

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

Among us, as I write, is dwelling for brief space one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi, our Martyr and Saint. He too by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient, unwearying courage that naught might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped in hand, I saw in him that deathless Spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming Saviours and Helpers of humanity, I who tread the path of the warrior, not that of the Saint, who battle against Enthroned Injustice by assault, not by meakness. I recognise in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those of whom it is said : "He saved others : himself he could not save". (*New India*).

SIR P. M. MEHTA

"The whole country has resounded with the tale of Mr. Gandhi's great deeds, his courage, his great moral qualities, his labours and his sufferings in the cause of Indians in South Africa. So long as we have Indians like Mr. Gandhi and Indian women like Mrs. Gandhi we need not despair of our country. They show that at the proper time and as occasion may arise they are possessed of the highest qualities of courage, heroism and capacity of endurance and suffering." (*At the Bombay Town Hall Meeting in December, 1912*)

I tell you what I feel sincerely that there has been no more touching episode in the whole history of the campaign than the conversation which Mrs. Gandhi had with her husband before she cast in her lot with him in the Passive Resistance Movement. After the decision of the Supreme Court there denying the legitimacy of Hindu and Mahomedan marriages, she asked him : "Am I your wife or not? I am not your wife if this decision stands, and if I am not your wife, I am not a woman of any true womanhood in the estimation of my own sex, and my children are illegitimate." Mr. Gandhi must have known what it was to expose tender women to the hardships of the campaign, but in spite of his pleading, that brave lady decided to cast in her lot with those men who were fighting for the cause. History records the deeds of many heroines, and I feel that Mrs. Gandhi will stand as one of the foremost heroines in the whole world. (*Speech at the Bombay Town Hall Meeting, Dec., 1913*).

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

She (Mrs. Gandhi) sat by her husband's side simple and serene and dignified in the hour of triumph as she had proved herself simple and serene and dauntless in the hour of trial and tragedy.





## APPRECIATIONS

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I have a vision too of her brave, frail, pain worn hand which must have held aloft the lamp of her country's honour undimmed in an alien land, working at rough garments for wounded soldiers in another.

The great South African leader who, to quote Mr. Gokhale's apt phrase, had moulded heroes out of clay, was reclining, a little ill and weary, on the floor eating his frugal meal of nuts and fruits (which I shared) and his wife was busy and content as though she were a mere modest housewife absorbed in a hundred details of household service, and not the world famed heroine of a hundred noble sufferings in a nation's cause. (*From letter to Lady Mehta on Mrs Gandhi, February, 1915*)

### DR. SUBRAMANIA IYER

It is a life every incident in which from the day on which he set his foot on the South African soil to the day on which he left it, deserves to be recorded in every vernacular of this country in chaste and impressive language and distributed broadcast so that the knowledge thereof may extend to every man, woman or child (cheers). The work done by him is such as to extort from the historians of this century admiration. Great as has been the work done by him, my conviction is that the work he has done is simply a preparation to what he is destined to do in the future (cheers).

What is wanted in India is not so much martial capacity, physical force, power to threaten other people. We want the soul-force which Mr. Gandhi is trying to work up. Soul-force consists in a man being prepared to undergo any physical or mental suffering, taking the precaution that he will not lay a single finger to inflict physical force upon the other side. It was that soul-force that was manifested by the South African Indians and it was the same force that should be developed in this country. [*Speech in Madras in welcoming Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, June, 1915.*]

### SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The power our fellow-countrymen have shown in standing firm for their cause under severest trials, fighting unarmed against fearful odds, has given us a firmer faith in the strength of the God that can defy sufferings and defeats at the hands of physical supremacy, that can make its gains of its losses. [*Letter to Mr. Gandhi.*]

### BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The duty of every patriot is to insist on the oppressions, miseries and complaints of the people in such a way that they may compel the attention of the Government and force them to bring in reform. Mr. Gandhi did this duty very well, and so he deserves the honour and praise given to him by the public. [*From the Foreword to Mr. Gandhi's "Life" in Marathi.*]





## LALA LAJPAT RAI

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness and directness confound the modern politician, parliamentarian and publicist. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognises no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from society of men and women. He recognises no masters and no *gurus*. He claims no *chelas* though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Such of his countrymen as have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed a deep love for European manners and European culture neither understand nor like him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary, and a dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities, because he is nearest to the verities of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilization and sophistry.

Some say he is a nihilist; others that he is an anarchist; others again that he is a Tolstorian. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian patriot who believes in God, religion and the Scriptures.

## DR. J. H. HOLMES

As he moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open countryside, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In his personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political endeavours, he is as stern a realist as Lenin, working steadfastly toward a fair goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, he is an idealist, like Romain Rolland living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth.

Do you recall how it is told of Jesus, that one day, as he was journeying, he heard his disciples quarrelling. And he said, "What were ye reasoning on the way?" And they said they had disputed who was the greatest. And Jesus said, "If any man would be first among you, let him be the servant of all."





## MR. W. W. PEARSON

Whatever may be one's personal opinion of the Indian leader, M. K. Gandhi, there can be no doubt that he is a remarkable man. Remarkable because his standard of conduct and method of action are so entirely different from those of other Indian leaders. Statesmen and politicians are seldom guided by the motives which compel Gandhi to action, and the very fact that in him we see a man who wields enormous influence over his countrymen by a character—the exact antithesis of the ordinary political leader—gives to his personality a peculiar interest. One Governor of a British Province in the East has described him as “a dangerous and misguided saint.” Everyone, whether foe or friend, agrees in regarding him as a saint. And it is because of his evident saintliness of character that he has such an unparalleled influence in India at the present day.

Gandhi has been able to unite people of India as they have never before been united not only because of his unfaltering loyalty to a moral ideal and by his austere and ascetic personal life, but because the British Government has itself fed fuel to the fires of national aspiration. Confronting the most powerful Empire in existence stands one man, Gandhi, who cares nothing for his own personal life, who is uncompromising and fearless in the application of principles which he has once accepted, and who scorns any longer to receive or beg for favours from a Government which he regards as having “forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support.” He believes in conquering hate by love, in the triumph of right over might, and all the effort of his public life is directed towards persuading the masses of India of the truth of this ideal. (*The Asian Review*.)

## MR. PERCIVAL LANDON

Seated on the floor in a small, barely-furnished room, I found the Mahatma, clad in rough, white home-spun. He turned up to me, with a smile of welcome the typical head of the idealist—the skull well formed and finely modelled; the face narrowing to the pointed chin. His eyes are deep, kindly, and entirely same; his hair is greying a little over the forehead. He speaks gently and well, and in his voice is a note of detachment which lends uncanny force to the strange doctrines that he has given up his life to teach. One could not imagine him ruffled, hasty, or resentful, not the least part of the moral supremacy in his crusade is his universally-known willingness to turn the other cheek to the smiter. From the first it must be realised that consciously his teaching has been influenced by that of Christ, for whom his admiration has long been the almost dominating feature of his spiritual life and probably the external character of his daily activity has been modelled also upon Him. He made a curious observation during our conversation, which throws some light upon his interpretation of the Galilean Teacher. In answer to a remark of mine that Christ





strictly abstained from interfering in politics, Mr. Gandhi answered, "I do not think so but, if you are right, the less Christ in that was He." (*Daily Telegraph*.)

COL. J. C. WEDGWOOD, M. P.

One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy, without Tolstoy's past and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity. (*The Nation*.)

MR. BLANCH WATSON

The West is watching the people whose high privilege it is to the world that the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth are practicable. Gandhi is a born leader, and all sorts and conditions of people are seconding him. These millions of men and women are carrying the fight for independence to the high ground of the spirit, and their goal is a free India. And India freed by such methods will mean a free world! (*The "Sinn Feiner" of New York*.)

BENJAMIN COLLINS WOODBURY

When shall there be again revealed a Saint,  
A holy man, a Saviour of his race,  
When shall the Christ once more reveal his face?  
Gautama left his' bode without complaint,  
Till weary, hungered, desolate and faint.  
He sank beneath the bo-tree with his load,  
As on the Path of solitude he stood;  
And Jesus died to still the sinner's plaint.  
Lives there a man as faithful to his vow?  
Mahatma to a bounded race of men?  
Aye, Gandhi seeks his nation's soul to free;  
Unto the least, Ye do it unto Me!  
Hath Buddha found in peace *Nirvana* now;  
Or doth a Christ walk on the earth again?

"Unity," Chicago.

MR. BEN SPOOR, M. P.

Who and what is this man of whom it can be said as it was said of one of old that even his enemies "can find no fault in him"? His bitterest opponents unite in tributes to his transparent sincerity, moral courage, and spiritual intensity, (One can, of course, disregard the irresponsible comments of certain members of the British Parliament whose cloudy prejudice obscures judgment—their remedy of "hang Gandhi" has just that weight which a pitiful bigotry ensures). Even Sir Valentine Chirol, while of opinion that Gandhi is "more unbalanced," suggests that he has "increased in spiritual stature." Some folks believe Mahatmajiji is





mad—all who know him agree that he is good. In this topsy-turvy world it may well be that goodness and honesty lie strangely near to madness. In an age of false values what chance has Right? And with Truth on the scaffold and Wrong on the throne, it is too much to expect fair estimates of men and movements. Still to those who have met and talked with Gandhi, who have seen him in a small business meeting or holding vast multitudes under same subtler spell than mere oratory produces; we have sat alone with him in the quiet, or seen the eager throng pressing around to touch the hem of his garment or to kneel and touch his feet—to those he seems to possess a power granted to few. Call it madness if you like, there is a strength in that frail body which defies all the combinations of political expediency however highly-organised they may be. Gandhi has probably a larger following than any living man. And it is not the "masses" only who accept his leadership. He is "Mahatmaji" to intellectuals, even highly-placed officers of the Government exist who recognise in him the compelling authority of real character. The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East had given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force, the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other trusts the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggles of our day—are fighting for supremacy. (*Farewell letter to the Press, Jan., 1921*).

"D. P."

'G.'s, genius lies in making lost causes live. To his disarming sweetness of a saint he adds all the arts of the advocate. In South Africa he matched even General Smuts. They sparred for years over Indian claims without quarrelling.....

The key to Gandhi and Gandhism is wrapped in his self-revealing sentence: 'Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise: I, however, who wear the guise of politician, am at heart a religious man.' (*The Daily Mail*).

#### THE NATION AND THE ATHENEUM

Mr. Gandhi is a figure of such significance that even the remoteness, mental and physical, of India cannot obscure him. One realizes that he is in India what Tolstoy was in Russia, a personality which incarnates the characteristic spiritual vision of his race.





## APPENDIX II

## MR. S. E. STOKES

At last we have found a MAN, honest, fearless, and fired with true patriotism—a man whom the common people trust and one who is able to fire them with the flame of his own idealism. If we sacrifice him to our petty doubts and fears, the time will come when we shall deeply and vainly regret it, for such leaders are not granted to a nation every day.

There is no question as to whether Mahatmaji is worthy to lead India; it remains to be seen if India is worthy of its great leader, and will loyally support him in his great act of faith.

## VINCENT ANDERSON

All India is at the feet of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Preaching a political creed that is new to the Hindu and renewing Vedic ideals of asceticism and sacrifice in his own life, this man has within a brief span of months united Hindu and Muhammadan in a common bond of fraternity that has not existed in India since the days of Genghis Khan. A small, slim, dark, composed man with a tremendous personal magnetism, a man with the unifying energy of Roosevelt, the human sympathy of Debs and the philosophy of Tolstoy, Gandhi has developed into a force so potent that the English dare not imprison him.\* (*Nation, New York*).

## SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

Of his earnestness and sincerity no one who listens to him can entertain much doubt, nor of his childlike simplicity if he can persuade himself that all those behind and beside him are inspired by his own idealism.

With a perfect command of accurate and lucid English, and in a voice as persuasive as his whole manner is gentleness itself, he explains, more in pity than in anger, that India has at last recovered her own soul through the fiery ordeal which Hindus and Mahomedans had alike undergone in the Punjab and the perfect act of faith which the 'Khilafat' meant for all Mahomedans.

Not, however, by violence, but by her unique 'soul force,' would she attain to 'Swaraj,' and, purged of the degrading influences of British rule and Western civilisation, return to the ancient ways of Vedic wisdom, and to the peace which was hers before alien domination divided and exploited her people.—*Times*.

## MR. C.F. ANDREWS

In Mahatma Gandhi we have a volcanic personality, a moral genius of the first order, who has revealed to us all the hidden power of a living freedom from within, who has taught us to depend not on any external resources but on ourselves. My whole heart goes out to his appeal and I have a great hope that, along this path, independence will be reached at last.

\* Written some months before his arrest.





I come back from this method of doubtful evolution to the more incisive method of Mahatma Gandhi: I can see that he cuts at the very root of the disease. He is like a surgeon performing an operation rather than a physician administering soothing drugs. And as his surgeon's knife cuts deep, we can see at once the recovery of the patient beginning to take place—the recovery of self-respect and manhood and independence..... Such personalities as that of Mahatma Gandhi which can inspire a whole nation are rare indeed in human history.

### RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"The secret of Gandhi's success lies in his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice. Many public men make sacrifices for selfish reasons. It is a sort of investment that yields handsome dividends. Gandhi is altogether different. He is unique in his nobility. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He sacrifices itself.

"He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India, he will refuse to sit on it, but will sell the jewels and distribute the money among the needy.

"Give him all the money America possesses, and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity.

"His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he expects absolutely nothing in return—not even thanks. This is no exaggeration, for I know him well.

"He came to our school at Belpur and lived with us for some time. His power of sacrifice becomes all the more irresistible because it is wedded with his paramount fearlessness.

"Emperors and Maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and tortures, insults and injuries, even death itself, can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.

"His is a liberated soul. If any one strangles me, I shall be crying for help; but if Gandhi were strangled, I am sure he would not cry. He may laugh at his strangler; and if he has to die, he will die smiling.

"His simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching; his love for mankind is positive and aggressive. He has what is known as the Oadist spirit. The longer I know from the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in moulding the future of the world."

"Such a great man deserves to be better known in the world. Why don't you make him known, you are a world-figure?" asked the interviewer. Tagore said,;—]



## APPENDIX II

"How can I make him known? I am nothing compared to his illumined soul. And no truly great man has to be made great. They are great in their own glory, and when the world is ready they become famous by dint of their own greatness. When the time comes Gandhi will be known, for the world needs him and his message of love, liberty and brotherhood.

"The soul of the East has found a worthy symbol in Gandhi; for he is most eloquently proving that man is essentially a spiritual being, that he flourishes the best in the realm of the moral and the spiritual, and most positively perishes both body and soul in the atmosphere of hatred and gunpowder smoke."—(*From an interview in America*).

### S. W. CLEMES

As I talked with Mr. Gandhi, I marvelled at the simplicity of his dress. He wore coarse white cloth, with a *kambal* thrown over his body to protect him from the cold. A little white cap was his only head covering. As he sat on the floor facing me, I asked myself, how can this little man, with his thin face and large protruding ears, and quiet brown eyes, be the great Gandhi about whom I have heard so much? All doubts were set aside, when we began to talk. I do not agree with all the methods that Mr. Gandhi employs to bring about the desired end; but I do want to bear this personal testimony of the man himself. Mr. Gandhi is a spiritual man. He is a thinker. In my short interview, I had the same heart-to-heart fellowship with him as I have had scores of times with some of God's saints. I took knowledge that this man had been to the source of Christian strength and had learned from the great Christ. (*Indian Witness*.)

### MR. W. E. JOHNSON

There is a man, sent of God, who is called the Mahatma Gandhi. He comes to the surface out of that great sea of human beings that compose the Empire of India, one-fifth of the people in all the world. As this is written in October, he is going about with no clothing except a homespun cloth wound around the lower part of his body and partly covering his legs. If all the Indian people had only this much for each, there would be none left, and it would be "stealing" for him to take more than his share. He rides third-class in the railway carriage set apart for coolies and eats the food on which the meanest of human beings exist.

Much is said regarding this man to his disadvantage. His name is anathema to many wedded to the existing order of things—especially alcoholic things. Those who attack him and there are many, such never attack his sincerity, his character or his ability. To them, he is of the devil, because he attacks British rule in his country. And yet, after all has been said that can be said against him, this fact remains silhouetted against the sky—in two years by





pure personal influence, he has caused a greater diminution of the use of intoxicating liquors than has been accomplished by any other man in the history of the world during his life time.—*Christian Herald*.

### THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASFRI

Politics is not separable from life. Mr. Gandhi would not countenance the separation, for his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure. It merely happens that for the moment his activity is in the field of politics. It merely happens that for the moment he is confronting Government and daring its wrath. It merely happens that for the moment his cry of *Swaraj* for India has caught the ear of the world and the world is anxious to know what his *Swaraj* is. His real and final objective is a radical reform of human kind. His Gospel is "Back to Nature." He avows himself an implacable enemy of Western Civilisation. In his mighty war against Western civilization *Swaraj* for India is but a campaign. The rules of the campaign are the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the campaign are the weapons to be used in the campaign of the mighty war; the virtues to be evoked by the campaign are the virtues which will win the mighty war in the end. The cardinal rule of both, the war and the campaign, is non-violence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word and act you may not injure your adversary. Enemy in a personal sense is too strong a word for his dictionary. But as the adversary does not follow the rule you will be subjected to great suffering and loss. Rejoice in the suffering and loss and court them. If you cannot rejoice in them, do not avoid or complain against them. Love your enemies; if you love them, pardon them and never retaliate against them. Force is wrong and must go under. The soul is invincible; learn to exercise its full power. Hold to the truth at all costs; Satya triumphs in the end. Out of this cardinal rule, almost logically, proceed a number of principles which will keep us straight in the war and this campaign for *Swaraj*. Since Western civilization and the existing system of British Government have to be got rid of, we must have nothing to do with either offspring of Satan; we must cut off our connection with those large and powerful institutions by which they enslave us. These are schools, courts, legislatures. Withdraw children from schools, sue not for justice in courts, and avoid the polling-booth. Machinery being another invention of Satan and mills being the mainstay of British domination in India, boycott both, cease to import foreign cloth, and erect a spindle in each home. The motion of the *Charka* has mystic properties, its music chastens the soul, and its products most adorn the human form, especially the female form. These principles and courses of action have more or less permanent validity because the war against modern civilization must be expected to be of indefinite duration. It is a picked body, however.





namely, the members of the *Satyagrahasrama* in Ahmedabad—who are engaged in this exalted enterprise and owe lifelong allegiance to those principles and courses of action. The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of non-co operation are enrolled only for a single campaign and may lapse into the common grooves of life as soon as the British Government has been brought to its knees and consented to change its basis. In the intensive operations of this campaign it may become necessary to resort to civil disobedience of selected laws and non-payment of taxes. But wherever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt, non-co-operators are precluded from the slightest infraction of the commandment as to non-violence.

To understand Mr. Gandhi's view of life, attention must be fixed on the rules he has laid down for the regulation of his Ahmedabad institution. Its name, *Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soul-force. The *Asrama* is still small. It has had no real chance of proving its vitality, for ever since its establishment other things have claimed the energies of its founder. But the attainment of its objects is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of these austere ideals as at present exemplified in the lives of a few apostles. No estimate can be formed of the prospective influence of the new gospel without an examination of its real nature.

Truth in the highest sense is possible only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, government, these are anathema marantha to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarchist. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine sometimes as love, sometimes as truth, sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*), these forms are in his opinion interchangeable. For organized government in the ideal world, is justifiable. The merit of the British Government is that it governs the least. Even a family and a school must trust entirely to the power of love and moral reasoning. Flagrant misconduct he deals with by himself fasting for a certain number of days, the guilty party being invariably brought to a state of contrition within that period. Sometimes ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming to reason for fear of incurring sin. Within the last few weeks the violence practised by some persons in Bombay in the name of non-co-operation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this form of self-chastisement on his part, and by all accounts it had the desired result.

Nobody is entitled to possess more than is absolutely necessary for the moment. To hold in excess of the need is to be guilty of theft. He and his wife have given away all their property—he practised law for many years with success—and now own nothing





beyond the clothes they wear and a change or two and may be a bag or box to contain these. The Asrama in Ahmedabad contains the barest necessities.

Each person must supply his wants by his own exertion. The ideal is to grow the corn that one eats and weave the cloth that one wears. Even the brain worker is not exempt from this bodily labour. In fact, the spindle has grown to be a fetish with Mr. Gandhi. Its music has a charm for him. He prescribes it for all men and women. Boys must prefer it to books. Lawyers must cast away their briefs for it. Doctors must abandon stethoscope and take to it.

So far its products have been coarse; but he asks, can a man or woman look more beautiful than in the Khaddar made by himself or herself? When a lady pupil of his wore the first Sari of her own making, he surveyed her and pronounced her divinely attractive. Without a doubt his eyes so saw her and his mind so judged her.

Control of the senses is a requisite of the first importance. It is very hard and can be only very slow. But it must be incessantly and ruthlessly practised. Luxuries are, of course, taboo. Even comforts must be steadily reduced. The palate is a particularly venal sense and has to be rigidly curbed. Simple hard fare is a condition of spiritual advancement. Celibacy is also enjoined on the inmates of the Asrama. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their marital relation and adopt that of brother and sister. If Mr. Gandhi had his way, he would recommend this course to mankind. The resulting extinction of the species has no terrors for him. He merely asks, why should we not all go to a better planet and live on a higher plane? The question would not appear so fantastic after all to one who believed in the re-birth of souls according to the law of Karma and remembered that no person would be a celibate except of his or her own free choice and when the sex passion had been transcended.

Machinery, being one of the most inseparable adjuncts of modern civilization, must be abandoned. It is of the kingdom of Satan. Mills and factories where the labourer is done out of his humanity, have no place in his scheme. The wealth they create, it needs no saying, is an abomination. Posts and telegraphs and railways are likewise condemned and with them goes the printing press. He says that every time he himself uses one of these instruments of civilisation he does so with a pang. It would be nearly as hard for him to carry on his work without resort to them as it would be to escape from the atmosphere of the earth: but perhaps the use of evil might be defensible in its own destruction. Rapid and easy means of communication have but multiplied crime and disease. Could not man infer from the fact of God having given him legs that he was not intended to go farther than they could carry him? What are ordinarily called the benefits of railway



and similar things are in reality the opposite, being added enjoyments or means of gratifying the senses.

Medicine does not escape his judgment; he calls it black magic and actually says it is better to die than be saved by a drug prescribed by the doctor. The fear of immorality and unhealthy modes of life has been materially weakened if not totally removed by the hope of being saved from the evil consequences by the help of the doctor. A return to the cure of nature and her simple ways would redeem mankind.

These and similar doctrines, which appear harsh to the ordinary person, form the substance of Mr. Gandhi's ethics. Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purposes of a moral treatise or sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their propounder practises them in the spirit and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has already been mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears *Khaddar* woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite like the ocean, to use an eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact it is his complete mastery of the passions, his realization of the ideal of a "sanyasin" in all the rigour of its eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Now to a few other doctrines of a subordinate grade. Curiously enough he is a believer in the system of caste, though the pride of caste and its exclusiveness will receive no quarter from him. Apparently he is convinced of its beneficence, if maintained in its original purity, and holds it to be of the essence of Hinduism. In this belief, however, he is not likely to be followed by a great section of his countrymen, who are anxious to restore their religion to its ancient purity. But he is at one with them and in fact with the awakened conscience of India in desiring to exorcise the demon of untouchability. Millions of people are held by caste Hindus to be beneath their physical touch and live in conditions which are scarcely fit for human beings. These he would uplift, asserting that Hinduism gives no kind of justification for the abuse. But his work for the depressed classes, as they are called, would take the form which has quite recently been given to social work of that kind, in the West. He would have the worker cast aside his own status and live the life of the class to be helped, do their work and earn their wage, exactly as they do. So





## APPRECIATIONS

CSL  
87

only can real understanding and sympathy come, so only can that confidence be engendered which is an essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His non-co-operationist followers seem in places to have mixed up his humanitarian work with politics and so suffered a check. In the Mahatma's eyes no political rights will be of the slightest use to a community which is the prey of great social failings, and work for *Swaraaj* can never reach any success without simultaneous work for great social reforms. But violent political excitement is not a favourable condition, for such antagonism of government and its officials is only to be expected to the activities of hosts of young picketeers who are pledged at the same time to embarrass and even destroy the ordinary administration.

The educational ideals of the Mahatma have not yet received a clear expression. To compulsion even of rudimentary education, he must be averse. The higher sciences and arts, the specialised forms, historical research or economic enquiry with their glorification of machinery and wealth in its varied forms, will find no room in his simple scheme. Of the necessity of introducing one language for common use in India he has been for long a persistent advocate. He has chosen Hindi for the place of this *lingua franca*. With characteristic earnestness he has collected funds for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of this language and has sent out enthusiastic teachers to all parts of India. The non-co-operation turmoil may have for the time overshadowed this activity. Perhaps, too, the bulk of educational workers in India has not yet accepted the Mahatma's conclusions in this regard, and for this reason his efforts on behalf of Hindi have not been co-ordinated with the educational work of the country generally.

The writer of these lines is not of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things, that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says:—"Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight".—*Survey Graphic*.

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## APPENDIX II

MR. H. S. L. POLAK

### LOVE OF TRUTH

If there is one characteristic more than another that stamps Mr. Gandhi as a man amongst men, it is his extraordinary love of truth. His search for it is the one passion of his life, and every action of his indicates the devotee of this usually distant shrine. Whatever he says, even those most hostile to him unhesitatingly believe, as being the truth so far as he is aware of it, and he will not hesitate to retract, publicly and immediately, anything that he may have unwittingly declared to be a fact, but which he afterwards finds to be unwarranted. His political opponents admit unquestioningly that every action of his is prompted only by the most conscientious and impersonal motives. In his legal practice, which he long ago definitely abjured as an "unclean thing," he was highly regarded by his fellow-practitioners as an able lawyer and an honourable colleague or opponent, and Magistrates and Judge alike paid careful attention to any case that Mr. Gandhi advocated, realising that it had intrinsic merits or that he sincerely believed that it had. He has been known to retire from a case in open Court, and in the middle of the hearing, having realised that his client had deceived him, and he never accepted a case except on the express understanding that he reserved to himself the right to withdraw at any stage if he felt that his client had not dealt honestly with him.

### SELF-SUPPRESSION

His self-suppression and courtesy are universally recognised and appreciated. He has scarcely ever been known to give angry expression to his feelings, and then only when moved by a sense of righteous indignation. He has never, during the whole course of his public career, condescended to the use of the average politician's dictionary of invectives, and his courtesy and urbanity towards opponents arises from his desire and ability to place himself in their position before attacking it.

### GENEROSITY

His generosity is proverbial. He never issued a formal demand for payment of a debt due to him, conceiving that his debtor, if an honest man, would pay when he could, and if a dishonest man, would not be made the more honest by the use of legal compulsion. Indeed, in his every action, he vindicates his hostility to the doctrine of force and his abiding affection for that of love as a rule of life. When he was nearly done to death by a fanatical Pathan, in 1908, he absolutely refused to charge his assailant or to give evidence against him. He preferred to conquer him by love, and succeeded; for early the following year the Pathan, who had been deported to India because he sturdily refused to comply with the Transvaal Law, addressed a letter to





Mr. Gandhi in which he assured the latter that all his sympathies were with him, and he would do what he could to help the cause.

#### SENSE OF PUBLIC DUTY

Mr. Gandhi's sense of public duty is profound. Just before his first arrest, he received the news that his youngest child was desperately ill, and he was asked to go to Phoenix at once if he wished to save him. He refused, saying that his greater duty lay in Johannesburg, where the community had need of him, and his child's life or death must be left in God's hands. Similarly, during his second imprisonment, he received telegraphic news of Mrs. Gandhi's serious illness, and was urged even by the visiting Magistrate to pay his fine and so become free to nurse her. Again he refused, declining to be bound by private ties when such action would probably result in weakening the community of which he was the stay and the inspiration. And although after his release and his subsequent re-arrest, he could have secured indefinite postponement of the hearing of his case, so that he might nurse Mrs. Gandhi back to health after a serious operation, as soon as he heard that the Transvaal Government were anxious to see him back again in gaol, he hastened to the Transvaal from Natal, leaving Mrs. Gandhi, for aught he knew to the contrary, on her deathbed.

Yet he is a devoted husband and father, and is intensely attached to children. Indeed, he is never happier than when with little children. His sense of duty was never more strikingly demonstrated than when he set out, on that fateful morning in February, 1908, to fulfil his pledge to the Transvaal Government that he would undertake voluntary registration. He knew that owing to a misunderstanding, which even his lucidity and persuasiveness could not overcome, a small section of the community had been rendered bitterly hostile to him, and that his future assailant was at that moment in his office and waiting an opportunity for a physical attack, which could only be effected in the open street. Mr. Gandhi had no thought of seeking police protection against a compatriot, but walked straight to the Registration Office, and on the way the expected attack was delivered. Bleeding from open wounds and in the greatest pain, he was taken to the Rev J.J. Doke's house, but before he would permit the doctor to stitch up his face, which was badly gashed, he insisted upon completing the form of application for voluntary registration in the presence of the Registrar of Asiatics, giving full details as to identity, like the least of his followers—Mr. Gandhi has always steadfastly refused, either within or outside of prison, to avail himself of any privilege that is not accorded to the humblest of his countrymen—and then permitted his wounds to be sewn up without availing himself of an anæsthetic. That same day, though tossing feverishly upon a sick-bed, he issued the following manifesto





to the Indian community, which had for the moment been taken aback by the suddenness of the assault and by a series of foolish errors on the part of the registration officials :—

"Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought that I was doing what was wrong. They have had their redress in the only manner they know. I, therefore, request that no steps be taken against them.

"Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mahomedan or Mahomedans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood spilt to-day cement the two communities indissolubly—such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it! . . . . The spirit of passive resistance rightly understood should make the people fear none and nothing but God—no cowardly fear, therefore, should deter the vast majority of sober-minded Indians from doing their duty. The promise of repeal of the Act, against voluntary registration, having been given, it is the sacred duty of every true Indian to help the Government and the Colony to the uttermost."

To assume responsibilities, to recognise obligations, was always Mr. Gandhi's main thought in his relations with the European colonists of South Africa; for he knew that the completest rights cannot be availed of by undeveloped and irresponsible people. Hence his offers, on behalf of the community, of ambulance and stretcher-bearer corps, his desire to afford the Government and Municipal authorities the utmost help at all times in the proper conduct of public affairs and the governance and uplifting of the Indian community. He always felt that the only possible road to progress was by compelling the European colonists to recognise the real worth and sterlingness of character of his compatriots and a deep-seated desire to secure mutual respect was at the bottom of his action in advising his fellow-countrymen to continue the struggle for the preservation of their manhood.

Mr. Gandhi will not hesitate, when necessary, to set himself against the opinion of many of his countrymen or boldly to declare whose is the responsibility for any recognised evil. Indeed his general attitude may be briefly summed up in the following statements he once made to the writer: "Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man."

#### HINDU-MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

So far as the Indian community itself was concerned, Mr. Gandhi had appointed for himself one supreme task—to bring Hindus and Mahomedans together and to make them realise that they were one brotherhood and sons of the same Motherland.





His attitude as a Hindu towards Mahomedans is well defined in the following letter addressed by him to a Mahomedan correspondent:—

"I never realise any distinction between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. To my mind both are sons of Mother India. I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly, they should be glad to give way so much the more to their Mahomedan brethren. As a man of truth, I honestly believed that Hindus should yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large-heartedness is displayed. When the Hindu and Mahomedans act towards each other as blood-brothers, then alone can there be unity; then only can we hope for the dawn of India."

And as has already been seen, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to shed his blood in order that the bonds of Hindu-Mahomedan brotherhood might be the more firmly cemented.

#### CHIVALRY

His chivalry is at once the admiration of his friends and followers and the confusion of enemies. A telling example of this was given when, in October, 1908, together with a number of compatriots, he was arrested and charged at Volksrust, the Transvaal border town. Mr. Gandhi then gave the following evidence on behalf of his fellow-countrymen whom he was defending, and though he was not obliged upon to make these admissions:—

"He took the sole responsibility for having advised them to enter the Colony. They had largely been influenced by his advice, though, no doubt, they had used their own judgment, he thought that, in giving that advice, he had consulted the best interests of the State. He asked the accused to enter at a public meeting and individually. They probably, at that time, had no idea of entering the Colony, except, perhaps, one of them. He would certainly admit that he had assisted the accused to enter. He admitted aiding and abetting them to enter the Transvaal. He was quite prepared to suffer the consequence of his action, as he always had been.

Later, when giving evidence on his own behalf, he said:—?

"In connection with my refusal to produce my registration certificate and to give thumb-impressions or finger-impressions; I think that as an officer of this Court, I owe an explanation. There have been differences between the Government and British Indians, whom I represent as Secretary of the British Indian Association, over the Asiatic Act, No. 2 of 1907, and after due



deliberation, I took upon myself the responsibility of advising my countrymen not to submit to the primary obligation imposed by the Act, but still, as law-abiding subjects of the State, to accept its sanctions. Rightly or wrongly, in common with other Asiatics, I consider that the Act in question, among other things, offends our conscience, and the only way, I thought, as I still think, the Asiatics could show their feeling with regard to it was to incur its penalties. And in pursuance of that policy, I admit that I have advised the accused who have preceded me to refuse submission to the Act, as also the Act 86 of 1908, seeing that in the opinion of British Indians, full relief, that was promised by the Government, has not been granted. I am now before the Court to suffer the penalties that may be awarded me."

And when he was next sentenced, Mr. Gandhi made the following declaration:—

"It is my misfortune that I have to appear before the Court for the same offence the second time. I am quite aware that my offence is deliberate and wilful. I have honestly desired to examine my conduct in the light of past experience, and I maintain the conclusion that, no matter what my countrymen do or think, as a citizen of the State and as a man who respects conscience above everything, I must continue to incur the penalties so long as justice, as I conceive it, has not been rendered by the State to a portion of its citizens. I consider myself the greatest offender in the Asiatic struggle, if the conduct that I am pursuing is held to be reprehensible. I, therefore, regret that I am being tried under a clause which does not enable me to ask for a penalty which some of my fellow-objectors received, but I ask you to impose on me the lightest penalty."

Thus, Mr. Gandhi indicated his willingness to become a passive resister even against his own countrymen, if need be, and his anxiety, like the Greek hero who rushed into the fray and found death by gathering into his own breast the spears of the enemy, to bring salvation to his people by accepting the fullest responsibility and the heaviest penalties. Even whilst in gaol, he was a passive resister; for he declined to eat the special food provided for him until his Indian fellow-prisoners were given a more suitable diet, and he deliberately starved himself upon one wretched meal a day for six weeks, until the authorities were obliged to promise a modified diet-scale for Indian prisoners, a promise which they later fulfilled—for the worse.

Mr. Gandhi put his thought on the meaning of passive resistance concisely and in a direct form, when he addressed the following exhortation to the Transvaal Tamil community:—

"Remember that we are descendants of Prahlad and Sudhanva, both passive resisters of the purest type. They disregarded the dictates even of their parents when they were asked to deny God.





They suffered extreme torture rather than inflict suffering on their persecutors. We in the Transvaal are being called upon to deny God, in that we are required to deny our manhood, go back upon our oath, and accept an insult to our nation. Shall we, in the present crisis, do less than our forefathers?"

### HIS DEEP SPIRITUALITY

His simplicity is extreme. He is a devoted follower of Tolstoy and Ruskin in their appeal for simpler life, and himself lives the life of an ascetic, eating the simplest fruits of the earth, sleeping often on a piece of sack on the bare earth in the open air, and he cares nothing for personal appearance. He has reduced himself to a condition of voluntary poverty, and he has entirely abandoned the practice of law believing that he cannot consistently obtain his livelihood from a profession that derives its sanction from physical force. He acknowledges no binding ties of kin or custom, but only of the obligation of his own conscience. Ram Krishna tested his freedom from caste-prejudice by sweeping out a pariah's hut with his own hair, Mohandas Gandhi has tested his by tending the wounds of a Babu savage with his own hands. With him the spirit of religion is everything, the world and its opinion nothing. He does not know how to distinguish Hindu from Mahomedan, Christian from infidel. To him all alike are brothers, fragments of the Divine, fellow-spirits struggling for expression. All he has, he gives. With him self-surrender and absolute sacrifice are demands of his very nature. His deep spirituality influences all around, so that no man dares to commit evil in his presence. He lives in the happiness of his friends, but he does not hesitate to create a condition of spiritual unrest in them when he conceives it his duty to point out the right and condemn the wrong. He cannot condone falsehood, but he reproves and rebukes lovingly. Indeed, love is his only weapon against evil. He sees God in every living thing, and therefore loves all mankind and the whole animal world. He is strictly vegetarian, not because of orthodoxy, but because he cannot cause the death of any creature and because he believes that life is of God. In faith he is probably nearer in touch with pure Jainism or Buddhism than any other creed, though no formal creed can really hold him. To him all is God, and from that reality he deduces his whole line of conduct. Perhaps, in this generation, India has not produced such a noble man—saint, patriot, statesman in one. He lives for God and for India. His one desire is to see unity amongst his fellow-countrymen. His every endeavour in South Africa was directed to showing the possibility of Indian national unity and the lines upon which the national edifice should be constructed. His winning manners, pleasant smile and refreshing candour and originality of thought and action mark him out as a leader of men. But those who know him best recognise in him the religious teacher, the indicator of God, the inspiring example of "a pure,





holy soul," as he has been called by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, the modesty, humility and utter self-abnegation of whole life provides a lesson for all who have eyes to see, ears to hear and an understanding spirit.

How he starved and fasted and sought to purify his physical nature, is to tell the story of a man to whom self-suffering is a daily joy and delight. And he did not subdue his body at the cost of his spirituality, as is the habit of so many self-tormentors, but his soul grew in exultation as he felt himself free to express his higher nature and to devote greater energy to the service of his countrymen. He has been a true Bhakta, a devotee of the most earnest and humble type. Praise has always been painful and distasteful to him, though he has been lavish of it as regards his fellow-workers.

Every action of his life has been performed in the service of that Divine Essence that has so profoundly permeated his own being—from the grinding of wheat in his own home to the planting of fruit trees, the teaching of little children and the serving of his countrymen at the Kumbha Mela at Hardwar.

#### THE PERSONALITY OF THE MAN

But it is the majestic personality of the man Mohandas Gandhi, that overshadows his comparatively insignificant physique. One feels oneself in the presence of a moral giant, whose pellucid soul is a clear, still lake, in which one sees Truth clearly mirrored. His is the meekness that has turned away with a thousand times, and that has disarmed opponents even when most hostile. Unarmed for war, he yet has conquered peace, for his weapons have been the age-old arms of moral favour, calm determination, spiritual exaltation, sacrifice of the lower self, service of his fellowmen, lowliness, steadfastness, and an overwhelming love bestowed equally upon every living thing. A movement with such a man at its heart could not but succeed, and so the Passive Resistance struggle came to an end and freed its greatest exponent for still greater service on a wider stage. Meanwhile, he has fixed the lines of growth of his countrymen in South Africa, indicated the path and means of patriotic development for his countrymen in the Motherland, rallied the best of European sentiment to the South African Indian cause, developed the possibilities of Passive Resistance, and added yet one more name to the Golden Scroll of those who have deserved well of their country and of mankind.

Yet this is not the whole man. You cannot say this is he, that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades; and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition. They partake of the nature of the Illimitable and the Eternal from





which they have sprung and to which they are bound. With their feet firm-set on earth and their hands amongst the stars, they are pointers of the way to those who search, encouragers of the faint and weary, inspirers of those breathing in deep draughts of hope.

#### MR. K. NATARAJAN

The two questions which made Mahatma Gandhi start non-co-operation were the Rowlatt Act and the Khilafat. The Government agree with him in both. In constitutionally governed countries the Opposition Leader, whose policy on two such capital questions was accepted by Government, would as a matter of course be put in charge of the Government. A bureaucracy, however, can only imprison him. The bureaucracy accepts new ideas when it can no longer oppose them but punishes the promulgator for disturbing it. The Indian Government cannot tolerate tall poppies. The Montagu reforms have not altered this one bit and that is the conclusive condemnation; my objection to the system is not so much that it has failed in this or that branch of administration, but that in its total and inevitable incidence it condemns our soul to a stunted aimless life. The remedy is a complete change of system to complete responsible Government. The conversion of the present system can be carried out only by a plan steadily and persistently worked upon. Such a scheme will be shortly placed before the country. Non-co-operation by itself is not enough. It is like one who has voluntarily renounced the use of one of his limbs. We should study the system not only in its weak points but also its strong ones. Violence is not force. Effective strength always implies perfect non-violence. The Mahatma's greatest contribution to humanity is the application which he has elaborated of the grand principle of ahimsa to the region of politics.—(After Mr. Gandhi's arrest; in the "*Bombay Chronicle*.")

#### MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

A convict and a criminal in the eyes of the Law! Nevertheless the entire Court rose in an act of spontaneous homage when Mahatma Gandhi entered—a frail, serene, indomitable figure in a coarse and scanty loin-cloth, accompanied by his devoted disciple and fellow-prisoner, Shankerlal Banker.

"So you are seated near me to give me your support in case I break down," he jested, with that happy laugh of his which seems to hold all the undimmed radiance of the world's childhood in its depths. And looking round at the hosts of familiar faces of men and women who had travelled far to offer him a token of their love, he added, "This is like a family gathering and not a law court."

A thrill of mingled fear, pride, hope and anguish ran through the crowded hall when the Judge took his seat—an admirable Judge deserving of our praise alike for his brave and resolute sense of duty, his flawless courtesy, his just perception of a unique occasion and his fine tribute to a unique personality.



The strange trial proceeded and as I listened to the immortal words that flowed with prophetic fervour from the lips of my beloved master, my thoughts sped across the centuries to different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified, for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manner furnished the only true parallel in history to this sweet invincible apostle of Indian liberty who loved humanity with surpassing compassion and to use his own beautiful phrase, "approached the poor with the mind of the poor."

The most epic event of modern times ended quickly.

The pent-up emotion of the people burst in a storm of sorrow as a long slow procession moved towards him in a mournful pilgrimage of farewell, clinging to the hands that had toiled so incessantly, bowing over the feet that had journeyed so continuously in the service of his country.

In the midst of all this poignant scene of many-voiced and myriad-hearted grief he stood, uncoupled, in all his transcendent implicitness, the embodied symbol of the Indian Nation—its living sacrifice and sacrament in one.

They might take him to the utmost ends of the earth but his destination remains unchanged in the hearts of his people who are both the heirs and the stewards of his matchless dreams and his matchless deeds.—(Contributed to the "*Bombay Chronicle*" soon after Mr. Gandhi's trial.)

### BABU DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

Let critics of Mahatma Gandhi then look to history before they condemn him for trying to bring this much-beslauded Modern Civilisation down to the common starting point of all great civilisations. We are at dawn of a New Era, and Mahatma Gandhi is the one leader who shows to us the right path. He at least is watering the roots, while all others who try to keep alive the Civilisation of the Western nations are like foolish gardeners who lavish water on the withering leaves of a dying tree and never think of watering its roots.—(Young India.)

### THE CHALLENGE—(LONDON)

Here is a man of whom all those who know him testify that he is singularly Christ-like, one who has based his whole position upon the ultimate supremacy of moral over physical force, one of whom the worst that can be said is that he is a visionary whose dreams could not, in the present state of human society, be realised. Unpractical—"My Kingdom is not of this world," an agitator—"He stirreth up the people"; better arrested—"It is expedient that one man should die for the people." We have read, with growing conviction of the parallelism,





the attempts of the Press to justify our Government's action ; and hitherto apart from the mass and abuse which all reliable evidence of the Mahatma's character and actions shows to be irrelevant, have found nothing which could not have been written with equal accuracy by an apologist for Caiaphas or Pilate. And the result has given us a shock the more unpleasant because here, also, it is not the particular wickedness or failure of any one individual, but the unchristian quality of the whole system that is revealed. We do not believe that any special persons are individually to blame, it is simply that our accepted outlook and standards have come into conflict with a singularly pure and sincere idealist. We have judged him, and, in doing so, have condemned ourselves.

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### THE NATION (NEW YORK)

Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the untouchables ; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder ; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy. Not he, but Lord Reading by his refusal to abandon repression prevented the proposed Round Table Conference which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question of the Cabinet, we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered—apparently with the consent of those British liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi while they prattle his satytness. Yet that hope is not dead while Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long his people will follow the way he pointed out we do not know ; already there are signs of revolt. But this we know. If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands, finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects.

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## INDEX

|  | PAGE     |   | PAGE |
|--|----------|---|------|
| <b>A</b>                                   |          | Arya Samaj, work of the ...             | 270  |
| Abdul Bari, Letter to ...                  | 745      | Attitude towards the assailants ...     | 54   |
| Address to indentured Indians ...          | 89       | <b>B</b>                                |      |
| ——— Social Service Conference ...          | 397      | Bangalore Address, Reply to ...         | 241  |
| ——— the Tamil Community ...                | 91       | Bardoli—Civil Disobedience in ...       | 666  |
| Advice to South African Indians ...        | 117      | ——— Decisions, in defence of ...        | 689  |
| ——— Students ...                           | 233      | Barua, Gandhi and Sir George ...        | 123  |
| After the Arrest ...                       | 735      | Before the Court in 1907 ...            | 50   |
| Ahimsa ...                                 | 282      | ——— In 1913 ...                         | 66   |
| ——— Doctrine of ...                        | 269, 320 | Beginning of the Struggle, The ...      | 1    |
| Ahmedabad Congress Speech ...              | 650      | Behar, Labour Trouble in ...            | 193  |
| ——— Mill hands ...                         | 420      | Benares Hindu University Speech ...     | 249  |
| ——— Speech at ...                          | 473      | ——— Incident, The ...                   | 258  |
| Ajmal Khan, Letter to ...                  | 737      | Bengal, Appeal to Young ...             | 565  |
| ——— Arrest of the ...                      | 601      | Besant (Mrs.) and Gandhi ...            | 258  |
| Allahabad, Speech at ...                   | 443      | Bombay Conference ...                   | 657  |
| Amritsar Appeals, The ...                  | 484      | ——— Reception in ...                    | 110  |
| Anarchical Crimes, on ...                  | 229      | ——— Riots ...                           | 617  |
| Andrews, Introduction by, ...              | xiii     | ——— Riots : Appeal to co-workers ...    | 628  |
| ——— Letter to Mr. ...                      | 748      | ——— Riots : Appeal to Hoolegans ...     | 625  |
| Apology, the Ali Brothers' ...             | 585      | ——— Riots ; Message to the citizens ... | 623  |
| Appeal to the Viceroy on Rowlatt Bills ... | 450      | ——— Riots, Moral Issue ...              | 633  |
| ——— The Women of India ...                 | 597      | ——— Riots : Peace at last ...           | 631  |
| ——— Young Bengal ...                       | 565      |   |      |
| Appreciations appx. ...                    | 17       |   |      |
| ——— After the ...                          | 735      |   |      |
| Arrest, Message after ...                  | 468      |   |      |
| ——— of the Ali Brothers ...                | 601      |   |      |
| ——— The ...                                | 735      |   |      |





| PAGE   | PAGE                                       |
|--|--|
| Bombay Riots: the State-<br>ment ... 617           | Courts and Schools ... 520                 |
| — Speech ... 444                                   | Covenant, The Meaning of<br>the ... 210    |
| Boycott of the Councils ... 534                    | Cow-protection ... 811                     |
| British Citizenship, Duties<br>of ... 225          | — Protection of the ... 407                |
|  | Creed of the Congress, the ... 561         |
| <b>C</b>   | Crewe, Letter to Lord ... 108              |
| Cachalia, A. M. ... 119                            | Crimes of Chauri Chaura ... 679            |
| Celibacy, vow of ... 322                           | Critics, Reply to ... 703                  |
| Champaran Agrarian Bill ... 195                    |  |
| — Enquiry ... 193                                  | <b>D</b>                                   |
| Chauri Chaura, the crime<br>of ... 679             | Death, the Fear of ... 823                 |
| Chelmsford, Letter to Lord ... 426                 | Delhi Resolutions, The ... 695             |
| — Open Letter to ... 511                           | Deputation to Lord Elgin, 43               |
| Child Marriage ... 416                             | — Selborne ... 30                          |
| Citizen rights for South<br>African Indians ... 77 | Divine Warning, A ... 720                  |
| Civil Disobedience ... 636                         | Doctrine of Ahimsa ... 369, 320            |
| — In Bardoli ... 666                               | — Compartments ... 437                     |
| — Preparations for ... 660                         | — The Sword, The ... 788                   |
| Civil Service, Indians in ... 439                  | Durban, Farewell Speech at ... 85          |
| Class Legislation ... 39                           | Duties of British Citizen-<br>ship ... 225 |
| Colour Legislation, Repeal<br>of ... 81            | Duty of Title-holders ... 537              |
| Commission, Another S. A. ... 129                  |  |
| Compartments, Doctrine of ... 437                  | <b>E</b>                                   |
| Confession of Faith, A ... 769                     | Earlier Indian Speeches ... 225            |
| Congress Committee, Delhi<br>Resolutions ... 695   | Economic v. Moral Pro-<br>gress ... 286    |
| — Demands ... 661                                  | Education, Faulty System<br>of ... 414     |
| — Message to the ... 185                           | — , Real ... 234                           |
| — Report on Punjab<br>Disorders ... 494            | — Through the<br>Vernaculars ... 327, 335  |
| — Special, Speech at<br>the ... 541                | Educational Conference,<br>Gujarat ... 355 |
| — Speech (Ahmeda-<br>bad) ... 650                  | — System, Defects in<br>our ... 358        |
| — The Creed of the ... 561                         | Elgin, Lord, Deputation to ... 43          |
| Connaught, Open letter to<br>the Duke of ... 569   | Emigrants, Indian and<br>European ... 133  |
| Co-operation, Moral Basis of ... 293               | Emigration, Indian Colo-<br>nial ... 139   |
| Councils, Boycott of the ... 534                   | Empire, a Service to the ... 538           |





## INDEX

iii

| PAGE   | PAGE   |
|--|--|
| End of the Kaira Struggle ... 217                | Genesis of Passive Resistance ... 183                  |
| England, Farewell to ... 109                     | Gokhale, late Mr. ... 244                              |
| — Reception in ... 107                           | — Three Speeches on ... 242                            |
|  | — Tilak and Mehta ... 318                              |
| F  | Gokhale's portrait, unveiling of ... 242               |
| Farewell Address at Verulam ... 89               | — Services to India ... 247                            |
| — Speech at Durban ... 85                        | Gorges, E. M. and Mr. Gandhi ... 61                    |
| — Speech at Johannesburg ... 95                  | Govt. of India, Letter to ... 670                      |
| — To England ... 109                             | Great Sentinel, The ... 607                            |
| — To Indentured Indians ... 89                   | — Trial, The ... 749                                   |
| — To South Africa ... 102                        | Grievances of Indian Settlers in South Africa ... 1    |
| — To the Tamil Community ... 91                  | Gujarat Educational Conference ... 335                 |
| Fearlessness, Spirit of ... 266                  | — Political Conference ... 372                         |
| — Vow of ... 326                                 | — Sabha ... 197  |
| Fear of Death, the ... 323                       | Gurukula, The ... 265                                  |
| Freedom of Opinion, Manifesto ... 606            | Guzarat National University ... 793                    |
| Freemasonry, Political ... 515                   |  |
| G  | H  |
| Gains of the Passive Resistance Struggle ... 188 | Handcuffs ... 174                                      |
| Gandhi and E.M. Gorges, 61                       | Hand-weaving ... 329                                   |
| — and Mr. Irwin ... 332                          | Hardinge's Condition of Abolition of Indenture ... 136 |
| — and Sir George Barnes ... 123                  | Hazrat Mohani's Resolution ... 655                     |
| — Appreciations appx. 17                         | Hindi and Urdu ... 355                                 |
| — Mr., South African Papers on ... 17            | — Plea for ... 418                                     |
| — Smuts Agreement ... 125                        | Hindu-Mahomedan Problem ... 334                        |
| Gandhi's Address to Lord Selborne ... 92         | Hindu-Moslem Unity ... 811                             |
| — Challenge ... 212                              | Hinduism ... 826                                       |
| — Jail Experiences, Third ... 167                | Hindus and Mahomedans ... 55                           |
| — Religion appx. ... 1                           | Hindustani and English ... 800                         |
| — Statement ... 735                              | Hindu University Speech ... 249                        |
| — Ultimatum ... 669                              | Honour of a Satyagrahi ... 220                         |
|  | — The Prince ... 614                                   |
|  | How to Work Non-Co-operation ... 507                   |
|  | Hunger Strike ... 759                                  |





## INDEX

|  | PAGE     |                                    | PAGE   |
|--|----------|------------------------------------|--------|
| <b>I</b>                               |          |                                    |        |
| "If I am Arrested" ...                 | 726      | Jail Experiences (Second) ...      | 163    |
| Imperial Conference Resolutions ...    | 149      | — Interview in ...                 | 742    |
| Indenture, Abolition of ...            | 136      | — Life in India ...                | 759    |
| Hardinge's Condition ...               | 136      | — Pretoria ...                     | 169    |
| — system, Iniquities of ...            | 144      | Jails, Work in ...                 | 763    |
| Indentured Indians, Address to ...     | 89       | Johannesburg Address ...           | 91, 95 |
| — labour ...                           | 136      | Judgment, The ...                  | 757    |
| Independence Resolution ...            | 655      | <b>K</b>                           |        |
| India, A Lesson to ...                 | 184      | Kaira and Guzarat, Appeal to ...   | 435    |
| — And the Dominions ...                | 131      | — Distress, Statement on the ...   | 200    |
| — Is and must be non-violent ...       | 724      | — People, A Tribute to ...         | 220    |
| Indian and European Emigrants ...      | 193      | — Press Note, Reply to ...         | 211    |
| — Colonial Emigration ...              | 139      | — Question, The ...                | 196    |
| — Field Ambulance ...                  | 109      | — Reply to the Commissioner ...    | 206    |
| — Immigration Amendment Bill ...       | 1        | — Struggle, End of the ...         | 217    |
| — Medicine ...                         | 788      | — Struggle, the Last Phase ...     | 221    |
| — Merchants ...                        | 330      | — The Situation in ...             | 196    |
| — Relief Act ...                       | 83       | Karachi Address, Reply to ...      | 263    |
| — Rights in the Transvaal ...          | 125      | Kelkar's Article, Reply to ...     | 713    |
| — South African League ...             | 112, 115 | Khilafat Demands ...               | 661    |
| Indians and Citizen Rights ...         | 77       | — Movement, Why I have Joined ...  | 491    |
| — In Civil Service ...                 | 439      | — Question, the ...                | 487    |
| — In South Africa ...                  | 122      | — Wrongs, the Punjab and ...       | 481    |
| — In the Colonies ...                  | 131      | <b>L</b>                           |        |
| Industrial Training ...                | 271      | Labour, Rights and Duties of ...   | 784    |
| Iniquities of the Indenture System ... | 144      | — Trouble in Behar ...             | 193    |
| Interview in Jail ...                  | 742      | Language for India, National ...   | 353    |
| — the Gandhi-Reading ...               | 579      | Last Phase, the Kaira Struggle ... | 221    |
| Irwin and Gandhi ...                   | 332      | Lawyers and Non-Co-operation ...   | 536    |
| Issue at stake, The ...                | 56       | Legislation Class ...              | 39     |
| <b>J</b>                               |          | Lesson, A, to India ...            | 184    |
| Jail Experiences ...                   | 152      | Lessons of Passive Resistance ...  | 175    |
| — Experiences (First) ...              | 152      |                                    |        |





## INDEX

|  | PAGE |                                 | PAGE |
|--|------|---------------------------------|------|
| Letter, Open, to the Duke of Connaught ... | 569  | Message to Satyagrahis ...      | 465  |
| ———To Government of India ...              | 670  | ———To the Congress ...          | 180  |
| ———To Hakim Ajmal Khan ...                 | 737  | ———To the Country ...           | 758  |
| ———To H. E. the Viceroy ...                | 666  | ———To the Parsia ...            | 746  |
| ———To Lord Chelmsford ...                  | 426  | Mill hands, Ahmedabad ...       | 420  |
| ———To Lord Crewe ...                       | 108  | Miscellaneous ...               | 769  |
| ———To Moulana Abdul Bari ...               | 745  | Missionary Conference ...       | 273  |
| ———To Mr. Andrews ...                      | 748  | Moplah Outbreak ...             | 640  |
| ———To Urmila Devi ...                      | 742  | Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme ...   | 437  |
| Literary Education ...                     | 418  | ———Memorial to Mr. appz ...     | 10   |
| Loyalty to the British Empire ...          | 232  | Moral Basis of Co-operation ... | 298  |

## M

|                                      |          |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Madras Indian South...               |          |
| African League ...                   | 112, 115 |
| Law Dinner Speech ...                | 232      |
| Provincial Conference ...            | 131      |
| Reception in ...                     | 112      |
| Speech at ...                        | 446, 524 |
| Mahomedans and Hindus ...            | 55       |
| Malaviya Conference ...              | 657      |
| Malegaon Incident, The ...           | 577      |
| Manifesto on Freedom of Opinion ...  | 606      |
| To the Press ...                     | 440      |
| Marriage Question, the ...           | 61       |
| Mauds, Hon. Mr. ...                  | 195      |
| Mayavaram, Speech ...                | 238      |
| Meaning of the Covenant, The ...     | 210      |
| Imprisonments ...                    | 759      |
| Media of Instruction, Vernacular ... | 307      |
| Mehta, Gokhale, Tilak and ...        | 818      |
| Message, After Arrest ...            | 468      |
| Message to Co-workers ...            | 732      |
| Of the Charka ...                    | 736      |
| To Bombay Citizens ...               | 463      |
| To Kerala ...                        | 734      |
| To Madras Satyagrahis ...            | 462      |

## N

|                                      |               |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Natal Indian Association ...         | 73            |
| Nine o'clock Rule in ...             | 13            |
| Natesan, G. A. ...                   | 112, 115, 131 |
| National dress ...                   | 332           |
| Language for India ...               | 353           |
| Need for Humility, The ...           | 573           |
| Non-Co-operation ...                 | 526           |
| Neither a Saint nor a Politician ... | 805           |
| Nellore Provincial Conference ...    | 131           |
| Nine O'clock Rule in Natal ...       | 13            |
| Non-Co-operation ...                 | 461           |
| and Lawyers ...                      | 536           |
| and Special Congress ...             | 533           |
| , How to Work ...                    | 507           |
| , Is it Unconstitutional ...         | 529           |
| Need for ...                         | 526           |
| Parents and ...                      | 537           |
| Resolution ...                       | 541           |

## O

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| On the Eve of Arrest ...           | 726 |
| Open letter to Lord Chelmsford ... | 511 |





## INDEX

| PAGE  | PAGE   |
|---|--|
| Ordinance, Peace Preser-<br>vation ... 30           | Punjab Demands ... 661                                 |
| Origin of the Movement in<br>South Africa ... 181   | -----Disorder : A Personal<br>Statement ... 500        |
| P   | -----Disorders, Congress<br>Report on ... 494          |
| Parents and Non-Co-opera-<br>tion ... 537           | R  |
| Parsis, Message to the ... 746                      | Rabindranath Tagore,<br>Reply to ... 607               |
| Passive Resistance ... 179                          | Railway Restrictions in<br>Transvaal ... 119           |
| -----and Satyagraha ... 501                         | Railways, Third Class in ... 301                       |
| -----How the idea<br>Originated ... 179             | Rationale of Suffering, The ... 774                    |
| -----In Tolstoy Farm ... 773                        | Reception in Bombay ... 110                            |
| -----Lessons of ... 175                             | -----In England ... 107                                |
| -----Origin of the<br>Movement in S. A. ... 181     | -----In Madras ... 112                                 |
| -----Struggle, Gains of<br>the ... 188              | Reciprocity between India<br>and the Dominions ... 181 |
| -----The Genesis of ... 182                         | Recruiting, Appeal to Kaira ... 435                    |
| -----Theory and Prac-<br>tice of ... 776            | -----For the War ... 430                               |
| -----The Vow of ... 199                             | -----Objections Answer-<br>ed ... 433                  |
| Passive Resisters in the<br>Tolstoy Farm ... 183    | Registration of Coloured<br>Servants ... 13            |
| Patriotism, True ... 314                            | -----Voluntary ... 54                                  |
| Peace Preservation Ordin-<br>ance ... 30            | Religious study ... 162                                |
| Plea for Hindi ... 418                              | Repeal of Colour Legislation ... 8                     |
| -----The Soul, A ... 226                            | Reply to Critics ... 703                               |
| Political Conference, Guja-<br>rat ... 372          | -----Kaira Press-note ... 211                          |
| -----Freemasonry ... 515                            | -----Karachi Address ... 263                           |
| Politics ... 329                                    | -----Lord Ronaldshay ... 642                           |
| -----And the People ... 238                         | -----Rabindranath<br>Tagore ... 607                    |
| Pretoria jail ... 169                               | -----The Commissioner ... 206                          |
| Prince, Honour the ... 614                          | Rest Cure, A ... 762                                   |
| Prisoner, A Model ... 766                           | Reward of Public Life ... 241                          |
| Prohibited Literature, Dis-<br>tribution of ... 466 | Rights and Duties ... 236                              |
| Protection of the Cow,<br>The ... 407               | -----Of Labour ... 734                                 |
| Public Life, Reward of ... 241                      | Robertson, Sir Benjamin ... 129                        |
| Punjab and Khilafat Wrongs ... 481                  | Ronaldshay, Reply to<br>Lord ... 642                   |
|   | Round Table Conference ... 647                         |
|   | Rowlatt Bills and Satya-<br>graha ... 440              |





|  | PAGE |   | PAGE     |
|--|------|---|----------|
| Rowlatt Bills, Appeal to the Viceroy ...         | 450  | South African Indian Question ...             | 1        |
| Rules and Regulations of Satyagrahasrama Appx. 5 |      | — Indians, Advice to ...                      | 117      |
| S  |      | Special Congress, Non-Cooperation and ...     | 533      |
| Satyagraha and Duragraha, 471                    |      | — Speech at the ...                           | 541      |
| — and Passive Resistance ...                     | 501  | — Ahmedabad ...                               | 473      |
| — Committee ...                                  | 466  | — Allahabad ...                               | 443      |
| — Day ...  | 454  | — Bombay ...                                  | 454      |
| — Day in Madras ...                              | 455  | — Madras ...                                  | 446, 524 |
| — Pledge ...                                     | 442  | — The Special Congress ...                    | 541      |
| — and Rowlatt Bills ...                          | 440  | Spinning wheel ...                            | 610      |
| Satyagraha Sabha ...                             | 466  | — Truth of the ...                            | 747      |
| — Temporary Suspension ...                       | 479  | Spiritualising the Political Life ...         | 243      |
| Satyagrahashrama ...                             | 316  | Srinivasa Sastri, V.S. ...                    | 233      |
| —; the Rules and Regulations of appx. 5          |      | Statement before the Court ...                | 749      |
| Satyagrahi, Honour of A ...                      | 220  | Statement on the Kaira Distress ...           | 200      |
| — The ...  | 470  | — Oral ...                                    | 749      |
| Satyagrahis, Message to ...                      | 460  | — Written ...                                 | 751      |
| Schools, Courts and ...                          | 520  | Strike, Hunger ...                            | 759      |
| Selborne, Lord, Deputation to ...                | 30   | Strikes ...                                   | 574      |
| Service, A, to the Empire ...                    | 538  | Students, Advice to ...                       | 233      |
| Settlement, the ...                              | 83   | Suppressed Classes Conference, Address to ... | 815      |
| Should Indians have full Citizen Rights ...      | 73   | Swadeshi ...                                  | 273      |
| Simla Visit, The ...                             | 579  | — Meaning of ...                              | 267      |
| Situation in Kaira, the ...                      | 196  | — Vow appx ...                                | 12       |
| Smuts-Gandhi Agreement ...                       | 125  | — Vow of ...                                  | 325      |
| — Interview ...                                  | 80   | Swaraj ...                                    | 374      |
| Social boycott ...                               | 802  | — Demands ...                                 | 661      |
| — Laws, Man-Made, ...                            | 413  | — In one year ...                             | 548      |
| — Service ...                                    | 309  | — Is the Attempt to Win It ...                | 721      |
| — Service Conference ...                         | 297  | — Ways and Means ...                          | 432      |
| Solomon Commission, The ...                      | 69   | T   |          |
| South Africa and Indian Politics, on ...         | 779  | Tagore, reply to Rabindranath ...             | 657      |
| — v. Physical forces ...                         | 180  | Tamil Community, Address to ...               | 91       |
| South Africa, Farewell to ...                    | 102  | — Studies, My (Mr. Gandhi's) ...              | 173      |
| South African Commission ...                     | 129  |   |          |





|  | PAGE     |  | PAGE |
|--|----------|--|------|
| Tax, £ 3, Abolition of ..                          | 89       | Urdu and Hindi ..  | 355  |
| Temporary Suspension of<br>the Movement ...        | 479      | Urmila Devi, Letter to ...                                     | 742  |
| The Delhi Incident ..                              | 461      |  |      |
| Theory and Practice of Pas-<br>sive Resistance ... | 776      | <b>V</b>   |      |
| "The Two Incompatibles." ..                        | 597      | Vernaculars as Media of<br>Instruction ...                     | 307  |
| Third Class in Indian Rail-<br>ways ...            | 301      | Verulam, Address at ...  | 89   |
| Three Speeches on Gokhale ..                       | 242      | Viceroy, Letter to H. E. ...                                   | 666  |
| Tibbi College, Delhi ...                           | 788      | Viceroy's Call for Concord<br>( <i>Re Kaira Struggle</i> ) ... | 216  |
| Talak ...  | 525      | Violence and Non-violence ..                                   | 598  |
| — And Mehta, Gokhale ...                           | 818      | Voluntary Registration ...                                     | 554  |
| Title-holders, Duty of The ..                      | 537      | Vow of Celibacy ...  | 322  |
| "To Every Englishman in<br>India" ..               | 553, 557 | — Control of the<br>Palate ...                                 | 328  |
| Tolstoy farm, Passive<br>Resistance in ...         | 773      | — Fearlessness ...   | 326  |
| Top-heavy Administration ..                        | 439      | — Non-thieving ...   | 324  |
| Trade Licenses Laws ...                            | 84       | — Passive Resistance ...                                       | 199  |
| Transvaal, Railway Restric-<br>tions in ...        | 119      | — Swadeshi ...   | 325  |
| Tribute to Kaira People ...                        | 220      | — Truth ...  | 318  |
| Truce with the Govern-<br>ment, A ...              | 80       | <b>W</b>   |      |
| Truth of the Spinning<br>Wheel ...                 | 747      | Warning, A Divine ...  | 720  |
| Truth, Vow of ...                                  | 318      | War, Recruiting for ...  | 430  |
| <b>U</b>   |          | "What I read" ...  | 176  |
| Unregistered Newspapers,<br>Circulating ...        | 467      | "Why I have joined the<br>Khilafat Movement" ...               | 491  |
| Untouchability ...                                 | 815      | — Suffer ...   | 760  |
| Unveiling of Gokhale's<br>Portrait ...             | 242      | Womanhood, on ...  | 411  |
|  |          | Women of India, Appeal to<br>the ...                           | 597  |
|  |          | Work in Jail ...   | 783  |

## L

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