyricism but more of chaste and austere grandeur. They are beautiful but in the severe manner.

O. C. Gangully is really to be congratulated for having put these cheap volumes within the reach of even poor students interested in art. The get-up is fine and the quality of the paper and printing is all that can be desired.

BARINDRA KUMAR GHOSE.

LITERATURE

The Bengali Genius and its Achievements

1. SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF ACHARYA Praphullachandra Roy (in Bengali)—Chakravarthi, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.

2. BENGALI HEROISM THROUGH THE AGES: By Anilchandra Ghosh—Dacca.

About three quarters of a century ago Macaulay had made certain outrageously libellous aspersions on the Bengali race. Set forth with all the antithetic brilliancy of the writer, embellished with an array of superficial and sometimes fallacious comparisons and enforced with faint praise

which only damned the greater still, these libels were taken for truth for a long time by generations of Macaulay's countrymen. To-day such an impression can no longer exist, at least amongst the disinterested and more discerning section of Macaulay's countrymen. The progress which the Bengalis have achieved in a large variety of directions in the course of the last fifty years furnishes proof of the great possibilities that lie latent in the racial genius of this people. There is no blinking the fact that while the Bengalis share to the full all our common Indian traditions, tastes and usages, there are certain characteristics—probably ethnological—which mark them off from the rest of India and confer upon them an individuality of their own. Among many other things, there is a noble and generous emotionalism in the Bengali which makes him respond to artistic impulses with enthusiasm, buoys him up continually and stirs him on to effort. The Bengali temperament is usually never cold, intellectual and deliberate, but nobly impulsive and generously emotional. True, this may have its defects, but the defects are far outweighed by the advantages.

There is not one great personality indeed—from Rammohan Roy to Kalidas Nag—with whom we cannot associate this generous emotionalism. Whether they are social reformers like Rammohan or Keshubchandra or Vivekananda or Paramahansa, scientists like Bose or Ray, politicians like Surendranath or Chittaranjan, artists like Abanindranath or Haldar, poets like Rabindranath or Satyendranath Dutta, this one common feature of generous emotionalism is in them all. It cannot be far wrong, therefore, to attribute their distinction in their respective fields to this characteristic trait.

Acharya P. C. Ray is not merely a

scientist, he is a *karma yogin* fired with the zeal of noble sympathy for his fellow-men. Mahatmaji in his Autobiography has told us with what shrewdness and understanding Gokhale had described the Acharya on introducing him to Gandhiji. "He is the young college professor," Gokhale had said, "who keeps for himself only Rs. 40 out of his salary and spends the remainder for the poor." Well, this trait furnishes the key to all the Acharya's activities which are throughout motivated by the desire to promote the happiness of his countrymen.

In the book under review, neatly printed and handsomely got up, we have a collection of Acharya Roy's Bengali speeches and writings together with a life-sketch treating about the broad outlines of his career. The life-sketch merely touches on some of the most important aspects of the human side, but there is enough information in it to make us wish that we had a more detailed biography! His birth in a family which had produced distinguished public servants, his early education at Calcutta in the Hare's School in the company of Devaprosad Sarvadhikari and others, his early love for the English language, his over-studious habits and immoderate diet, his admiration for public men like Vidyasagar, Surendranath and Anandamohan, his sojourn in England for the study of chemical science, the publication of a book of his on "India before and after the Mutiny", his return to India imbued with the noble desire to do something substantial for the welfare of his countrymen, his long disappointment as an Educational officer to whom preferment was denied on racial grounds, his devotion to the national cause, his scientific researches, his love for students and for the distressed,—and last but not least, his whole-hearted devotion to the

propagation of *khadi*,—these are some of the facts cursorily but appetisingly sketched in the prefatory introduction.

The speeches and writings mostly treat about the social, educational and economic improvement of our land. There is a certain amount of overlapping in subject and treatment, but this is obviously unavoidable. Acharya Roy has travelled throughout India and gathered impressions from far and near; these addresses, therefore, though addressed to Bengalis and though mainly illustrative of Bengali conditions, have a wider application. The key to Acharya Roy's outlook on life is furnished by his advice, in one of these speeches, that slavery to Western thought and slavery to the time-old Sanskrit tradition of our land are alike to be eschewed. "It is improper to regard anything as gospel truth because Herbert Spencer says it or because Sankaracharya had sent forth the *fiat*. We must needs test everything in the light of our own unclouded reason."

The problem of unemployment (*Annasamasya*) receives frank and unconventional treatment at his hands. He never wearies of praising the dignity of labour, and of impressing upon us how the craze for literary education has increased in an amazingly dangerous degree in our land. Says he: "Compare Calcutta with Bombay! The wealth of Bombay is in the hands of Bombayites; but the wealth of Calcutta is in the hands of Westerners, Marwaris, Bhatias and Delhi Mussalmans. There in Bombay are Indian millionaires and factory-owners dwelling in palatial houses and enjoying phenomenal prosperity. Morarji Gokuldas, Sir V. Thackersey, Sir Dorab Tata—these have shed lustre upon Bombay and upon all India—they have the power to hold their own against English competi-

tion." "The Black Town of Madras and the native quarter of Calcutta,—black men's quarters,—are dark, narrow and winding, with lanes within lanes and alleys within alleys, while the white men's place is *Indrapuri* indeed!" The caste problem, Social reform, Library movements and True Education are some of the other interesting topics dealt with by Acharya Roy. To the young man who has his country's cause at heart the book is full of never-failing inspiration.

The other book under review gives a panoramic and popular survey of some of the feats of heroism displayed by the Bengalis from the times of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana down till to-day. Amongst other things, descriptions are given of the following personalities: Rani Bhavani Shankar whose valour received a tribute from the Emperor Akbar in the form of the appellation *Ray Baghini*, Mukund Ray who fought against the Moguls, Mohanlal the commander of Surajudowlal's troops, Colonel Suresh Biswas who acquired fame in the service of the Brazilian Government in the 19th century, the Bengali regiments which distinguished themselves in Mesopotamia and France and the Mechuabar heroes of a more recent time who gave up their lives selflessly for the protection of a whole village of people from the anger of a wild Mahomedan mob. The book is printed nicely in bold types and provided with good illustrations.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

POLITICS

After-War Germany

1. GERMAN INTELLECTUALS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS By Dr. Otto Everling: Published by the "Dentschau Rundschau" office, Berlin.

2. THE PROBLEM OF THE POLISH CORRIDOR by Dr. Johann Furst—Published by the "Dentschau Rundschau" office Berlin.

Germany is recouperating her shattered health wonderfully well. The German is nothing, if not thorough; and exceptionally thorough he has been in finding ways and means of rehabilitating himself in his old economic and material power. The war, initiated and waged by a handful of statesmen at the helm of affairs, left the people in the throes of misery. What with the casualties and what with the economic drain, the middle classes of Germany—and especially the intellectuals—were reduced to a state of utter destitution and misery in the years immediately following the war. The condition of the exchange made the position worse than ever, and it seemed indeed for a time as if the German intellectuals ran the risk of suffering the fate of many a Russian intellectual—i. e., hunger-stricken extinction. To avert such a fate, a group of people organised themselves into an Association for the Redemption of the Intellectuals. Dr. Everling, the president of this Association, has in the book under review, described the plight of the intellectuals, its causes and its remedies. Intellectual Idealism and Materialistic interests are, according to Dr. Everling, not fundamentally antagonistic, but on the other hand mutually helpful. He insists on greater co-operation being effected between the Intellectual and commercial classes. He also pleads for the greater production of material in Germany. In the fulfilment of these two conditions lies the remedy (Says Everling) for the economic distress of Germany. Many other incidental questions are also dealt with in this book which eminently deserves the serious study of every historian and sociologist.

Another question agitating post-war Germany is the problem of the Polish corridor. A fairly big slice of territory in East Germany—the corridor—was transferred from Germany's control to Poland according to the post-war treaties. A difficult situation has thus been created. A portion of German territory remains isolated on the eastern side on account of this partition. The case for the Poles—accepted by the Allies—is that they should have an outlet into the Baltic Sea and further that the population of the corridor is racially their Kith and Kin. Dr. Furst has in the book under review, presented us with an array of facts and wealth of figures to enforce the German view and rebutted the claims of the Poles. He has shown clearly how this partition of Eastern Prussia has made a deep cut into the very heart of Germany. The question is fraught with grave dangers (says Dr. Furst) and the wound inflicted on Germany may never be healed. The German case is effectively set forth in this book, a perusal of which makes it clear that the Baltic coast and Poland, even like the Balkans, have become off danger-zones, where a conflagration might at any moment arise and submerge the whole of Europe in its enveloping flames. Recent political events in Poland and Lithuania only tend to confirm this view.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

RELIGION

LIFE OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA—By E. H. Brewster—Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

This book marks an exceedingly successful attempt at developing the life of Buddha through a well-arranged compilation of a series of relevant extracts from the Pali Canon. The disciples of Buddha, unlike

those of Jesus, never tried to give the world any connected account of the Master's personal life. A proper view, therefore, of the personal aspects of the great Indian spiritual leader's life has to be gained from what little scraps of biographical anecdotes and autobiographical references lie distributed in the Pali Canon. Much objective information about the external course of Buddha's life may not be gained, but yet there is a great deal in the Canon which dealing as it does with topics suggested by personal experience, would enable us to form for ourselves a true life-like picture of the Great Man and his personal ideals.

Prof. Rhys Davids, in the Preface, appropriately points out the need, for the reader who wants to understand Buddha's personality, to adopt a process of winnowing the chaff from the wheat. Employing such an eclectic process, Prof. Rhys Davids is able to see before himself a unique personality: "Out of my own sifting I think of him with deep love and reverence, not as the monk, nor as the weak man, nor as the wonder-man, nor as the vain man. I think of him as the Brother-man, as a willer of the welfare of men, as the worker of the things that are worthy, as the warder of his brethren's will. I think of him as a Helper as few have been, as one who worded for men the "better" within them which then and there no creed was wording, as a helper of the many folk of his own world, as a helper towards the worlds of man's wayfaring, as a believer in spite of monkish ideals, in the hope that lies in coming to be. And I think of him as a teacher whose help was given so straightly to this man and to that, that so far from talking in set forms of words, he was incapable of saying anything in the same words twice."

The selections given in the book relate to the most important periods of the Masters' life career: his earliest years, his discipline and Enlightenment, the first events after the Enlightenment, his relations with the disciples and the last events of his life.

Reading through the book, one irresistibly gains the impression that, in spite of all the contrariety made out by certain scholars between Hinduism and Buddhism, the Master's teachings are after all only the very essence of the fundamental tenets of Hinduism. Can there be anything more characteristically Hindu than the beautiful address which the Master gave to his disciples at Gaya.

"Everything, monks, is burning

And how, monks, is everything burning?

The eye is burning; the ear is burning, the tongue is burning, the body is burning, the mind is burning.....I declare unto you that it is burning with lust, with hatred, with delusion, it is burning with birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair. Considering this, O Monks, a learned disciple, walking in the Noble Path, turns away from all the senses, divests himself of Passion, passionless is liberated."

Just as Buddha preached liberation from the bonds of the false senses, he preached liberation from the bonds of the pseudo-religion which masqueraded under the name of Hinduism. The advice to a Brahmin, related in *Majjhima Nikaya I*, is unmistakable for its note of revolt against the tinsel-religion of his time:

In Gaya, Sundarika, Saraswati
Bhumati, Prayaga, there the fool
May bathe and bathe, yet never cleanse his heart,
Of what avail are all these ghats and streams?
—They cleanse not heart, or hand of guilt.
For him whose heart is cleansed, each day is blest,
Each day is hallowed: pure of heart and mind,
He hollows each new day with vows renewed.

So hither, Brahmin, come and bathe as I!
Love all that lives, speak Truth, slay not nor steal,
No niggard be, but dwell in faith, and then—
Why seek Gaya?—'tis but a pool for thee."

Every reader of this well-arranged compilation should be able to see for himself how much Buddha did to democratise and put to practical application some of the most exalted teachings of the Hindu religion.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

RELIGION IN THE MAKING:—By Dr. A. N. Whitehead.

This book consists of four lectures on religion delivered by the author in King's Chapel, Boston in February 1926.

"The aim of the lectures was to give a concise analysis of the various factors in human nature which go to form a religion, to exhibit the inevitable transformation of religion with the transformation of knowledge and more specially to direct attention to the foundation of religion on our apprehension of those permanent elements by reason of which there is a stable order in the World; permanent elements apart from which there could be no changing world."

This is "undoubtedly one of the most striking books of the present time" as is observed by 'The Daily Mail' and must be read by every one who has a liking for philosophy and who is interested in the foundations of a rational religion.

Chapter I deals with 'Religion in History' and treats the subject under seven sub-heads:—Religion defined, ii. The Emergence of Religion, iii Ritual and Emotion, iv Belief, v Rationalism, vi The assent of man vii The final contrast. The following extract gives the sub-sketch of this chapter.

"Religion is the art and the theory of the internal life of man, so far as it depends

on the man himself and on what is permanent in the nature of things"..... receives "Religion, so far as its external expression in human history, exhibits four factors. These factors are ritual, emotion, belief, rationalization"..... "The order of the emergence of these factors was in the verse in order of the depth of their religious importance; first ritual, then emotion, then belief, then rationalization....." "The dawn of these religious stages is gradual. Perhaps it is untrue to affirm that the later factors are ever wholly absent. But certainly, when we go far enough back, belief and rationalization are completely negligible, and emotion is merely a secondary result of ritual. Then emotion takes the lead, and the ritual is for the emotion which it generates. Belief then makes its appearance as explanatory of the complex of ritual and in this appearance of belief we may discern the germ of rationalization."..... "It is not until belief and rationalization are well established that solitariness is discernible as constituting the heart of religious importance"..... "Rational religion is religion whose beliefs and rituals have been re-organized with the aim of making it the central element in a coherent ordering of life—an ordering which shall be coherant both in respect to the elucidation of thought and in respect to the direction of conduct towards a unified purpose commanding ethical approval."..... "The emergence of rational religion was strictly conditioned by the general progress of the races in which it arose. It had to wait for the development in human consciousness of the relevant general ideas and of the relevant ethical institutions"..... "Gradually the religions evolved towards more individualistic forms, shedding their exclusively communal aspect. The individual became the religious unit in the place of the community".....

"So to-day it is not France which goes to heaven, but individual Frenchmen; and it is not China which attains *Nirvana*, but Chinamen"..... "Now, so far as concerns religion, the distinction of a world consciousness as contrasted with a social consciousness is the change of emphasis in the concept of rightness. A social consciousness concerns people whom you know and love individually. Hence rightness is mixed up with the notion of preservation. "But a world-consciousness is more disengaged. It rises to the conception of an essential rightness of things"..... "In a communal religion, you study the Will of God in order that he may preserve you; in a purified religion, rationalized under the influence of the world-concept, you study His goodness in order to betake Him."

After tracing the historical evolution of religion in the First chapter, the author treats in the Second chapter of 'Religion and Dogma' under the four headings (1) The Religious consciousness in History (2) The description of religious experience (3) God (4) The Quest of God. About the concept of 'God' this is what he says "There are three main simple renderings of this concept before the world.

"1. The Eastern Asiatic concept of an impersonal order to which the world conforms. This order is the self-ordering of the world, it is not the world obeying an imposed rule. The concept expresses the extreme doctrine of immanence."

"2. The Semitic concept of a definite personal entity, whose existence is the one ultimate metaphysical fact, absolute and underivative, and who decreed and ordered the derivative existence which we call the actual world..... It expresses the extreme doctrine of transcendence."

3. The Pantheistic concept of an entity to be described in the terms of the Semitic

concept, except that the actual world is a phase within the complete fact which is this ultimate individual entity. The actual world, conceived apart from God, is unreal. Its only reality is God's reality..... This is the extreme doctrine of monism.".....

"The Eastern Asiatic concept and the Pantheistic concept invert each other. According to the former concept, when we speak of God we are saying something about the world; and according to the latter concept, when we speak of the world, we are saying something about God."

"It is evident that the Semitic concept can very easily pass over into the Pantheistic concept. In fact, the history of philosophical theology in various Mahometan countries shows that this passage has often been effected.

Then the author discusses the two main difficulties which the Semitic concept has to struggle with:—"One of them is that it leaves God completely outside metaphysical rationalization"..... "He is such a being as to design and create this universe and there our knowledge stops".... But "He is undeniably useful because anything baffling can be ascribed to his direct decree." The second difficulty of the concept is to get itself proved. The only possible proof would appear to be the 'autological proof' according to which the mere concept of such an entity allows us to infer its existence.

Under the heading:—"Quest of God", the author has the following passage.

"The modern world has lost God and is seeking him."..... "In respect to its doctrine of God the Church gradually returned to the Semitic concept with the addition of the three fold personality. It is a concept which is clear, terrifying and improvable.... "On the whole the Gospel of Love was

turned into a Gospel of Fear"..... "If the modern world is to find God, it must find him through love and not through fear.

In chapter III, which is headed 'Body and Spirit', the author treats of (1) Religion and metaphysics (2) the contribution of Religion to metaphysics (3) a metaphysical description, (4) God and the moral order, (5) Value and the Purpose of God (6) Body and mind and (7) The creative process. The following extracts sum up the author's ideas about God and the moral order. "It is not the case that there is an actual world which accidentally happens to exhibit an order of nature. There is an actual world because there is an order of nature. If there were no order there would be no world. Also since there is a world, we know that there is an order. The ordering entity is a necessary element in the metaphysical situation presented by the actual world." "All order is therefore aesthetic order and the moral order is merely certain aspects of the aesthetic order. The actual world is the outcome of the aesthetic order, and the aesthetic order is derived from the immanence of good"..... "The order of the world is no accident. There is nothing actual which could be actual without some measure of order. The religious insight is the grasp of this truth. That the order of the world, the depth of reality of the world, the value of the world in its whole and in its parts, the beauty of the world, the zest of life, the peace of life, and the mastery of evil, are all bound together—not accidentally, but by reason of this truth: that the universe exhibits a creativity with infinite freedom and a realm of forms with infinite possibilities; but that this creating and these forms are together impotent to achieve actuality apart from the completed ideal harmony, which is god."

The last chapter is headed "Truth and Criticism" and deals with the following five topics (1) The Development of Dogma (2) Experience and Expression (3) The three traditions (4) The nature of good (5) Conclusion. The following extracts give the nature of god according to the author and his conclusion.

"God is that function in the world by reason of which our purposes are directed to ends which in our own consciousness are impartial as to our own interests. He is that element in life in virtue of which judgment stretches beyond facts of existence to values of existence. He is that element in virtue of which our purposes extend beyond values for ourselves to values for others. He is that element in virtue of which the attainment of such a value for others transforms itself into value for ourselves". "He is the binding element in the world. The consciousness

which is individual in us, is universal in him: the love which is partial in us is all embracing in him."

"The present type of order in the world has arisen from an unimaginable past, and it will find its grave in an unimaginable future. There remain the inexhaustible realm of abstract forms, and creativity, with its shifting character ever determined afresh by its own creatures, and god upon whose wisdom all forms of order depend.

It is hoped that we have given above enough extracts from the book to show the author's clear analysis of the several concepts involved in 'religion' and his position in respect of such concepts, and to interest the reader in the book which is worth being read through and through any number of times.

P. V. SESHU AIYAR.

What Thinkers Think

Renunciation is not soul-fatigue

The religiosity of the East particularly India, often manifests itself in a spirit of weak submission to wrongs, justifying itself, sometimes, under the cloak of philosophic renunciation or respect for the past. Dr. Tagore never misses an opportunity to expose the hollowness of these claims. In one of his letters written from Java, which he recently visited, he administers a strong rebuke to those of his countrymen who rest content in inaction, wearily observing: "Enough, that will do, can somehow manage with what we have."

Commenting on this cowardly attitude he says:

The taking of care is not only a question of love but one of vigour; to maintain keenness of attention, even to the desired object, requires plenty of energy. Where the store of energy runs low, a cheap asceticism supervenes. The type of renunciation that results, means only a shaking off of responsibility from one's own shoulders, a fatalistic submission to discomfort, disorder, disease, or whatever else it may be. Consolation is then sought in the attempt to make out that there is something glorious in such submission. On the other hand, he who has abundance of energy takes delight in accepting the

challenge of strenuous aims; he lives forcefully. When I go to Europe, this resolute application of man's effort is what strikes me most. The chief characteristic of their science is its strict observance of obligations in the pursuit of knowledge. Nowhere does it allow any vagueness or whimsicality, or take anything for granted, or seek refuge in the dictum of any sage, however wise. It is when the spirit of submission, born of soul fatigue, comes in that, in its uncared for field, crop up immutable injunctions of the Shastras, behests of Masters, *ipse dixit* of Mahatmas, as weeds obstructing the path of truth. Such cessation of personal effort allows of the congestion of decay and waste that smothers and defeats the manhood of man. In countries so obsessed, even in the field of art men revolve in circles of blind repetition,—they go round and round but do not advance. The Madras Chetty spends thirty-five lakhs of rupees to make a copy of a temple built thousands of years ago. Beyond that his tired mind cannot go, does not dare. The tame bird cannot delight in spreading its paralysed wings outside its cage. Once it has had to admit defeat to its cage, it needs must also accept defeat in respect of the whole universe.

One's first feeling at the sight of the beauty and variety of the ceremonial institutions of this region is one of joy; but that gradually gives place to one of doubt as to whether this is not a case of the delights of the cage, not of the nest. Possibly these people lack freedom of mind, and their institutions are only faultless repetitions, kept intact through the ages by sheer force of habit. We who come here from outside have the advantage of being able to visualise the past in their present. That past was a great one. It had genius,—what in Sanskrit is called the power of ever-fresh creation,—and it gave proof of the vastness of its life energy in its art creations. But, still, it is after all the Past, and its duty was to fall behind the Present, not to come in front of it and stop the way to its self-manifestation. Now the present reduced to a mere steed of the past, has to own defeat. It humbly acknowledges that its sole function is to keep the past alive at the cost of its own lifelessness. It has lost the courage to believe in itself. This is the kind of

self-renunciation I was talking about,—the reducing of one's own responsibility to a minimum. The taking of responsibility has its pain and its danger: therefore, *vairagyamavebhayam*, in renunciation is fearlessness, that is to say, in self-destruction is fearlessness!

Union of East and West

The problem of the Union of East and West is of such vital importance for the future of humanity and civilisation that we need offer no apology for repeatedly presenting to our readers the thoughts of those who are earnestly engaged in evolving a new synthesis of cultures and religions. The question is approached from a comparatively fresh view-point by Dr. Hans Koester in a bulletin that appears in the January number of *The Viswabharati Quarterly*. Dr. Koester is not quite a stranger to our readers. Sometime ago we published in these pages some of the main doctrines of "Anthroposophy" as expounded by him in a paper read before the Indian philosophical Congress. Dr. Koester claims for his new synthesis the confirming validity of subjective experience—a factor which gives to his suggestions a weight usually lacking in a merely academic enquiry. He says:

I would like to approach the much discussed problem of "East and West" from a point of view which may seem somewhat fantastic but which as a matter of fact is based on real experience. I want to show that the difference which, from an outside view, we are accustomed to ascribe to separate Eastern and Western aspects of Humanity, are those which are inherent in each individual's own personality.

The knowing within *oneself* of the whole humanity that is dispersed all over the globe, is indeed the great spiritual phenomenon which is dawning upon the consciousness of this age of which the technical achievements, overcoming all earthly distances, are the outer expression. This is a higher, a living state of what before was a

mere intellectual idea, if at all accepted. Such inner "wholeness" is not achieved by the elimination or disregard of existing differences, but in that higher sense where one has attained a sufficient spiritual expansion to be able to recognise all "other" human beings as component parts of one's own individual complex; whereupon, wherever travelling on the earth, one always finds some corresponding chord within oneself touched and awakened. It is more than the feeling of brotherhood, though that certainly is one of its manifestations on the plane of life,—it is the realisation of one's own personality in the form of humanity.

In this aspect the problem of East and West reveals itself as a personal spiritual endeavour,—the striving of each individual to grasp within his own inner being the sphere where both East and West are one in each of them. In order to explain my view clearly, I have to introduce a new category of experience.

There is one fact which claims attention when a spiritual feeling of life has been attained,—what may be called the spiritual "weight" of one's being. There lies in every spiritual conception a certain force, a massive intensity, which gives this sense of spiritual "weight." Mere logical deductions or abstract ideas have less, while imaginations show more of such inner coherence; nevertheless every conception strives to be thus embodied. It is for this reason that Tantricism in its *yantras*, tries by geometrical lines to give its ideas a hold, just as is done in the higher mathematics.

Every religion, if a true religion, is by its very nature not abstract but picturesque. It is not childishness wanting toys, but truth realising its own "weight" that makes gods and goddesses appear before the believer as realities. It is the lack of this spiritual weight which is one of the strongest objections that has to be made against the Theosophical or Brahmo-Samaj tendencies, however well-meaning they may be, which strive to combine all different religions into the "one truth" which is supposed to reveal itself in these different ways. The result of this, however, is and can only be that this abstracted or theoretical truth becomes hollow and thin,—too un-

substantial to carry the force of spiritual life. It requires a special spiritual sense to recognise this spiritual weight which alone can give to a mere idea the momentum of a life-inspiring reality.

Now, there is one idea which admits of an immediate application of this spiritual experience. European philosophy, as I have tried to explain in my book, *Anthroposophy in India*, has been striving to arrive at a clear, logical conception of the higher self or I (German *Ich*). But however near to it the deepest thinkers of the West may have approached, it has mostly remained in the realm of ideas, in the mere logical sphere. India, on the other hand, has been fully conscious of what it has of spiritual quality,—so much so, that therefrom has emanated all its deepest wisdom. The self was to India the admitted starting point, whereas in Europe it has been the most disputed aim. The Self is indeed one of the ideas to apprehend which a philosophico-spiritual sense is needed,—by itself it has no real interest for the merely self-centred man with only his practical outlook.

Applying this attribute of spiritual weight to the experience of this higher self there appears a new appreciation of the differences between East and West. The Westerner, when he reaches this stage of self-experience has the tendency to reinforce the weight of his spiritual Self,—he wants to make it weightier and weightier. He would combine it with his daily life on the earth. Whatever the earth matter has as its original qualities,—structure, firmness, consistency etc.—he discovers all of it, in its spiritual aspect, within this self, as Reality. He wants the self, so to speak, to come down to him, so that he may make use of the material world in the proper way. Thereby it will not lose any of its own spirituality, for in this weighty self will appear to him only the spirit that is behind the material world. He will receive from it what within him appears as firm self-confidence, deep-rooted certainty, and last but not least, unconditioned cheerfulness.

India, as I have said, knows this weight of self and recognises its fundamental spiritual importance. But, in accordance with the general

Indian tendency, it takes another direction. Indian spirituality tries to support, to lift up this weight, so that the self, freed therefrom may thereby be elevated above the earth,—like a balloon relieved of the ballast which weighs it down, to rise higher and higher. With its Self-experience thus expanded, so as to cover the whole of the world, the Indian tendency proceeds to leave behind the heavy substance and to disappear with the highest air into the region where weight of every kind is negated,—into Mukti or Nirvana.

Once this special spiritual sense, of the differences in the weight of the Self-consciousness, is acquired one finds therewith an entirely new approach to our problem. Nothing is explained by saying the East is this, the West is that; such positions depend on a judgment relying upon outer appearances. They lose their importance in the light of this new experience, where there are no longer any oppositions, but only graded shadows of differences in quality. Here what matters is only their differentiation in tendency. Before passing through the preparatory stages of experience it would be nonsense to say that the one is good, the other is good too,—that would be no help in making out what constitutes their respective speciality. But in this higher sense, where the personality is enriched by world-wide experiences, that is just what could and should be said. The grade or quality or different light of the goodness is all that can then interest us.

This swimming in pure quality, as we may call it, is characteristic of the life of the man weightily conscious of his personality. He realises within himself the vast possibilities of the whole human race. The Indian soul is then for the Westerner no longer far away, but is met, by a slight movement of the heart, in the very core. What before seemed to separate us are no longer realities, but phantoms. The inner way over the world of humanity is very short: it is indeed within us.

But the question arises: If there is this ocean of humanity within the human I, what is that which gives us our direction in it. Or, to come back to our category of weight, what is the centre

of gravity of these different weights whereon we may be able to balance these pure qualitative entities? What gives us the freedom, the spiritual force, that may keep the balance between these new realisations, that may enable us to live, so to speak, in their *differentia*? It is the leading spirit of Christ.

This is not the Christ of that Christianity which, in missionary-ridden Asia, is mostly identified with Europeanism. As a matter of fact, the true spirit of Christ is no farther from the East than from the West. It is not a question of conscious acceptance. Objectively—and that is the only matter of importance—Christ is as near to the East as to the West. This does not mean only that his message was intended to be spread over the world, as is the case with every religion of importance,—but that in its essence it stands outside these cultural distinction of East and West. In that it is quite different from Hinduism which is so deeply connected with the whole social and cultural shape of India; for the social and political order, nay disorder, of Europe is not, as it is sometimes regarded, a shape of Christianity. On the contrary, Christ cannot be approached except by a synthesis of these two. He can only be realised when sought above all the cultural differences of Humanity.

Up to now this centre can only be hinted at, so to speak, as a mathematical point of reference. But it becomes clearer in its details as we really go on living within this comprehensive view. It then discloses itself as the path we are following now and here, whether in Europe or in Asia, neither as Europeans nor Asiatics, but as men who have realised within their own being this point outside of both, whereon both may be balanced in full freedom. We learn more and more how to strengthen that within us which keeps clear of, or stands above all cultural endowments, while utilising their qualities in practice.

This consciousness, which moves us with its weight, develops into a distinct state of being. It is indeed a greater life that we thus touch. Its body is all the vast possibilities of the human race, as expressed in the different culture colour-

ings. The *I* in the soul of such being, now great enough to master it, is the spirit of Christ. Through him we live in humanity, not theoretically but in the distinct experiences of the higher order which is then ours.

A Catholic view

The same Journal contains an illuminating examination of Dr. Koester's position from the stand-point of the Western Catholic Church by Rev. P. Johannis, S. J. who writes:—

In his article on the method of reconciling Eastern and Western religious thought, Dr. Hans Koester sets forth some very suggestive considerations. As always in the writings of Dr. Koester, we find here a genuine intellectual sincerity, coupled with a high vision of truth. But the author seems to be shy in his speculations. It must be a lingering consequence of his Anthroposophy that makes him look out for perfect humanisation, without insisting on the previous divinisation which perfect humanisation presupposes. It is his idealistic attitude that makes him look to universality of conduct as the true ideal of life. Thus he maintains that we ought to realise our individuality in the form of humanity, that by such transfiguration we shall be able, beyond all cultural differences, to discover within ourselves the synthesis of Eastern and Western thought.

We would repeat with him that, to the Eastern man, the ideal comes before everything else,—it is a presupposition; whereas the Western man looks on it as an anticipation. To the Indian the Self is given, which means that, for him, the unity of our own self with God is the fact. Thus, for Sankaracharya, our self is contained in God, in the way of God, and we have to withdraw to this plane of absoluteness in order to meet our own self in the transfiguring absorption of absoluteness. There is no realisation required, for the unity of Self and self is Reality itself: only we must become aware of the fact. The salvation of man, his return to what he is and never has ceased to be, is but a liberation, not a realisation. Ramanuja, likewise, wants us to

return to God, and in God to our original state, to our ideal Self, which is an eternal mode of God. The obstacle, again, is the world as we make it, or induce God to make it, by our selfishness.

To the Western philosophers, the ideal is an anticipation which has to be brought about. We have to bring about our unity with God; we have to insert ourselves within the plan, the universal harmony, of God. Thus it is a question of will to the Westerner, whereas to the Indian it is, as is shown by the negative idea of liberation, a mere original experience to be regained. Hence the Eastern mind finds its peace in its regress, the Western its satisfaction in its progress, to the supreme Self. Moreover the Eastern man wants to shake off the world, which bars the view to the contemplation of his self in God; the Western wants to affirm the world, and to recast it in the absolute proportions of his anticipation.

One immediately notices that we have to deal here with supplementary tendencies. Our ideal is really both a presupposition, wherein the East is right; as well as an anticipation, wherein the West is right. Hence, in a return to God there must be a return to our presupposition. But such return is not sufficient, for we discover in it that we are for God and in God. So we must progress further, from being for God and in God, to being for and in ourselves. We must, from the divine height, discover that God is for us, and that we must realise Him for us. It is in this way that I understand the suggestions of Dr. Koester.

And here I would like to draw his attention to the sublime way in which the presupposition as well as the anticipation is set forth by Catholic philosophy. We maintain that God has no relation whatever to the world. Why? Because God is more than related to the world. God is the world, *in His own way*. All world-reality is absorbed in God, in His Reality. Since God embraces the world within Himself, so as to be identical with it, all relation to the world being less than this identity would impair the absolute character of the presupposition. All the absoluteness we claim, all the reality we assume, must be recognised as being originally God's as being

God, since He contains it in His own way. Thus the world ends in a mere relation to God. It is not by itself and for itself and in itself,—it is by God and for God. If we should rest here we would not go beyond Sankara. But the ideal is an anticipation,—no longer an anticipation of our selfishness, but an anticipation of our Self as it appears within God, recast according to absolute Beauty, Truth and Goodness.

Now, this anticipation becomes our ideal. We are for God, that is the presupposition; God is for us, that is the anticipation. Hence it is our ideal that we must be for ourselves in such a way that God must be for us. We must be for ourselves by referring God to ourselves, by realising ourselves as we would do had we an infinite intellect to understand our conditions of realisation and an infinite power to bring about these conditions. In popular parlance, we must make ourselves as God would make us. Hence the necessity of substituting God to ourselves. We are not God, but we must think like God, live in our world as God would live in us should he take our place and identify Himself with us, which means at bottom that we must be like another Christ. And thus we in our way shall participate in the life of God.

But here comes in the important point. What if we should participate in the life of God in His own way, what if God were destined for us in such a way that we would see Him as He sees Himself, will Him as He wills Himself, repose in Him as He wills Himself, repose in Him as He reposes in Himself? What, again, if God were for us at the end, not in our own way but in His own way? Since God has become man, should we not within this Godman, inserted within the organisation of His life and His Spirit, become divine? The Catholic Church maintains that; and, however great the mystery may appear, She does not allow it to be dragged down to any human interpretation. It is true, and God has said it, that we shall possess Him, as He possesses Himself that we shall live within Him, participating in the light, warmth and bliss of His absolute self-consciousness.

I want Dr. Hans Koester, to reflect on this point, and to tell me, if ever such an anticipa-

tion was hinted at in any philosophy. Who would be so daring? The pantheist, cannot reach such identity as well as superidentification. He makes us identical with God, as a potential God. But what can that be? God is absolute Actuality, Reality. Who, but the Catholic Church, gives this message that we shall be one with Reality itself, as Reality is one with itself? We shall know God as he knows Himself, means that we shall know reality as it knows itself. And yet we are but the images of God. But the image will be endowed with a light and an inspiration, that is proper to the Original only, and will live the life of the Original, remaining all the time itself and becoming more itself, divinely itself in this tremendous synthesis.

This supernatural unity does not deny the value of the natural world. It is its transfiguration and enhancement. In God we shall become one, in the divine way, with our fellowmen and with nature. There will be brought about a supernatural harmony.

We, therefore, do not turn away from our world, for we know that all that is, will be preserved in so far as it is, but preserved within a divine synthesis where it will find its full meaning. Look at nature from this standpoint. How lovable she becomes when we remember that she is destined to become the expressibility and plasticity where we shall embody our divine intuitions. There we shall rehearse again and again the drama of the divine love. All sounds will help us to ring out the harmony of the divine synthesis, all movements and gestures will express it, all forms will embody it. Moreover, within the divine synthesis, we shall look at our fellowmen with a divinised eye and apprehend in all of them the individual expression of the same ideal. It will be all divine interrelation and divine interpenetration. When we abide within God as in our Self, then we shall abide in all other selves as in our own.

But who can describe these heights? Only in prayer, in direct realisation, one can live this anticipation; but all words blur the intuition, instead of expressing it. Whoever has heard this melody sounding from afar, from the eternal hills, never loses its remembrance and hears its

ravishing undertone vibrating even within the most shrieking discordances of this world.

The philosophic back ground of cultures

If, as the Reverent Father observes, Dr. Koester is unable to forget his Anthroposophy, we may well remark that the Reverend critic is himself caught up within the confines of his Catholic Church. It is as natural as it is easy for any one to be satisfied with the soundness of one's own position and proclaim it to be the only safe stand for the whole world. But, that obviously, is not the way to reconciliation between conflicting creeds and cultures. Mr. Jamini-kanta Sen has shown us the better path in his article on "The philosophic background of Eastern and Western Cultures" in the same issue. He writes:—

Let us try to take a straight look, so far as that is possible within the present limits, at the distinctive experiences of Eastern and Western man in their respective attempts at self-realisation. Only from such stand-point can we hope to do any justice to the claims of their rival cultures to universality or even to justification.

Nothing is lost, says the Indian sage, not a drop of water on the sand-banks of a rivulet, nor even a tear-drop in the most callous of human communities. Both the West and the East are but reaping to-day what they have been consciously or unconsciously working for. They cannot transcend that which they never seriously meant to transcend, because they have not attempted any reading of the implications of their own cultures. They are sick of quack nostrums for their self-created ills, the proper treatment of which awaits their examination in the light of a more ample philosophy.

If Europe, to-day, is tired of hunting for new inspiration and life, she has become despondent of being able any longer to respond to the call of the spirit, if she apprehends that the Kingdom of Heaven is receding further and further from her, that her wars and struggles, her leagues and 'points' are alike nightmares,—she

is right in her feeling, but not so in her reading of the causes. What is really revealed, is only the breakdown of her philosophy—its failure to contain the increased amplitude of her life. In other words, it simply proves that she is greater than the philosophy of her own improvisation. Her thinkers must, therefore, take into their vision a larger horizon, for she is indeed a noble actor, not only on the mundane stage, but also in the spiritual cosmic drama wherein we of the East have likewise our own part.

Neither does the seething tide of discontent in the Orient, that is to-day breaking down the shores of her past traditions, prove that the East is adrift from her anchorage. The Eastern pessimist suffers because he cannot relate the new conditions to the world order as hitherto realised by him. You are free, you are saved, only when you attain a real vision of the whole in its present state of development. Both West and East need the larger thinker, whether he happens to come from the inside or the outside, in order to gain the assurance that their Infinite purpose is being effectively fulfilled.

A brilliant Occidental critic thus summarises the heritage of the West: "Every man of us to-day is three men. . . . First comes the Christian, the crown and combination of the other two. . . . Behind him comes the Roman of the realm of reason and order. . . . And the third is the man in the origins." It was the Socratic intellectualism that was both the triumph and the tragedy of Greek culture,—Greek civilisation died within its grip, as Nietzsche observes. This intellectual emphasis, again, found deeper and wider expression in the Roman culture,—in the "straight roads and clear laws" of the reason and order it evolved. Intellectual order leaves nothing vague or indefinite, it insists on definitions, codifications, and demarcation of boundaries; even ideas and ideals are translated into the terms of its particular language.

This has resulted in the persistent attempt of the West to realise things by the invocation of the opposites that mark their limits and settle their boundaries; and culminates in the ordered classifications of domestic, social and political

life, which regulate both its national and international movements. Thus has been created the Occidental doctrine,—for it is no less,—of infinite rights; whereas the opposite emphasis of the East has produced the doctrine of infinite obligations—in all the inter-relations of man.

This heritage of the West was responsible for the rush to shed its last drop of blood on the soil of Central Europe in order to achieve a new resurrection. The touch of mysticism which has come down from "the man in the origins" serves only to fulfil the workings of Eternal Justice, even though its endeavour is lacking in balance. This fundamental one-sided position of the West has received increased emphasis through a succession of epochs and all her spiritual attainments have been stamped with this original seal. Her philosophers have but systematised her predilections, and she has responded to every impulse emanating therefrom, so that her thought-march has invariably reduced the process of the eternal Spirit working in humanity, to her own antithetic measure.

The Copernican revolution heralded by Kant is a product of the same mood, born of the endeavour of the Græco-Roman intellect to codify the phenomenal order in terms of the narrow categories of understanding, the strait-jacket method that ignores the call of *Verstand*, and thus violates its fundamentals. It is at bottom a legacy of the Socratic method of which even the Western critic is constrained to remark that "Instinct becomes the critic and consciousness the creator—a perfect monstrosity *per defectum*."

Neither was that landmark in Occidental philosophy,—the Hegelian dialectical process,—a chance find. Hegel simply went to the root of this mania for law and order and classification, and found that such a predilection for objective categories was based, as all intellectual processes must be, on the need for the opposite; and therefore came to the conclusion that "contradiction is the root of all life and movement.....that the principle of contradiction rules the world." He thus did nothing but record the dominant Western psychology.

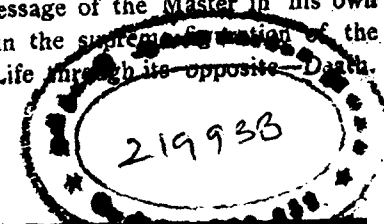
All this simply means that for the West a thing is cognised through a knowledge of what it is not,

that it is through "No" that the West loves to proceed, and has striven to proceed throughout its history. This supplies the rationale of its culture-complex, its outlook on the world, its social and political constitutions, its need of war. Therefore, always through a contradiction of the past order, have its political, literary, social and artistic creations successively raised their heads, only to be disowned and discredited by the fresh inrush of new movements.

The dominant factor that has determined the flow of Occidental life blood during these two thousand years has been the master figure of Christ. Even here, however, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity have been worked out on the same antithetic basis. To begin with, there are the codified objective commandments to which one is expected to conform, wherein an idea of the spirit is given in terms of its opposite—flesh, for it has been said that "Flesh is death, Spirit is life and peace (Romans, viii, 6, 10, 13). And the conception of original sin was inevitable if one had to aspire to virtue through the path of antithesis.

In the East attempts are sometimes made to visualise an Oriental Christ on the strength of his passivistic doctrines. But this is to misread the ideal that stands in the background, the philosophy that is its foundation. For ages the figure of Christ on the Cross has dominated the vision of the West in no uncertain way,—its message has filtered through her blood, inscrutably but nevertheless irresistibly. The Christian cannot go behind that fact, even if he would,—it has become part and parcel of his life and culture. Even his much-vaunted rationalism takes its features from this infeudation. It is not necessary to go through the complexities of the historical data,—the very figure itself affords a sufficient expressional clue to this factor in the culture-complex of Europe.

In the Christian ideal the Cosmic drama has been summed up in the only way possible for Europe. Its finale is the crystallised concept of her inner progress. Christ on the Cross bears the eternal message of the Master in his own handwriting, in the supreme affirmation of the realisation of Life through its opposite—Death.



It represents, in its beginning and its end, the brilliant advance of Europe through "No", at every moment of her life. She knows only how to realise through negation or death.

It is curious that the East does not understand, nor is Europe herself conscious, that the Divine Spirit is as much at work in the West to-day as it has been in any part or age of the world. This is due to the fact that the categories of Western philosophy have not the power, as they stand framed at present, to explain the creative movements of the spirit, even in their reflections on the logical plane. Impressional philosophy—the only philosophy capable of being produced from the steel frame of water-tight categories that dictate clear-cut codes and standards, and invoke the guidance of outside help at every stage—has not the vocabulary to co-relate the insistent messages that direct the dynamic of life, and therefore lacks the means to interpret its facts except in terms of death and despair. The world process is a whole, and so, at every point, is all human activity. The failure to recognise this has led Europe to her "static absolute," her "block universes," and even Bergson has not the mental language at his command to bring her out of them.

The assertion that the West is as spiritual as the East may perhaps prove staggering to some people, even in the latter as well as in the former. But the predominantly expressional philosophy of India, if set forth to-day, could not deny that position, as it has not denied it in the past. The expression *Amritasya putrah*, children of Immortality, was not uttered by our seer with reference to a particular hemisphere. This expressional philosophy is as much an inevitable outcome of her culture as the antithetic or impressional philosophy is of the West. Unfortunately, this has not been adequately put before the West in her own manner, or even from a modern standpoint. The objective of philosophical speculation in India was different and, although it has traversed the entire breadth of human experience, its form was cast according to the conditions of by-gone ages, and must be modified in order to throw constructive light on the present-day world problem.

What was the position of this philosophy with regard to the process of knowledge? It was recognised that there were two parallel ways of realising,—the *vyatireki* or dialectical, and the *anwayi*, or affirmative method. In the former, one proceeds from thesis to antithesis and thence to a synthesis. In the latter from thesis direct to synthesis with the antithesis involuted. It was the absence of a proper understanding of the latter process that has led to the divergence of the Western from the Eastern culture-complex.

The East, has not ignored the former; on the contrary it was admitted as a legitimate process. But she has mainly trained herself to realisation through affirmation, and accordingly her culture-complex bears its impress, which has coloured her political, social and domestic activities. She had no inevitable objective standard to clog her movement. The freedom given by her expressional philosophy has widened the bounds of her horizon and, through successive affirmative processes, she has easily transcended the rigidity of compartmental views. Her internationalism was filiative and not exclusive. She needed no barriers of codes in her fundamental movements. Her philosophy and culture were the reflex of the dominance of this view. She never could have used the Cross as her symbol of realisation.

In summary, realisation in the West was through Death, in the East through Life. It is no conception of original sin, or condemning of the flesh, but the deification of Life, originally divine, that finds place in India's scriptures. This fundamental distinction should always be kept in mind in taking any comparative view of the culture-products of East and West. Obviously it would not do to attempt any compromise based on a confusion between these two distinct methods, for one cannot live in one world in terms of another. Nevertheless that should be no bar to mutual help and understanding as a means to attain that larger view wherein both are included.

In the expressional philosophy of the East, the positive and negative are both spiritual processes, so that even the realisation of Life through Death has for her no implication of

suffering. The Western philosophy, however, has failed to rise to the heights of the actual surge of her spiritual upheavals, hence her discontent and dismay, her perpetual "search" for new spiritual outlooks. Even this search, still conducted in the same old antithetic way, is bound to fail in catching the will-o'-the-wisp that lures her on.

The West stands, therefore, in need of an expressional philosophy, and here the East can well extend to her the hand of good-fellowship. Nay, the West must invite her co-operation, for without it she cannot make the necessary re-adjustments and must continue to go through sorrow—to death on the Cross at every moment of her life. The East needs likewise the corrective of an impressional philosophy if her passivism is not to degenerate into quietism; for as her sages have already recognised, man must cultivate both the parallel outlooks so that in him may be fulfilled the great cosmic purpose.

A picture of Soviet Russia

The reader will peruse with interest the following picture of Soviet Russia depicted by the British Delegation of Co-operators and Trade Unionists who recently toured the country. The extracts are from a booklet published by the Labour Research Department recording the Delegation's impressions:

The outward appearance of the workers in the factories and of the people whom we passed in the streets was quite remarkable, and was commented on by the delegation among themselves from the first day of their arrival. Every one looks healthy and well-fed, and their clothing was strong and warm. There were no silk hats in evidence, and there were very few silk stockings, but we all got a very clear impression that however dear clothing may be, the workers and peasants were able to get it. Perhaps the most remarkable feature was the appearance of the children; at one time or another we saw large numbers of children, and we were all impressed with their remarkably healthy appearance and the fact that their clothing was extremely good and warm, while they all had strong boots and a large proportion also wore goloshes. We saw many of the

children playing and tobogganing in the snow, and we saw them also walking along the streets, and in the schools and factory creches, &c. Their high level of health was extremely noticeable and also their happiness and remarkable intelligence.

Some of us came into contact with individual children whose political and economic knowledge was positively startling. One boy of thirteen whom we met on the Red Square not only gave us full information about the children's movement, housing conditions, and rent in Moscow, but also showed a very considerable knowledge of British affairs, and put some searching questions on the position of the British coal industry, and on the policy of the Miners' Federation and the British General Council. He knew only a few words of English, but could converse fluently in German which he had learnt at school. He told us, among other things that about 20 per cent. of the school children in Moscow were in the Pioneers, and that their special work was to prepare themselves with political and economic knowledge so that they may be capable of playing their part in building up Socialism when they enter the factories.

It is difficult to convey in words the very definite impression we all had of the general contentment and well-being of the workers and their children, and of the high level of intelligence and interest in affairs. Of their pride in the achievements of the revolution there can be no doubt, and they share a very live sympathy with the workers in other countries. We have no hesitation in saying that the very existence of large masses of workers who have this confidence and wide outlook was a revelation to us, and is something which is a truly remarkable achievement of the Revolution in view of the historical and economic disadvantages which have had to be overcome.

For the first time in world history a revolution which triumphed with the aid of women rewarded those women by giving them their freedom. The women of Soviet Russia are as free, economically and mentally, as the men, and are encouraged to take their full share with the men in the political and social activities of their country. In fact, several of them told us that they consider themselves better off than the men, because, there are certain privileges to which their special position as bearers and guardians of the children entitle them.

Women are encouraged to enter the industrial life of the country; no industry is closed to them unless it is too heavy or dangerous. A woman who has any

child dependent on her is given preference over men when seeking employment, and is the last to be discharged if an industry is reducing its staff. In addition to the social insurance benefit enjoyed by men, women in industry receive two months' holiday before childbirth and two months after, all on full pay; special allowances for expenses of the confinement and for the feeding and clothes of the infant for the first nine months; also one half-hour off out of every four hours for the feeding of her child. As soon as the child is two months' old if the mother chooses to return to work it can be taken daily to the factory or district creche where it receives expert nursing and medical attention free. In many districts there are night creches where the children may be left when the mother wishes to attend meetings, classes, or entertainments. A child is treated exactly the same whether its parents are married or not; but if the father of the child does not live with the mother he is legally bound to pay one-third of his income towards its upkeep. The new housing, with its labour-saving arrangements, the communal restaurants and washhouses, and in general the healthy attitude towards womanhood, has already made the Russian working woman a very different creature from the pitiful household drudge so often seen in capitalist countries.

During the civil war which followed the revolution working women took a very large part in the Red Cross work at the front, working often in the direct line of fire. They also took part in the actual fighting. The women delegates in Moscow talked with the woman who organised and led the women's Red Army detachments. Fourteen thousand women workers took part in the defence of Leningrad against General Yudenich, and some of the cities in the Ukraine were saved from the White Guards by women who took part in the fighting *enmasse*.

In statistics, Rykov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissioners, of the U. S. S. R., told us that of the 827 members of the Central Executive Committee, the supreme legislative organ of the Soviet Union, 43.6 per cent. are workers, 21.3 per cent. peasants, and the balance are intellectuals, office workers, &c. Of the total number of 71,235 members of the Municipal Soviets in five of the affiliated Republics, 46.6 per cent. are workers 4.9 per cent. are peasants, 31.0 per cent. intellectuals and office workers, and students, housewives, Red Army delegates, &c., 17.7 per cent. In the village Soviets 84.4 per cent. of the members are peasants. In the industrial organisation, 74.8 per cent. of factory

managers are workers, and in the Boards of Trusts and Syndicates over 50 per cent. are workers. In the health institutions of Moscow 36,000 men and women from the factories and shops are taking part in administration. If all the forms of industrial and social institutions are taken into account, at least thirty out of every one hundred workers are taking an active part in building up the life of the country. This, Rykov said, was the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at the same time the most highly developed democracy which the world could show—understanding by democracy, the fullest participation by the workers in the leadership of the country and in the work of its economic, administrative, cultural, and social institutions.

It has been asserted by the enemies of the Soviet Government that the workers would prove incapable of managing the economic enterprises of the country, and in particular such a large concern as the railways. We were, therefore, particularly interested to notice the efficiency of the train service, the speed and smooth running of the trains, the spaciousness of the restaurant cars, and the excellence of the meals, and the comfort and warmth of the sleeping accommodation in particular.

In examining the position with regard to wages, the delegates were struck with the fact that the money wages were only a part of the total benefits received by the workers. No contributions whatever are made by the workers to the social insurance schemes which provide extensive benefits and entirely remove any necessity to save for sickness, childbirth, accident, or other interruption in earning capacity or special family needs. The whole of the social insurance funds is a direct charge on the employing concern. Again, in all cases rent is proportionate to average earnings; in the case of lower paid grades being infinitesimal. 1s. or 1s. 6d. a week, which sum not only pays for the rooms occupied, but also covers lighting, central heating, water supply, and other municipal services. (It may be noted that even this small charge is remitted for unemployed workers; also that in all cases where rent is paid, it goes entirely for the maintenance of buildings and services.) In the case of many industrial concerns, which have built new and excellent housing accommodation for the workers, no rent whatever is charged, the maintenance and services being free. We even came across one case where some of the workers lived in old houses of the Czarist period not only rent free but actually received a special allowance as compensation for having to live in the old houses, pending

the extension of the new housing scheme! Another important point is that throughout the whole of industry the workers are provided with the necessary clothes, boots, &c.; actual examples which we ourselves saw have been mentioned in the previous section. Then again, in all concerns, of any size there is a co-operative restaurant, where food of first-rate quality can be got at remarkably low prices. Many factories, especially those lying at a distance from the towns, also have general co-operative stores where articles of all kinds can be obtained cheaply.

The very important questions of education, recreation, and amusements are well provided for. The libraries and study circles, club-rooms, games, musical circles, dramatic circles, &c., which are open to the families of the workers as well as to the actual employees, are all free, the cost being defrayed by the concern. Tickets for visits to theatres, opera houses, cinemas, museums, and art galleries are obtained through the trade unions either free or at a very low cost.

To consider the money wages alone gives therefore quite an inadequate impression of the actual conditions of the workers. But even if we take only the money wages received, the general average wages, after correction for the change in prices, that is the *real* wage, shows a 16.9 per cent. increase over pre-war. Taking into account the various other advantages indicated above, it is estimated that the real improvement in the material conditions of the workers is between 30 and 40 per cent. above the pre-war level. We cannot, of course, vouch for the exact accuracy of this estimate; but, having visited practically every type of industrial concern in widely-distant parts of the Soviet Union, and having heard the details from the workers themselves as well as inspecting the pay-sheets, we can say, without hesitation, that the material conditions of the workers represent a very substantial improvement on conditions before the Revolution, and that the workers themselves, far from being discontented, show a very real pride in their conditions.

There can be no doubt whatever that the general economic position has now reached a very satisfactory level, and that the workers and peasants are benefitting from the results. We consider also that the general economic position is improving very rapidly, and the detailed plans which we were told of at every factory we visited—plans in many instances which had already been partially carried out—showed the absolute confidence of the workers in the general economic security and growing prosperity of

the country. The recuperation in Russia proves exclusively the possibilities of development under a Socialist system, and must be contrasted with the struggles of the capitalist countries even to maintain their level of production.

There are one or two questions, however, on which we elicited special information, inasmuch as they are real problems for the Russian workers and peasants, and are discussed in the British Press as if they were insuperable difficulties. There is first the question of the relation of State and co-operative enterprises to private enterprise. We have been given figures showing that over 90 per cent. of large-scale industry is in the hands of the State and the co-operatives. We saw for ourselves that in the towns all the large shops, along all the main streets, were run by the State, municipal or co-operative institutions. There are plenty of small private shops in the back streets, but at present at least we can say that the socialised shops are able to provide everything that is wanted, while the factory workers have their own special canteens and co-operatives, where they get their requirements at exceedingly low rates and have not the slightest temptation to utilise the private shops. We can therefore well credit the statement that in the current year 84.5 per cent. of the total trade turnover is being done through socialised institutions, and only 15.5 per cent. through private concerns. We have been given figures showing that the percentages of private trade to the total turnover has fallen year by year, and we feel that the confidence of the workers that private trade will dwindle away to nothing is fully justified.

Another question is the question of unemployment. On this we had some very interesting discussions with Tomskey, chairman of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. At certain times of the year there are over one-and-a-half million unemployed persons in Soviet Russia. But among these, apart from purely seasonal occupations such as some sections of building, there are no skilled workers unemployed for any length of time; the overwhelming majority are the young peasants from the countryside, who come into the industrial areas during the winter months in order to find a living and enjoy the social advantages of the towns. There is also a certain number of persons, remains of the old middle and upper classes, who are looking for work for the first time. This was the essential contrast between the condition in Soviet Russia and the condition in other European countries; outside of Soviet Russia the unemployed are in the main industrial workers who have lost

employment; in Soviet Russia the unemployed are in the main non-workers who are for the first time seeking employment. The expansion of industry in Soviet Russia is giving increased employment; in the last economic year 500,000 new workers were employed and in the current year a minimum increase of 150,000 is anticipated. But the problem which arises from the existence of the great mass of peasantry cannot be solved within a short time. Progress towards the solution of the unemployment problem is being made partly along the line of raising the technical level of agriculture—the introduction of machinery, of electricity, and extending the area of special cultures such as sugar beet, flax, cotton, &c., which will give more and more varied employment in the countryside as well as helping forward the development of town industries. In another direction the introduction of the seven-hour day—and later on, when economic development makes it possible, of an even shorter day—together with the application of double or treble shifts where desirable, would both give new employment and cheapen production, thereby enabling a more rapid expansion of industry. Above all, the problem of unemployment in Soviet Russia is not a problem of a decaying industry and is therefore finding its solution in steady economic development.

It is true to say that in the sphere of education the Revolution has been more complete than in any other. At the present time there are 10,000,000 children attending elementary schools in the U. S. S. R. compared with 7,000,000 in 1914. Schools for young workers and technical schools provide training for 590,000 students. The number of teachers is already one-and-a-half times as great as before the war. There are 136 universities in the Soviet Union as compared with ninety in 1914, while the number of students is 30 per cent. greater.

Before the Revolution, the low economic and cultural level of the peasantry was perhaps the most characteristic feature of Czarist Russia. The Revolution itself was carried through by an alliance of the workers and peasants, and that alliance has been maintained and developed in the interests of both groups of the population.

With a rural population of over a hundred millions, the task of raising the economic and cultural level of the peasants has been a heavy one, and the drought of 1921, following on the dislocation and destruction caused by the war and the counter-revolutionary attacks, increased the difficulties with which the Soviet Government was faced. Nevertheless, during

the last five years enormous progress has been recorded, and the total output of agriculture is now 8.2 per cent. above the pre-war out-put, while the number of cattle (88.6 millions) is four millions higher than in 1913. The material basis for an improvement in conditions has therefore already been created; and the existing social system ensures that there is a more satisfactory distribution among the peasantry of the agricultural wealth.

In the first place, the large estates, which in European Russia—excluding the Ukraine—occupied 24 per cent., of the land and in the Ukraine constituted 45 per cent., have in the main been distributed among the peasantry. The peasantry now holds 96 per cent. of the land, the remaining 4 per cent. being occupied by State farms, factory land, &c. There is a single agricultural tax, payable to the State, from which the poorer sections of the peasantry, constituting 35 per cent. of the total number are entirely exempt, while the scale for those subject to the tax is a graduated one which bears very lightly on the less well-to-do peasants.

The Subsistence wage

To those who would press into service the doctrine of the subsistence wage as an argument in favour of economic revolutionarism a writer in the March number of the *Millgate Monthly* says that their position is fundamentally wrong if only because the assumption on which they proceed to build up their revolutionary gospel is repudiated by modern economists and social workers. He writes:

The original promulgation of the subsistence wage theory in a systematic form has often been attributed to the English economist, Ricardo. In his book "The principles of Political Economy and Taxation," which was first published in the year 1817, there occurs the following passage:—

The natural price of labour is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution.

The power of the labourer to support himself and the family which may be necessary to keep up the number of labourers, does not depend on the quantity of money which he may receive for wages, but on the quantity of food, necessities, and conveniences become essential to him from habit, what that money

will purchase. The natural price of labour, therefore, depends on the price of the food, necessities, and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his family. With a rise in the price of food and necessities the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall.

Socialists have generally understood that by this Ricardo meant, in effect, that there was an "iron law" by which wages were prevented from ever rising permanently above the level necessary for the bare subsistence of the worker and his family. This view of Ricardo's teaching has also been taken by many who are not Socialists.

On the other hand, some competent judges have asserted that this was not Ricardo's meaning—that what Ricardo implied by the words "to subsist" was not necessarily to receive a bare living, but possibly a degree of comfort and provision capable of great variation and extension according to circumstances. Numerous other passages in Ricardo's works tend to confirm this view. At the same time, it has to be remembered that certain forms of the Malthusian principle of population clearly involved the subsistence wage theory, and that these forms were frequently utilised by the Ricardian economists in their arguments against social reform. Malthus himself, however, vacillated considerably in his exposition of the principle, so it may be that the Ricardians were not always perfectly consistent in their ideas. As a matter of fact, the wage theory of Ricardo and the analogous theory of the Socialist, Karl Marx, were probably neither so complete nor so definite as is generally supposed.

Be that as it may, ordinary socialistic propaganda from about the mid-century period was based largely on the assumption that the subsistence wage theory corresponded with actual conditions. Recognising the prevailing poverty of the masses, the Socialists attributed this poverty not to any alleged inherent tendency of the population to increase up to the limit of subsistence, but primarily to the dominance of capital. The economic position of the capitalist was such, it was urged, that, as a rule, he could easily drive down wages to a point at or near the level necessary for the bare subsistence of the worker and his family. Real wages—that is, as measured in goods—as distinct from nominal or money wages, were thus, on the whole, a fixed quantity, this being governed by the amount of "food, necessities, and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his family." This, the iron law of wages, was

the most ultimate expression of the subsistence wage theory.

The connection between this theory and extremist policy is obvious. If the theory is true, then so long as the average worker continues to be employed by a private capitalist his wages can never be made to rise for any length of time appreciably above the subsistence level. Ameliorative efforts by either governments, trade unions, or co-operative societies will be unsuccessful, if this fact is not recognised. The capitalist is in a strategic position, and can intercept and appropriate to himself any relief directed towards the worker.

If the state or some other organisation, for instance, attempts deliberately to raise the standard of living of any class of workers in private employment by means of grants or charitable donations, the incomes of those workers will still, in all probability, remain unaltered. The greater the relief, the greater the extent to which the employers can still further depress wages. Incidentally, it is fairly widely held that this is practically what occurred in England during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, when much Poor-Law relief was disbursed to working farm labourers. The latter did not benefit, because the farmers simply reduced wages in like degree to the relief granted.

Similarly, if co-operative stores virtually lower the cost of living for the members through the return of dividends on purchases, the majority of the members will not thereby be rendered any better off, for the outside capitalist-employers will seize the opportunity to reduce the wages of those workers not actually employed by the co-operative society to an extent proportionate to the lowered cost of living brought about by the society's activities. Even trade unions may prove unavailing in face of the well-nigh impregnable position taken up by the capitalist.

Hence the value of any proposed policy is to be measured by the extent to which the workers will be removed from the sphere of the capitalist and placed under a collectivist or co-operative administration. Moreover, even a collectivist administration can do nothing for those workers not actually on its own wages list. Any attempt to diffuse advantages by means of lowered prices to workers in private employment must necessarily fail, for the reasons stated. In municipal and co-operative concerns, there are often disputes as to whether the benefit of reforms and improvements in technique should be given to the worker-producer or to the worker

consumer. The logical adherent to the subsistence wage theory asserts that under present conditions the benefit *cannot* be given to the consumer, the only real choice here lying between the worker-producer and the outside capitalist. It will be seen that the subsistence wage theory leads to some very extreme doctrines indeed; that its adherents should comprise some of the bitterest and most fanatical of revolutionaries is therefore not surprising.

Fortunately for the "gradualists" and the believers in pacific reform, the subsistence wage theory has been generally repudiated by economists and most social workers. Indeed, Mr. Bertrand Russell has described the iron law of wages as an economic fallacy, invented by the orthodox economists to discourage trade unions, and accepted by Marx to encourage revolution. Many trade unionists would probably subscribe to this opinion.

Still, the theory will perhaps always strike certain minds as being true. While subsistence wages are not the rule for all workers at all times, they may well be the rule for a minority of workers. It is also at least an arguable case whether subsistence incomes are not the rule for most workers on odd occasions—taking periods of unemployment into account, for instance.

Thus, although at the present day in civilised countries subsistence wages are generally held to be the exception rather than the rule, the theory that they are inevitable has yet sufficient plausibility to attract the favourable attention of certain pessimistically-inclined observers. Meanwhile, more normal people will be all the better for being made aware of the possible origin of that extra-ordinary and seemingly punctilious insistence on definitely revolutionary action which is often such a marked feature in Communist propaganda. As for the milder reformers who still profess to accept the subsistence wage theory as descriptive of modern conditions, to be consistent they will either have to abandon the theory or follow it to its logical conclusion, which, roughly speaking, appears to be—Moscow!

What can children inherit?

This is an important question on the correct answer to which depends the solution of many problems of eugenics, education and sociology. The following passages from an interesting article in the February number of *Evolution* from the pen of Henshaw Ward may be read with profit by

all parents and educators. Mr. Ward writes:—

The student of heredity will tell you that no abuse of body or mind can be inherited, and that no good training of body or mind can be inherited. He would go so far as to say that the following imaginary case illustrates the truth: "Take a pair of infants (a boy and a girl) to a wilderness and bring them up without any education of body or mind; take another pair of infants who have inherited the same qualities as the first pair and give them every advantage of good breeding; let each pair mate and produce a son; the son born in the wilderness will have as much ability as the son born in fortunate surroundings.

I am not saying that this imaginary case represents the whole truth, nor that all biologists are agreed as to what the truth is. I am just giving an example to show picturesquely the two elements of life that biologists dispute about—(1) the germ-cell by which qualities are transmitted to children; (2) the bodily and mental changes produced in a person after he is born. All the influences that act upon a person (such as climate, food, training, accidents) are called the "environment the effects of the environment upon an individual, (for example loss of a finger, skill in using a revolver, a morphine habit) are called "acquired characters." The great debate in biology for the past seventy years has been on the question: Can acquired characters be inherited? During these seventy years the opinion of scholars has steadily grown stronger that acquired characters cannot be inherited.

This judgment of science seems harsh to conscientious parents. It seems wicked to some hopeful social reformers, because it seems to say, "No matter how much you improve the surroundings and education of this generation, none of the improvement can be inherited by the next generation." It seems to say that heredity is everything and environment nothing, so that men are born to a certain condition in life. It seems to favor a caste system where those unfortunately born cannot rise. Hence it is disliked. People are always eager for proof that acquired characters *can* be inherited.

There are still a few of these bringers of glad tidings in the laboratories. Though the vote of biologists is a very heavy majority against them, the decision is not unanimous. And recently some of the leading students of heredity have been telling us that we don't know what "environment" means or how environment may effect germ-cells or how characters

are formed in germ cells. Only the other day a biologist declared to me, "Within the last three years I have entirely revised my notion of what the genes are." Hence the layman who wants to read about heredity may find two noted scientists seeming to dispute one another, and so may give up in confusion.

I will try to show that the confusion is mostly a matter of words. Biologists are not really at loggerheads about the main points at issue, nor do their revised notions of the genes give them very different conceptions of what children can inherit. They are pretty well agreed on a theory of inheritance, and a layman can understand what it is.

If you wish knowledge, you must, in the first place, put out of your mind all anger. A man who wants to uplift society or improve his children cannot succeed by ramming his emotions against the hard facts of biology.

You must, in the second place, read a description of the way every individual begins his life by the union of two cells. (The best brief account that I know of is Chapter XVI of L. L. Woodruff's "Foundations of Biology.") In this short article there is only room to name the facts, without giving any explanation.

The egg (a cell 1/200 of an inch in diameter) contains within itself, potentially, all the elements for the making of an entire human being. The sperm (a cell only 1/8000 of an inch in diameter) also contains all the elements of an entire person. But neither cell can develop alone. A new human life does not begin until the sperm has penetrated the egg. Then the elements from the mother and the father are mingled in one cell; this divides into two cells; each of these two cells divides into two others; and so, as the embryo develops, the cells increase in number until there are millions of them. All the while the embryo lives as a kind of parasite within the mother, having its own system of blood-circulation. The number of cells increases to billions. There are trillions of them at birth.

Thus every one of us began life as a very small and infinitely complex organism, which contained the characters inherited from the father and mother. If the environment can ever affect heredity, it must manage somehow to penetrate a parent's body and

alter the germ-cell in some definite *corresponding* way. The more familiar science becomes with the powers of germ-cells, the more difficult it is to imagine a way in which an environment could get at them.

No biologist believes nowadays that any effect of the environment on a woman's body or mind can enter into an embryo and produce a *corresponding* alteration that can enter into the inheritance of her children. For example, if she is frightened by a bear or a bright light, her child will not have claws or a white spot on its body. If a hundred successive generations of Chinese mothers bind their feet, or a hundred generations of Jewish boys are circumcised, no effect of these long-continued bodily changes is ever inherited.

During the past thirty years the biologists have been steadily abandoning the supposed cases of the inheritances of acquired characters. It is not likely that any student of germ-cells now believes that skill in penmanship can penetrate an egg and be born in a child. No amount of training for the mile run can cause a sperm to build larger muscles in an embryo. No amount of education in religion or logarithms or atheism or burglary can enter into a germ-cell and build more mathematical or burglarious brains. The possible cases of inherited effects of training are very few and not well accredited.

There is not yet any proof that the human animal can produce characters which are not provided for by heredity. He cannot, by any sort of education, create new genes in his sperms or eggs. A child cannot inherit any training—good or bad—of a parent's body or mind. It can inherit only what is provided in germ-cells.

Does the judgment of science seem pessimistic to you? It is just the contrary. As for environment, its importance is not diminished; an improved environment can be a blessing to each succeeding generation without being put into germ-cells. And as for not inheriting good training, think of the other side of the matter. Think of how children are safeguarded by not being able to inherit the bad training. If we sentimental human beings could change the process of inheritance, and if we made the follies of parents inheritable, the human race would soon die.

— J. C. Henshaw Ward
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