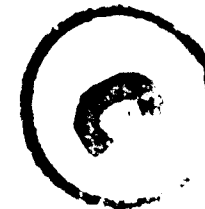


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THE Bharata Dharma

A Magazine of Liberal Hinduism

—The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

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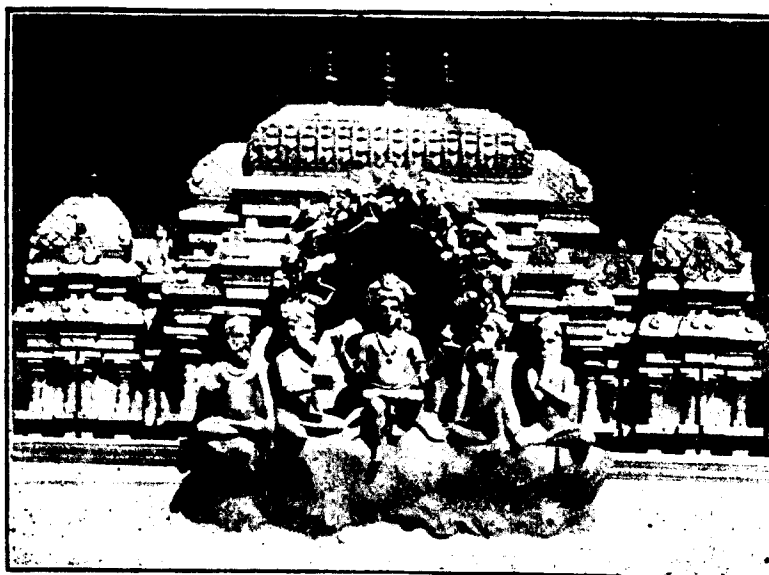
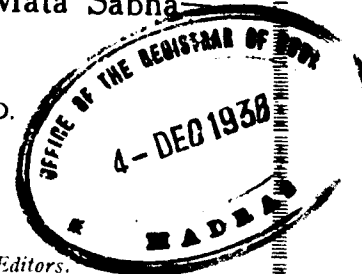
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चित्रं वटतगेर्मूले वृद्धा शिक्षया गुरुयुवा । गुगंस्तु मोने व्याख्यानं शिष्यास्तु छिन्नसंशयाः ॥

Ah! The wonder under the Banyan tree! There sits the Teacher a youth; the disciples, elders. The teaching is silence, and the disciples' doubts are dispelled.

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basis, and exploitation is the recognised rule of self-expression. In the next war, our civilisation is sure to collapse. The modern tendencies always gather up for and end in a fight, roughly 25 years being the rest period for recuperation. Even in new countries like Australia, South Africa and America, unburdened with the ancient inheritances of sorrow and strife, conditions are no better, because a true understanding of life does not prevail there. They often make a replica of the older countries, borrowing more easily the defects than the virtues.

The way out of this complex tangle of the present international situation in which the lower side of man has emphasised itself through a century of strenuous work, is very simple. But it is hard to follow it in deed, because the atmosphere is lacking—the atmosphere in which the higher spirit of man can live and thrive. The key to the situation is there in the fundamentals of all the great religions of the world and to the Hindu, it is enshrined in the Song Celestial. Work should be founded on Dharma, *Sanatana Dharma*, on values which derive their validity from a higher range of consciousness, therefore thoroughly impersonal. Selfless work only can relieve this aching world and give it once again the peace of mind it has lost.

Our attitude to life must change. Our attitude to our neighbours must change. Our motives for action must change. Our motives for work and worship must change. The mind-level from which modern action springs is predatory and mutually destructive and its experiences are transient and ephemeral, for it cannot comprehend the nature of reality. Therefore action must be founded on a consciousness higher than that of the mind level—Dharma as we call it.

This aching world needs for its renovation the old vision of life set anew. This reduces itself ultimately to the perfecting and the refinement of the individual. The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link. The most well-built society, built on the highest ideals of freedom, a single predatory and self-willed individual can dynamite or shape to other ends, witness Hitler or Mussolini. Therefore no system which merely builds on the level of average citizenship though it can function efficiently for some time for political and social purposes, can function long if it does not help the individual to perfect himself more and more in an atmosphere of freedom and in the realm of the spirit.

The individual is the pivot of the Hindu conception of life both for self expression and self realisation. Whatever may be the plane of activity we conceive of, the individual is recognised as the centre from

which we may draw any number of concentric circles, the social, the political, the economic or the cultural or the spiritual. It is only when you change the centre, the code of values, for each circle one cuts the other with disastrous results.

In the collective march which man has been making with hurried steps under the spell of the machine power, we have often forgotten the value of the individual to the caravan. Hence all this warring chaos. The ear of man has failed to catch the call of his soul amidst the din and shouts of the market place. Only an Avatar, a great spiritual leader, can raise his head and silence this shouting crowd, by the magnet-voice of his personality. He alone can restore to us the proper atmosphere, give us an enduring code of values and a scheme of action founded thereon.

Man has failed since the days of Plato, not for lack of wisdom but for want of will and courage. The gift for action seems to get paralysed in the self-created eddies of modern life. For instance, we know from ancient times that all life is one, the human family is one. How difficult it is to practise it even in our own country, this ancient land of Rishis who probably proclaimed it first to the world. Not till every one of us realises this oneness indeed, there shall be peace on land or prosperity at home.

Do revolutions foster liberty?

It is popularly believed that liberty and revolution are connected as cause and effect and vice versa. In actual practice however every revolution begins as denial of liberty to the opponents and maintains itself by strifling liberty of criticism. We are now witnessing new developments in this denial of liberty by successful revolutionaries. Even thought and the expression of thought is over-watched, regulated and punished.

WHAT IS SANATANA DHARMA?

BY T. V. GOPALASWAMI AYYAR B.A.,
Retired Deputy Collector.

What is Sanatana Dharma? It means Dharma which is eternal, perpetual, everlasting, same as the Saswata Dharma referred to in Verse XIV, 27 of the Bhagavad-Gita. It cannot be changing institutions, customs, traditions, etc, which come into existence or are introduced by Great Teachers who incarnate from time to time to express the Dharma for human understanding and practice, till replaced by another Great Teacher. No institutions, customs, forms etc., can be eternal. They get corrupted, effete, old and die. But life is eternal, has no time, space and form, though it creates time, space and form and ensouls them. The Spirit intended to be shown through the forms can alone be real and it takes new forms when the old decay. Dharma, Yoga, Religion are all different words to express ideas to reach the same goal.—Realization, Union, Deification, as distinguished from theoretical knowledge. Sanatana Dharma indicates the right path to reach the goal, and this path may vary from time to time and there may be many paths. There is now so much confusion in understanding what Sanatana Dharma means, what Realization means, that there are now innumerable divisions in the so-called Hindu fold and in consequence thereof there are quarrels, misunderstandings, disunion and the exploitation of the weak and the ignorant by the unscrupulous self-seekers. While among the other Religionists there is some sense of union at least among themselves, though the same kindly feeling is not shown to others, in spite of the clear teachings of their Great Teachers, the Hindus form thousand and one heterogenous groups with no common aim and no union among themselves. What is this due to? It is not my purpose to trace and explain the origin of this state of things. That will be the duty of a Historian. My object is only to show what Sanatana Dharma or true Arya Dharma is. How religious customs, true knowledge, etc, deteriorate and how false ideas, superstitious customs, unmeaning traditions, etc, take their place by efflux of time are briefly referred to in Verse IV, 2, of the Bhagavat-Gita. If one is a follower of Sanatana Dharma, he has to accept that Sri Krishna was an Avatara and that His teachings are Sanatana Dharma. Further, He enunciates as one can find if he thinks intelligently, some of the profoundest truths.

What do the Teachings and lives of great Teachers show and what do we see around us? We see a majority community the so-called Hindus divided into many sects, sub-sects, etc, warring against each other

and other nations as well. We cannot do our duty to the Mother-land unless we meet men of all types on the same level. Our religious spirit, social customs, educational and political ideals must be so shaped that we can work together united for the welfare of the Mother-land as members of one Brotherhood. Brotherhood is a fact in nature and its laws are based on it; these laws crush those who oppose it and no civilization can last that is built on its antithesis. This does not mean promiscuous interdining, disregarding all rules of hygiene and intermarriages disregarding all eugenics. Varnadharma can never disappear, as it is God-ordained, and every man and woman will fall into the main cultural divisions, according to his swabhava (in-born nature)—character, temperament, taste etc. The whole society will be based on a rational system. As birds of the same feather flock together, marrying, dining, etc., will take place on cultural lines and under no artificial hard and fast rules, made by man. There will then be true Comradeship, Freedom and Justice and a self-Governing Indian Nation.

What civilization has now to do and will perish if it fails to do,..... is to bring the conception of discipline under the conception of liberty, to make discipline a vital element of liberty.....

* * * *

The spiritual world, as I understand it, is not a world outside the material and opposed to it.....(It) is the deeper truth of the material world itself; a secret hidden in matter and waiting to be evoked and brought into the light of day.

* * * *

In the co-operative life of a democracy the one quality to be made sure of.....is the self-control of the individual co-operators.

L. P. Jacks.

* * * *

THE INNER VOICE

BY

K. S. RAMABHADRA IYER, *Advocate.*

"In all such things, I am not guided by reason but by instinct or in other words by the Inner Voice, and one never knows where that voice would lead you to". said Gandhiji in his interview to the "News Chronicle".

I am indebted to the correspondent of the "News Chronicle" who has elicited the above statement from Gandhiji. If that represents the full connotation of the term "Inner Voice" as used by Gandhiji, I beg to assure him in all humility that the Inner Voice that I speak of in my writings is something vastly different from the Inner Voice which is treated by Gandhiji himself as a convertible term for "instinct" as opposed to reason.

Every man has not only got the power of instinct but deep down below in his heart resides God's Truth or God's spirit; but man seldom has physical proofs about it, while every believer takes his stand on it.

Sometimes, owing to the uniqueness of the occasion and due to a variety of causes, this inner spirit comes into contact with something like a lightning-flash, which I know is the Divine Flash and when such a contingency happens on perhaps very rare occasions, man stands face to face with His Maker and gets enlightenment from Him. The Flash enters the soul within and kindles it into its native glory and power. The soul becomes revealed and utters profound truths and exhibits rare power. Just as we have got all the five senses, there is a medium revealed in the heart which speaks, which hears, which sees, which smells, which tastes and produces vibrations which are the source of all life, or in other words, inhale the spirit of God. Divine truths are proclaimed and uttered. Divine prayers are incessantly being chanted or conducted. The Inner Voice becomes the Inner Delight and the Bhaktha and the Lord become merged in one another.

Constant communion with the Divine brings us nearer Him and ultimately makes us one with Him. It is possible for man to attain to this highest stage of development by ceaseless effort and constant meditation upon Him. He then reveals Himself through the medium of Divine Knowledge which is an infinite ocean of Eternity. It is the only Law of His being and from it springs all activity. Everything that conduces to Harmony is Life or Growth; everything that retards it is a negation of Him and is Death. Death is not mere physical annihilation; it is the

root of all evil. In its active form, it is satanic in aim, in its quiescent state, it is stagnation or paralysis. These are the only two Laws governing the Harmony of the Universe. The one springs from Knowledge and has its root in the Divine; the other is a denial of Him and is based on ignorance.

Vidya and *Avidya* are thus the sole cause of physical phenomena; and make and unmake things. It is the part of wisdom to assiduously cultivate sound or true knowledge and always promote the Cause of Peace which is alone pleasing to Him; while it is the height of folly and super-erogation on the part of man to indulge in strife or discord and promote misery and trouble in and around him. It is no answer to say that the ultimate aim is something quite different and is wholly altruistic; for each man is responsible for his immediate acts as well as the remote once; and unless a man has risen to the highest altitude and has become one with Him, he is bound to obey the known Laws of Evolution and Growth.

India is an ancient land which has always practised and taught stern resistance to evil wherever found by wielding the weapon of individual soul force and each of us can legitimately perfect this weapon by practising our own *Swadharma* and calling it to our aid our Supreme Maker who will immediately make His presence felt, whenever the call is insistent and irrepressible.

Viewed from the ground of creative activity the distinction between labour and leisure is not rooted in the nature of things.....Labour creatively spent furnishes the happiness expected from leisure, and leisure the discipline associate with hard work.

L. P. Jacks.

There is no evidence to show conclusively that continued progress is the inevitable course for the human race.

(From *Man the Problem-solver* by Harold Benjamin).

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRE ON HINDUISM

T. S. LODGE SIVAGANGA.

I

HINDU SCRIPTURES.

1. *Binding Scriptures*:—Vedas and Smritis, the *Bagavadgita* being recognised as containing the quintessence of the *Upanishads*.

2. *Translation*:—Yes, for the benefit of those who do not know Sanskrit.

3. *Basic Truths*:—The transcendence and immanence of *God*. The one absolute existing eternally amidst the manifold of forms—Reincarnation, Law of Karma, Varnashrama Dharma (closely following Guna and Karma). A respect for the life of all sentient creatures. A belief in the existence of higher Grades of beings in higher planes of existence.

II

PUJA.

1. The temples and places of pilgrimage are losing the holy atmosphere about them, the priests and ministers of religion having degenerated into sharks on the look-out for victims.

2. The hereditary priests must go. They must duly qualify themselves by learning and character and must be chosen for their moral and intellectual worth.

3. *Local rituals*:—Saiva, Vaishnava, Sakta agamas.

4. *Revision of rituals*:—The temple funds may be—rather must be—diverted to the dissemination of useful and correct ideas on up-to-date lines regarding the faiths they represent and every temple must be adequately equipped for such work.

5. *Qualification for priests*:—They must undergo a course of training and study suited to the present conditions.

III

YAGNAS.

1. All the yagnas excluding the Panchamaha yagnas involve the killing of animals and the use of spirituous liquors.

2. All of them are out of date and must be given up just as the horse sacrifice and cow's sacrifice were given up in times of yore. But the Yagnas performed by the Madvas are sensible as they involve no killing of animals. They use only "*Pishta pasu*" (animal made of wheat dough) for the sacrifice and partake of it at the end. They may be allowed to continue, in order to satisfy the Vaidiks clinging to the old form of sacrifices.

The true meaning of yagna is conveyed in the sloka of Bagavatgita.

"Yat karoshi yat asnosi yat juhoshi dadasi yat.

Yat tapasyasi kounteya tat Kurushva Madarpanam."

Yagna means the giving up of the fruits of action to God and taking everything as God's gift. The same idea is enshrined in the common prayer of the Christians.

"Give us this day our daily bread "

3. The *Panchamaha Yagnas* are long out of date and have been very much neglected. A new significance has to be attached to them, suited to modern conditions and brought into the daily life of the Hindus.

4. *Rectification of Yagnas*:—All the things of the world that the ordinary man seeks to possess, to own and to enjoy must be looked upon and thought of as God's gifts to living creatures and man at the apex of God's creation, as God's masterpiece must think of duties, that he owes to all life rather than of rights that he may enjoy to his heart's content. This attitude of mind must be kept up as the ideal of all Hindus, however much they may fall short of the ideal. To the extent they fall short of it, they must be held to belong to the lower varnas according to *Guna and Karma*, whatever their caste of birth. Whatever we earn, own, hold, or possess is to be held in trust and the duty is ours to discharge that trust to the best of our light. The have-nots are those who have failed in their duty owing to the extreme selfishness in past births. This must be the standard by which men must be judged to belong to one or other of the four castes.

Varna Dharma must be reconstituted on this basis. The Sudra and the panchama are the only castes who may earn, own, possess and enjoy as much as they like till they awake to the higher ideal.

5. *Animal Sacrifice*:—The killing of animals should be discouraged and if possible be wiped out: but in the case of Sudras and panchamas, it should be restricted and not prohibited by an external fiat. The ideal must be instilled into them and must be allowed to work itself from inside, in an ever-increasing degree, for example, the panchamas as a first step may be asked immediately to discard beef and give up eating all animals of the bovine species.

IV

SAMSKARAS.

Samskaras are ceremonies, according to Hindu conception, that have a purifying influence on the mind and help spiritual growth. From the cradle to the grave and even before birth and after death, there are

ceremonies prescribed for the benefit of the soul and mind. Under the conditions prevailing now, most of the *samskaras* will have to be given up.

1. The *Samskaras* relating to birth, investiture of the sacred thread, marriage and funeral are the only ones that may be called essential and even they have to be considerably altered and modified and simplified so as to suit modern conditions.

2. *Upanayana*, marriage and funeral ceremonies for the first 13 days and the annual ceremonies are indispensable according to Hindu idea. Others are optional.

V

MARRIAGE.

1. The *Marriage* ceremonies prevailing among the castes may be approved in respect of those castes. The ceremonies may be considerably simplified and the cost reduced. The marriage with one's sister's daughter, that prevails to a large extent now-a-days must be condemned on the score of close consanguinity.

2. (a) *Inter-caste marriage*:—No. Inter-marriage between the sub-castes must be encouraged. Anuloma marriages between one Varna and the next lower may be allowed.

(b) *Inter-racial marriage*:—No. Not for a generation to come.

(c) Marriages between boys and girls ought to be discouraged; the boy should be at least 20 years old and the girl at least 15 years. The disparity of age should not exceed 25 years at the utmost.

(d) Indiscriminate marriages according to one's likings in defiance of society ought not to be encouraged.

3. *Minimum age*:—The boys must be at least 20 years and the girls at least 15 years to be considered marriageable.

4. Post-puberty marriages must become the order of the day.

5. *Dowry*:—*Varasulka* and *Kanyasulka* ought to be discouraged and looked down upon. A strong public opinion must be created against them.

VI

SHRADDHAS.

1. *Prevailing Shraddhas*:—*Anna Shraddha*, *Hiranya Shraddha* and *Tharpana* with water and *til* seeds.

2. *The performance of Shraddha*:—the remembrance of one's ancestors and the sending of good and helpful thoughts to them beyond the grave—is useful and necessary. A simpler form may be devised so as not to leave out the essentials and at the same time dispensing with the load of unessentials that a greedy priesthood has invented and added on to them.

3. About a third of the population have given them up and the remaining 2/3rds are groaning under the heavy load. The ceremonies must be very much simplified and the cost reduced so as not to press heavily on the poor. Those who cannot do them on good grounds may be permitted to perform a tharpan with water and til seeds to the departed.

4. *Abolishing Shraddhas* :—No. They ought not to be given up altogether.

5. The offering of food or provisions or a handful of water will do, provided the departed are remembered with a loving heart.

6. They have to be simplified with due regard to essentials and non-essentials as indicated above.

VII CASTES.

1. *The Caste System* should not be abolished altogether nor should it be taken and maintained as sacrosanct. It should be modified and purified so as to reflect the old distinguishing features of *Guna and Karma* of the four castes (viz) the all suffering self-effacement of the Brahmin, willing to devote himself to the common good of all and preserving and handing down to successive generations the moral and spiritual treasures of the Hindu race: the Kshathria, the Vaisya and the Sudra in his own way contributing to the common weal with a high sense of duty. The sub-castes within each varna will sink into oblivion in course of time.

2. Caste system is a social arrangement based on division of labour according to special aptitude and bent of mind of the individuals or groups of individuals. The caste system under ideal conditions need not be a disruptive factor, but will contribute to the accomplishment of the common purpose just as the several parts of a machine or the several classes in an educational institution co-operate with a common aim towards the fulfilment of a common purpose.

The four castes are not air-tight and water-tight compartments. They are animated by the same ideal (viz) the calling out of the divinity in man as much as possible just as the same blood is supplying nourishment to all parts of the human body with varying structures and functions. The unity of purpose steadily kept in view need not distract us even amidst the bewildering diversities of forms and aims of the several parts working for a common aim or end. *Anuloma* or *Pratiloma* marriages may be freely permitted by a competent *Parishad* of Wise-Men who alone can give the necessary sanction, after due consideration of the jati of the

individual seeking it. In *Pratiloma* marriages, the wife is adopted into the caste of her husband. Thus a sort of conviction current is established in the social body and the castes are renewed or purified by judicious additions and eliminations.

VIII ASHRAMAS.

1. The object of the Ashrama system is to give every individual an option and opportunity of enlarging his out-look from the purely selfish and the personal to one of spiritual self-effacement ever ready to serve humanity at large irrespective of caste and colour. After completing the life of the *grahasta*, one must be free to retire from the home and wander abroad homeless and penniless with his heart fixed on God and hands ready for service. The *Vanaprastha* and the *Sanyasin* having fulfilled the vows of the student and the house-holder rise above their caste to live a larger life of service to humanity.

2. *Retention of Asramas* :—Yes, but they should not be idle recluses.

3. The old system must be adapted to modern conditions and requirements.

4. *Student*—Continence, discipline and devotion to knowledge and learning.

House-holder must continue to be a life-long student and must rear a race of healthy strong and sprightly children fitted to be heroes in the cause of truth and righteousness and the defence of their hearths and homes and their country and Dharma. They must respect *Law and Order*, wisdom and learning. They must defend themselves against wrong-doers like heroes and not talk of non-resistance which is very often a cloak for cowardice.

Vanaprastha—retirement from home and giving up property and possessions; devotion to study, contemplation and service.

Sanyasin—a life of absolute renunciation and service.

IX STATUS OF WOMEN

1 & 2. *Present status* :—As Children, they are cared for by their parents. After marriage, they are taken care of by their husband and after the husband's death, they depend upon their children. They don't inherit property along with males. They can own and inherit property from their father, mother and husband. A woman's estate is usually a limited life-estate. In the south, we have no purdah. Women move about

freely, go to bazaars and shops, attend cinemas and theatres and visit temples and religious gatherings.

3. Now-a-days brothers are negligent in their duties to their sisters. So they must be provided for independently. The Law of Inheritance may be changed so as to entitle a daughter to get half of what a son would get.

4. Widows and unmarried women may be given cheap education so as to train them to be useful nurses, mid-wives and doctors, school-mistresses and such other peaceful callings. They must not be allowed to participate in the general struggle for existence and compete for all positions along with males.

A. KODANDA RAM

V. SUNDARAM, *Pleader, Secretary T. S. Lodge, Sivaganga.*

S. NATESAN

S. KRISHNASWAMI

A. R. RANGASWAMY, *Pleader, President T.S. Lodge Sivaganga.*

REVIEW

Life Exposed

D. Kumarasamy

Published by Delhi Hindu Sabha, Medan.

This is a stimulating little pamphlet in which the author expounds his views on the incongruity of various observances and superstitions that have in course of time gathered round the primary truths of Hinduism. It is not necessary to agree with all his opinions in order to appreciate his view points. The general trend may be summed up in the following lines with which the brochure ends :

அனைத்துயிர் ஒன்றென் றெண்ணி

அரும்பெ ளவற்கு மாற்றி

மனத்தினுள் பேதா பேதம்

வஞ்சகம் பொய் களவு சூது

சினத்தையும் தவிர்ப்பாயானால்

செய்தவம் வெறொன் றுண்டோ

உனக்கிது உறுதியானால்

உபதேசமாகும் தானே

(கைவல்லியம்)

The types might have been bigger and the spacing larger.

THIS YEAR'S DEEPAVALI MESSAGE.

BY MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A.B.L., *Advocate, High Court, Madras and Secretary, National Liberal Federation of India*

The most significant item of news that flashed through the wires on the Deepavali Day this year was undoubtedly the epoch-making Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. This momentous announcement is properly regarded as a right lead for All India on the important question of throwing open Hindu Temples to Harijans for worship. This is not by any means a hasty decision arrived at or announced at the spur of the moment. For full four years the matter was carefully examined by the Durbar Officials and their advisers and the occasion of the 25th birth-day celebration of His Highness was availed of to make the announcement which has gladdened the hearts of millions. This historic decision has been already so well received within the limits of one of the most enlightened and at the same time conservative Indian States. The chorus of congratulations offered to His Highness the Maharajah and his versatile and progressive statesman dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar from all over British India is proof positive that Hindu India has become fully alive to the momentous character of the reform ushered in. One may well hope that similar steps will quickly follow in most parts of British India also. Surely this is one of the land-marks in the progressive development of a truly liberal Hinduism.

On the same day comes the happy news of reconversion of Mr. Harilal Gandhi back to Hinduism. The Arya Samaj of Bombay deserves all praise for bringing about this happy event. Referring to the principles of Hinduism Mr. Harilal Gandhi is reported to have stated as follows:— "These principles are true, genuine, original, universal and useful, for the whole of humanity without restrictions of country, caste or community as the rays of the Sun are. I thus come to the feet of my father, religion and mother-culture by the grace of the teachings of Dayanand Saraswati and the efforts of the Arya Samaj."

While this restatement of faith is an eloquent vindication of the principles of Hinduism, Mr. Harilal Gandhi on the occasion of his reconversion to Hinduism is reported to have also said that the recent happenings and the wrong approach of religion by Muslims destroying religious places and institutions of other religion which are not enjoined by Islam had led him to reach the conclusion that he could not serve Islam any more in any way. Obviously the reference is to the reconstruction of the Bhajan Mandap of the Maruthi Temple which had led to the recent



Hindu Muslim riots in the City of Bombay. Those responsible for the maintenance of law and order deserve the warmest praise for the manner in which the situation was handled and the construction of the Mandap guaranteed. Some Muslim leaders often think it proper to make a local question of this character an All-India question, thus widening the area of disturbed feelings.

We had the news, again on Deepavali Day, that a sheaf of Fatwas was obtained from Moulanas in different parts of India giving their considered ruling that playing of music in Hindu shrines located near mosques is a disturbance to such mosques. These Fatwas appear to have been read at a largely attended meeting of our Muslim brethren at Bombay and it was resolved to communicate to the Bombay Government the contents of the Fatwas and also the final opinion of Musalmans that the Fatwas must be respected.

About the same time was held the All-India Shahidganj Conference at Lahore under the Presidency of Moulana Shaukat Ali. The A. P. I. correspondent reports from Lahore that the Islamic banner was unfurled by Moulana Muhammad Ishaq who exhorted the audience to take a vow that they would not rest till Shahidganj was restored. The merits of the Shahidganj controversy and the gallant part played by our brothers, the Sikhs in defence of their lawful rights as declared by the Civil Courts will be still fresh in public memory.

This again brings to our mind the serious Hindu Muslim disturbances at Karachi and the commendable manner in which those responsible for law and order dealt with the situation. An attempt was made even in connection with that incident to make it an All-India question.

The spirit of Islamic propaganda underlying these attempts was to a certain extent reflected in Muslim organised effort to get converts to Islam from Harijans.

If organised counter moves have not been made by the Hindus it is to a large extent due to their spirit of religious toleration. It is the duty of the Hindus to demonstrate, if and when necessary, that this toleration is not born of indifference or incapacity, but is the firm resolve of a people who are second to none in their loyalty to their faith and are fully conscious of the grandeur of their faith and their strength to stand by it. In bringing the solace and comforts of Hinduism as a vital force in every Harijan home, in bringing back to the Hindu fold the thousands of Hindus, Harijans and others who have renounced Hinduism and embraced other religions for reasons other than personal religious convictions, in

making sundry readjustments in some of the ancient forms of our faith to suit modern conditions and requirements, in organising, supporting and maintaining Hindu missionary effort in diverse fields and above all in conforming in their daily lives to the true spirit of Hinduism, the Hindus of the present generation have a grave responsibility and truly a great opportunity.

TRAVANCORE RULER'S BIRTH DAY GIFT

TEMPLES OPENED TO HARIJANS.

PROCLAMATION.

"Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of our religion, believing that it is based on divine guidance and on all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has throughout the centuries adapted itself to the needs of the changing times, solicitous that none of our Hindu subjects should by reason of birth, caste or community be denied the consolation and solace of the Hindu faith, we have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering and worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government."

RE-BUILD THE VILLAGE

BY T. L. VASWANI

Over fifteen years ago when many spoke of "swaraj in a year" I wrote:

"I do not expect the swaraj-struggle to be a short-lived one. I believe India's future will be influenced by *world forces* and our preparedness to use them for our salvation."

I pleaded then, as I plead now, for re-organisation of the village life India, I have said over and over again, lives in the village, and one of the saddest features of life to-day is the collapse of its village-life. The thought and will of the village-folk must be transformed and the physical side of their life must be attended to. In Sind, as in other provinces, the villagers are deteriorating. Many look starved. Many succumb to malaria, every year. Our future is dark indeed, if we cannot arrest this deterioration. Sanitation, cottage industries, agricultural improvements, right education inspired by the idea of Unity, will help in transforming the life of the village-folk.

Dim alas! is the idea, to-day, of Hindu-Muslim unity. Waves of passion and hate masquerading as communalism have overwhelmed us. Desire for offices and jobs is growing; the idea of Unity is weakening. It is time to urge that Hindu-Muslim unity means not alone the unity of Hindus and Muslim but, also, the unity of these two great Communities with other smaller communities—with the Parsi, the Christian, the Jew—in the one service of India. And that service becomes purer, richer, more fruitful in the measure in which it expresses love of humanity. There is no true freedom where there is no respect for *man as man*. Hindu-Muslim Unity should mean unity, also, with the "untouchables". No caste, no creed, no custom must stand as a block to fellowship with man. In Sind we have the *bhangi* class—a big and very useful class. What are we doing for them? It is time to open night classes for *bhangis* and little schools for the *bhangi's* children. There is not a little we may learn of the Christian missions. They have schools and settlements for the "depressed" classes. India's long Exile is due to our shameful neglect of the poor. The Exile will not be over until we re-enter into fellowship with the poor. It is time for us to learn the truth in sorrow.

Re-build the village and mass-slavery in the big cities will go. Re-build the village and the beautiful crafts of old will come back, breaking the apathy of the masses, teaching us once again how a nation may be happy without luxuries and how men and women may find *work* where-in they may find joy as in *play*. Hand craft is, in this sense, work-play.

It will be said that without industrialism a nation cannot be a "great" power. But I do not interpret *swaraj* or freedom in terms of "power". I interpret in terms of human happiness and the cultural, moral and aesthetic values of life. A nation need not be a "great power" to realise itself. Holland is a happy state but not a "great Power. The "Great", the "colonial" often becomes mechanised and does not let the Soul grow. Marx's conception of the State is the Industrial Community. My conception of the Indian State is, largely the Agricultural Community. Cities focuss modern forces. These we must understand and press in the service of India's essential Idea, the Idea of Her Sages and Her history through the ages. This Idea—that above the nations is Humanity and above the states is the *Atman* the spirit—is not conspicuous in the democracies of the modern west. America has its negro-problem. The imperialisms of Europe sit heavily upon the life of the East. And we shall not win true freedom by proving false to India's Vision of the Universal Spirit and Divine Humanity.

Socialists and crime :—A Socialist conference Lyllpur refused to permit a resolution condemning the murder of shopkeepers and money lenders. Jawaharlal condemned this attitude.

UNHAPPY INDIA.

By K. V. S.

Mr. Hofmeyer the leader of the South African delegation of goodwill to India observed in the course of a speech made towards the end of his tour that Indians were not happy.

"He came, he said, from a happy land where people were cheerful and contented, but he and the other members of the delegation gathered in their tour that the people of India were not a happy people.

In an eloquent passage he outlined what he would do if he were an Indian. He would be consumed by love for India as a whole as he was consumed by love, not for any particular spot in South Africa, but for South Africa as a whole and he would work with all his energies for the social uplift of the Indian people. He prayed that some great spiritual force would arise in India which would convert the country into a smiling happy land."*

What has struck Mr. Hofmeyer has been noticed by other sympathetic foreign observers as well. We are being constantly told that nowhere else in the world one can see such appalling poverty and low standards of life, such misery and depression as in India. Educated India also sees it only too well. Where does it come from? Partly from a thought atmosphere and tradition that rationalises and explains away suffering in every form and does not provide adequate urge for effort, partly from the absence of great and heroic secular leadership that can put new life into an ancient people who have been the victims of political subjection for centuries, partly from a scheme of a state organisation that does not fully respond to the growing ambitions of the people for state-pioneering and partly from the prevalent economic depression that has hit hard a nation depending mostly on the prices of agricultural produce for their living. That Indians in India are not what free people are in their own countries is a sad but unmistakable fact. How can a people be happy the focus of whose vision has been under the stress of tradition, climatic conditions and political circumstances transposed from the physical to the super-physical realms, and who instead of directing their energies towards the creation of a better physical world perpetually say to themselves in one half of their minds, "The world is evil, let us escape from it. It is an ocean of sorrow and suffering, let us cross it as quickly as we can".

*From the Madras Mail.

THE TRAVANCORE TEMPLE ENTRY PROCLAMATION

By

S. K. Y.

The fifteenth of November 1936 would go down in the history of India as a red letter day for India in general and for Hinduism in particular. On that day a famous proclamation* was issued by H. H. The Maharajah of Travancore throwing open all the state owned temples in that country to every Hindu irrespective of his or her caste.

Such an act would have been an epoch-making one in any part of India; but it has additional significance coming as it does from the Ruler of Travancore which along with Cochin and the British district of Malabar forms the ancient Kerala country that has remained so long unaffected by the vicissitudes through which the rest of the country had been passing. The manners and customs of the people are peculiar and untouchability and unapproachability had their citadel in the land. There was a graded system of pollution of castes and the distance that had to be maintained between a Brahmin and a member of the various so-called low castes was scrupulously regulated. There are some people who could not even be seen and they stand yards apart from the public roads in knee-deep water or mud and cry out for doles and the charitably disposed fling coins on a piece of cloth spread for the purpose by the poor unapproachable. No wonder Vivekananda called the whole Kerala a vast lunatic asylum and stigmatised the people there as lunatics.

People outside Kerala can have no idea of the rigour of these rules of exclusion and distance pollution. The Malabar carpenter is an untouchable and the temple built by him has to be purified before it becomes worthy to house an image of God. The Tamilian carpenter who after successful agitation has got his brahminhood recognised by the Government of Madras has no right to enter the temples in Travancore. The Sarasvath and Goudasarasvath Brahmins of Canara who have their kinsmen in Cochin and Travancore cannot get into the ordinary temples and had to satisfy their religious requirements by constructing separate temples of their own. The respectable caste of oil mongers whose every name Vaniyar shows they are vaisyas are not allowed into many temples of the West coast and in even in some temples in the neighbouring district of Tinnevelly. No wonder therefore that Ezhavas, Chanars or Nadars, Pariahs or Sambans and other depressed classes were not allowed even to approach the temple precincts. The famous Vaikom Satyagraha, readers

* See page 213 of this number for the text of the Proclamation.

chables ! Can any West-coastman think with unperturbed mind of a temple where the person who plays the pipe is a veritable barber ! The orthodox in these parts have no qualms of conscience on these matters. No one thinks of suspecting that the Sannidhyam of the Moorthi inside Kapaleswara or the Parthasarathi Temple is less on account of fishermen-cum-barber service in those temples.

Moreover in recent times another convenient convention has grown up among orthodox at Conjeevaram, Sreerangam, Chidambaram and other holy places where during the car festival days even the Panchamas are allowed to pull the car and a Brahmin devotee standing near a Panchama and pulling the car does not think that he has been polluted at all. The holy presence of the Lord has purified the Panchama for the nonce and the Maharajah's action is but a logical extension of this theory as being applicable at all times. It is more rational to think that the Divine Presence in temples purifies the defiled than to imagine, as we have been doing hitherto, that the entry of an Avarna within the holy precinct of a temple defiles the God within so that a Punyahavachakam becomes necessary.

The world is always swayed by the two principles of Conservatism and Liberalism and now the one and then the other is in the ascendant. For ages we have been in the grip of conservatism in religions and social matters except when great geniuses were born and they stood in the midstream of mamool and prescription and made life flow in a different direction. Was not Lord Krishna himself a revolutionary when he stopped the worship of Indra and made his fellow citizens worship their real breadgiver the God of Mount, Govardhan ? Was not Sankara a revolutionary when he put an end to the hundred and one petty sects that flourished in his time and beckoned all "back to the Vedas" and established the supremacy of Jnana as propounded in the Prasthanas Traya ? Was Ramanuja following the practice of the day when he permitted Panchamas to get into the Melakote Temple at least once in the year ? Was the author of Sreemad Bagavata following the orthodox path when he boldly proclaimed that

विप्रात् द्विषकुणयुतात् अरविन्दनाभपादारविन्द विमुखात् श्वपचं वरिष्ठं मन्ये ?

If the enlightened Maharajah of Travancore has erred in his zeal for reform he is in the very good company of all great reformers of Hinduism from Sree Krishna to Gandhiji. May he live long and guide the State to greater glory ! May his Sachivothama Sir C. P. continue to give wise

counsel to his royal master. May this bold step open the way to bring back within the Hindu fold millions of people who have strayed away during the dark days of bigotry and exclusion.

The Mysore Castes Disabilities Removal Bill :—The rejection of this Bill by the Mysore Representative Assembly shows the new spirit that is coming over the Hindu society. British India had similar legislation enacted as early as 1850. It has been accepted as a valid principle that obstacles to the free and voluntary change of religion should be abolished. Though that principle is at present recognised throughout the world, obstacles do exist in practice in every country in the world to the exercise of absolute freedom. Till recently Hinduism and Hindu society had been looking with unconcern upon the gradual depletion of Hindu ranks by proselytisation in a manner which did not obtain in any other religion. But with the modern awakening there has come into Hinduism a growing self-consciousness and a realisation of the imperfections which made it possible for conversions to take place on a large scale. Hindus are beginning to ask themselves why they are so helpless in the matter of conversions. The growth of this spirit is accentuated by the political recognition of communal groups in British India and in some of the Native states. The country is divided into distinct communal camps hostile to one another and emphasising differences instead of similarities. In one or two instances this process has had the effect of radically altering the nature of the state from Hindu to Christian or Muslim. The full implications of these changes have not yet been realised, but already there are signs that several communities understand the value of numbers in a democratic constitution. What the zeal of the reformers and the propaganda of Liberal Hindus fell short of accomplishing the pressure of political facts may succeed in bringing about.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

K. V. S.

The recurring outburst of religious antipathy into open rioting presents a grave problem to leaders of thought of all communities in our country. What is happening in Bombay is typical of what can happen at any time at any place in India where Hindus and Muslims have to live together. Differences may arise at any time over the celebration of religious observances by communities each according to its own understanding of the injunctions of its faith. These differences lend themselves to easy magnification in the hands of extremists of rival faiths and it is into their hands that they invariably pass almost from the beginning. The minutiae of doctrine assume the proportions of the fundamentals of faith by a process of logic common in sectarian disputes. It is generally like this. "If we yield on this point, why not on that, and that, etc and where is it to stop? Therefore we must resist at the very beginning. Unless we assert our rights at every point, our religion will be imperilled." In such an atmosphere faith is exalted, and for those who believe religion is everything. Nothing else matters. The enforcement of imagined religious rights must be carried out at any cost. There is no room for the other side in a religious quarrel. Added to this is the consideration of communal prestige which provides a most powerful urge for the prolongation of such quarrels. Thus we have the main factors in these disturbances.

When this happens between communities whose religious observances are so mutually conflicting as Islam and Hinduism we have a situation fraught with great possibilities of mischief to the ordered life of the country. There can be nothing more disastrous to public welfare than the growth of the impression that it is right to defy the state in assertion of claims traced or traceable to the injunctions of religion. There is no question of Hindu or Muslim in this. Each religion has its own zealots who elevate the law of faith as they understand it over the law of the land and have no hesitation in condoning the violation of secular laws in assertion of religious rights. The last few years have furnished the country with examples of this. Unless a way of escape is discovered there is real danger of the country relapsing into a condition of chronic disorder.

It is too much to expect any help from the religious heads of the various communities. By their very position they are the exponents of religious traditionalism. The history of all religions is filled with

episodes of bitter conflicts with rival religions. It is not practicable for them to dilute their doctrines for compromising with their once hated rivals. Then there are a number of persons who may be called fair weather leaders but who are dethroned from leadership the moment the followers are roused over any issue. There are again others who seek to grasp leadership by emphasising communal differences and posing as champions of an afflicted and attacked community. Such people can light a conflagration though they may not intend it. But they often run away at the time of danger leaving their followers to reap what they have sown. But there are always a few in each community who are able to see the necessity for limitations on the free exercise of religious observances in the interests of the public and of the equally valid rights of other communities. It is on them the country has to rely. But in order that their influence may be effective there has to be a general rise in the level in the understanding of the masses and a recognition of the sanctity of secular laws in the organised life of a composite people. Indeed there is a good deal to be said for the secularisation of public life in country. The slightest admixture of religion opens the door to the inrush of fanaticism, and fanaticism is one of the most powerful of divisive influences in the life of the people. Secular objectives unite where religion divides. The state as such can have no religion. It should not hesitate to express as strongly as it can its determination to discourage unlawful demonstrations of religious zeal and to assert itself when its rule is set at naught. It must be made as clear as possible that law-breaking is unprofitable and dangerous.

A third effective restraining influence is the realisation by each community of the strength of the opponent. The knowledge of the fact that taking the law into one's own hands will be successfully resisted by the opponent is a healthy deterrent. Part of communal aggression in recent times may be traced to the impression in the offending community that the opposite party is weak and disorganised and that he cannot protect himself or retaliate. In some cases it is due to the further impression that if only a community is sufficiently aggressive and violent and is capable of provoking a breach of the peace the state will interfere in its favour and restrain the opponent from the exercise of its lawful rights. This is a most demoralising development. It puts a premium on organised resistance to law and encourages law-abiding communities to take a leaf from their opponent's tactics.

The greatest solvent of communal discords is however the perception

of common objectives in civic life and union in common effort for the promotion of civic welfare. There are few things that enable men to understand each other better than day to day co-operation in an enterprise. Religious differences recede into the back-ground and sink into insignificance when men realise the tremendous effort that is necessary for the fight against the common enemies of social welfare. How can one have any time or energy to waste upon communal warfare when the common enemy of all communities is waxing strong and can be vanquished only by the sustained effort of all the communities?

THE TIME SPIRIT AND SANATANISM

Among the strange contradictions in the arguments of the Sanatanists against reform, is the contention that certain reforms though desirable should not be introduced through legislation but left to the operation of the Time Spirit. It is a distinct gain to the country to have the valuable admission that time can cause progress instead of decay and that people may become better in course of time instead of continually deteriorating from a state of ancient exaltation. That conception is distinctly modern. Christians claim it as the exclusive contribution of Christianity and a fulfilment of the words of Jesus "Ye shall become perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect."

It ought however to belong to the great concepts of Hinduism. The observance of Dharma for generation after generation must necessarily bring to the country all the Artha and Kama that are necessary for social welfare. The performance of austerities by the great men of the land must uplift the race with the passage of time.

The difference between Sanatanists and Liberal Hindus is thus reduced to one of the speed of progress, though that can be as important as that between extremists and no-changers. Social adjustment after the mischief has been done is as useless as not changing at all. Everything depends upon the quickness with which Hindu Society is able to face the entirely new situation that is coming over the country. It is our good luck that it is happening gradually. The exposure to the dynamic influence of modern thought is not taking place all at once but in stages as education percolates through strata after strata of society. This gives a little breathing time for the dormant social consciousness to become alert and responsive. But that time is not eternity. Time works slowly as well as rapidly. To day it is working rapidly.



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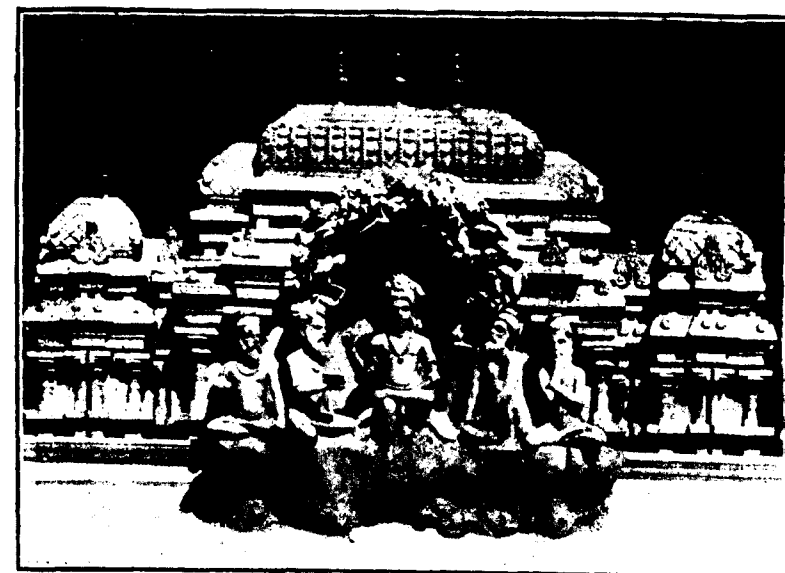
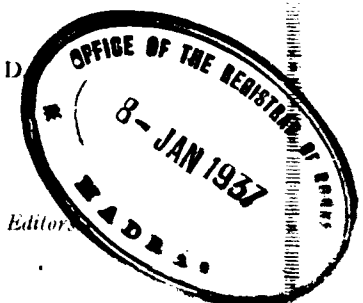
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Ah! The wonder under the Banyan tree! There sits the Teacher a youth; the disciples, elders. The teaching is silence, and the disciples' doubts are dispelled.

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CONTENTS.		Page
READJUSTMENT OF HINDUISM		
By SIR P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar	...	225
REVIEW	...	228
WERE THEY ALWAYS DEPRESSED		
By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	...	229
THE BEGINNING OF THE END		
By K. V. S.	...	232
HINDUISM AND CONVERSION		
By K. S. Ramabhadra Iyer	...	235
Dr. KURTKOTI ON HINDUISM	...	237
OUR NEW KING & CUTTING ETC.	...	253

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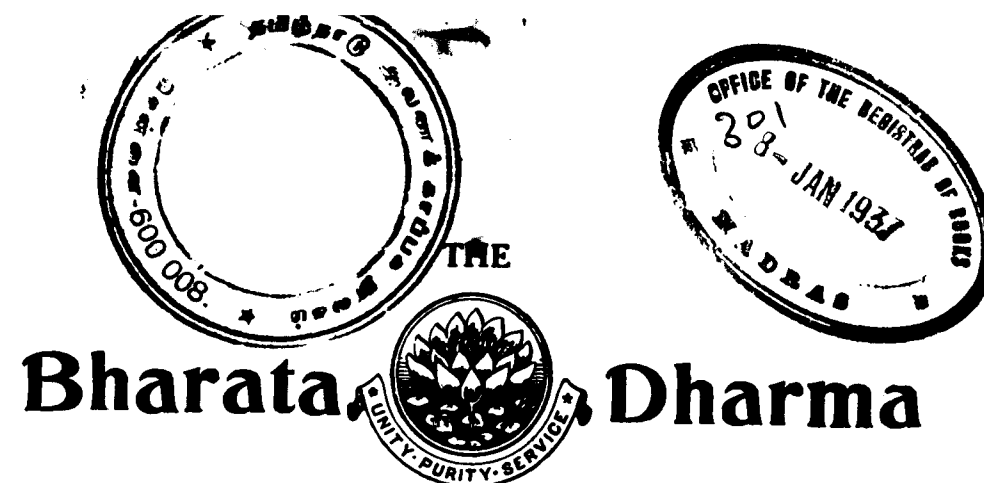
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VOL. XIV]

DECEMBER, 1936

[No. 9

READJUSTMENT OF HINDUISM:

By

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that the spirit of renaissance is working within the fold of Hinduism and has even penetrated the precincts of the Maths in India. The presidential address of His Holiness Dr. Kurtkoti, the Sankaracharya of the Nasik Math, at the annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Lahore on the 21st of October last is a unique performance in view of the pontifical position of the Swamiji. It is remarkable for its courage, its clear perception of the fast changing conditions of the world, and the need for adaptation of the Hindu religion to these changes and its stirring appeal to the Hindu world to purge Hinduism of all its excrescences and Hindu society of all its evils so that the Hindu religion may be a living and dynamic force. The heads of the Maths in India take a very narrow view of their position and functions in the scheme of Hindu society and restrict their activities to the teaching and exposition of the beliefs and practices of Hinduism as enshrined in the books of antiquity. By their bringing up and method of education they are out of tune with the spirit of the times. In view of the advantages of the liberal education which Dr. Kurtkoti has enjoyed, it is not surprising that he has ventured to shake off the fetters which cramp the activities of Mathadhipatis. Scriptural authority, the infallibility of the Vedas and the Sanatana character of Hindu Dharma have been too often employed by the champions of Sanatana Dharma to resist wholesome

changes in our social customs and religious practices. The spirited appeal of Dr. Kurtkoti to Hindu society to vivify and strengthen itself is not a day too early. We should be glad if his courageous example were followed by the other heads of Maths and they also realised the necessity for a reorientation of Hinduism. Dr. Kurtkoti's pronouncement is as remarkable in its own way as the proclamation on temple entry in Travancore. But while the latter has the support of the secular arm of the Maharaja, Dr. Kurtkoti's appeal can only rest upon its own intrinsic merits.

Admirable as the Swami's address is for its breadth of view, spirit of patriotism and high idealism, it is not possible to extend the same approval to all parts of his address. Some parts of his address gave rise to misunderstanding and others to resentment among the members of the Hindu Mahasabha who constituted his audience. We heard that some of the members of the Reception Committee were greatly dissatisfied with portions of his address, especially those relating to conversion to Sikhism. They probably felt that in choosing the Sankaracharya as the president of the session they had caught a Tartar. In an address dealing with a large number of live issues, the satisfactory solution of which is essential to the vitality of Hindu society, controversy must naturally be expected. No excuse is therefore needed for indicating some points of difference. But before doing so, I will proceed to the more agreeable task of referring to the points on which those of us who consider ourselves liberal-minded Hindus will agree with him. In pleading for the sinking of sectarian differences among all classes of Hindus, for the removal of untouchability, for the re-admission of those who have renounced the Hindu religion but wish to come back to its fold, and for the expansion of Hindu society by the inclusion of those who, not being Hindus by birth, wish to embrace Hinduism, the Swami's address must commend itself to all liberal-minded Hindus. Hinduism has always stood for a spirit of tolerance and entertained no hostility to other religions.

The underlying unity of all religions, to which the Swami refers, refers rather to the identity of the goal and the many points of agreement on cardinal principles and is not inconsistent with the existence of diverse faiths like Islam or Christianity. In declaring that he was a Buddha among the Buddhists, a Jain among the Jainas, a Brahmo among the Brahmos, an Arya Samajist among the Arya Samajists, a Sikh among the Sikhs, "depressed" among "the depressed", and what not, the Swami went a little too far in his interpretation of Hinduism. While there can be no doubt that the sects to which the Swami referred are all off-shoots of

Hindu religion and culture and may be described as protestant departures from orthodox Hinduism, one or two of them have adopted doctrines of so heretical a character that they cannot be properly included within the fold of the Hindu religion. Buddhism, for instance, has discarded beliefs in God and the immortality of the soul, and it would be illogical and unscientific to include it within Hinduism, unless we cease to attach any meaning to Hinduism.

The Swami has referred to the cardinal principles of the Hindu Dharma and says that they are absolutely universal in their nature and are true of all persons, at all times and under all circumstances. The Swami would have done well if he had elucidated this remark by pointing out the cardinal principles which differentiate Hinduism from other religions. Allegiance to the authority of the Vedas is regarded by the orthodox as one of such cardinal principles. Manu declares that the atheist is the man who denies the authority of the Vedas. If the authority of the Vedas is to be accepted, is it to be accepted in its entirety or only in parts? Most rationalist Hindus will be prepared to accept the teaching of the Upanishads without subscribing to the ritualist portions of the Karma-kanda. Is the belief in these portions essential to the true spirit of Hinduism? The Swami would have rendered a valuable service if he had pointed out the essential doctrines characteristic of Hinduism and the doctrines, beliefs or practices to which those who wish to call themselves Hindus must subscribe.

If the untouchability of the depressed classes continues to flourish in Hindu society, we cannot find fault with those members of the depressed classes who seek to ameliorate their condition by conversion to some other sect of Hinduism or even to another religion. Conversion to a reforming sect of Hinduism like Sikhism or the Arya Samaj should certainly be less distasteful to Hindus than the adoption of an entirely alien religion or even Buddhism. If the movement for the mass conversion of Hindus is to be stemmed, it cannot be by the expedient of orthodoxy digging itself in more firmly than ever within the narrow barriers of the so-called Sanatana Dharma.

It is not strictly relevant to the objects of the "Bharata Dharma" which is an organ of liberal Hinduism, to dwell upon the political portions of Dr. Kurtkoti's address. The Swami's affirmation that in Hindustan the national race, religion and language ought to be that of the Hindus cannot be maintained in view of the fact that the Muslim community has been settled in India for a thousand years or more. The Swami does not

evidently intend his principle to be carried out to its fullest logical implications.

His plea for joint electorates without any reservation of seats, while in accord with the ideal to be aimed at, betrays a want of grasp of the realities of the present situation. While we agree that the League of Nations Scheme for the protection of minorities is the ideal and the right solution, it is not practicable in the present circumstances of the country and especially the stubborn opposition of the Muslim community to dispense with the reservation of seats in the legislatures.

REVIEW

The New Outlook, Ahmedabad.

We welcome the Women's Special number of this magazine which has just been brought out. It is picturesquely got up and its matter is as attractive as its appearance. The subjects on which many well-known contributors have written are striking in their variety and practical significance. The number ought to appeal not merely to women but also to men by its intrinsic excellence.

"The conception of service is wholly foreign to desires which begin and end in self-advertisement."

WERE THEY ALWAYS 'DEPRESSED'?

By

Prof. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
University of Madras.

The 'depressed classes' are now so very prominently engaging public attention that one is naturally tempted to ask: 'How did things go with them in the past?' We necessarily turn to the Sangam literature for the earliest accounts of Tamil social life accessible to us. In that literature, which belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, the classes corresponding to the Harijans or Avarnas as they are now called seem to be those described as: pulaiyar, panar, paraiyar, and so on. It is not my object to collect all the available references to these classes and discuss them here: it is rather to cite a few of them to show that some, if not all, of these classes once occupied a perceptibly better position in the scale of social life than they have been holding in recent times. One of the most significant references to them occurs in a verse in the Purananuru which runs thus:

அடலருந் துப்பின்.....
.....குருந்தே முல்லைபென்
நிந்நான் கல்லது பூவு மில்லை
கருங்கால் வரகே யிருங்கதிர்த் தினையே
சிறுகொடிக் கொள்ளே பொறிஞர் ரவரையொ
டிந்நான் கல்ல துணவு மில்லை
துடியன் பாணன் பறையன் கடம்பெனன்
நிந்நான் கல்லது குடியு மில்லை
பொன்னுத் தெவ்வர் முன்னின்ற விலங்கி
பொன்றேந்து மருப்பிற் களிநெறிந்து னீழ்த்தெனக்
கல்லே பரவி னல்லது
நெல்லுருத்துப் பரவுங் கடவுளு மிலவே.

In this piece, of which unfortunately we have lost some lines after the beginning, the poet enumerates with evident pride the flowers, the foods, the classes of people, and the deity he values most. The poem closes on a note of heroism, because it says that the only deity worth worshipping is the 'hero stone', the memento of a fallen warrior. And in the same context we read: tudiyar, panar, paraiyan, kadamban—barring these four, there is no class (kudi) worth naming. It is possible to exaggerate the significance of the passage, and read too much of our ideas into it. We do not aim at doing this. We wish only to draw atten-

tion to the quiet and assured tone pervading the poem, and the decisive and clear recognition it contains of the social value of the kudis enumerated,—and these contain the names paraiyan and panan.

Again, we find that the pulaiyar had certain definite functions in the rituals on funeral occasions. This becomes clear from two references in the same anthology. In Puram 360, we read:

Again we have:

வெள்ளி னிறுத்த பிள்ளைக் கள்ளொடு
புல்லகத் திட்ட சில்லகிழ் வல்சி
புலைய னேவப் புன்மே மமர்ந்துண்
டழல்வாய்ப் புக்க பின்னும்

Again we have .

கள்ளி லேய்ந்த முள்ளியம் புறங்காட்டு
வெள்ளில் போகிய வியலு ளாங்க
ஊப்பிலா அ வசிப்புழுக்கல்
கைக்கொண்டு பிறக்குநோக்கா
திழிபிறப்பினே னீயப்பெற்று
நிலங்கல னாக விலங்குபலி மிகையும.

(Puram 363),

This shows that the pulaiya gave the pinda to the departed. Note the phrase pullagattitta, placed on darbha grass, applied to the rice-ball which, in the second extract, is called both avi (havis) and 'bali'. Evidently these classes are also said to be responsible for guarding the crematorium:

தண்டுமண்டையும் பிடித்துக் காவல
ருண்டுகண் படுக்கு முறையுட்குடிகையும்.

Manimekalai VI, 62—3.

The pulaiyar or paraiyar, though employed in the work last mentioned, have not been known to have officiated in the funeral ceremonies pertaining to any community in recent times.

Lastly, the panar who are often mentioned with and included among the classes under reference, are seen to be proficient in music, and to have enjoyed the privilege of organising peripatetic music and dance parties that visited the kings and chieftains of the Tamil land in turn, and entertained them on suitable occasions in the hope of being amply rewarded for their trouble. How common minstrelsy was among the ancient Tamils, and what an important role the panar had in it becomes evident in the following extract from a sutra of the Tolkappiyam ;

கத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் கிறலியு
மாற்றிடைக்காட்சி யுறழத் தோன்றிப்
பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெரு அர்க்கறிவுநீ இச்
சென்று பயனெதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்.

(Tol. Porul, 91).

The panarruppadai is a ~~genre~~ of Tamil lays of which two are preserved in the Pattuppattu collection. Again, it is well known that one of the earlier Alvars was brought up in the house of a panan and was called Pan-alvar on that account. Among the friends and followers of Jnana Sambandar was the celebrated Tirunilakanda-yaippanar, who is said to have worshipped Siva from the outer court of his temples

கோயிலினிற் புற முன்றிற்கொடு புக்குக்கும் பிடுகித்து

. Tirujnana, 134,

a feature which is particularly noted in the Periya Puranam also of Nandanar. The Periya Puranam is a work of the twelfth century A.D.

The steps by which these classes lost ground economically and socially, and came to be looked upon as 'untouchables' are hidden from view. But there is little doubt that in the prosperous days of the Imperial Cholas, this process had been completed. For we have only to read the description of the seri of the pariahs, which Sekkilar gives in his account of the life of Nandanar to realise this. We have travelled far from the tone of the poem in the Purananuru cited first in this paper. All the features of the picture popularised by the forceful opera of Gopalakrishna Bharati and the modern Tamil stage have come into being. We may close this brief sketch with a citation from a foreign witness, on the condition of "the abhorred Piriawes" of the kingdom of Golconda in the early years of the seventeenth century:

" * * * * * who are not permitted to dwell in any town by any neighbours, but in a place without by themselves live together, avoided of all but their own fraternity, whom if any man should casually touch, he would presently wash his body. These flea (flay) all dead cattle for their skins, and feed upon the flesh: the skins they dress, making thereof sandals for the Gentiles and shoes for the Moores; other—some they use to embale merchandise to defend it against wet; to conclude they are in public justice the hateful executioners; and are the basest, most stinking, ill favoured people that I have seen, the inhabitants of Cape bona Esperanza (Good Hope) excepted, who are in these particulars unparalleled.

—(Methwold).

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

THOUGHTS ON TEMPLE ENTRY IN TRAVANCORE.

K. V. S

The Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation is the first fruit of the new spirit that is descending upon Hindu Society. The welcome given to the measure by reformers and sanatanists has exceeded beyond expectations the anticipations of its advocates. We are told that both caste Hindus and untouchables, the savarnas and the avarnas have fraternised in temple worship; a truly religious attitude which fills the heart with hope for the future of Hinduism. The whole of Kerala rejoiced. And Hindu India has rejoiced with it.

Malabar temples have been justly famed throughout India not only for their superior sanctity but also for their scrupulous cleanliness. They impress the worshippers as the abodes of higher peace. They radiate the presence and power of Deity to the believers even more effectively than their eastern rivals. They yield to their worshippers the fruits of devout worship on the same scale. What is not defilement in Kerala, the land of inconceivable ceremonial pollution, cannot be the contrary in the mixed atmosphere of Eastern temples. There should be hereafter no reasonable doubt that the public would not oppose similar action on the part of temple authorities in British India.

Any lingering doubt about the possibility of the rules whittling down the spirit of the proclamation and of caste Hindus hesitating to worship at the temples has now been dispelled. Indeed it was not to be thought of that the proclamation was intended to be a diplomatic step to give with the right hand what was to be taken away under the rules with the left. But the fear of the boycott of the temples by caste Hindus though not a legitimate fear, was an intelligible one. It is therefore a genuine ground for gratification that it has been falsified by facts.

Thus it has come about in the fulness of time that in a land and society saturated with the atmosphere of distance pollution, where the efficacy of temple worship and validity of temple rituals were believed to depend upon the strict exclusion at unbelievable distances of a section of pious worshippers, it has been found practicable at one stroke to sweep away the cob webs of tradition and to let in faith and understanding where till now reigned ignorant fear and superstition.

It will not be incorrect to view this as the beginning of the end of the age of temple exclusion which grew and survived under conditions which have long ceased to prevail. From time to time in the history of India

attempts have been made to make inroads into it by great religious leaders, but with limited results. The segregative influence of the caste spirit and the deep rooted *laissez faire* tradition of Hinduism conspired to restrain violent departure from the past. Religious planning on a casteless basis was beset with difficulties. There was no machinery for enforcing new but accepted positions against the opposition of obstructive though negligible minorities. More than once it has happened that in a few years the caste spirit like a gigantic weed growth has overwhelmed the newly born liberal spirit.

Three points stand out in the reaction of the Hindu public to the Proclamation. The first is the assurance it furnishes that the work of propaganda and education and persuasion have gone on far enough to justify practical action in the matter of temple entry. The second is that the untouchables themselves far from being indifferent are eager for the privilege—it ought to be the inherent right—of temple worship. Thirdly sanatanists are willing under certain conditions to abide by *fait accompli* though with mental reservations; for, with a few inevitable exceptions the proclamation has been universally well received; all honour to sanatanists.

A fourth point emerges even more significantly than others. That is the duty of state action in a situation of this kind. As has been repeatedly stressed in the pages of the Bharata Dharma, state interference at a time when propaganda has not been adequately done is to invert the functions of the public and the legislature. But when persuasion and propaganda have been carried on for decades and the legislature has by a great majority decided that a measure is needed for the public welfare, it is too much to raise the slogan of legislative coercion, because a small minority refuses to fall into line. A time does arrive in the history of every beneficial legislation when the limits of the organisation of public opinion are reached and when public opinion has to be transformed into legislative opinion, subject to reasonable concessions recognising and safe-guarding legitimate objections of minorities.

It is one of the ironies of constitutional situation that such action is more easily possible in a Native State with a quasi autocratic constitution than under the parliamentary democracies of British India. In the comparatively freer atmosphere of British India we are constantly treated to subtle distinctions on the limitations of democratic legislation in a composite legislature. Indeed some would even go so far as deny such legislature the power to legislate on the subject of temple entry. The sovereignty of a democratic state would it seems be less than that of a

hereditary ruler. There can be no justification for legislating upon temple entry so long as there is conscientious minority is opposed to it. The theory of the tyranny of temporary parliamentary majorities is put forward an effective argument against state action.

In one sense the Proclamation is the triumph of faith over fear. It marks the entry of the country from the age of fear into that of hope and adventure. Pioneerism, risk and adventure are the essence of religious life. At each stage men have individually and collectively to explore the intermediate territory that stretches between man and God. Such an attempt must necessarily have its risks. But risks exist in order that they may be faced and overcome. The price of conquest has to be paid in organised effort inspired by faith and sustained by hope. How can we afford to hold ourselves back in the perpetual dread that in such venture we may lose what we have and not find what we seek. Such fear is the mark of little minds and an indication of faintness of heart. In spiritual enterprise fear is a recurring obstacle. At each step it retards the path of the pilgrim. Especially in the matter of departure from the standards of tradition the restraining influence of fear is great. भय is one of man's spiritual enemies and अभय is one of the initial qualifications for spiritual eligibility. "Shall we not be destroyed like a scattered cloud" exclaims Arjuna after listening to the Lord's soul stirring exposition of yoga. And the answer of Sri Krishna holds good to-day as it did when the Lord gave the assurance that has resounded in this country through the intervening ages. "Never doth one who works for welfare tread the path of woe."

When all is said and done, one thing remains and that is the new willingness of the Hindu public to share its spiritual heritage with all that claim it. This may be hailed as the beginning of a new era in Hinduism. It is to be sincerely hoped that this spirit will not get rapidly dried up in the arid sands of caste exclusiveness, but will gather in volume and strength with the passage of time and transform Hindu Society into a compact body worthy of the priceless spiritual treasures of its glorious past, solicitous of the spiritual instruction and ministration of every Hindu, and strong enough to protect its adherents against attempts to wean them from their allegiance to their faith.

"HINDUISM AND CONVERSION."

BY

K. S. RAMABHADRA IYER.

The essence of Hindu religion is, as I conceive it, its "Dharma". This word is difficult of translation and signifies the whole body of rules that governs or should govern human relationship, each with one another, and all with God or The Over-Soul.

“स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः

परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

Better by far

To die in one's own Faith (Dharma)

Than embrace

The dangerous Code of others.

This saying of the Lord in the Gita is a universal truth and is applicable to every man in every clime in any age and if its import is realised and adopted, there will be far less misery in this world than we see around us. Hinduism is not a dogma or even a creed but the most tolerant code of conduct intended to facilitate every being to attain by dint of his own effort, peace, contentment and happiness here and beyond for all time. It sets no barriers to any man's growth; on the other hand, it tries to free him from any shackles and restore to him his inherent right of attaining or realising the divinity that is in him. Its ethics is marvellous, its philosophy is profound, its code of individual conduct is unerring and unexceptionable. The difficulty is owing to the absence of a uniform standard applicable to all within its fold and its definite recognition of and insistence on what is compendiously known as "Varnashrama Dharma"

"Varnashrama Dharma" is not a narrow creed, as is often supposed. It is not inelastic. It is not immutable, as I conceive it. On the other hand, it grows with the growth of time and is adaptable to the growing needs of society. Who can say that a Panchama is not nearer God than even the holiest among the Brahmins? Who can deny him his path to salvation? Is there anything to prevent him from reaching his Maker, if he wills, in his own lifetime? The growth of irreligion is the basis of all talk of conversion and the sad spectacle that we see to-day of vast masses of human beings being attempted to be taken over to Sikhism, Muhammadanism, Christianity or Buddhism, to secure temporal ends, indicates the depth of our ignorance, indifference and lack of faith in ourselves and in our fellows. There must be an arresting process and

it can only come through sound education on a mass scale and the development of an active spirit of discipline and sacrifice in our relations with society around. We are rapidly drifting into a broad division of 'Haves' and 'Have not's' and the only measure of a man's growth seems to be his capacity for accumulation of profits. This insensate desire to steal a march over your neighbour is the rock-bottom of our present-day ills and its latest phase is the panacea of conversion. It is not only dangerous but suicidal and no religion can be served by proselytisation. The need to-day is self-education and self-discipline and the more of it, the better for the individual and for society alike. Even tolerance has its limit and this attempt at mass-conversion must be checked at all costs. More food, more clothing, more education for the destitute and the helpless; less indulgence, less dandyism, less ostentation for every one in the so-called upper strata of society is, more than all, what we need to-day, by whatever name it may be called; and if India can find her soul in this way, as she pre-eminently can, she will attain not only "Swaraj" but once again become the leading mistress of the world. Amidst all the turmoil of the present-day world, I see signs of such a revival amidst us and I am filled with hope.

Since these lines were written, a momentous decision has been taken by the Travancore Durbar in admitting *Avarnas* into public temples; at the same time, taking steps to see that the sanctity of temples is not impaired. It is difficult to resist such a move emanating from an enlightened Prince and his illustrious Dewan and even orthodox opinion must slowly veer round the soundness of the step. At any rate, it will act as a powerful check upon the craze for conversion that is neither ethical nor spiritual nor moral but will only undermine society; and all followers and lovers of Hinduism will rejoice to see that orthodox Hinduism has vitality enough to resist all external attacks. The aim of religion as of all true education is to make man purer and simpler and ever nearer God and anything that tends to promote self-discipline and self-culture can only have an ennobling influence and is a step in the right direction. The elevation of the mass-mind as a result of this unprecedented step cannot but act as a purifying factor and enrich the whole society, nay, the whole world.

DR. KURTKOTI (Sri Shankaracharya) ON HINDUISM
[PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE
HINDU MAHASABHA]

Following are extracts from the presidential speech delivered by Shri Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtkoti) at the annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Lahore on 21st inst:—

It is with peculiarly mixed feelings of joy, humility and reverence that I accept the Nation's call to preside over the deliberations of this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha. While I feel overwhelmed with the magnitude of the task and the responsibility of the occasion, I readily acknowledge my feelings of delight at the opportunity you have been pleased to give me to try my prentice hand at the holy task of preserving sacred in all its integrity and pristine glory the holy ark of Hinduism and fusing together all the sections of Hindu Dharma into a phalanx, so that the serried ranks should be consolidated together into one unit and present a united and irrefragable front to all attacks, both overt and covert, that may be launched and are being launched on the citadel of ancient Aryan culture and civilization and on the Hindu Dharma, which however ancient, belongs to this and to all times. It is not without considerable misgivings that from day to day and hour to hour, I have taken note from press reports and half-articulated gossip of the sad news of differences that are creeping into some sections of the Mahasabha and which call upon all of us to put forth our best endeavour to turn them into harmony and the noble purposes which have called forth this noble Institution of the Hindu Mahasabha into being, and for which it stands, and without which it will be extinguished like a body being inert without a soul. I stand here to do my humble best for the supreme cause and consummation of all our hopes and desires. The principles of Karma-Yoga, as propounded in the life-giving teachings of the Bhagavadgita, inspire me with the hope that these differences shall be shortlived, that the notes of discord shall be ultimately blended into a greater concord and a more soulstirring music. We need be under no misapprehension, no delusion, no despondency as to the ultimate success of our task and the crowning glory of our hopes, our labours and our designs. The great success in this great and difficult task—for what greatness is there which is not attended with difficulty all along the path of its realization—will entirely depend on the active sympathy and the hearty co-operation of all, and the realization of this truth will first dawn in the realization of our dreams and aspirations, and it will open a window across the stormy

waters from which the dove of peace and safety may come back safely to us in this noble ark of Hinduism as it is reported to have come in the Great Flood to Noah's Ark; and it will dispel the dark clouds that in movements of blinding despair may hide from us the Pisgah-heights of final achievement and prosperity.

I for my part, as you must all realise without my telling it to you more plainly than this, stand and I have always stood above all parties and party politics and I have always endeavoured, selflessly and with a dedicated spirit, to do my best to heal all scars and wounds, cure all friction, and reconcile the conflicting claims of the different parties, infusing into them a spirit of tolerance and mutual esteem, for the eternal glory of the Hindu Dharma, which I have the privilege to represent. In saying what I have said just this moment, I should be understood to have knowledge of the fact that from time to time, differences of opinion have arisen between the Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha on certain matters of principle and lines of action and my dream of unity in all national endeavours comprehends a plan and an ideal for a better understanding and a more sincere esteem on the part of the members of one organization for those of the others. And I do not think I would shoot far from the mark if I were to think that this above all others must have been the governing motive, which consciously or unconsciously must have inspired you all in electing me to this post of responsibility at this momentous session of our Hindu Mahasabha; and let me assure you, though the task appears so formidable, I will do my best to justify your choice.

PONTIFICAL SQUABBLES.

But before proceeding further, permit me to confess in all frankness and in all sincerity, that when you once had made a choice and that choice alighted on me, it was impossible as it must always be impossible for me, to resist your wishes. I have capitulated and yielded to you all. I must make a further confession; and it is a confession of the high appreciation in which I hold the honour you have chosen to cast upon me. You are all aware, I am one of the Religious Heads and you have chosen me to be your president, in spite of the limitations to which Religious Heads or Pontif are subject in deliberations which are to be conducted and settled through the machinery of votes and ballot-boxes—in one word by modern democratic methods—and not by methods of ex-cathedra judgments and through channels of pontifical authority. We clerical men and particularly those of us who are bishops or abbots or high priests, and the proposition is true not only of the Hindu clergy and the Hindu hier-

archy, but of all clergies and hierarchies of every precious creed and cult in this sublunary world, are in a way a hardened race; lacking in tender pliancy and adaptability, inert to move from pet theories or crotchets and utterly incapable of being moved into a conciliatory position or shunted on to the rails or tracks of co-operation, on any but dictatorial principles. In this want of adaptability, this estrangement from the conciliatory spirit, this incapacity for compromise, the priestly class compares very unfavourably with the laity. Instead of helping to create that unity which is enjoined by all religions and which is the very soul or spirit of all Religion, these ecclesiastical heads, these Pandits and Divines only create squabbles and controversies. It is as if the children should ask for bread and parents give them stones. I impute this sad state of things to a misconception of duty, to an undue spirit of self-importance and self-sufficiency, to an exclusiveness that must lead, if not to death, at least, to the blindness of their spiritual children in matters of social and political as well as spiritual interest. That you have unanimously elected me to be your president, inspite of this reputation of the priestly class for stiff-necked exclusiveness, puts a double burden on me. This implicit faith you have reposed in me must make me rise to the occasion. While not forgetting my spiritual position, I must try to adapt myself to the secular point of view of the laity. I must in short identify myself entirely with you all and that to such an extent that besides being what I am I should feel that I am a Bouddha among the Buddhists, a Jain among the Jains, a Brahmo among the Brahmos, an Arya Samajist among the Arya Samajists, a Sikh among the Sikhs, "depressed" among the "depressed" and what not.

UNITY OF FAITHS.

This attitude on my part is in no way novel as it is the quintessence of the non-dualistic philosophy of the great Shri Shankaracharya whose humble follower I represent myself to be. As Shri Goudapadacharya the Guru of Shri Shankaracharya's Guru, has so aptly remarked :

स्वसिद्धान्तव्यवस्थासु द्वैतिनो निश्चिता दृढम् ।
परस्परं विरुध्यन्ते तैरयं न विरुध्यते ॥

"The dualists being bent upon establishing the truth of their own system of thought fight among themselves while the system of non-dualism comes in conflict with none". This system of non-dualism which leads to the realisation of the underlying unity of all religions, should not be mistaken for various current views about the uniformity of all religions

that are propounded with some selfish motives or without any real knowledge or experience of any of these systems of religion. The Indian National Congress, though it rightly accepts the principle of equality of rights of all communities, fails miserably for reasons of its own to protect the civil rights of the Hindus even when they are ferociously attacked by the followers of alien Faiths. This national policy of the Congress in the pure realm of politics should not be mistaken for unity of Faiths. Unity of Faiths is not consistent with a state of things in which one community asserts itself over the other and compels it to yield in all matters. Real unity lies in the co-operation for all practical purposes of the different communities, each strong and virile in itself, yet with no intention to attack and encroach upon the rights of others. That is exactly why the Hindus must stir themselves up and strengthen their community so that they may stand on a footing of equality with others, always offering their best co-operation but ever ready to repel alien aggressions. We can reasonably go a step further and say that since Hindusthan is the one land where the Hindus and their culture can flourish, other Faiths having their own independent nations, the Hindus ought to have a full and free scope to shape the destinies of their country.

The preservation and deep infusion of the Aryan culture within the unity of Faiths will in no way be detrimental to the interests of other Faiths.

GREATNESS OF HINDUISM.

The Summum bonum of human life consists in the attainment of eternal knowledge and bliss and the communication and diffusion of it among all men. This noble ideal of human life has been realised by the Aryan sages more comprehensively and thoroughly than the sages or philosophers of any other nation. Though the originators of other religions may have aimed at the same ideal, yet with due deference to all of them, it can be safely said, that none of them succeeded in giving a *philosophical basis* to and a thoroughly rational explanation of the ideal that they realised in their individual case and in preaching it to mankind at large. The principles of other religions, though useful in their own way, are limited in their scope and application. *Christ's principle of patient suffering*, though undoubtedly noble, cannot be of universal application and has meaning only in the case of a few highly gifted souls and with particular limitations of time and space. The same is true of the teachings of Mahomed. On the other hand the *cardinal principles of the Hindu Dharma* are absolutely universal in their nature and are true of

all persons, at all times and under all circumstances. The Hindu Dharma does not confine itself to any codes or commandments, knows no creed and is therefore beyond all limitations. Nor has it emanated from one single prophet. It is aptly called "Eternal Religion" (Sanatan Dharma). We have to love our neighbour according to Hindu Dharma not merely because he is our brother but specially because the same Atman (soul) permeates both. The Hindu Dharma is most tolerant, as it allows every individual complete freedom to choose any rational means for the attainment of the highest good without coming in the way of any other person and without being commanded to pay allegiance to a particular individual or scriptural authority. Even the most rational thinkers of the present day would be convinced of the truth of the principles preached by the Hindu philosophy and religion. "Who can doubt the existence of one's own self? If any one doubts it, the very doubter is the self."

अस्ति स्वयमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे कस्यास्ति संशयः पुंसः ।

अत्रापि संशयश्चेत्संशयिता यः स एव भवसि त्वम् ॥

This basic principle of rational philosophy was preached by Shri Shankaracharya hundreds of years even before Descartes who acquired a great name as an original thinker for having propounded his principle of *Cogito Ergo Sum* which is nothing more or less than what was taught by the great Acharya and which has served as a basis of all the rational philosophy of Europe. The views of the Hindu Dharma as regards God, Free Will and immortality of the soul are equally rational and comprehensive. They try to reconcile the apparently conflicting claims of reason and faith in the higher synthetic category of reasoned faith. God is neither personal nor impersonal; in Him we find a synthesis of both, personal and impersonal and yet He transcends both. This has been very clearly stated in a verse of the Bhagawad Gita.

यस्मात्क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।

अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

But the followers of alien Faiths entirely fail to understand this essentially rational and philosophical view of God of the Hindu Dharma and hence they violently attack the idolatrous view meant only for the ordinary people. Though God is beyond all forms and names, yet it is not in any way contradictory to rational thought to posit for practical purposes some form as representative of God. Even these alien Faiths that condemn idolatry so vehemently, accept it willy nilly in some form or other, a Book, a Mosque, a Church or a Prophet. It is a thousand

3
P.L. 86-360

14595

pities that so much blood should be shed on account of such an insignificant and innocent difference of opinion. On the contrary, the utmost limits of religious tolerance have been reached and preached in the Bhagawad Gita when it says :

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयाचितुमिच्छति ।

तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ॥

Even if God is conceived in a way contrary to one's own method, that method too is encouraged but never condemned. This principle of tolerance is conducive to the good of the humanity and the world is in sore need of this principle at the present juncture, when peace and good government of every nation are in the crucible of trial and test.

LIMITS OF TOLERANCE.

One's heart cannot but be filled with indignation and fury to find that Hindusthan, the home of such valuable heritage and glorious culture, should be turned into a battle-ground where so much innocent blood is being shed by alien Faiths in the name of their religions. If it is the commandment of the Holy Quran that no music should be played before Mosques, it is evidently binding only on the followers of that faith and they are at liberty to observe the principle in their own cases. But it passes one's reason why they should fanatically insist upon prohibiting the Hindus in the very land of Hinduism from playing music in the noisy streets when it is imperative on the part of the latter to have music played on their sacred occasions. It is really shameful and disgraceful that there should be so much bickering and heart-burning repeated on almost all occasions of the celebrations of the festival. All such petty quarrels which end in blood-shed would be put a stop to if the followers of the offensive alien Faiths are made to realise the noble purpose that the Hindu culture has been brought into being to serve. It is a culture meant to serve the whole of humanity by teaching it by example and precept the principle to live and let live. But it can serve this purpose only if it lives. It will live only if the Hindus who are by no means inferior to others arise and awake from their torpor and assert their birth-right—complete freedom. And freedom is only possible if the alien Faiths that have separate independent nations and spheres of activity of their own for the development of their own cultures are made to live here peacefully and on friendly terms with the Hindus. They must be made to understand that Hindusthan is primarily for the Hindus and that the Hindus

live for the preservation and development of the Aryan culture and the Hindu Dharma which are bound to prove beneficial to all humanity.

Lest this should create misgivings in the minds of minorities apprehending that they shall have no place in this country, I hasten to add that they shall never fail to enjoy full cultural and religious freedom. As I have already pointed out, Hinduism stands for the principle of live and let live. But at the same time it must be remembered that the minorities cannot claim to have any superior political rights and power which would prove detrimental to the interests of the Hindus and subversive of the Aryan culture. But that is exactly what the minorities are trying to establish through the communal decision. I cannot help dealing with this knotty and vexatious problem which is working like a canker in the heart of our body politic.

In this age of democracy the voice of representatives of groups or communities in legislatures is the only voice that is effectively heard. And the number of the representatives plays a vital part in the assertion of the will of each group. Let us clarify the position in this respect so far as it concerns the Hindus. I affirm that in Hindusthan the national race, religion and language ought to be that of the Hindus. With this as the basic principle of our national constitution joint electorates without any reservation of seats for particular groups or communities offer the right solution of the problem of minority representation. It will be in conformity with the highest ideals of democracy and also in keeping with the principles of equality and other tenets for which Hinduism stands. But if any guarantee or safeguard for the protection of any minorities is needed, the Minority Guarantee Treaties of the League of Nations provide it most effectively.

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PROBLEMS NEARER HOME.

While that scheme will solve the communal problem, it should not be supposed that thereby the Hindus will have achieved all their objectives of solidarity and the realisation of a living force. For while the Communal Decision delivers an attack from the outside, there are many fissiparous and cantankerous agencies within the structure of the Hindu society itself which gnaw at its vitals from within. There are many evil practices and institutions among the Hindus that have crept in now and then since the Hindus forgot the progressive principles of their ancestors, which conspire to make the Hindus a weak and disjointed community. More than the Communal Decision it is these that menace Hinduism and t

Hindus. That menace must be combatted. It is only when these evil agencies are buried low down never to rise again that the Hindus will emerge into a strong, united and militant race and then alone will the Hindus be the worthy bearers of the torch of Hindu culture and Hindu Dharma. It is not possible for me to deal with all these evil practices but I cannot shut my eyes to the question of the so-called untouchables, a most burning question. My sympathies always go with this poor class of our own people who have suffered wrong at our hands in the name of religion for a long time. No logic can support it, no sense of humanity can tolerate it. There should be no hesitation on our part to do away with the evil without the least delay.

UNTOUCHABILITY

I neither wish to waste my breath nor your precious time on proving that untouchability has no earthly reason to exist to-day when the causes and conditions that at one time may have given rise to it are wholly absent. I have proved this to the hilt on many previous occasions as also at the last session of the Mahasabha held at Poona. The small and ever-dwindling coterie which still persists in the practice of untouchability is so ignorant as to have become blind to such noble teachings as the one in Mahabharata which says:

“कारणाद्धर्ममन्विच्छेन्न लोकचरितं चरेत्”

“अन्यो धर्मः समस्थस्य विषमस्थस्य चापरः” ॥

“Religion must have a rational grounding; it does not mean doing what others do. While peaceful times need one religion, troubled times need quite a different one.” Again the great Shankaracharya himself has said in his Gita Bhashya that the scriptures are to be depended upon only in matters which cannot be penetrated by reason. Thus for example says the Acharya even if hundred scriptural authorities were to say that fire is cool and without light it cannot be taken as the truth. The Shastras are not to be blindly followed to the last words but they are to be used only as a starting ground. This tendency of blindly following the scriptures is common to the followers of all faiths and hence quarrels on trivial matters always arise. What an irony that even when such are the views of the great Acharya to whom we owe our existence to day and when the people are clamouring for something more invigorating and broadening than what the Shastras are in a position to give today, some of us should still be stultifying themselves in the now stagnant pool of the Shastras.

But while this is true of only a small section, the Hindus in general today accept that untouchability ought to go. The only question that

today faces us is how soon it should be driven underground, not to rise again but to lie there for all time.

I do not hold the view as some do that the practice of untouchability revolts against humanitarianism, that we must take pity on the unfortunate untouchables and that we should concede to them their due rights in a charitable mood. Pity and charity in any form are detestable to me. I stand for the removal of untouchability not because I pity the untouchables' lot but because it is the untouchables' right not to remain untouchables any more. It is hence that the term HARIJAN is not agreeable to me because it connotes charity and pity. Moreover a mere change in terminology is not going to solve the problem. It is sometimes said that Dr. Ambedkar is the villain of the piece and it is he who by his 'wanton' speeches creates animosities. On the contrary I should say that we should be all grateful to him for his ceaseless and brave efforts in arousing the untouchable masses and creating within them a deep sense of shame for the humiliations and sufferings they have been undergoing and preparing them to wipe off the dirty tar with which they have been besmeared so far. We must also admit that we owe even our own eye-opening and mass awakening in this matter to Dr. Ambedkar's militant attitude.

CONVERSION.

I now come to the most pertinent question which is hanging before the Hindu Community and that is: should the untouchables change over to Sikhism. I most emphatically say that those who wish to, should be allowed to join that sect. It is not insisted that all untouchables should go over in a body and join Sikhism. The sanction to embrace Sikhism means that those untouchables who cannot tolerate any more the humiliating conditions under which they have to live should be allowed a chance to improve their condition by becoming members of a community which they feel gives them what they want. And those that are not so impatient, I should say so keenly self-respecting, and are satisfied with the pace of uplift which the caste Hindus are attempting to make should remain with us and bide their time. I cannot help noting here with regret that one of the reasons given by Rao Bahadur Raja in rejecting the Ambedkar-Moonje formula namely that it would antagonise the Muslims against the untouchables came to me as an unpleasant surprise. Does it not reveal a pussillanimous attitude? Does it not show that all the tall talk about no barter of religion is mere eye-wash and that what is really at

the bottom of the opposition to the formula is the fear of Muslims? Can any words be sufficient to condemn such poltroonery?

WHY SIKHISM?

The temple Satyagraha at Nasik revealed to me two salient facts. Firstly a large section of the untouchables has grown militant during recent years and is clamouring for immediate relief. Secondly it is futile to coax the so-called Sanatanies into agreeing to concede to the untouchables their legitimate rights. This revelation prompted me to advise Dr. Ambedkar and his followers to stop wasting their energies in trying to persuade the orthodoxy and to found a sect of their own or to go over to one of the existing sects of Hinduism which does not flourish on untouchability. Later on I advised a change over to Sikhism because of the obvious redeeming features of that sect.

I must first make it clear that for a Hindu to change to Sikhism is not conversion nor is it a lesser evil as some are inclined to think. Conversion implies embracing an alien Faith. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to suppose that Sikhism is alien to Hinduism. Most certainly it is not as it has sprung from Hinduism itself. It is only one of the many protestant sects of Hinduism. I think this misconception prevailing among some of the Sikhs and some sections of the Hindus that the Sikhs are not Hindus is generally responsible for the unnecessary hue and cry raised over the Ambedkar-Moonje formula and the violent opposition shown to it in some quarters.

As I said above Sikhism has certain redeeming features. The most important among them is that that section of the Hindus alone has not forgotten the most essential part of a man's equipment for life and that is the Kripan (Kirpan). The Sikhs are the warrior class of the Hindus, their militant vanguard. Is it not for our own good that that class should be increased and strengthened by the fusion of newer and fresher blood? Can it not be said from this point of view that it is not a lesser evil but a greater good that the untouchables should become Sikhs? Will it not be suicidal for us all to ignore this problem and oppose the move to embrace Sikhism in the face of persistent and ever increasing effort in foreign Muslim and Christian countries to raise funds and send missions to get the untouchables converted to their respective folds?

There remains the question of political rights under the Poona Pact. It is a juridical question and it is not for me to deal with it. But all I can say is that in the interests of all, those of the untouchables who do not wish to become Sikhs should not oppose the demand of those who cry for

the retention of the Poona Pact concessions and that the Hindu Mahasabha also should agree to allow them to have those concessions. What is to be remembered is the ideal and the attainment of it can only come through a conciliatory and accommodative attitude on the part of all.

Castes:—Allied to the question of untouchability is the question of castes. There is a growing section among the Hindus which says that castes which were originally meant to promote skill in the different crafts and professions without any ideas of superiority and inferiority have lost all their importance in the present industrial era and castes today have become only a weapon for tyranny and self-aggrandisement. All I have to say regarding this is that no opposition should be made to this section and that they should be allowed to carry on the reforms they want in any way they choose. Hinduism does not depend for its truth and power on the foundation of castes alone though the caste system has virtues of its own if properly worked out and has been most useful in saving the Hindus from alien attacks. Hinduism is all comprehensive and even an atheist can be a Hindu. Under the circumstances room can certainly be found for both the sections, of those believing in castes and those opposed to them, who should work together to promote the real interests of the Hindus and Hinduism.

MISSIONARY HINDUISM.

I think a great disservice has been done to the Hindu community by the thoroughly mistaken view held by its leaders in the immediately preceding centuries that only a Hindu by birth was a Hindu and hence conversion was altogether ruled out. This has aggravated the danger facing the Hindus from the proselytising activities of the missionaries of alien Faiths, which have gone on without being counteracted even by any assimilation of members of those Faiths in our fold. A section of the Hindus still persists in saying that Hinduism does not allow of any conversions. Some followers of alien Faiths repeat this like parrots and oppose Hindu missionary activities which are to-day in evidence. But this is absurd. Of course forcible conversion is unknown to Hinduism. What the early Hindus, the Aryans, did was to slowly absorb the aborigines in their fold and if this fact is not realised by many it is because the absorption was gradual and was not attended by any pompous ceremonies and heralding trumpets. The aboriginies as well as the outcastes were imperceptibly absorbed as they reached the then prevailing standard of culture and polish. Till that standard was reached these people were of course kept aloof and I think the forgetting by later generations

of this underlying principle of segregation was one of the causes that later gave rise to the institution of untouchability. I have myself admitted in recent years some English, French and American ladies to Hinduism and I am glad to say that none of them has been in any way inferior to Hindu women proper. I have seen for myself that within 8 years of her conversion Her Highness Rani Sharmishthadevi Holkar, Miss. Nancy Miller as she previously was, has proved herself to be even more of a Hindu than any originally Hindu woman. I am sure that if she had become the Indore Maharani some years previous to when she actually did Indore would not have seen such bad days.

Though the Hindus need not be over-anxious to convert aliens to Hinduism and should have only those of them converted who wish to do so of their own accord, I must emphasize that ceaseless and determined attempts must be pursued to readmit into our fold those of us who have gone out due to their ignorance and our indifference. This is a matter which the Hindu Mahasabha must seriously take in hand. The Mahasabha must remember that it is a body of Hindus not merely by birth but also by adoption.

The Mahasabha must also be on the alert to defend the interests of Hindus abroad. Hinduism in overseas countries is always shadowed by the mortal danger of state-aided missionary evangelising activities. I think the Sabha ought to consider seriously the proposal coming from the Nairobi Hindu Union that the Hindus abroad should be organized in Hindu sabhas which should be affiliated to the central body in Hindusthan. That would bring us all closer together and strengthen our fraternal ties. Besides this I should suggest that Hindu missionaries ought to be sent abroad to keep up the flame of Hinduism alight and to prevent any of our brethren from embracing an alien Faith through mistaken views.

RE-ORGANISE HINDU SOCIETY.

If Hinduism is to be a strong living force—as we have seen that it richly deserves to be—for contributing to the real welfare of mankind, if its message is to be carried to every nook and corner of the world without the least tinge of self-importance and self-aggrandisement, then the Hindu society must needs be re-organised by inspiring it with the true spirit of Hindu Dharma, by teaching it to have a scientific outlook on life and by making it healthy both in body and mind and strong enough to carry on its work, reflecting its strength in every word it speaks and in every move it makes. The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only pre-

mier representative institution of the Hindus ought to organize itself in such a manner as to be able to achieve all these objectives. There should be a strong elected representative executive at the centre of this body which can sketch the plan of action and work it out. Fresh blood should be infused in it by changing some members of that executive body by rotation but consistency of policy should be maintained by retaining a few members in office for some more years.

Sufficient funds have also to be raised to finance the activities of the executive as no institution can successfully function without a substantial fund to back it. Every real full-blooded Hindu can easily be induced to liberally contribute to such a fund raised for a worthy cause and with a definite purpose.

The culture of a nation is vitally connected with its language. The stamp of a foreign culture on a nation can be detected from the impress of a foreign language on the mother-tongue. Every independent nation guards and preserves its national language for this reason. Hindusthan therefore should insist on making Hindi the lingua-indica of the country. We should realise the fact that every foreign word admitted into our language spells the death of the original Hindi synonym of it. Such indiscreet incorporation does not enrich the language but on the contrary it weakens it. We should emphasise the purity of the Hindi language just as we insist on the purity of the Hindu culture.

THE DUTY OF CHANGE

Next I turn to the internal conflict and hidden perils (more harmful because hidden) within the pale of Hinduism itself, I quoted to you verses from the Mahabharat and extracts from Shri Shankaracharya on the apotheosis of Reason in matters of Religion, verses that tell us that under certain conditions and in practical matters Reason is the sole guide to the exclusion of scriptural authorities. This ought to help us many a time in the conflict that arises between the so-called Sanatanists and the Reformers, between the upholders of the Old and the New, the Yesterday and To-day. To those that keep awake through all the night there is scarcely any demarcation between yesterday and to-day. What is really Sanatana is not subject to any limitations of time, space and causes. At the same time it is clear that in matters that in their very nature are subject to change, the principle of progress and evolution requires that while spirit remains, the external form of custom and tradition must necessarily change, marching with the times. Oftentimes in such cases the choice

lies not between change and no change but between conscious change and enforced change. In the former case you show yourself a man, in the latter you show yourself a slave and a bondsman enchained to a chariot that goes none knows whither. The refusal to change when change was inevitable has caused in the past the secession of the Buddhists and other protestant Faiths that sprang from Hinduism which though we might have once looked upon them as outside our pale are really speaking more related to us than the representatives of Religions born outside India. I am glad at the same time to find the representatives of these our kindred creeds of protestant Hinduism like Buddhism etc., present here and taking an active part in this Session as members and delegates of the Mahasabha. May I plead at this point in favour of those protestant Hindu creeds, like the Sikhs for instance, who still take a pride to call themselves Hindus that we stretch our hands of welcome to them and receive them as one of ourselves within the widening fold of Hinduism? And I would also plead to the members of these protestant creeds of our ancient Hindus never to forget the good old banyan tree from which they have sprung ever since Siddhartha Gautam, the great Bodhisatva, sat under the Bo-tree at Gaya. Now then where is the harm if some of our so-called untouchable friends repining under the unjust treatment meted out to them by the caste Hindus generally until recent times should think of bodily going over to the fold of Guru Nanak and adopting a protestant creed of the ancient Hindu stock that promises to give them the opportunities and advantages they desire? This does not mean that I desire that the so-called untouchables should all leave the parent religion. On the other hand it is the bounden duty of those of us who are proud of the parent religion to adjust our ideas so that this feeling of estrangement shall be banished from their minds and they shall be induced to be and to remain not only as a passive appendage to our Hindu Society but as brave and trusty soldiers of our Faith and as ornaments to our society of whom we might be proud. This presents the formidable problem of educating and refining their manners and that is an urgent problem before the Hindu Society.

At the same time I should like you to take note of the fact that these same depressed class people who receive such scurvy treatment at the hands of the caste Hindus are treated in a quite different manner the moment they are converted to Christianity or Mohamedanism and funds have been collected or are being collected in Europe and in America to convert them wholesale to Christianity and in Egypt to convert them to Islam. This appears like a stultification of ourselves and if we are not

to be stultified further I would warn Hindu Society through this Session of the Mahasabha that it is high time for us now to awake from the delusion and put an end to these inroads of foreign and other missions upon our Hindu Fold. Allied to this question of the removal of untouchability which is one of the ways of preventing gaps in the serried phalanx of Hindu Society there is the question of recruitment from outside. The supposed ban against proselytisation in the Hindu religion rests on a misconception and is quite opposed to History. If the few Aryans of the Vedic times made all India Hindu why should we refuse admission to outsiders from Asia and Europe who from admiration and love for our philosophy and religion are knocking at the door to be admitted into the innermost shrines of Hindu society. And a still greater reason for proselytisation is in favour of those Hindus who for one reason or other having seceded from our ranks feel a re-enkindled loyalty and love for our religion and want to be re-admitted to the ancestral worship. I do not think we should remain adamant and irresponsible to these men who want to come back to us in sack-cloth ashes. We must stretch forth our hands and take up these repentant prodigals once more into our embraces.

And I should like to suggest in this connection that the Hindu Mahasabha should be considered as the representative body not only of the Hindus by birth or the Hindus in Hindusthan, but also as representative of the Hindus abroad and particularly of those who by voluntary choice have enlisted themselves as Hindus and whom we should consider as Hindus by adoption. Were we to act otherwise, we should be casting a slur upon the labours of men like Swami Vivekananda and others who have carried the torch of Hindu religion and philosophy in Europe and America. This will involve a revision of the constitution of the Mahasabha wide enough to give representation to all Hindus from the far-flung corners of the world and strong enough to carry on the day-to-day programme of work without any hitch or interruption.

A PRAYER

And now I should like to conclude with a prayer to God to give us strength of heart to cling to all that is best in our ancient land and its ancient religion, unmindful of hostile criticism; and at the same time let us not be averse to assimilate and make as our own any point of truth, beauty and goodness that may belong to other lands and creeds. But whatever we borrow from outside, if borrow we must, will have to be completely assimilated and digested into our national system. The

Aryan principle for instance has already provided us the practice of equality and the principle of equableness as evinced by the समत्व योग of the Bhagavat Gita. If socialistic creeds are to be imported in this land, as some Congress leaders seem to be inclined to do, I should advise them first of all to adjust them to our national brand of the समत्व योग which will refine and sublimates the equality creeds of the West and instead of our having to ape the ways of the West we ought to show that West can learn from the East wherever her thought comes to a standstill. Modern science is bringing the world round to spiritual values and the ultimate spiritual values which are at the same time compatible with worldly life, are surely to be found in our ancient scriptures like the Gita. There will be a give and take. We will learn from the West things of practical application; we will give to the West food for the soul and intellect.

SELF HELP

Last but not the least point for consideration is to exhort the Hindus through this assembly that in the last resort they should look to themselves for their regeneration and the complete attainment of liberty in all that appertains to the social, political and religious life of the people. No outsider can help us here. History is pregnant with illustrations of the value of self-help and the national suicide of dependance on others. Let us have our eyes on our own country and on our own culture and let us give of it liberally to outsiders who may call for it and to those of our fellow-citizens in Hindusthan who may happen to-day to be Christians and Mohamadans. I have to request them to restrain the impulses that make for national division. They should feel that they are also sharers in the heritage of Hindu culture judging from the facts that their ancestors were Hindus. They should feel that the greater the social and political stature of the Hindus, the greater also will be their stature in the eyes of the world at large. And with this view too, let the Mahasabha work for greatness and solidarity of the Hindus in order that in the long run their greatness and solidarity may be naturally shared and inherited by all Indians, whether Hindus, Mohamadans or Christians.

(From the Hindu Herald).

KING GEORGE VI

We render our reverential homage to **King George VI** and join in the universal prayer that his reign may be long and prosperous and that the blessings of God may be bestowed in a rich measure upon the King and the Queen.

NOTES.

Sarda Act Extra-territorial :—A decision of far reaching importance has been given this month by Pandrangarao, J. as to the scope of the Sarda Act. The popular belief till now was that the validity of the Act is confined to the limits of British India. Many citizens who intended to violate it and yet avoid its sanctions have been going into adjoining French or Native territory and celebrate the marriage there. The applicability of the Act to such marriages did not receive authoritative consideration till now. Divergent views were held as to whether it operated only in British India or governed the parties even outside its borders. In His Lordship's view the Sarda Act is like the Penal Code. Its provisions have extra-territorial validity. British citizens subject to the Act in British territory cannot escape its penalties by merely stepping into non-British territory for a day and performing the marriage.

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The Abdication of King Edward VIII:—The political crisis that arose out of the peculiar circumstances relating to King Edward's proposed marriage is without a parallel in the history of the world. Vague rumours about the King's attachment were current in this country as elsewhere and the vernacular press had been publishing details gathered from the American press. But the country was ignorant of the possibilities of any serious development till the beginning of this month. The reaction to the first publication of the nature of the crisis was one of concern for the moral prestige of the Crown and of personal sympathy with the King in the exceptional strain to which he was exposed. For days the public lived in tense and prayerful hope that the King may be guided rightly. When finally his abdication was announced and the Premier made the historic statement of the situation as it developed during the preceding eventful weeks, the world received it with deep distress. The whole empire was with the Prime Minister in the sentiments by which he was guided in the advice he tendered to the King, and in the manner in which he tendered that advice. Their affection and sympathy abided with the King. Both rose high in the public admiration, the King by his abhorrence of a King's party in such a crisis and by the sincerity with which he recognized and gave precedence to national welfare, and the Premier by the profound understanding of the human and constitutional issues involved in the situation.

As the Prime Minister has said, it is not for us to judge the ultimate decision of the King. One thing has been revealed by the crisis. It has brought out the inmate good sense, judgment, discipline and reticence of the British people, even at a most exciting crisis. They stood behind the Prime Minister as one man while feeling intense love and loyalty to the person of their King. Would such a thing have been possible in an Indian State, or for the matter of that in any other state or nation in the world eastern or western? The Prime Minister is reported to have said "where I failed none could have succeeded". We may add "where he succeeded many would have failed."

The Exaltation of Righteousness:—There is one aspect of the position taken up by the British Prime Minister during the fateful negotiations that is reassuring to notice and has been noticed specially in India with general appreciation. That is the insistence on a higher standard of public conduct for the king and queen than could be permitted some-

times to the ordinary citizens. Various interpretations have been placed upon the motives of the British public for insisting on the King not going through the proposed marriage. There is no reason however why this feature should be ignored altogether. Viewed from this stand point the conduct of the British nation and of the King are both beyond praise. The nation indicated its opinion through its chosen spokesman. The King accepted it as correct and made his choice without in the least questioning its validity or trying to enlist support for the opposite view. The whole episode has resulted in the exaltation of righteousness and is an assurance that socio-ethical laws have not altogether disappeared from the world.

Two Great Religious Heads:—None who read the press extracts of the now famous speech of Bishop Blunt of Bradfield complaining of the lack of public proofs of the awareness of King Edward VIII of the need for God's grace can fail to be struck by profound spirituality and intimate human understanding of his utterances. The nation that can produce such a religious head deserves to be congratulated. The Archbishop of Canterbury has also spoken in terms which must command acceptance from all persons to whatever religion they may belong. Broadcasting a few days after the abdication the Archbishop said, Edward the Eighth received from God a high and sacred trust. With characteristic frankness he has told us his motive for surrendering that trust. It is a craving for private happiness. Strange and sad it must be that for such a motive, however strongly it pressed upon his heart, he should have disappointed hopes so high and abandoned a trust so great.

"Even more strange and sad that he should have sought his happiness in a manner inconsistent with the Christian principles of marriage and within a social circle whose standards and ways of life are alien to all the best instincts and traditions of his people. Yet those who belong to his circle know to-day that they stand rebuked by the judgment of the nation which loved King Edward.

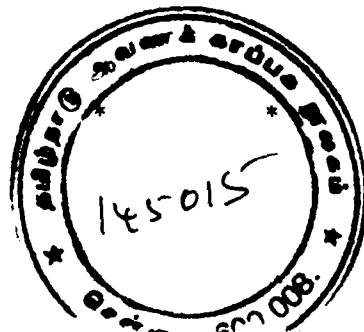
"How can we forget the high hopes and promise of King Edward's youth, the genuineness of his care for the poor and the unemployed, his eager service both at home and across the seas? It is remembrance of these things that wrings from our hearts the cry, 'The pity of it, oh, the pity of it!'"

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The Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation:—That within 12 years of the Vaikom Satyagraha and within four years of Gandhiji's memorable fast the cause for which Liberal Hindus had been prayerfully striving should have gained its first triumph is a matter for profound thankfulness. It is a fulfilment of the promise of the Lord in the Bhagavad Gita "Verily in the world of men work is speedily crowned with success". We are led to hope that the time is near when throughout India people will be rejoicing in the celebration of similar occasions. It is a day of emancipation for Hinduism. Hindu India has broken the fetters of superstition about the practice of religious exclusiveness and ceremonial pollution. A new vision has been gained of the duty of sharing the fruits of the spirit with all who seek it. The expiation for the past however will not be complete until adequate efforts are made to stimulate and organise the temple worship desire among depressed classes on the same scale as among the caste Hindus.

Re-armament:—It was inevitable that this should be in a competitive world. Nations are everywhere "sacrificing their standards of living to their standard of Arms". The country that omits to re-arm on an impressive scale will be ignored if not derided. It will become the coveted prey of the better armed.

Yet it is not possible to contemplate this frightful accumulation of the mechanism of destruction without glimpsing the more frightful spirit of inhumanity that underlies it. In the Hindu legends when a Kshatriya prince is consumed with the ambition of seizing the overlordship of the earth, the first thing that he does is to perfect his powers of wielding miraculous weapons and add them to his armoury. Equipped with these he goes forth into the world challenging and subduing opponents. The tradition runs that instead of using these weapons for the promotion of righteousness, men in course of time began to wage unrighteous wars relying on their superior skill. So God in his infinite wisdom withdrew their knowledge from the minds of men. Are we approaching such stage?



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