MISCRLLANEOUS



about how I spoke, dressed, walked and ate. My mother was not more solicitous about me than Gokhale. There was, so far as I am aware, no reserve between us. It was really a case of love at first sight, and it stood the severest strain in 1913. He seemed to me all I wanted as a political worker -- pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb. brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault. It does not matter to me that he may not have been any of these things. It was enough for me, that I could discover nofault in him to cavil at. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field. Not therefore, that we had no differences. We differed even in 1901 in our views on social customs, c. g., widow re-marriage. We discovered differences in our estimate of western civilization. He frankly differed from me in my extremeviews on non-violence. But these differences mattered neither to him nor to me. Nothing could put us asunder. It were blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive to-day. I know that I would have been working under him. I have made this confession, because the anonymous letter hurt me, when is accused me of imposture about my political discipleship. Had I been remiss in my acknowledgment to him who is now dumb? I thought, I must declare my faithfulness to Gokhale, especially when I seemed to be living in a camp which the Indian world calls opposite.

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THE FEAR OF DEATH *

I have been collecting description of Swaraj. One of these would be Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain Swaraj and cannot retain it if somehow attained.

English people carry their lives in their pockets. Arabs and Pathans consider death as nothing more than an ordinary ailment, they never weep when a relation dies. Boer women are perfectly innocent of this fear. In the Boer war, thousands of young Boer women became widowed. They never cared. It did not matter in the least if the bushand or the son was lost, it was enough, and more than enough, that the country's honour was safe. What booted the husband if the country was enclaved? It was infinitely better to bury a son's mortal remains and to cherish his immortal memory than to bring him up as a serf. Thus did the Boer women steel their hearts and cheerfully give up their darlings to the angle of Death.

The people I have mentioned kill and get killed. But what of those who do not kill but are only ready to die themselves? Such people become the objects of a world's adoration. They are the salt of the earth.

The English and the Germans fought one another; they killed and got killed. The result is that animosities have increased. There is no end of unrest, and the present condition of Europe is pitiful. There is more of deceit, and each is anxious to circumvent the rest.

^{*} Translated from the Gujarati Navajivan, Oct., 1921.





But fearlessness which we are cultivating is of a nobler and purer order and it is therefore that we hope to achieve a signal victory within a very short time.

When we attain Swaraj many of us will have given up the fear of death or else we shall not have attained Swaraj. Till now mostly young boys have died in the cause. Those who died in Aligarh were all below twentyone. No one knew who they were. If Government tesort to firing now I am hoping that some men of the first rank will have the opportunity of offering up the supreme sacrifice.

Why should we be upset when children or young men or old men die? Not a moment passes when some one is not born or is not dead in this world. We should feel the stupidity of rejoicing in a birth and lamenting a death. Those who believe in the soul-and what Hindu. Mussulman or Parsi is there who does not ?-know that the soul never dies. The souls of the living as well as of the dead are all one. The eternal processes of creation and destruction are going on ceaselessly. There is nothing in it for which we might give ourselves up to joy or sorrow. Even if we extend the idea of relationship only to our countrymen and take all the births in the country as taking place in our own family, how many births shall we celebrate? If we weep for all the deaths in our country the tears in our eyes would never dry. This train of thought should belo us to get rid of all fear of death.

India, they say, is a nation of philosophers; and we have not been unwilling to appropriate the compliment. Still hardly any other nation becomes so helpless in the face of death as we do. And in India again no other community perhaps betray so much of this helplessness as the Hindus. A single birth is enough for us to be



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besides ourselves with ludicrous joyfulness. A death makes us indulge in orgies of loud lamentation which condemn the neighbourhood to sleeplessness for the night. If we wish to attain Swaraj, and if having attained it we wish to make it something to be proud of we perfectly renounce this unseemly sight.

And what is imprisonment to the man who is fearless of death itself? If the reader will bestow a little thought upon the matter, he will find that if Swaraj is delayed, it is delayed because we are not prepared calmly to meet death and inconveniences less than death.

As larger and larger numbers of innocent men come out to welcome death, their sacrifice will become the potent instrument for the salvation of all others; and there will be a minimum of suffering. Suffering cheerfully endured ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy. The man who flies from suffering is the victim of endless tribulation before it had come to him, and is half dead when it does come. But one who is cheerfully ready for anything and everything that comes, escapes all pain, his cheerfulness acts as an anesthetic.

I have been led to write about this subject because we have got to envisage even death if we will have Swaraj this very year. One who is previously prepared often escapes accident and this may well be the case with us. It is my firm conviction that Swadeshi constitutes this preparation. When once Swadeshi is a success neither this Government nor any one else will feel the necessity of putting us to any further test.

Still it is best not to neglect any contingency whatever. Possession of power makes men blind and deaf, they cannot see things which are under their very nose,





and cannot hear things which invade their ears. There is thus no knowing what this power intoxicated Government may not do. So it seemed to me that patriotic men ought to be prepared for death, imprisonment and similar eventualities.

The brave meet death with a smile on their lips, but they are circumspect all the same. There is no room for foothardiness in this non-violent war. We do not propose to go to gaol or to die by an immoral act. We must mount the gallows while resisting the oppressive laws of this Government.

HINDUISM"

In dealing with the problem of untouchability during the Madras tour, I have asserted my claim to being a Sanatani Hindu with greater emphasis than hitherto, and yet there are things which are commonly done in the name of Hinduism, which I disregard. I have no desire to be called a Sanatani Hindu or any other if I am not such. And I have certainly no desire to steal in a reform or an abuse under cover of a great faith.

It is therefore necessary for me once for all distinctly to give my meaning of Sanatani Hinduism. The word Sanatana I use in its natural sense.

I call myself a Santani Hindu, because-

(1) I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name Hindu scriptures, and therefore in avataras and re-birth,

^{*} From Young India, Oct. 12, 1921.





(2) I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma, in a sense in my opinion, strictly Vedic but not in its present popular and crude sense.

(3) I believe in the protection of the cow in its much

larger sense than the popular.

(4) I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.

The reader will note that I have purposely refrained from using the word divine origin in reference to the Vedas or any other scriptures. For I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas. I believe the Bible, the Koran, and the Zend Avesta to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired. Nor do I claim to have any firsthand knowledge of these wonderful books. But I do claim to know and feel the truths of the essential teaching of the scriptures. I decline to be bound by any interpretation, however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense. I do most emphatically repudiate the claim (if they advance any such) of the present Shankaracharyas and Shastris to give a correct interpretation of the Hindu scriptures. On the contrary, I believe that our present knowledge of these books is in s most chaotic state. I believe implicitly in the Hindu aphorism, that no one truly knows the Shastras who has not attained perfection in Innocence (Ahimsa), Truth (Satya) and Self-control (Brahmacharya) and who has not renounced all acquisition or possession of wealth. I believe in the institution of Gurus, but in this age millions must go without a Gura, because it is a rare thing to find a combination of perfect purity and perfect learning. But one need not despair of ever knowing the truth of one's religion, because the fundamentals of



Hinduism as of every great religion are unchangeable, and easily understood. Every Hindu believes in God and his oneness, in rebirth and salvation. But that which distinguishes Hinduism from every other religion is its cow protection, more than its Varnashram, is, in my opinion, inherent in human nature, and Hinduism has simply reduced it to a science. It does attach to birth. A man cannot change his varna by choice. Not to abide by one's varna is to disregard the law of heredity. The division, however, into innumerable castes is an unwarranted liberty taken with the doctrine. The four divisions are all-sufficing.

I do not believe that inter-dining or even intermarriage necessarily deprives a man of his status that his birth has given him. The four divisions define a man's calling, they do not restrict or regulate social intercourse. The divisions define duties, they confer no privileges. It is, I hold, against the genius of Hinduism to arrogate to oneself a higher status or assign to another a lower. All are born to serve God's creation, a Brahman with his knowledge, a Kshatriya with his power of protection, a Vaishya with his commercial ability and a Shudra with bodily labour. This however does not mean that a Brahman for instance is absolved from bodily labour or the duty of protecting himself and others. His birth makes a Brahman predominantly a man of knowledge, the fittest by heredity and training to impart it to others. There is nothing, again, to prevent the Shudra from acquiring all the knowledge he wishes. Only, he will best serve with his body and need not envy others their special qualities for service. But a Brahman who claims superiority by right of knowledge falls and has no knowledge. And so with the others, who pride





themselves upon their special qualities. Varnashrama is self-restraint and conservation and economy of energy.

Though, therefore, Varnashrama is not affected by inter-dining or inter-marriage. Hinduism does mostemphatically discourage inter-dining and inter-marriagebetween divisions. Hundulam reached the highest limitof salf-restraint. It is undoubtedly a religion of renunciation of the flesh so that the spirit may be set free. Itis no part of a Hindu's duty to dine with his son. And by restricting his choice of a bride to a particular group. he exercises rare self-restraint. Hinduism does not regard a marriage state as by any means essential for salvation. Marriage is a 'fall' even as birth is a 'fall.' Salvation is freedom from birth and hence death also, Prohibition against inter-marriage and inter-dining isessential for a rapid evolution of the soul. But this selfdepial is no test of varna. A Brahman may remain a-Brahman, though he may dine with his Shudra brother. if he has not left off his duty of service by knowledge. Itfollows from what I have said above, that restraint in matters of marriage and dining is not based upon notionsof superiority. A Hindu who refuses to dine with another from a sense of superiority misrepresents his Dharma.

Unfortunately to-day Hinduism seems to consistmerely in eating and not eating. Once I horrified a pious Hindu by taking toast at a Museulman's house. I saw that he was pained to see me pouring milk into a cuphanded by a Museulman friend, but his anguish knew nobounds when he saw me taking toast at the Museulman's hands. Hinduism is in danger of losing its substance if it resolves itself into a matter of elaborate rules as towhat and with whom to eat. Abstemiousness from





intoxicating drinks and drugs, and from all kinds of toods, especially meat, is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, but it is by no means an end in itself. Many a man eating meat and with everybody but living in the fear of God is nearer bis freedom than a man religiously abstaining from meat and many other things, but blaspheming God in every one of his acts.

The central fact of Hinduism, howevers is cow-protection. Cow-protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives. Why the cow was selected for apotheosis, is obvious to me. The cow was in India the best companion. She was the giver of plenty. Not only did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. The cow is a poem of pity. One reads pity in the gentle animal. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind. Protection of the dow means protection of the whole dumb greation of God. The ancient seer, whoever he was, began with the gow. The appeal of the lower order of creation is all the more forcible because it is speechless. Cow-protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow.

The way to protect is to die for her. It is a denial of Hinduism and Ahimsa to kill a human being to protect a cow. Hindus are enjoined to protect the cow by their tapasya, by self-purification, by self-sacrifice. The present day cow-protection has degenerated into perpetual feud with the Mussulmans, whereas cow-protection means conquering the Mussulmans by our love. A Mussulman friend sent me some time ago a book detailing the



inhumanities practised by us on the cow and her progeny. How we bleed her to take the last drop of milk from her, how we starve her to emaciation, how we ill-treat the calves, how we deprive them of their portion of mills, how cruelly we treat the ox on, how we castrate them, bow we beat them, how we overload them. If they had speech they would bear witness to our crimes against them which would stagger the world. By every act of cruelty to our cattle, we disown God and Huduism. I do not know that the condition of the cattle in any other part of the world is as had as in unhappy India. We may not blame the Englishman for this. We may not plead poverty in our defence. Oriminal negligence is the only cause of the miserable condition of our cattle. Our Panjrapoles, though they are an answer to our instinct of mercy, are a clumsy demonstration of its execution. Instead of being model dairy farms and great profitable national institutions, they are merely depots for receiving decrepit cattle.

Hindus will be judged not by their tilaks, not by the correct chanting of mantras, not by their pilgrimages, not by their most punctilious observance of caste rules but by their ability to protect the cow. Whilst professing the religion of cow-protection, we have enslaved the cow and her progeny, and have become slaves ourselves.

It will now be understood why I consider myself a Sanatani Hindu. I yield to none in my regard for the cow. I have made the Khilafat cause my own, because I see that through its preservation full protection can be secured for the cow. I do not ask my Museulman friends to save the cow in consideration of my service. My prayer ascends daily to God Almighty, that my service of a cause I hold to be just may appear so pleasing to





him, that he may change the hearts of the Mussulmans, and fill them with pity for their Hindu neighbours and make them save the animal the latter hold dear as life-itself.

I can no more describe my feeling for Hinduism than for my own wife. She moves me as no other woman in the world can,. Not that she has no faults. I daresay she has many more than I see myself. But the feeling of an indissoluble bond is there. Even so I feel for and about Hinduism with all its faults and limitations. Nothing relates me so much as the music of the Gita or the Ramayana by Tulasidas, the only two books in Hinduism I may be said to know. When I fancied I was taking my last breath, the Gita was my solace. I know the vice that is going on to-day in all the great Hindu shrines, but I love them in spite of their unspeakable failings. There is an interest which I take in them and which I take in no other. I am a reformer through and through. But my zeal never takes me to the rejection of any of the essential things of Hinduism. I have said I do not disbelieve in ido! worship. An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me. But I think that idol worship is part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism. Why should one be more composed in a shurch than elsewere? Images are an aid to worship. No Hindu considers an image to be God. I do not consider idol worship a sin.

It is clear from the foregoing that Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets of the world. It is not a missionary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been of an evolutionary imperceptible character.





Hinduism tells everyone to worship God according to his own faith or Dharma, and so it lives at peace with all the religious.

That being my conception of Hinduism, I have never been able to reconcile myself to untouchability. I have always regarded it as an excrescence. It is true that it has been handed down to us from generations, but so are many evil practices even to this day. I should be ashamed to think that dedication of girls to virtual prostitution was a part of Hinduism. Yet it is practiced by Hindus in many parts of India. I consider it positive irreligion to sacrifice goats to Kali and do not consider it a part of Hinduism. Hinduism is a growth of ages. The very name, Hinduism, was given to the religion of the people of Hinduism, was given to the religion of the people of Hinduism by foreigners. There was no doubt at one time sacrifice of animals was offered in the name of religion. But it is not religion, much less is it Hindu religion.

And so also it seems to me, that when cow-protection became an article of faith with our ancestors, those who persisted in eating beef were excommunicated. The civil strife must have been fierce. Social boycott was applied not only to the recalcitrants, but their sins were visited upon their children also. The practice which had probably its origin in good intentions hardened into usage, and even verses crept in our sacred books giving the practice a permanence wholly undeserved and still less justified. Whether my theory is correct or not, untouchability is repugnant to reason and to the instinct of mercy, pity or love. A religion that establishes the worship of the cow cannot possibly countenance or warrant a cruel and inhuman boycott of human beings. And I should be content to be torn to pieces rather than dis-



own the suppressed classes. Hindus will certainly never deserve freedom, nor get it if they allow their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability. And as I love Hinduism dearer than life itself, the taint has become for me an intolerable burden. Let us not deny God by denying to a fifth of our race the right of association on an equal footing.

NATIONAL EDUCATION *

So many strange things have been said about my views on national education, that it would perhaps not be out of place to formulate them before the public.

In my opinion the existing system of education is defeative, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters:

- (1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous one.
- (2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand, and confines itself simply to the head.
- (3) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.

Let us examine the three defects. Almost from the commencement, the text-books deal, not with things the boys and the girls have always to deal with in their homes, but things to which they are perfect strangers. It is not through the text-books, that a lad learns what is right and what is wrong in the home life. He is never taught to have any pride in his surroundings. The higher he goes, the farther he is removed from his home, so that at the end of his education he becomes estranged from his surroundings. He feels no poetry about the home life. The village scenes are all a sealed book to

^{*} From Young India.



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becile, barbarous, superstitious and useless for all practical purposes. His education is calculated to wean
him from his traditional culture. And if the mass of
educated youths are not entirely denationalised, it is
because the ancient culture is too deeply embedded in
them to be altogether uprooted even by an aducation
adverse to its growth. If I had my way, I would certainly destroy the majority of the present text-books and
cause to be written text-books which have a bearing on
and correspondence with the bome life, so that a boy, as
he learns, may react upon his immediate surroundings.

Secondly, whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate, where more than eighty per cent. of the population is agricultural and another ten per sent, industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in alter-life. Indeed I hold that as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must, from their infancy, be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to despise tabour. There is no reason why a peasant's son after having gone to a school should become useless, as he does become, as an agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt. Moreover, in India, if we expect, as we must, every boy and girl of school-going age to attend public schools. have not the means to finance education in accordance with the existing style, nor are millions of parents able to pay the fees that are at present imposed. Education to be universal must therefore be free. I fancy that even under an ideal system

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of Government we shall not be able to devote two thousand million rupees which we should require for finding education for all the children of school-going age. It follows, therefore, that our children must be made to pay in 'labour' partly or wholly for the cost of all the education they receive. Such universal labour to be profitable can only be (to my thinking) hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But for the purposes of my proposition, it is immaterial whether we have spinning or any other form of labour, so long as it can be turned to account. Only, it will be found upon examination, that on a practical, profitable and extensive scale there is no occupation other than the processes connected with cloth production which can be introduced in our schools throughout India.

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

One word only as to the education of the heart. It do not believe that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher. And who are the teachers in the primary and even secondary schools? Are they men and women of faith and character? Have they themselves received the education of the heart? Are they even expected to take care of the permanent element in the boys and girls placed under their charge? Is not the method of engaging teachers for lower schools an effective har against character? Do the teachers get even a living age? And

we know that the teachers of primary school are not selected for their patriotism. They only come who cannot find any other employment.

Finally, the medium of instruction. My views on this point are too well known to need re-stating. The foreign medium has caused brain-fag, but an undue strain upon the nerve of our children; made them grammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. So to save ourselves from this perilous danger we should put a stop to educating our boys and girls through a foreign medium and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of textbooks. Tooy will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

My uncompromising opposition to the loreign medium has resulted in an unwarranted charge being levelled against me of being nostile to foreign culture or the learning of the English language. No reader of Young India could have missed the statement often made by me in those pages that I regard English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge, on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

Nothing can be fariher from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erest barriers. But I do



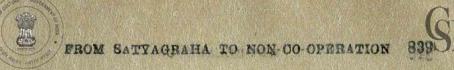


respectfully contend that an appreciation of other oultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that noculture has treasures so rich as ours has. We have notknown it, we have been made even to deprecate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An academic graspwithout practice behind it is like an enbalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicideupon imbibling and living my own.

FROM SATYAGRAHA TO NON-CO-OPERATION*

It is often my lot to answer knotty questions on all sorts of topics arising out of this great movement of national purification. A company of collegiate non-cooperators asked me to define for them the terms which I have used as heading for this note. And even at this tate day, I was seriously asked whether Satyagrah did not at times warrant resistance by violence, as for instance in the case of a sister whose virtue might be in danger from a desperado. I ventured to suggestthat it was the completest defence without irritation, without being ruffied, to interpose oneself between the victim and the victimizer, and to face death. I added that this (for the assailant) novel method of defence would, in all probability, exhaust his passion and he will no longer want to ravish an innocentwoman, but would want to flee from her presence for very shame, and that, if he did not, the act of personal bravery on the part of her brother would steel her heart for putting up an equally brave defence and resisting the

^{*} From Young India.



I clinched my argument by saying that if, in spite of all the defence, the unexpected happened, and the physical force of the tyrant overpowered his victim, the disgrace would not be that of the woman but of her assailant and that both she and her brother, who died in the attempt to defend her virtue, would stand well before the Throne of Judgment. I do not warrant that my argument convinced my listener or that it would convince the reader. The world I know will go on as before. But it is well at this moment of self-examination to understand and appreciate the implications of the powerful movement of non-violence. All religions have emphasized the highest ideal, but all have more or less permitted departures as so many concessions to human weaknesses.

I now proceed to summarise the explanation I gave of the various terms. It is beyond my capacity to give accurate and terms definitions.

Satyagrah, then, is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore, known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary passive resistance of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak.

Passive resistance is used in the orthodox English sense and covers the suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the Non-conformists. Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. Whilst it avoids violence, being





not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of a passive resister, the occasion demands it. However, it has always been distinguished from armed resistance and its application was at one time confined to Christian martyrs.

Givil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory ensetments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps au out and out champion of non-violence. Probably, also, Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue law, i.e., payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience as practised in 1919 covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the resister's outlawry in a civil, i.e., non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of Satyagrab.

Non-co-operation predominantly implies with-drawing of oc-operation from the State that in the non-co-operator's view has become corrupt and excludes Civil-Disobadience of the fierce type described above. By its very nature, Non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Civil Disobadience pre-supposes the habit of willing obsdience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can therefore be practised only as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate. Non-co-operation, too, like Civil-Disobadience is a branch of Satyagrah which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

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INTROSPECTION*

Correspondents have written to me in pathetic language asking me not to commit suicide in January, should Swaraj be not attained by then and should I find toyself outside the prison walls. I find that language but inadequately expresses one's shought especially when the thought itself is confused or incomplete. My writing in the Navajivan was, I fancied, clear enough. But I observe that its translation has been misunderstood by many. The original too has not escaped the tragedy that has overtaken the translation.

One great reason for the misunderstanding lies in my being considered almost a perfect man. Friends who know my partiality for the Bhagavad-gita have thrown relevant verses at me, and shown how my threat to commit suicide contradicts the teachings which I am attempting to live. All these mentors of mine seem to forget, that I am but a seeker after Truth. I claim to have found the way to it. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find Truth completely is to realise oneself and one's destiny i.e., to become perfect. I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein ties all the strength I possess, because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations.

If I was a perfect man, I own I should not feel the miseries of my neighbours as I do. As a perfect man I should take note of them, prescribe a remedy and compel adoption by the force of unchallengeable Truth in me. But as yet I only see as through a glass darkly

^{*} From Young India.





and therefore have to carry conviction by slow and laborious processes, and then too not always with success. That being so, I would be less than human if with all my knowledge of avoidable misery pervading the land and of the sight of mere skeletons under the very shadow of the Lord of the Universe, I did not feel with and for all the suffering but dumb millions of India. The hope of a steady decline in that misery sustains me; but suppose that with all my sensitiveness to sufferings, to pleasure and pain, cold and heat and with all my endeavour to carry the healing message of the spinning wheel to the heart, I have reached only the ear and never pierced the heart, suppose further that at the end of the year I find that the people are as sceptical as they are to-day about the present possibility of attainment of Swaraj by means of the peaceful revolution of the wheel. Suppose further, that I find that all the excitement during the past twelve months and more has been only an excitement and a stimulation but no settled belief in the programme, and lastly suppose that the message of peace has not penetrated the hearts of Englishmen, should I not doubt my tapasyaand feel my unworthiness for leading the struggle? As a true man, what should I do? Should I not kneel down in all humility before my Maker and ask Him to take away this useless body and make me a fitter instrument of service?

Swaraj does consist in the change of government and its real control by the people, but that would be merely the form. The substance that I am hankering after is a definite acceptance of the means and therefore a real change of heart on the part of the people. I am certain that it does not require ages for Hindus



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Mussalmans to shed enmity and accept heart friendship as an eternal factor of national life, for all to adopt the Charkha as the only universal means of attaining India's economic salvation, and finally for all to believe that India's freedom lies only through non-voilence and no other method. Definite, intelligent and free adoption by the nation of this programme I hold as the attainment of the substance. The symbol, the transfer of power, is sure to follow, even as the seed truly laid must develop into a tree.

The reader will thus perceive, that what I accidentally stated to friends for the first time in Poona and then repeated to others was but a confession of my imperfections and an expression of my feeling of unworthiness for the great cause which for the time being I seem to be leading. I have enunciated no doctrine of despair. On the contrary I have felt never so sanguine as I do at the time of writing that we will gain the substance during this year. I have stated at the same time as a practical. idealist, that I should no more feel worthy to lead a cause which I might feel myself diffident of handling. The doctrine of labouring without attachment as much a relentless pursuit of truth as a retracing after discovery of error and a renunciation of leadership without a pang after discovery of unworthiness. I have but shadowed forth my intense longing to lose myself in the Eternal and become merely a lump of clay in the Potter's divine hands so that my service may become more certain because uninterrupted by the baser self in me.

GL

THE SPINNING WHEEL

[On February 15th, 1922, Mr. Gandhi addressed the following letter to Sir Daniel Hamilton from Bardoli.]

Mr. Hodge writes to me to say that you would like to have an hour's chat with me, and he has suggested that I should open the ground which I gladly do. I will not take up your time by trying to interest you in any other activity of mine except the spinning wheel. Of all my cutward activities, I do believe that of the spinning wheel is the most permanent and the most beneficial. I have abundant proof now to support my statement that the spinning wheel will save the problem of scondictions of india's homes, and it constitutes an effective insurance against famines.

You know the great Scientist, Dr. P. C. Ray, but you may not know that he has also become an enthusiast on behalf of the spinning wheel. India does not need to be industrialized in the modern sense of the term. It has 7,50,000 villages scattered over a vast area 1,900 miles long, 1,500 miles broad. The people are rooted to the soil, and the vast majority are living a hand-to-mouth life. Wnatever may be said to the contrary, having travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land with eyes open, having mixed with millions, there can be no doubt that pauperism is growing. There is no doubt also that the millions are living in enforced idleness for at least 4 months in the year. Agriculture does not need revolutionary shanges. The Indian peasans requires a supplementary industry. The most natural is the introduction of the spinning wheel, not the hand-

THE SPINNING WHEEL



loom. The latter cannot be introduced in every home. whereas the former can, and it used to be so even a century ago. It was driven out not by economic pressure but by force deliberately used as can be proved from authentic records. The restoration, therefore, of the spinning wheel solves the economic problem of India at a stroke. I know that you are a lover of India, and that you are deeply interested in the economic and moral uplifs of my country, I know too that you have great influence. I would like to enlist it on behalf of the apinning wheel. It is the most effective force for introducing successful Co-operative Societies. Without honest co-operation of the millions, the enterprise can never be successful, and as it is already proving a means of weaping thousands of women from a life of shame, it is as moral an instrument as it is agonomia.

I hope you will not allow yourself to be prejudiced by anything you might have heard about my strange views about machinery. I have nothing to say against the development of any other industry in India by means of machinery, but I do say that to supply India with cloth either manufactured outside or inside through gigantic Mills is an economic blunder of the first magnitude just as it would be to supply cheap bread through huge bakeries established in the chief centres in India and to destroy the family stove.

SL

LOVE, NOT HATE

[In a sense "Love, not hate" is the essence of Mr. Gandhi's teaching; and the following article written on receipt of a telegram announcing the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru and others at Allahabad on December 8, contains the pith of Mr. Gandhi's political philosophy and methods. As such the book may fittingly end with this chapter." The arrest," says Mr. Gandhi, "positively filled me with joy. I thanked God for it."]

But my joy was greater for the thought, that what I had feared would not happen before the end of the year because of the sin of Bombay was now happening by reason of the innocent suffering of the greatest and the best in the land. These arrests of the totally innocent is real Swaraj. Now there is no shame in the Ali Brothers and their companions remaining in gaol. India has not been found undeserving of their immolation.

But my joy, which I hope thousands share with me, is conditional upon perfect peace being observed whilst our leaders are one after another taken away from us. Victory is complete if non-violence reigns supreme in spite of the arrests; disastrous defeat is a certainty if we cannot control all the elements so as to ensure peace. We are out to be killed without killing. We have stipulated to go to prison without feeling angry or injured. We must not quarrel with the condition of our own creating.

On the contrary our non-violence teaches us to love our enemies. By non-violent non-co-operation we seek to conquer the wrath of the English administrators and their supporters. We must love them and pray to God



that they might have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. It must be the prayer of the strong and not of the weak. In our strength must we humble ourselves before our Maker.

In the moment of our trial and our triumph let me declare my faith. I believe in loving my enemies. I believe in non-violence as the only remedy open to the Hindus, Mussulmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews of India. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. The brunt of the battle must fall on the first three. The last named three are afraid of the combination of the first three. We must by our honest conduct demonstrate to them that they are our kinemen. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in 5the remotest corner of India as he professes to feel behind the machine gue.

Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism, in fact religion is on its trial; Bither we believe in God and His righteousness or we do not. My association with the noblest of Mussulmans has taught me to see that Islam has spread not by the power of the sword but by the prayerful love of an unbroken line of its saints and takirs. Warrant there is in Islam for drawing the sword; but the conditions laid down are so strict that they are canable of being fulfilled by everybody. Where is the unerring general to order Jehad? Where is the suffering. the love and the purification that must precede the very idea of drawing the sword? Hindus are at least as much bound by similar restrictions as the Mussulmans of India. The Sikhs have their recent proud history to warn them against the use of force. We are too imperfect,



too impure and too selfish as yet to resort to an armed conflict in the cause of God as Shaukat Ali would say, 'Will a purified India ever need to draw the sword?' And it was the definite process of purification we commenced last year at Calcutta.

What must we then do? Surely remain non-violent and yet strong enough to offer as many willing viotims as the Government may require for imprisonment. Our work must continue with clock-work regularity. Each province must elect its own succession of leaders. Lalajibas set a brilliant example by making all the necessary arrangements. The chairman and the secretary must be given in each province emergency powers. The executive committees must be the smallest possible. Every Congressman must be a volunteer.

Whilst we must not avoid arrest we must not provoke it by giving unnecessary offence.

We must vigorously prosecute the Swadeshicampaign till we are fully organised for the manufacture of all the hand-spun Khadi we require and have brought about a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

We must hold the Congress at any nost in spite of the arrest of every one of the leaders unless the Government dissolve it by force. And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue national work, we have certainly attained Swaraj. For no power on earth can stop the onward march of a peaceful, determined and godly people.



APPENDIX I

I. MB. GANDHI'S RELIGION

The following account of Mr. Gandhi's religious views from the pen of the late Rev. Joseph Doke brings out clearly the essentials of Hinduism as conceived by Mr. Gandhi:—

Mr. Gandhi's religious views, and his place in the theological world, have naturally been a subject of much discussion here. A few days ago I was told that "he is a Buddhist." Not long since a newspaper described him as "a Christian Muhammadan," an extraordinary mixture indeed. Others imagine that he worships idols, and would be quite prepared to find a shrine in his effice, or discover the trunk of Gungarty projecting from among his books. Not a few believed him to be a Theosophist. I question whether any system of religion can absolutely held him. His views are too closely allied to Christianity to be entirely Hindu; and too deeply saturated with Hinduism to be called Christian, while his sympathies are so wide and catholic, that one would imagine "he has reached a point where the formulæ of sects are meaningless."

One night, when the house was still, we argued out the matter into the morning, and these are the results.

His conviction is that old Hinduism, the Hinduism of the carliest records, was a pure faith, free from idolatry; that the spiritual faith of India has been corrupted by materialism, and because of this she has lost her place in the van of the nations; that, through the ages God, pervading all, has manifested Himself in different forms, becoming incarnate, for purposes of saivation, with the object of leading men back into the right path. The Gita makes Krishna say:—

"When religion decays and when irreligion prevails, then I manifest myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil, for the firm establishment of the dharma I am born again and again."

"But," said I, "has Christianity any essential place in your theology?" "It is part of it," be said, "Jesus Christ is a bright revelation; that he is to me," I replied. "Not in the sense you mesn," he said frankly, "I cannot set him on a solitary throne because I believe God has been incornate again and again."

To him, a religion is an intensely practical thing It underlies all action. The argument so frequently used against the Passive Resistance campaign, that "it is simply a political affair, with

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moral elements in it but giving no relation to religion," is to him a contradiction in terms. Politics, morals, commerce, all that has to do with conscience must be religion.

Naturally, his imagination is profoundly stirred by the "Sermon on the Mount," and the idea of self-renunciation pictured there, as well as in the Bhagavad Gita and The Light of Asia wins his complete assent. Self-mastery, self-surrender, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, are, in his conception of life, stepping-stones to the ultimate goal of all—the goal of Buddha, the goal as ne interprets it, of John the Evangelist—absolute absorption of redeemed Man in God.

I question whether any religious creed would be large enough to express his views, or any Church system ample enough to shut him in. Jew and Christian, Hindu. Muhammadan, Parsi, Buddhist and Confucian, all have their places in his heart as children of the same Father. "Are you then a Theosophist?" I asked. "No," he said emphatically, "I am not a Theosophist. There is much in Theosophy that attracts me, but I have never been able to subscribe to the creed of Theosophists."

This breadth of sympathy is, indeed, one note of the Passive Resistance movement. It has bound together all sections of the Indian community. It would be impossible to determine which religious section has done most for its interests. Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Dawad Muhammad and Mr. Bawazeer are followers of Islam; Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and Mr. Scrabji are Zoroastrians; Mr. G.P. Vyas and Mr. Thambi Naidoo are Hindu leaders. All have suffered imprisonment, and all have rendered unstinted service, while common suffering has drawn these and other helpers into a brotherhood of sympathy in which differences of creed are forgotten.

An incident of last appust will illustrate this statement. When "the old offender," Mr Thambi Naidoo, the Tamil leader, was sent to prison for the third time, to do "hard labour" for a fortnight, Mr. Gandhi suggested that we should visit the sick wife together. I assented gladly. On our way we were joined by the Moulvie and the Imam of the Mosque, together with the Jewish sentleman. It was a curious assembly which gathered to comfort the little Hindu woman in her bome-two Muhammadans, a Hindu, a Jew and a Christian. And there she stood, her eldest boy supporting her and the tears trickling between her fingers. She was within a few days of the sufferings of motherhood. After we had bent together in prayer, the Moulvie spoke a few words of comfort in Urdu. and we each followed, saying what we, could in our own way to give her cheer. It was one of the many glimpses which we have lately had of that divine love, which mocks at boundaries of creed. and limits of race or colour. It was a vision of Mr. Gandhi's ideal.

Owing, chiefly to his sense of the sacredness of life, and of his views of health, vegetarianism is with him a religious principle.

MR. GANDHI'S RELIGION



The battle was fought out in childhood under his mother's influence. But since that time abstinence from all animal food has become a matter of strong conviction with him, and he preaches it zealously. When, in these Transvasl prisons, the authorities persisted in cooking the crushed meaties of the prisoners in animal fat, his followers preferred to starve rather than touch it.

It is also part of his creed to live simply. He believes that all luxury is wrong. He teaches that a great deal of sickness, and most of the sins of our day, may be traced to this source. To hold in the flesh with a strong hand, to crucify it, to bring the needs of his own life, Thoreau and Tolstoi-like, within the narrowest limits, are positive delights to him, only to be rivalled by the joy of guiding other lives into the same path.

I write this in the house in which he usually lives when in Johannesourg. Yonder is the open stove-there is the rolled-up mattress on which he sleeps. It would be difficult to imagine a life less open to the assaults of pride or sloth than the life lived here. Everything that can minister to the flesh is adjured. Of all men, Mr. Gandhi reminds one of "Purum Dass," of whom Kipling writes; - "He had used his wealth and his power for what he knew both to be worth, had taken honour when it came in his way; he had seen men and civies far and near, and men and civies had stood up and honoured him. Now he would let these things go, as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." This is a graphic picture of our friend. He simply does what he believes to be his duty, accepts every experience that ensues with calmness. takes honour if it comes, without pride; and then, "lets it go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer," should duty bring dishonour. In the position of "Purun Bhegat," he would do easily what the Bhagat did, and no one, even now, would be surprised to ses him go forth at some call which no one else can hear, his crutch under this arm, his begging bowl in his hand, an antelope skin flung around him, and a smile of deep content on his lips.

"That man aloue is wise
Who keeps the mastery of himself."

Mr. Gandhi is not a Christian in any orthodox sense. Perhaps orthodox Christianity has itself to blame for this. There is little inducement in these Colonies for an Indian to recognise the Loveliness of Christ under the disguise in which Christianity clothes the Lord. What interest has the Christian Church in Johannesburg shown in these thousands from India and China, who for years have been resident in our midst? Practically none. Are they encouraged to believe that they, too, are souls for whom Christdied? By no means. Here and there individual efforts have been made, and some few Indians attend Christian places of worship, but for the most part they have been left severely alone, while the few men, who have tried to show that thre is still a heart of love in the Church of Christ, and have dared to speak a word on behalf of



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a suffering people, have been subjected to all manner of abuse, and have been made to suffer with them. It is this discrepancy between a beautiful creed and our treatment of the Indian at the door, which repels the man who thinks.

We have failed, too, I believe, to realise the inwardness of this Passive Resistance movement; and the apparent indifference of the Churches has been deeply felt by these men. In reality, it is not a trade dispute, nor is it a political move; these are incidents of the struggle. It is a sign of the awakening of the Asiatics to a sense of their manhood, the token that they do not mean to play a servile or degraded part in our Society; it is their claim, put forward in suffering, to be treated by Christians in a Christian way. This is the wonderful vision which Government and Churches alike have failed to see.

Meanwhile, although, to my thinking, the seeker has not yet reached the goal, that wonderful experience of Christ which is the glory of the Christian faith, enriching the wealthiest life, and giving new power to the strong, I cannot forget what the Master himself said:—"Not everyone who saith unto me, Lord, shall enter the Kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven." (From Rev. Doke's Gandhi).





II. THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF SATYAGRAHASRAMA *

OBJECT

The object of this home is to learn how to serve the motherland and to serve it.

DIVISIONS

This home is divided into three classes; -- Managers, Candi-dates and Students,

(1) MANAGERS

Managers believe that, in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives, and they have been doing so for some time.

1. THE VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough that one ordinarily does not resort to untruth; one ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country, that Truth may require opposition to one's parents and elders. Consider the example of Prahlad.

2, THE VOW OF AHIMSA (NON-KILLING)

It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. The follower of this Vow may not hurt even those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them; thus he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never hurt the tyrant. The follower of Truth and Ahimsa will conquer the tyrant by love, he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.

3. THE VOW OF CELIBACY

It is well nigh impossible to observe the foregoing two Vows unless celibacy is also observed: for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, he has so to control his animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought; if he is married he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife but considering her as his life-long triend, will establish with her the relationship of perfect purity.

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^{*} A translation of the Gujarati draft constitution.

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4. CONTROL OF THE PALATE

Until one has overcome the pleasures of the palate it is difficult to observe the foregoing Vows, more especially that of cellbacy. Control of the Palate is therefore treated as a separate observance. One desirous of serving the country will believe that eating is necessary only for sustaining the body, he will, therefore, daily regulate and purify his diet and will either gradually or immediately in accordance with his ability leave off such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions or are otherwise unnecessary.

5. THE VOW OF NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need. Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for our daily needs.

6. THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants; thus if one can do without chairs, one should do so. The follower of this vow will, therefore, by constantly thinking thereover, simplify his life.

SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES

Two observances are reduced from the foregoing.

1. SWADESHI

It is inconsistent with Truth to use articles about which or about whose makers there is a possibility of deception. Therefore, for instance, a votary of Truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he does not know that there is no deception about them. Moreover labourers suffer much in the mills. Use of fire in the mills. causes enormous destruction of life besides killing labourers before their time. Foreign goods and goods made by means of complicated machinery are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of Ahimsa. Further reflection will show that use of such goods will involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We wear foreign goods in preference to simple goods made in our own hand looms because custom attributes greater beauty to Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a Brahmachari; he will, therefore, avoid the use of any but the simplest goods. Therefore the vow of Swadeshi requires the use of simple and simply made alothing to the exclusion of even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will Swadeshi be applied to every department of life.

2. FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or Ahimsa. Managers will, the efore, endeavour to be free from

SATYAGRAHASRAMA



the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against others by truth-force or soulforce.

VERNACULARS

It is the belief of the managers that no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages; they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the chief Indian languages, and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages, they will learn that also.

HAND LABOUR

Managers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual powers for the common good only, and as the largest percentage in the world lives upon agriculture, managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land; and when such is not possible, perform some other bodily labour.

HAND LOOMS

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton-spinning wheels and hand looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand looms themselves.

POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion. An effort will, therefore, be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

(2) CANDIDATES

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as candidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not take the vows, whilst they are in the Ashram and they will occupy the status of managers, when they are able to take the necessary vows.

(3) STUDENTS

- 1. Any children whether boys or girls from four years] and upwards may be admitted.
- 2. Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.

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- 3. Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished.
- 4. Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers.
- 5. They will be taugh: principles of religion, agriculture, hand loom weaving and literature.
- 6. Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc., learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidina Vernacular is obligatory.
 - 7. Euglish will be taught as a second language.
- 8. They will be taught Utdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and Devanagici characters.
- 9. Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section 1 or retire from the Ashram, if its programme has not commended itself to them.
- 10. This option they will exercise when no longer they will require the assistance of their parents or other guardians.
- 11. Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear, "what shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man."
 - 12. Grown up persons also may be admitted as students.
- 13. As a rule the simplest and the same style of clothing will be worm by all.
- 14. Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celebate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh truits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene.
- 15. There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holidays as a rule, but during 1½ days per week the ordinary routine will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work.
- 16. During 3 months in the year those whose health permits will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India.

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17. No fees will be charged either against students or candidates but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in 2 houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. It is expected that in a few months about 100 acres of ground will be acquired for locating the Ashram thereon.

NOTICE

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

EXAMPLE (15) 宜山。



III. THE MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

The Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad under the direction of Mr. M.K. Gandhi devised an excellent idea of presenting a monster petition to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and H. E. the Viceroy in 1917. supporting the Congress. League Scheme of Self-Government for India. The idea was taken up by the leading political organizations in India. The following is the English translation of the Gujarati petition:—

To the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India.

The petition of the British Subjects of Gujarat humbly sheweth,—

- (1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swaraj scheme prepared by the Council of the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League.
 - (2) The petitioners approve of the scheme.
- (3) In the bumble opinion of the petitioners, the reforms proposed in the aforementioned scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire.
- (4) It is further the petitioners' belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment.

For these reasons the petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration to and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at greatineon venience and fulfil the national hope.

And for this act of kindness, the petitioners shall, for ever, remain grateful.

RULES FOR VOLUNTEERS

Mr. Gandhi also devised the following rules for the Volunteers to obtain signature:—

- 1. In taking signatures to the petition, first it must be ascertained whether the person signing correctly understands the scheme described in the petition or not.
- 2. In order to make people understand the scheme, it should be read out to the inhabitants of the place, called together by a notification prepared by the Sabha. If, in such reading, the people raise any new question, which cannot be answered out of the



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Foreword, then the Volunteer should not decide the point himself-but should refer it to the Chief of his own Circle; and the questioner should not be allowed to sign so long as he has not been satisfied.

- 3. It should be clearly kept in mind that no kind of pressure is to be used on any inhabitant of any place.
- 4. Care should be taken that Government servants, as also people who are unable to understand, do not sign by oversight.
- 5. Signatures should not be taken from young people, who appear to be under the age of eighteen.
- 6. Signatures should not be taken from school-going students whatever their age may be.
- 7. There is no objection in taking signatures from any man or woman if the Volunteer is convinced that he or she can understand the matter.
- 8. A man or woman who is unable to read or write, should be made to put his or her cross and an authentication of it by a well-known person of the place should be placed opposite the cross.
- 9. It should be kept in mind that each signature is to be taken on two forms.
- 10. The papers should be preserved without being soiled orcrumbled.
- 11. The papers which are not signed should at once be sent to the Head Office; and a report should at once be sent to the Head Office from the place where a meeting has been held or some attempt made.
- 12. The Volunteer has no authority to make any speech on any subject outside the scope of petition or on any subject relating to but not included in the Foreword.
- 13. First the inhabitants of a place should be called together and the Foreword read out to them and their signatures taken. After that as many houses as can be practicable should be visited and the signatures of the rest of the men and women taken. But these should be taken only after the Foreword has been explained.
- 14. If while visiting places or calling together people, the police or any other officials object, the Volunteer should politely reply that so long as the Head Office does not direct the cessation of work he would have to continue his work. If in doing this, he is arrested by the police, he should allow himself to be arrested, but he should not resist the police. And if such a thing happens, he should at once send a detailed report to the Head Office. If people themselves hesitate to gather together through the fear of the police or for any other cause, the Volunteer should give up that place and should at once give information of such an occurrence to the Head Office.

GL

IV THE SWADESHI VOW

The following are translations of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's two articles on Swadeshi contributed to vernacular papers on the day previous to that which was fixed for taking that vow in Bombay. The English versions originally appeared in the "Bombay Chronicle".

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Although the desire for Swadeshi animating a large number of people at the present moment is worthy of all praise, it seems to me that they have not fully realised the difficulty in the way of its observance. Vows are always taken only in respect of matters otherwise difficult of accomplishment. When after a series of efforts we fail in doing certain things, by taking a yow to do them we draw a cordon round ourselves, from which we may hever be free and thus we avoid failures. Anything less than such inflexible determination cannot be called a vow. It is not a pledge or vow when we say we shall so far as possible do certain acts. If by saying that we shall, so far as we can only use Swadeshi articles. We can be deemed to have taken the Swadeshi vow, then from the Vicercy down to the labouring man very few people would be found who would not be considered to have taken the gledge, but we want to go outside this circle and aim at a much higher goal. And there is as much difference between the act contemplated by us and the acts above described as there is between a right angle and all other angles. And if we decide to take the Swadeshi vow in this spirit it is clear that it is well nigh impossible to take an all-comprehensive

After having given deep consideration to the matter for a number of years, it is sufficiently demonstrated to me that we can take the full Swadeshi vow only in respect of our clothing, whether made of cotton, silk or wool. Even in observing this vow we shall have to face many difficulties in the initial stages and that is only proper. By patronising foreign cloth we have committed a deep sin. We have abandoned an occupation which, in point of importance, is second only to agriculture, and we are face to face with a total disruption of a calling to which Kabir was born and which he adorned. One meaning of the Swadeshi vow suggested by me is that in taking it we desire to do penance for our sins, that we desire to resuspitate the almost lost art of hand-weaving, and that we are determined to save our Hindustan orcres of rupees which go out of it annually in exchange for the cloth we receive. Such high results cannot be attained without difficulties; there must be obstacles in the way. Things easily obtained are practically of no value, but,



THE SWADESHI VOW



however difficult of observance that pledge may be, some day or other there is no escape from it, if we want our country to rise to its full height. And we shall then accomplish the vow when we shall deem it a religious duty to use only that cloth which is entirely produced in the country and refrain from using any another.

A HASTY GENERALISATION

Friends tell me that at the present moment we have not enough Swadeshi cloth to supply our wants and that the existing mills are too few for the purpose. This appears to me to be a basty generalisation. We can hardly expect such good fortune as to have thirty crores of covenanters for Swadeshi. A hardened optimist dare not expect more than a few lakbs and I anticipate no difficulty in providing them with Swadeshi cloth, but where there is a ques. tion of religion there is no room for thoughts of difficulties, general climate of India is such that we require very little clothing. It is no exaggaration to say that three-fourths of the middle class population use much unnecessary clothing. Moreover when many men take the vow there would be set up many spinning wheels and hand looms. India can produce innumerable weavers. They are merely awaiting encouragement. Mainly two things are needful. vis., self-denial and honesty. It is self-evident that the covenanter must possess these two qualities, but in order to enable people to observe such a great vow comparatively easily, our merchants also will need to be blessed with these qualities. An honest and self-denying merchant will spin his yarn only from Indian cotton and confine weaving only to such cotton. He will only use those dyes which are made in India. When a man desires to go a thing, be cultivates the necessary ability to remove difficulties in his path.

DESTROY ALL FOREIGN CLOTEING

It is not enough that we manage if necessary with as little clothing as possible, but for a full observance it is further necessary to destroy all foreign clothing, in our possession. If we are satisfied that we erred in making use of foreign cloth, that we have done an mmense injury to India, that we have all but destroyed the race of weavers, cloth stained with such sin is only fit to be destroyed. In this connection it is necessary to understand the distinction between Swadeshi and Boycott. Swadeshi is a religious conception. It is the natural duty imposed upon every man. being of people depends upon it and the Swadeshi vow cannot be taken in a punitive or revengeful spirit. The Swadeshi vow is not derived from any extraneous happening, whereas Boycott is a purely worldly and political weapon. It is rooted in ili-will and a desire for punishment; and I can see nothing but harm in the end for a nation that resorts to boycott. One who wishes to be a Satyagrahi for ever cannot participate in any Boycott movement and a perpetual Satyagraba is impossible without Swadeshi. This is the meaning I have understood to be given to boycott. It has





been suggested that we should beyoott British goods till the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn, and that the beyoott should terminate with the removal of that legislation. In such a scheme of beyoott it is open to us to take Japanese or other foreign goods, even though they may be rotten. If I must use foreign goods, having political relations with England I would only take English goods and consider such conduct to be proper.

In proclaiming a boycott of British goods we expose corselves to the charge of desiring to punish the English, but we have no quarrel with them; our quarrel is with the Governors. And, according to the law of Satyagraha, we may not harbour any ill-will even against the rulers, and as we may harbour no ill-will, I cannot see the propriety of resorting to poycott.

THE SWADESHI PLEDGE

For a complete observance of the restricted Swadeshi vow suggested above, I would advise the following text;—"With God as my witness. I solemnly declare that from to-day I shall confine myself, for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth, manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk and wool; and I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth, and I shall destroy all foreign cloth in my possession."

II.

For a proper observance of the pledge it is really necessary to use only handwoven cloth made out of handspun yarn. Imported yarn even though spun out of Indian cotton and woven in India is not Swadeshi cloth. We shall reach perfection only when our cotton is spun in India on indigenous spinning wheels and yarns so spun is woven on similarly made hand looms. But the requirements of the foregoing pledge are met if we all only use cloth woven by means of imported machinery from yarn spun from Indian cotton by means of similar machinery.

I may add that the covenanters to the restricted Swadeshi referred to here will not rest satisfied with Swadeshi clothing only. They will extend the vow to all other things as far as possible.

ENGLISH-OWNED MILLS

I am told that there are in India English-owned mills which do not admit Indian shareholders. If this information be true, I would consider cloth manufactured in such mills to be foreign cloth. Moreover, such cloth bears the taint of ill-will. However well-made such cloth may be it should be avoided.

Thousands of man believe that by using cloth woven in Indian mills they comply with the requirements of the Swadeshi vow. The fact is that most fine cloth is made out of foreign cotton spun outside India. Therefore the only satisfaction to be derived from the use of such cloth

THE SWADESHI VOW



is that it is woven in India. Even on handlooms for every line cloth only foreign yern is used. The use of such cloth does not amount to an observance as Swadeshi. To say so is simple self-deception. Savyagraba, i.e., tusistence on truth is necessary even in Swadeshi. When men will say, 'we shall confide ourselves to pure Swadeshi cloth, even though we may have to remain satis. fied with a mere loinclosh,' and when women will resolutely say, we shall observe pure Ewadeshi even though we may have to restriot ourselves to clothing just enough to satisfy the sense of modesty,' then shall we be successful in the observance of the great Swadeshi vow. If a few thousand men and women were to take the Swadeshi vow in this spirit others will try to imitate them so far as possible. They will then begin to examine their wardropes in the light of Swadeshi. Those who are not attached to pleasures and personal adornment, I venture to say, can give a great impetus to Swadeshi.

KEY TO ECONOMIC SALVATION

Generally speaking, there are very few villages in Iudia without weavers. From time immemorial we have had village farmers and village weavers, as we have village carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., but our farmers have become poverty-stricken and our weavers have patronage only from the poor classes. By supplying them with Indian cotton spun in India we can obtain the cloth we may need. For the time being it may be coarse, but by constant endeavours we can get our weavers to weave out fine varu and so doing we shall raise our weavers to a better status, and if we would go a step still further we can easily cross the see of difficulties lying in our path. We can easily teach our women and our children to spin and weave cotton, and what can be purer than cloth woven in our own home; I say it from my experience that acting in this way we shall be saved from many a hardship, we shall be ridding ourselves of many an unnecessary need, and our life will be one song of joy and beauty. I always hear divine voices telling me in my ears that such life was a matter of fact once in India, but even if such an India be the idle dream of the poet, it does not matter. Is it not necessary to create such an India now? Does not our nurushartha lie therein? I have been travelling throughout India. I cannot bear the heart-rending cry of the poor. The young and old all tell me, 'we cannot get cheap cloth. we have not the means wherewith to purchase dear cloth. Everything is dear, provisions, cloth and all. What are we to do ?' and they have a sign of despair. It is my dusy to give these men a satisfactory reply. It is the duty of every servant of the country. but I am unable to give a satisfactory reply. It should be intolerable for all thinking Indians that our raw materials should be exported to Europe and that we have to pay heavy prices therefore. The first and the last remedy for this is Swadeshi. We are not bound to sell our cotton to anybody, and when Hindustan rings with the schoes of Swadoshi, no producer of coston will sell it for



its being manufactured in foreign countries. When Swadeshi pervades the country every one will be set a-thinking why cotton should not be refined and spun and woven in the place where it is produced, and when the Swadeshi manira resounds in every ear millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India. Training for this does not require hundreds of years. When the religious sense is awakened people's thoughts undergo a revolution in a single moment. Only selfiess sacrifice is the sine qua non. The spirit of sacrifice pervades the Indian atmosphere at the present moment. If we fail to preach Swadeshi at this supreme moment we shall have to wring our hands in despair. I beseech every Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and Jew, who believes that he belongs to this country to take the Swadeshi yow and to ask others also to do likewise. It is my humble belief that if we cannot do even this little for our country. we are born in it in vain. Those who think deep will see that such Swadeshi contains pure economics. I hope that every man and woman will give serious thought to my humble suggestion. Imitation of English economics will spell our ruip.



APPENDIX II

APPRECIATIONS

COUNT LEG TOLSTOY

"God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal I That same struggle of the tender against the harsh of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very charpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws, in refusals of Military Service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent. I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you."

Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part. (Letter to Mr. Gandhi.)

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY

Let me take a present day instance of this battle between a soul and a Government, a very curious instance, because it is almost impossible without more knowledge than most people in England possess to say who was wrong and who right.

About the year 1889 a young Indian student called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had already taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from seesh, and from sexual intercourse. He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagrest allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to practise at the law because his religion -- a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion-forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, he ate, I believe, only rice. and drank only water, and slept on the floor; and his wife who seemed to be his companion in everything, lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man



with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness. His patrictism, which is combined with an enthusiastic support of England against Germany, is interwoven with his religion, and aims at the moral regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, with no barriers between one Indian and another, to the exclusion as far as possible of the influence of the West with its industrial slavery, its material civilisation, its moneyworship, and its wars. (I am merely stating this view, of course, not either criticising it or suggesting that it is right.)

Oriental peoples, perhaps owing to causes connected with their form of civilisation, are apt to be enormously influenced by great saintliness of obstacter when they see it. Like all great masses of ignorant people, however, they need some very plain and simple test to assure them that their hero is really a saint and not a humbug, and the test they habitually apply is that of self decial. Take vows of poverty, live on rice and water and they will listen to your presching as several of our missionaries have found; come to them eating and drinking and dressed in expensive European clothes—and they feel differently. It is far from a perfect test, but there is something in it. At any rate I am told that Gandhi's influence in India is now enermous, almost equal to that of his friend, the late Mr. Gokhale.

And now for the battle. In South Africa there are some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal; and the South African Government, feeling that the colour question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians, and it possible to expel those who were already there. This last could not be done. It violated a treaty ; it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labour; and it was objected to by Indian Government and the Home Government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undestrable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie class. Indians were specially taxed; were made to register in a degrading way; they were classed with Negroes; their thumbprints were taken by the colice as it they were criminals. If, owing to the scruples of the Government, the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to semedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was lorbidden to plead. He proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law. and returned to India. Gandhi came again in 1895. He was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counseller to his people; how he found a settlement in the country outside Durbao, where the workers should live directly on the land, and all be bound by a vow of poverty. For many

years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to Government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this; that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the Government in order to press his claim the harder. Gandhi, when the Government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered his help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi im-There was a mediately organised an Indian Red Cross Unit. popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it. It served through the War, and was mentioned in despatches, and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg and Gandhi had private hospital opened before the public authorities had begun to act, In 1906 there was a Native rebellion in Natal; Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher bearers, whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the Governor in Natal and shortly afterwards thrown into jail in Johannesburg.

Lastly in 1913 when he was being repeatedly imprisoned among criminals of the lowest class, and his followers were in jail to the member of 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, there occurred the sudden and dangerous railway strike which endangered for the time the very existence of organised society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead he gave order for his people to resume work till the Government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was impresoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, or what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardings and the Government of India. An Imperial Commission reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an Act was passed according to the Commission's recommendations, entitled the Indian Relief Act.

My sketch is very imperfect; the story forms an extraordinary illustration of a contest which was won, or practically won, by a policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict until they become weary and ashamed of punishing. A battle of the unaided human soul against overwhelming material lorce, and it ends by the units of material force gradually deserting their own banners and coming round to the side of the soul!

Persons in power should be very careful bow they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and

uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul. (Hibbert Journal).

LORD HARDINGE

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious, and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. (Speech at Madras, December, 1913.)

LORD AMPTHILL

Mr. Gandhi has been dencunced in this country, even by responsible persons, as an ordinary agitator; there have not even been wanting suggestions that his motives are those of self-interest and pecuniary profits.

A perusal of these pages (Doke's Gandhi) ought to dispel any such notions from the mind of any fair man who has been misled into entertaining them. And with a better knowledge of the man, there must come a better knowledge of the matter.

I have no more earnest hope than that Mr. Gandhi and his fellow-countrymen may see the accomplishment of that end, for which they have struggled so bravely and sacrificed so much, before this book is published. (From the Introduction to Rev. Mr. Doke's book "An Indian Patriot in South Africa.)"

THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ. (Loud applause.) (Speech at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, December, 1913).

^{*}M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa. By Rev. Joseph Doke; with an Introduction by Lord Ampthill. Price Re. 1. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madres.

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LORD GLADSTONE

Mr. Gandhi has shown a single-minded devotion to his cause which has won the admiration of all who understand the difficulty and danger of the position. [Letter to the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Hotel Cecil, London, 8th August, 1914].

THE HON. MR. JAMESON

As for Mr. Gandhi, he would leave behind him a high reputation of whole heartedness of purpose, of healthy ambition and self-sacrifice, and of everything which an Englishman respected in the making of a man. (At a Farewell Meeting at Durban, July, 1914.)

Indian Opinion-SOUTH AFRICA, 1914

It has been our lot to bid farewell to many a friend during the years this journal has been in existence, but never before have we experienced such a sense of lose as we do at the present moment by the departure of Mr. Gandhi and his dear wife to India. Mr. Gandhi's associations with this paper and the Phoenix Settlement have been so intimate that we cannot trust ourselves to make any lengthy reference to his various activities on our behalf. Mr. Gandhi is a part of ourselves; his life has been our dife; his ideals ours. It is not possible to express in printed words our feelings on this occasion. He has been "a guide, philosopher and friend" and, what is much more, a brother in whom we have confided our joys and sorrows, our hopes and fears. We venture to say that his influence upon us will remain even though his physical body is removed to a distance. We only hope that our feeble efforts on behalf of the Indian community and the Empire will possess some spark of the greatness of purpose, nobleness of mind and selflessness of character that have so marked the life of Mr. Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi has played the part of both mother and eister and we shall ever remember her with affection and esteem.

SIR HENRY COTTON

Mr. Gandhi had practically won the battle he had been fighting and was returning to India to resume, as they all hoped, the practice of his profession under happier auspices than it had been his fate to enjoy in South Africa, and to meet the thousands of his countrymen by whom his name would never be forgotten.

(Parewell in London).

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS, M.P.

The work which Mr. Gandhi had at heart was mainly accomplished as far as South Africa was concerned, although it might remain to be more completely fulfilled in other parts of the Empire, He should like to take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Gandhi for



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the help he had rendered to the ambulance movement, and to testify to the really excellent work which Indians were doing inconnection with it. (Hear, Hear). It might be that in leaving England Mr. Gandhi felt to some extent disappointed in the hope of giving that help which he had so willingly afforded in South Atrica; but the prospect lay before him of more good work in India, (Hear, Hear). (Farewell Meeting in London).

SENATOR W.P. SCHREINER

He had great pleasure in testifying here that among the pure spirited men who worked for no gain, no profit, many kicks, but with high ideals, they could recommend themselves to Mr. Gandhi. An unselfish man, one whom, he was proud to say, he recognised as a member of the profession to which he himself belonged, and one who in any other calling might have made great gains. In going round with Mr. Gandhi he believed Mr. Gokhale would be introduced, without any bias and bitterness, to the problems in detail which he would have to meet. (Speech at the Cape Town Meeting, Oct. 22, 1912.)

G. K. GOKBALE

Only those who have come in personal contact with Mr. Gandhi as he is now, can realise the wonderful personality of the man. He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into berces and martyrs. During the recent passive resistance struggle in the Transvani-would you believe it ?-twenty-seven hundred sentences of imprisonment were borne by our countrymen there under Mr. Gandhi's guidance to uphold the honour of their country. Some of the men among them were very substantial persons, some were small traders, but the bulk of them were poor humble individuals. hawkers, working men and so forth, men without education, mennot accustomed in their life to think or talk of their country. And yet these men braved the horrors of jail life in the Transvaal and some of them braved them again and again rather than submit to degrading legislation directed against their country. Many homes were broken in the course of that struggle, many families dispersed some men at our time wealthy lost their all and became paupers, women and children endured untold hardships. But they were touched by Mr. Gandbi's spirit and that had wrought the trans. formation, thus illustrating the great power which the spirit of man gan exercise over human minds and even over physical surroundlogs. In all my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does -our great patriarch, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and my late master, Mr. Ranademen before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy. The Indian cause in South

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Africa has really been built up by Mr. Gandhi. Without self and without stain, he has fought his great fight for this country during a period now of twenty years, and India owes an immense debt of gratitude to him. He has sacrificed himself utterly in the service of the cause. He had a splendid practice at the Bar, making as much as £5,000 to £6,000 a year, which is considered to be a very good income for a lawyer in South Africa. But he has given all that up and he lives now on £3 a month like the poorest man in the street. One most striking fact about him is that, though he has waged this great struggle so ceaselessly, his mind is absolutely free from all bitterness against Europeans, And in my tour nothing warmed my heart more than to see the universal esteem in which the European community in South Africa holds Mr. Gandhi. At every gathering, leading Europeans, when they come to know that Mr. Gandhi was there, would immediately gather round him anxious to shake hands with him, making it quite clear that though they fought him hard and tried to crush him in the course of the struggle they honoured him as a man. To my mind Mr. Gandhi's leadership of the Indian cause in South Africa is the greatest asset of that cause and it was an inestimable privilege to me that he was with me throughout my tour to pilot me safely through my difficulties. (Speech at the Bombay Town Hall Meeting in December, 1912)

REV. JOSEPH DOKE

It would be difficult to imagine a life less open to the assaults: of pride or sloth, than the life lived hers. Everything that can minister to the flesh is abjured. Of all men Mr. Gandhi reminds one of " Purum Dass", of whom Kipling writes :- "He had used his wealth and his power for what he knew both to be worth; he had taken honour when it came in his way; he had seen men and cities far and near, and men and cities had stood up and honoured him Now he would let these things go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer. This is a graphic picture of our friend. He. simply dees what he believes to be his duty, accepts every experience that ensues with calmness, takes honour if it comes without pride; and then lets it go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." In the position of "Purum Bhagat," he would do easily what the Bhagat did and no one even now would be surprised to see him go forth at some call which no one else can hear, his crutch under arm, his begging bowl in his band, an antelope skin flung around him, and a smile of deep content on his lips.

"That man alone is wise

Who keeps the mastery of himself."

(From " An Indian Patriot in South Africa)"