would be a poor defence of the honour. This doctrine of *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering *ourselves* into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power,—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness today in Europe. Then there is

THE VOW OF CELIBACY

Those who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life must lead a celibate life, no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the *Ashrama*. I do not deal with that at any length. Then we have

THE VOW OF CONTROL OF THE PALATE

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow I am just now coming after having inspected the Victoria Hostel. I saw there not to my dismay, though it should be to my dismay; but I am used to it now, that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions, but kitchens that have become necessary in order that people can have the condiments, and the exact weight of the condiments, to which they are used in the respective places from which they have come. And therefore we find that for the Brahmans themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering for the delicate tastes of all these different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery over it. I may say this: unless we take our minds off from this habit, and unless we shut our eyes to the tea shops and coffee shops and all these kitchens, and unless we are satisfied with foods that are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health, and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary, and exciting stimulation that we may have. If we do not do that, the result naturally is, that we abuse ourselves and we abuse even the sacred trust given to us, and we become less than animals and brutes, eating, drinking and indulging in passions we share in common with the animals; but have you ever seen a horse or a cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you

suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are; and seek dishes until at last we have become absolutely mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes? Then we have

THE VOW OF NON-THIEVING.

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to-day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality so long we are thieving. I am no socialist and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions: but I do say that, personally, those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody. I should then be departing from the rule of *Ahimsa*. If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a chapatti containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to any thing that we really have until these three millions are clothed and fed better. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation, in order that they may be nursed, fed

and clothed. Then there is the vow of non-possession which follows as a matter of course. Then I go to

THE VOW OF SWADESHI.

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow. But you are conversant with the *Swadeshi* life and the *Swadeshi* spirit. I suggest to you we are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbour and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras. That is my view of *Swadeshi*. In your village-barber, you are bound to support him to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village barber should reach the attainments of the barber from Madras you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that, you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *Swadeshi*. So, when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India, we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things which we may consider necessary; but believe me, when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book, "Pilgrim's Progress." There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this *Swadeshi* life. We have also

THE VOW OF FEARLESSNESS.

I found, throughout my wanderings in India, that India, educated India, is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public; we may not declare our confirmed opinions in public: we may talk about them secretly; and we may do anything we like within the four walls of our house,—but those are not for public consumption. If we had taken a vow of silence I would have nothing to say. When we open our lips in public, we say things which we do not really believe in. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every public man who speaks in India. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be. And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin. We fear consequence, and therefore we are afraid to tell the Truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequence. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India, do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearlessness? Or shall we over-awe our countrymen, even as we are over-awed? We thus see how important this "fearlessne ss" now is. And we have also

THE VOW REGARDING THE UNTOUCHABLES.

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism to-day carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that

this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of "untouchableness" must have come to us when we were in the cycle of our lives, at our lowest ebb, and that evil has still stuck to us and it still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension; and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Of course, we are labouring under a very heavy handicap. Although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families, you cannot react upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue, and all your energy is devoted to that. And so we have also introduced a rule in this Ashrama: that we shall receive our

EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS.

In Europe every cultured man learns, not only his language, but also other languages, certainly three or four. And even as they do in Europe, in order to solve the problem of language in India, we, in this Ashrama, make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can. And I assure you that the trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering the English language. We never master the English language: with

some exceptions it has not been possible for us to do so; we can never express ourselves as clearly as we can in our own mother tongue. How dare we rub out of our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life, as we call it, through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach in our life for bringing which we shall have to pay dearly and heavily. And you will see now the connection between these two things,—education and untouchableness—this persistance of the spirit of untouchableness even at this time of the day in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime. But we are seized with fear also and therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes. And we have got a superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our family. You say, "My parents will die if I tell them that I, at least, can no longer partake of his crime." I say that Prahlad never considered that his father would die if he pronounced the sacred syllables of the name of Vishnu. On the contrary, he made the whole of that household ring, from one corner to another, by repeating that name even in the sacred presence of his father. And so you and I may do this thing in the sacred presence of our parents. If, after receiving this rude shock, some of them expire, I think that would be no calamity. It may be that some rude shocks of the kind might have to be delivered. So long as we persist in these things which have been handed down to us for generations, these incidents may happen. But there is a higher law of Nature, and in due obedience to that higher law, my parents and myself should make that sacrifice.

AND THEN WE FOLLOW HAND-WEAVING.

You may ask: "Why should we use our hands?" and say "the manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays." I think we have to realise the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe-maker attends a college, he ought not to abandon the profession of barber or shoe-maker. I consider that a barber's profession is just as good as the profession of medicine.

Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules, think that then, and not till then, you may come to

POLITICS

and dabble in them to your heart's content, and certainly you will then never go wrong. Politics, divorced of religion, has absolutely no meaning. If the student-world crowd the political platforms of this country, to my mind, it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but that does not mean that you, in your student life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions, and we ought to understand our national growth and all those things. We may do it from our infancy. So, in our *Ashrama*, every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country, and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First, we want to realise that religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us, and it should then be a sacred privilege of

students and everybody to partake of that whole life, so that, when they grow to manhood and when they leave their colleges, they may do so as men properly equipped to battle with life. To-day what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to student life; immediately the students leave their colleges and cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, rising no higher in their aspirations, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air or bright light and nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to these laws that I have ventured to place before you.

INDIAN MERCHANTS

Mr. Gandhi was entertained by the merchants of Broach during his visit to the city and presented with an address of welcome. Mr. Gandhi replied to the address in the following terms :—

Merchant always have the spirit of adventure, intellect and wealth, as without these qualities their business cannot go on. But now they must have the fervour of patriotism in them. Patriotism is necessary even for religion. If the spirit of patriotism is awakened through religious fervour, then that patriotism will shine out brilliantly. So it is necessary that patriotism should be roused in the mercantile community.

The merchants take more part in public affairs now-a-days than before. When merchants take to politics through patriotism, Swaraj is as good as obtained. Some of you might be wondering how we can get Swaraj. I lay my hand on my heart and say that,

when the merchant class understands the sprit of patriotism, then only can we get Swaraj quickly. Swaraj then will be quite a natural thing.

Amongst the various keys which will unlock Swaraj to us, the Swadeshi Vow is the golden one. It is in the hands of the merchants to compel the observance of the Swadeshi Vow in the country, and this is an adventure which can be popularised by the merchants. I humbly request you to undertake this adventure, and then you will see what wonders you can do.

This being so, I have to say with regret that it is the merchant class which has brought ruin to the Swadeshi practice, and the Swadeshi movement in this country. Complaints have lately risen in Bengal about the increase of rates. and one of them is against Gujarat. It is complained there that the prices of Dhotis have been abnormally increased aud Dhotis go from Gujarat. No one wants you not to earn money, but it must be earned righteously and not be ill-gotton. Merchants must earn money by fair means. Unfair means must never be used.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said: India's strength lies with the merchant class. So much does not lie even with the army. Trade is the cause of war, and the merchant class has the key of war in their hands. Merchants raise the money and the army is raised on the strength of it. The power of England and Germany rests on thier trading class. A country's prosperity depends upon its mercantile community. I consider it as a sign of good luck that I should receive an address from the merchant class. Whenever I remember Broach, I will enquire if the merchants who have given me an address this day have righteous faith and

patriotism. If I receive a disappointing reply, I will think that merely a wave of giving addresses had come over India and that I had a share in it.

NATIONAL DRESS

Mr. Gandhi wrote the following reply to Mr. Irwin's criticism of his dress in the "Pioneer" during the Champaran enquiry.

I have hitherto successfully resisted to temptation of either answering your or Mr. Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran. Nor am I going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr. Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed. I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing.

My "familiarity with the minor amenities of western civilisation" has taught me to respect my national costume, and it may interest Mr. Irwin to know that the dress I wear in Champaran is the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell an easy prey in common with the rest of my countrymen to the wearing of semi-European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Kathiawar. I appeared before the Kathiawar courts now 21 years ago in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran.

One change I have made and it is that, having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of Swadeshi, my clothing is now entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn and made by me or my fellow workers. Mr. Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have temporarily and specially

adopted in Champaran to produce an effect. The fact is that I wear the national dress because it it the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which, for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian costume. I may mention incidentally that I do not go about Champaran bare headed. I do avoid shoes for sacred reasons. But I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

I am sorry to inform Mr. Irwin and your readers that my esteemed friend Babu Brijakishore Prasad, the "ex-Hon. Member of Council," still remains unregenerate and retains the provincial cap and never walks barefoot and "kicks up" a terrible noise even in the house we are living in by wearing wooden sandals. He has still not the courage, inspite of most admirable contact with me, to discard his semi-anglicised dress and whenever he goes to see officials he puts his legs into the bifurcated garment and on his own admission tortures himself by cramping his feet in inelastic shoes. I cannot induce him to believe that his clients won't desert him and the courts won't punish him if he wore his more becoming and less expensive dhoti. I invite you and Mr. Irwin not to believe the "stories" that the latter hears about me and my friends, but to join me in the crusade against educated Indians abandoning their manners, habits and

customs which are not proved to be bad or harmful. Finally I venture to warn you and Mr. Irwin that you and he will ill-serve the cause both of you consider is in danger by reason of my presence in Champaran if you continue, as you have done, to base your strictures on unproved facts. I ask you to accept my assurance that I should deem myself unworthy of the friendship and confidence of hundreds of my English friends and associates—not all of them fellow-cranks—if in similar circumstances I acted towards them differently from my own countrymen.

THE HINDU-MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM.

The following is an extract from a Gujarati letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi, 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 believe that Hindus should yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large-heartedness is displayed. When the Hindus 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.

GUJARAT EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The following is the Presidential address to the Second Gujarat Educational Conference held at Broach in October 20, 1917, specially translated for the "Indian Review."

EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS

The Gujarat Education League that has called us together has set before it three objects :

(1) To cultivate and express public opinion on matters of education.

(2) To carry on sustained agitation on educational questions.

(3) To take all practical steps for the spread of education in Gujarat.

I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to place before you my thoughts on these objects and the conclusions I have arrived at.

It must be clear enough to everybody that our first business is to consider and form an opinion about the medium of instruction. Without fixing the medium all our other efforts are likely to be fruitless. To go on educating our children without determining the medium is like an attempt to build without a foundation.

Opinion seems to be divided on the matter. One party claim that instruction ought to be imparted through the vernacular (Gujarati in this province). The other will have English as the medium. Both are guided by pure motives. Both are lovers of their country. But good intentions alone are not sufficient for reaching a goal. It is world-wide experience that good intentions

often take a man to a bad place. It is, therefore, our duty to examine on their merits the contentions of both the parties and, if possible, to arrive at a final and unanimous conclusion on this great question. That it is great no one can doubt. We cannot, therefore, give too much consideration to it.

It is, moreover, a question which affects the whole of India. But every Presidency or Province can come to an independent conclusion. It is in no way essential that, before Gujarat may move, all the other parts of India should arrive at a unanimous decision.

We shall, however, be better able to solve our difficulties by glancing at similar movements in other provinces. When the heart of Bengal, at the time of the Partition, was throbbing with the Swadeshi spirit, an attempt was made to impart all instruction through Bengali. A National College was established. Rupees poured in. But the experiment proved barren. It is my humble belief that the organisers of the movement had no faith in the experiment. The teachers fared no better. The educated class of Bengal seemed to dote upon English. It has been suggested that it is the Bengali's command over the English language that has promoted the growth of Bengali literature. Facts do not support the view. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful hold on Bengali is not due to his command of the English language. His marvellous Bengali is dependent upon his love of the mother tongue. "Gitanjali" was first written in Bengali. The great poet uses only Bengali speech in Bengal. The speech that he recently delivered in Calcutta on the present situation was in Bengali. Leading men and women of Bengal were among the audience. Some of

them told me that for an hour and a half, by a ceaseless flow of language, he kept the audience spell-bound. He has not derived his thoughts from English literature. He claims that he has received them from the atmosphere of the soil. He has drunk them from the Upanishads. The Indian sky has showered them upon him. And I understand that the position of the other Bengali writers is very similar to the poet's.

When Mahatma Munshiramji, majestic as the Himalayas, delivers his addresses in charming Hirdi, the audience composed of men, women and children listen to him and understand his message. His knowledge of English he reserves for his English friends. He does not translate English thought into Hindi.

It is said of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviaji, who, though a householder, has, for the sake of India, dedicated himself entirely to the country, that his English speech is silvery. His silvery eloquence compels Viceregal attention. But if his English speech is silvery, his Hindi speech shines golden like the waters of the Ganges under the sunbeams, as they descend from the Mansarovar.

These three speakers do not owe their power to their English knowledge, but to their love of the vernaculars. The services rendered by the late Swami Dayanand to Hindi owe nothing to the English language. Nor did English play any part in the contributions of Tukaram and Ramdas to Marathi literature. The English language can receive no credit for the growth in Gujarati literature from Premanand's pen as of Shamal Chat's and quite recently of Dalpatram.

The foregoing illustrations seem to afford sufficient proof that love of, and faith in, the vernaculars, rather

than a knowledge of English are necessary for their expansion.

We shall arrive at the same conclusion when we consider how languages grow. They are a reflection of the character of the people who use them. One who knows the dialects of the Zulus of South Africa knows their manners and customs. The character of a language depends upon the qualities and acts of the people. We shold unhesitatingly infer that a nation could not possess warlike, kind-hearted and truthful people, if its language contained no expressions denoting these qualities. And we should fail to make that language assimilate such expressions by borrowing them from another language and forcing them into its dictionary, nor will such spurious importation make warriors of those who use that speech. You cannot get steel out of a piece of ordinary iron, but you can make effective use of rusty steel, by ridding it of its rust. We have long laboured under servility and our vernaculars abound in servile expressions. The English language is probably unrivalled in its vocabulary of nautical terms. But if an enterprising Gujarati presented Gujarat with a translation of those terms, he would add nothing to the language and we should be none the wiser for his effort. And if we took up the calling of sailors and provided ourselves with shipyards and even a navy, we should automatically have terms which would adequately express our activity in this direction. The late Rev. J. Taylor gave the same opinion in his Gujarati Grammar. He says : " One sometimes hears people asking whether Gujarati may be considered a complete or an incomplete language. There is a proverb, ' As

the king, so his subjects; as the teacher, so the pupil.' Similarly it can be said, 'As the speaker, so the language.' Shamalbhatt and other poets do not appear to have been obsessed with an idea of the incompleteness of Gujarati when they expressed their different thoughts, but they so coined new expressions and manipulated the old that their thoughts became current in the language.

"In one respect all languages are incomplete. Man's reason is limited and language fails him when he begins to talk of God and Eternity. Human reason controls human speech. It is, therefore, limited, to the extent that reason itself is limited, and in that sense all languages are incomplete. The ordinary rule regarding language is that a language takes shape in accordance with the thoughts of its wielders. If they are sensible, their language is full of sense, and it becomes nonsense when foolish people speak it. There is an English proverb, "A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools." Those who quarrel with a language are often like the bad carpenter. To those who have to deal with the English language and its literature, the Gujarati language may appear incomplete for the simple reason that translation from English into Gujarati is difficult. The fault is not in the language but in the people before whom the translation is placed. They are not used to new words, new subjects and new manipulations of their language. The speaker, therefore, is taken aback. How shall a singer sing before a deaf man? And how can a writer deliver his soul until his readers have developed a capacity for weighing the new with the old and sifting the good from the bad.

"Again some translators seem to think that Gujarat

they have imbibed with their mother's milk, and they have learnt English at school, and that they, therefore, have become mastors of two languages, and need not take up Gujarati as a study. But attainment of perfection in one's mother tongue is more difficult than effort spent in learning a foreign tongue. An examination of the works of Shamalbhatt and other poets will reveal endless effort in every line. To one indisposed to undergo mental strain, Gujarati will appear incomplete. But it will cease to so appear after a proper effort. If the worker is lazy, the language will fail him. It will yield ample results to an industrious man. It will be found to be capable even of ornamentation. Who dare be little Gujarati, a member of the Aryan family, a daughter of Sanskrit, a sister of many noble tongues? May God bless it and may there be in it to the end of time, good literature, sound knowledge and expression of true religion. And may God bless the speech and may we hear its praise from the mothers and the scholars of Gujarat."

Thus we see that it was neither the imperfection of Bengali speech, nor impropriety of the effort that was responsible for the failure of the movement in Bengal to impart instruction through Bengali. We have considered the question of incompleteness. Impropriety of the effort cannot be inferred from an examination of the movement. It may be that the workers in the cause lacked fitness or faith.

In the north, though Hindi is being developed, real effort to make it a medium seems to have been confined only to the Arya Samajists. The experiment continues in the Gurukuls.

In the Presidency of Madras the movement com-

menced only a few years ago. There is greater intensity of purpose among the Telugus than among the Tamils. English has acquired such a hold of the literary class among the Tamils that they have not the energy even to conduct their proceedings in Tamil. The English language has not affected the Telugus to that extent. They therefore, make greater use of Telugu. They are not only making an attempt to make Telugu the medium of instruction ; they are heading a movement to repartition India on a linguistic basis. And though the propagation of this idea was commenced only recently, the work is being handled with so much energy that they are likely to see results within a short time. There are many rocks in their way. But the leaders of the movement have impressed me with their ability to break them down.

In the Deccan the movement goes ahead. That good soul Prof. Karve is the leader of the movement. Mr. Naik is working in the same direction. Private institutions are engaged in the experiment. Prof. Bijapurkar, has, after great labour, succeeded in reviving his experiment and we shall see it in a short time crystallised into a school. He had devised a scheme for preparing text-books. Some have been printed and some are ready for print. The teachers in that institution never betrayed want of faith in their cause. Had the institution not been closed down, so far as Marathi is concerned the question of imparting all instruction through it would have been solved.

We learn from an article in a local magazine by Rao Bahadur Hargovindas Kantawala that a movement for making Gujarati the medium of instruction has already been made in Gujarat. Prof. Gajjar and the late Diwan

Bahadur Manibhai Jushbhai initiated it. It remains for us to consider whether we shall water the seed sown by them. I feel that every moment's delay means so much harm done to us. In receiving education through English at least sixteen years are required. Many experienced teachers have given it as their opinion that the same subjects can be taught through the vernaculars in ten years' time. Thus by saving six years of their lives for thousands of our children we might save thousands of years for the nation.

The strain of receiving instruction through a foreign medium is intolerable. Our children alone can bear it, but they have to pay for it. They become unfit for bearing any other strain. For this reason our graduates are mostly without stamina, weak, devoid of energy, diseased and mere imitators. Originality, research, adventure, ceaseless effort, courage, dauntlessness and such other qualities have become atrophied. We are thus incapacitated for undertaking new enterprises, and we are unable to carry them through if we undertake any. Some who can give proof of such qualities die an untimely death. An English writer had said that the non-Europeans are the blotting-sheets of European civilisation. What ever truth there may be in this cryptic statement, it is not due to the natural unfitness of the Asiatics. It is the unfitness of the medium of instruction which is responsible for the result. The Zulus of South Africa are otherwise interprising, powerfully built and men of character. They are not hampered by child-marriages and such other defects. And yet the position of their educated class is the same as ours. With them the medium of instruction is Dutch. They easily obtain command over Dutch

as we do over English, and like us they too on completion of their education loose their energy and for the most part become imitators. Originality leaves them along with the mother-tongue. We the English-educated class are unfit to ascertain the true measure of the harm done by the unnatural system. We should get some idea of it if we realised how little we have reacted upon the masses. The outspoken views on education that our parents sometimes give vent to are thought-compelling. We dote upon our Boses and Roys. Had our people been educated through their vernaculars during the last fifty years, I am sure that the presence in our midst of a Bose or a Roy would not have filled us with astonishment.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of propriety or otherwise of the direction that Japanese energy has taken, Japanese enterprise must amaze us. The national awakening there has taken place through their national language, and so there is a freshness about every activity of theirs. They are teaching their teachers. They have falsified the blotting-sheet smile. Education has stimulated national life, and the world watches dumbstruck Japan's activities. The harm done to national life by the medium being a foreign tongue is immeasurable.

The correspondence that should exist between the school training and the character imbibed with the mother's milk and the training received through her sweet speech is absent when the school training is given through a foreign tongue. However pure may be his motives, he who thus snaps the cord that should bind the school-life and the home-life is an enemy of the nation. We are traitors to our mothers by remaining

under such a system. The harm done goes much further. A gulf has been created between the educated classes and the uneducated masses. The latter do not know us. We do not know the former. They consider us to be 'Saheblog.' They are afraid of us. They do not trust us. If such a state of things were to continue for any length of time, a time may come for Lord Curzon's charge to be true, *viz.*, that the literary classes do not represent the masses.

Fortunately the educated class seems to be waking up from its trance. They experience the difficulty of contact with the masses. How can they infect the masses with their own enthusiasm for the national cause? They cannot do so through English. They have not enough ability or none for doing so through Gujarati. They find it extremely difficult to put their thoughts into Gujarati. I often hear opinion expressed about this difficulty. Owing to the barrier thus created the flow of national life suffers impediment.

Macaulay's object in giving preference to the English language over the vernaculars was pure. He had a contempt for our literature. It affected us and we forgot ourselves and just as a pupil often outdoes the teacher so was the case with us. Macaulay thought that we would be instrumental in spreading western civilisation among the masses. His plan was that some of us would learn English, form our character and spread the new thought among the millions. (It is not necessary here to consider the soundness of this vew. We are merely examining the question of the medium.) We, on the other hand, discovered in English education a medium for obtaining wealth and we gave that use of it predominance. Some of us found in it a stimulus for our

patriotism. So the original intention went into the background, and the English language spread beyond the limit set by Macaulay. We have lost thereby.

Had we the reins of Government in our hands we would have soon detected the error. We could not have abandoned the vernaculars. The governing class has not been able to do so. Many perhaps do not know that the language of our courts is considered to be Gujarati. The Government have to have the Acts of the legislature translated in Gujarati. The official addresses delivered at Darbar gatherings are translated there and then. We see Gujarati and other vernaculars used side by side with English in currency notes. The mathematical knowledge required of the surveyors is difficult enough. But Revenue work would have been too costly, had surveyors been required to know English. Special terms have, therefore been coined for the use of surveyors. They excite pleasurable wonder. If we had a true love for our venaculars we could even now make use of some of the means at our disposal for their spread. If the pleader were to begin to make use of the Gujarati language in the courts they would save their clients much money, and the latter will gain some necessary knowledge of the laws of the land, and will begin to appreciate their rights. Interpreters' fees would be saved, and legal terms would become current in the language. It is true the pleaders will have to make some effort for the attainment of this happy result. I am sure, nay, I speak from experience, that their clients will lose nothing thereby. There is no occasion to fear that arguments advanced in Gujarati will have less weight. Collectors and other officials are expected to know Gujarati. But by our superstitious

regard for English we allow their knowledge to become rusty.

It has been argued that the use we made of English for attainment of wealth, and for stimulating patriotism was quite proper. The agument however, has no bearing on the question before us. We shall bow to those who learn English for the sake of gaining wealth or for serving the country otherwise. But we would surely not make English the medium on that account. My only object in referring to such a use of the English language was to show that it continued its abuse as a medium of instruction and thus produced an untoward result. Some contend that only English-knowing Indians have been fired with the patriotic spirit. The past few months have shown us something quite different. But even if we were to admit that claim on behalf of English, we could say that the others never had an opportunity. Patriotism of the English-educated class has not proved infectious, whereas a truly patriotic spirit ought to be all-pervading.

It has been stated that the foregoing arguments, no matter how strong they may be in themselves, are impracticable. "It is a matter for sorrow that other branches of learning should suffer for the sake of English. It is certainly undesirable that we should suffer an undue mental strain in the act of gaining command over the English language. It is, however, my humble opinion that there is no escape for us from having to bear this hardship, regard being had to the fact of our relationship with the English language, and to find out a way. These are not the views of an ordinary writer. They are owned by one who occupies a front rank among the Gujarati men of letters. He is a lover

of Gujarati. We are bound to pay heed to whatever Prof. Dhruva writes. Few of us have the experience he has. He has rendered great service to the cause of Gujarati literature and education. He has a perfect right to advise and to criticise. In the circumstances one like me has to pause. Again the views above expressed are shared with Prof. Dhruva by several protagonists of the English language. Prof. Dhruva has stated them in dignified language. And it is our duty to treat them with respect. My own position is still more delicate. I have been trying an experiment in national education under his advice and guidance. In that institution Gujarati is the medium of instruction. Enjoying such an intimate relation with Prof. Dhruva I hesitate to offer anything by way of criticism of his views. Fortunately, Prof. Dhruva regards both systems, the one wherein English is the medium and the other in which the mother tongue is the medium, in the nature of experiment; he has expressed no final opinion on either. My hesitation about criticising his views is lessened on that account. It seems to me that we lay too much stress on our peculiar relationship with the English language. I know that I may not with perfect freedom deal with this subject from this platform. But it is not improper even for those who cannot handle political subjects to consider the following proposition. The English connection subsists solely for the benefit of India. On no other basis can it be defended. English statesmen themselves have admitted that the idea that one nation should rule another is intolerable, undesirable and harmful for both. This proposition is accepted as a maxim beyond challenge in quarters where it is considered from an altruistic

standpoint. If then both the rulers and the nation are satisfied that the mental calibre of the nation suffers by reason of English being the medium, the system ought to be altered without a moment's delay. It would be a demonstration of our manliness to remove obstacles however great in our path, and if this view be accepted, those like Prof. Dhruva who admit the harm done to our mental calibre do not stand in need of any other argument.

I do not consider it necessary to give any thought to the possibility of our knowledge of English suffering by reason of the vernacular occupying its place. It is my humble belief that not only is it unnecessary for all educated Indians to acquire command over English, but that it is equally unnecessary to induce a taste for acquiring such command.

Some Indians will undoubtedly have to learn English. Prof. Dhruva has examined the question with a lofty purpose only. But examining from all points we would find that it will be necessary for two classes to know English :—

(1) Those patriots who have a capacity for learning languages, who have time at their disposal and who are desirous of exploring the English literature and placing the results before the nation, or those who wish to make use of the English language for the sake of coming in touch with the rulers.

(2) Those who wish to make use of their knowledge of English for the sake of acquiring wealth.

There is not only no harm in treating English as an optional subject, and giving these two classes of candidates the best training in it, but it is even necessary to secure for them every convenience. In such a scheme

the mother-tongue will still remain the medium. Prof. Dhruva fears that if we do not receive all instruction through English, but learn it as a foreign language, it will share the fate of Persian, Sanskrit and other languages. With due respect I must say that there is a hiatus in this reasoning. Many Englishmen, although they receive their training through English possess a high knowledge of French and are able to use it fully for all their purposes. There are men in India who although they have received their training through English have acquired no mean command over French and other languages. The fact is that when English occupies its proper place and the vernaculars receive their due, our minds which are to-day imprisoned will be set free and our brains though cultivated and trained, and yet being fresh will not feel the weight of having to learn English as a language. And it is my belief that English thus learnt will be better than our English of to day. And our intellects being active, we should make more effective use of our English knowledge. Weighing the pros and cons, therefore, this seems to be the way that will satisfy many ends.

When we receive our education through the mother-tongue, we should observe a different atmosphere in our homes. At present we are unable to make our wives co-partners with us. They know little of our activity. Our parents do not know what we learn. If we receive instruction through the mother-tongue we should easily make our washermen, our barbers, and our bhangis, partakers of the high knowledge we might have gained. In England one discusses high politics with barbers while having a shave. We are unable to do so even in our family circle, not because the members of the family or

the barbers are ignorant people. Their intellect is as well-trained as that of the English barber. We are able to discuss intelligently with them the events of "Mahabharata," "Ramayana" and of our holy places. For the national training flows in that direction. But we are unable to take home what we receive in our schools. We cannot reproduce before the family circle what we have learnt through the English language.

At the present moment the proceedings of our Legislative Councils are conducted in English. In many other institutions the same state of things prevails. We are, therefore, in the position of a miser who buries underground all his riches. We fare no better in our law courts. Judges often address words of wisdom The court going public is always eager to hear what the Judges have to say But they know no more than the dry decisions of the Judges. They do not even understand their counsels' addresses. Doctors receiving diplomas in Medical Colleges treat their patients no better. They are unable to give necessary instructions to their patients. They often do not know the vernacular names of the different members of the body. Their connection, therefore, with their patients, as a rule, does not travel beyond the writing of prescriptions. It is brought up as a charge against us that through our thoughtlessness we allow the water that flows from the mountain-tops during the rainy season to go to waste, and similarly treat valuable manure worth lakhs of rupees and get disease in the bargain. In the same manner being crushed under the weight of having to learn English and through want of far-sightedness we are unable to give to the nation what it should receive at our hands. There is no exaggeration in this

statement. It is an expression of the feelings that are raging within me. We shall have to pay dearly for our continuous disregard of the mother-tongue. The nation has suffered much by reason of it. It is the first duty of the learned class now to deliver the nation from the agony.

There can be no limit to the scope of a language in which Narasingh Mehta sang. Nandshanker wrote his *Karanghelo*, which has produced a race of writers like Navalram, Narmadashanker, Manilal, Malabari and others ; in which the late Raychandkavi carried on his soul-lifting discourses, which the Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsis claim to speak and can serve if they will ; which has produced a race of holy sages ; which owns among its votaries millionaires ; which has been spoken by sailors who have ventured abroad ; and in which the Barda hills still bear witness to the valourous deeds of Mulu Manek and Jodha Manek. What else can the Gujaratis achieve if they decline to receive their training through that language ? It grieves one even to have to consider the question.

In closing this subject I would invite your attention to the pamphlets published by Dr. Pranjiwandas Mehta, of which a Gujarati translation is now out. I ask you to read them. You will find therein a collection of opinions in support of the views herein expressed.

If it is deemed advisable to make the mother-tongue the media of instruction, it is necessary to examine the steps to be taken for achieving the end. I propose to recount them, without going into the argument in support :—

(1) The English-knowing Gujaratis should never, in their mutual intercourse, make use of English.

(2) Those who are competent both in English and Gujarati, should translate useful English works into Gujarati.

(3) Education Leagues should have text-books prepared.

(4) Moneyed men should establish schools in various places in which Gujarati should be the medium.

(5) Alongside of the foregoing activity, conferences and leagues should petition the Government and pray that the medium should be Gujarati in Government schools, that proceedings in the Law Courts and Councils and all public activities should be in Gujarati, that public services should be open to all, without invidious distinctions in favour of those who know English, and in accordance with the qualifications of applicants for the post for which they may apply, and that schools should be established where aspirants for public offices may receive training through Gujarati.

There is a difficulty about the foregoing suggestions. In the councils there are members who speak in Marathi, Sindhi, Gujarati and even Kanarese. This is a serious difficulty, but not insurmountable. The Telugus have already commenced a discussion of the question, and there is little doubt that a re-distribution of provinces will have to take place on a linguistic basis. Till then every member should have the right to address his remarks in Hindi or in his own vernacular. If this suggestion appears laughable, I would state in all humility that many suggestions have at first sight so appeared. As I hold the view that our progress depends upon a correct determination of the medium of instruction, my suggestion appears to me to have much substance in it. If my suggestion were adopted

the vernaculars will gain in influence, and when they acquire State recognition, they are likely to show merits beyond our imagination. * * *

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

It behoves us to devote attention to a consideration of a national language, as we have done to that of the medium of instruction. If English is to become a national language, it ought to be treated as a compulsory subject. Can English become the national language? Some learned patriots contend that even to raise the question betrays ignorance. In their opinion English already occupies that place. His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent utterance has merely expressed a hope that English will occupy that place. His enthusiasm does not take him as far as that of the former. He Excellency believes that English will day after day command a larger place, will permeate the family circle, and at last rise to the status of a national language. A superficial consideration will support the viceregal contention. The condition of our educated classes gives one the impression that all our activities would come to a stand still if we stop the use of English. And yet deeper thought will show that English can never and ought not to become the national language of India. What is the test of a national language?

(1) For the official class it should be easy to learn.

(2) The religious, commercial and political activity throughout India should be possible in that language.

(3) It should be the speech of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

(4) For the whole of the country it should be easy to learn.

(5) In considering the question, weight ought not to be put upon momentary or shortlived conditions.

The English language does not fulfil any of the conditions above named. The first ought to have been the last, but I have purposely given it the first place, because that condition alone gives the appearance of being applicable to the English language. But upon further consideration we should find that for the officials even at the present moment it is not an easy language to learn. In our scheme of administration, it is assumed that the number of English officials will progressively decrease, so that in the end only the Viceroy and others whom one may count on one's finger-tips will be English. The majority are of Indian nationality to-day, and their number must increase.

And everyone will admit that for them English is more difficult to be learnt than any Indian language. Upon an examination of the second condition, we find that until the public at large can speak English, religious activity through that tongue is an impossibility. And a spread of English to that extent among the masses seems also impossible.

English cannot satisfy the third condition because the majority in India do not speak it.

The fourth, too, cannot be satisfied by English because it is not an easy language to learn for the whole of India.

Considering the last condition we observe that the position that English occupies to-day is momentary. The permanent condition is that there will be little necessity for English in the national affairs. It will certainly be required for imperial affairs. That, therefore, it will be an imperial language, the language of diplo-

macy, is a different question. On that purpose its knowledge is a necessity. We are not jealous of English. All that is contended for is that it ought not to be allowed to go beyond its proper sphere. And as it will be the imperial language, we shall compel our Malaviyajis, our Shastriars and our Banerjeas to learn it. And we shall feel assured that they will advertise the greatness of India in other parts of the world. But English cannot become the national language of India. To give it that place is like an attempt to introduce Esperanto. In my opinion it is unmanly even to think that English can become our national langu age. The attempt to introduce Esperanto merely betrays ignorance Then which is the language that satisfies all the five conditions ? We shall be obliged to admit that Hindi satisfies all those conditions.

I call that language Hindi which Hindus and Mahomedans in the North speak and write, either in the Devanagari or the Urdu character. Exception has been taken to his definition. It seems to be argued that Hindi and Urdu are different languages. This is not a valid argumeut. In the Northern parts of India Musalmans and Hindus speak the same language. The literate classes have created a division. The learned Hindus have Sanskritised Hindi. The Musalmans, therefore, cannot understand it. The Moslems of Lucknow have Persianised their speech and made it unintelligible to the Hindus. These represent two excesses of the same language. They find no common plece in the speech of the massess. I have lived in the North. I have freely mixed with Hindus and Mahomedans, and although I have but a poor knowledge of Hindi, I have never found any difficulty in

holding communion with them. Call the language of the North what you will, Urdu or Hindi, it is the same. If you write it in the Urdu character you may know it as Urdu. Write the same thing in the Nagiri character and it is Hindi.

There, therefore, remains a difference about the script. For the time being Mahomedan children will certainly write in the Urdu character and Hindus will mostly write in the Devangari. I say mostly, because thousands of Hindus use the Urdu character and some do not even know the Nagari character. But when Hindus and Mahomedans come to regard one another without suspicion, when the causes begetting suspicion are removed, that script which has greater vitality will be more universally used and, therefore, become the national script. Meanwhile those Hindus and Mahomedans who desire to write their petitions in the Urdu character should be free to do so, and should have the right of having them accepted at the seat of National Government.

There is not another language capable of competing with Hindi in satisfying the five conditions. Bengali comes next to Hindi. But the Bengalis themselves make use of Hindi outside Bengal. No one wonders to see a Hindi-speaking man making use of Hindi, no matter where he goes. Hindu preachers and Mahomedan Moulvis deliver their religious discourses throughout India in Hindi and Urdu and even the illiterate masses follow them. Even the unlettered Gujarati going to the North attempts to use a few Hindi words, whereas a gatekeeper from the North declines to speak in Gujarati even to his employer, who has on that account to speak to him in broken Hindi.

I have heard Hindi spoken even in the Dravid country. It is not true to say that in Madras one can go on with English. Even there I have employed Hindi with effect. In the trains I have heard Madras passengers undoubtedly use Hindi. It is worthy of note that Mahomedans throughout India speak Urdu and they are to be found in large numbers in every Province. Thus Hindi is destined to be the national language. We have made use of it as such in times gone by. The rise of Urdu itself is due to that fact. The Mahomedan kings were unable to make Persian or Arabic the national language. They accepted the Hindi Grammer, but employed the Urdu character and Persian words in their speeches. They could not, however, carry on their intercourse with the masses through a foreign tongue. All this is not unknown to the English. Those who know anything of the sepoys know that for them military terms have had to be prepared in Hindi or Urdu.

Thus we see that Hindi alone can become the national language. It presents some difficulty in the case of the learned classes in Madras. For men from the Deccan, Gujarat, Sind and Bengal it is easy enough. In a few months they can acquire sufficient command over Hindi to enable them to carry on national intercourse in that tongue. It is not so for the Tamils. The Dravidian languages are distinct from their Sanskrit sister in structure and grammar. The only thing common to the two groups is their Sanskrit vocabulary to an extent. But the difficulty is confined to the learned class alone. We have a right to appeal to their patriotic spirit and expect them to put forth sufficient effort in order to learn Hindi. For in future when Hindi has

received State recognition, it will be introduced as a compulsory language in Madras as in other Provinces, and intercourse between Madras and them will then increase. English has not permeated the Dravidian masses. Hindi, however, will take no time. The Telugus are making an effort in that direction even now. If this Conference can come to an unanimous conclusion as to a national language, it will be necessary to devise means to attain that end. Those which have been suggested in connection with media of instruction are with necessary changes applicable to this question. The activity in making Gujarati the medium of instruction will be confined to Guzarat alone, but the whole of India can take part in the movement regarding the national language. * * *

DEFECTS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

We have considered the question of the media of instruction, of the national language, and of the place that English should occupy. We have now to consider whether there are any defects in the scheme of education imparted in our schools and colleges.

There is no difference of opinion in this matter. The Government and public opinion alike have condemned the present system, but there are wide differences as to what should be omitted and what should be adopted. I am not equipped for an examination of these differences, but I shall have the temerity to submit to this conference my thoughts on the modern system of education.

Education cannot be said to fall within my province. I have, therefore, some hesitation in dwelling upon it. I am myself ever prepared to put down and be impatient of those men and women who travelling outside their provinces discourse upon those for which

they are not fitted. It is but meet that a lawyer should resent the attempt of a physician to discourse upon law. Nor has a man who has no experience of educational matters any right to offer criticism thereon. It is, therefore, necessary for me to briefly mention my qualifications.

I began to think about the modern system of education 25 years ago. The training of my children and those of my brothers and sisters came into my hands. Realising the defects of the system obtaining in our schools, I began experiments on my own children. I even moved them myself. My discontent remained the same even when I went to South Africa. Circumstances compelled me to think still more deeply. For a long time I had the management of the Indian Educational Association of Natal in my hands. My boys have not received a public school training. My eldest son witnessed the vicissitudes that I have passed through. Having despaired of me, he joined the educational institutions in Ahmedabad. It has not appeared to me that he has gained much thereby. It is my belief that those whom I have kept away from public schools have lost nothing, but have received good training. I have noticed defects in that training. They were inevitable. The boys began to be brought up in the initial stages of my experiments, and whilst the different links belong to the same chain that was hammered into shape from time to time, the boys had to pass through these different stages. At the time of the Passive Resistance struggle, over fifty boys were being educated under me. The constitution of the school was largely shaped by me. It was unconnected with any other institution or with the Government standard. I am conducting a

similar experiment here. A national institution has been in existence for the last five months and has received the blessings of Prof. Dhruva and other learned men of Gujarat. The ex-Professor Shah of the Gujarat College is its Principal. He has been trained under Prof. Gajjar. He has as his co-workers other lovers of Gujarati. I am chiefly responsible for the scheme of this institution. But all the teachers connected with it have approved of it and they have dedicated their lives to the work, receiving only maintenance money. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, I am unable personally to take part in the tuition, but my heart is ever in it. My experiment therefore, though it is all that of an amateur, is not devoid of thought and I ask you to bear it in mind while you consider my criticism of modern education.

I have always felt that the scheme of education in India has taken no account of the family system. It was perhaps natural that, in framing it, our wants were not thought of. Macaulay treated our literaturewith contempt and considered us a superstitious people. The framers of the educational policy were mostly ignorant of our religion, some even deemed it to be irreligion. The scriptures were believed to be a bundle of superstitions, our civilisation was considered to be full of defects. We being a fallen nation, it was assumed that our organisation must be peculiarly defective and so not withstanding pure intentions a faulty structure was raised. For building a new scheme the framers naturally took count of the nearest conditions. The Governors would want the help of the lawyers, physicians, clerks. We would want the new knowledge. These ideas controlled the scheme. Text books were, therefore, prepared in utter

disregard of our social system, and according to an English proverb, the cart was put before the horse. Malabari has stated that if we want to teach our children History and Geography we must first give them a knowledge of the geography of the home. I remember that it was my lot to have to memorise the English counties. And a subject which is deeply interesting was rendered dry as dust for me. In history there was nothing to enthral my attention. It ought to be a means to fire the patriotic spirit of young lads. I found no cause for patriotism in learning history in our schools. I had to imbibe it from other books.

In the teaching of Arithmetic and kindred subjects, indigenous methods have received little or no attention: They have been almost abandoned and we have lost the cunning of our forefathers which they possessed in mental arithmetic.

The teaching of Science is dry. Pupils can make no practical use of it. Astronomy which can be taught by observing the sky is given to the pupils from text-books. I have not known a scholar being able to analyse a drop of water, after leaving school.

It is no exaggeratiou to say that the teaching of Hygiene is a farce. We do not know at the end of 60 years' training how to save ourselves from plague and such other diseases. It is in our opinion the greatest reflection upon our educational system that our doctors have not been able to rid the country of these diseases. I have visited hundreds of homes but have hardly seen a house in which rules of hygiene were observed. I doubt very much if our graduates know how to treat snake-bites, etc. Had our doctors been able to receive their training in medicine in their childhood, they would

not occupy the pitiable position that they do. This is a terrible result of our educational system. All the other parts of the world have been able to banish plague from their midst. Here it has found a home and thousands die before their time, and if it be pleaded that poverty is the cause, the Department of Education has to answer why there should be any poverty after 60 years of education.

We might now consider the subjects which are altogether neglected. Character should be the chief aim of education. It passes my comprehension how it can be built without religion. We shall soon find out that we are neither here nor there. It is not possible for me to dilate on this delicate subject. I have met hundreds of teachers. They have related their experiences with a sigh. This Conference has to give deep thought to it. If the scholars lost their characters they could have lost everything.

In this country 85 to 90 per cent. of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits. We can, therefore never know too much of agriculture. But there is no place for agricultural training even in our High Schools. A catastrophe like this is possible only in India. The art of hand-weaving is fast dying. It was the agriculturist's occupation during his leisure. There is no provision for the teaching of that art in our syllabus. Our education simply produces a political class, and even a goldsmith, blacksmith or a shoemaker who is entrapped in our schools is turned out a political. We should surely desire that all should receive what is good education. But if all at the end of their education in our schools and colleges become politicals ?—

There is no provision for military training. It is

no matter of great grief to me. I have considered it a boon received by chance, but the nation wants to know the use of arms. And those who want to, should have the opportunity. The matter, however, seems to have been clean forgotton.

Music has found no place. We have lost all notion of what a tremendous effect it has on men. Had we known it, we would have strained every nerve to make our children learn the art. The Vedic chant seems to recognise its effect. Sweet music calms the fever of the soul. Often we notice disturbances in largely attended meetings. The sound of some national rhyme rising in tune from a thousand breasts can easily still such disturbances. It is no insignificant matter to have our children singing with one voice soul-stirring, vitalising national songs. That sailors and other labouring classes go through their heavy task to the tune of some rhythmic expression is an instance of the power of music. I have known English friends forgetting their cold by rolling out some of their favourite tunes. The singing of dramatic songs, anyhow, without reference to timeliness and thumping on harmoniums and concertinas harm our children. If they were to receive methodical musical training, they would not waste their time singing so called songs out of tune. Boys will abhor questionable songs even as a good musician will never sing out of tune and out of season. Music is a factor in national awakening, and it should be provided for. The opinion of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami on this subject is worthy of study.

Gymnastics and body-training in general have had no serious attention given to them. Tennis, cricket and football have replaced national games. The former,

it may be admitted, are games full of interest, but if everything western had not captivated us, we should not have abandoned equally interesting but inexpensive national games, such as *Gedidudo, Moi dandia, Khogho, Magmatli, Nadtutu, Kharopat, Navnagli, Sat tali* and so on. Our gymnastics which exercise every limb of the body and our *Kusti* grounds have almost disappeared. If anything western is worthy of being copied it is certainly the western drill. An English friend rightly remarked that we did dot know how to walk. We have no notion of marching in step in large bodies. We are not trained to march noiselessly, in an orderly manner in step, in twos or fours, in directions varying from time to time. Nor need it be supposed that drilling is useful for military purposes only. It is required for many acts of benevolence, *e.g.*, there is a fire drill, there is a drill for helping the drowned to come to life, and there is a stretcher drill. Thus it is necessary to introduce in our schools national games, national gymnastics and the western drill.

Female education fares no better than male education. In framing the scheme of female education, no thought has been given to the Indian conception of relationship between husband and wife, and the place an Indian woman occupies in society.

Much of the primary education may be common to both the sexes. But beyond that there is little that is common. Nature has made the two different, and a distinction is necessary in framing a scheme of education for the two sexes. Both are equal, but the sphere of work is defined for each. Woman has the right to the queenship of the home. Man is the controller of outside management. He is the bread-winner, woman husbands the

resources of the family and distributes them. Woman is her infant's nurse, she is its maker, on her depends the child's character, she is the child's first teacher, thus she is the mother of the nation. Man is not its father. After a time the father's influence over his son begins to wane. The mother never allows it to slip away from herself. Even when we reach manhood we play like children with our mothers. We are unable to retain that relationship with our fathers. If then the vocation of the two are naturally and properly distinct, there is no occasion to arrange for an independent earning of livelihood by women in general. Where women are obliged to be telegraphists, typists and compositors, there is a break in well ordered society. A nation that has adopted such a scheme has, in my opinion, come to the end of its resources, and has begun to live on its capital.

Thus it is wrong on the one hand to keep our women in a state of ignorance and degradation. It is a sign of weakness, and it is tyrannical to impose men's work on her. After co-education for some years, a different scheme for girls is necessary. They ought to have a knowledge of the managment of the home, of regulating the life during the child-bearing period and the upbringing of children, etc. To formulate such a scheme is a difficult task. This is a new subject in the department of education. In order to explore the unbeaten track, women of character and learning and men of experience should be entrusted with the task of devising a scheme of female education. Such a committee will try to devise means for the education of our girls. But we have numerous girls who are married during girlhood. The number is increasing. These girls disappear from the education stage after marriage. I venture to copy

below the views I have expressed on this phase of female education in my preface to the first number of the Bhaginee Samaj series :

"The provision of education for unmarried girls does not solve the problem of female education. Thousands of girls at the age of 12 become victims of child-marriage and disappear from view. They become mother. So long as we have not got rid of this cruel wrong, husbands will have to become their wives' teachers. In the fitness of husbands for this task lies high hope for the nation. All endeavour for the national uplift is vain so long as instead of becoming our companions, our better halves and partners in our joys and sorrows, our wives remain our cooks and objects of our lust. Some treat their wives as if they were beasts. Some Sanskrit text and a celebrated verse of Tulsidas are responsible for this deplorable state of things. Tulsidas has said that beasts, fools, Sudras and women are fit to receive bodily punishment. I am a devotee of Tulsidas. But my worship is not blind. Either the couplet is apocryphal, or Tulsidas following the popular current has thoughtlessly written it off. With reference to Sanskrit expressions, we are haunted by the superstitious belief that everything Sanskrit is scriptural ! It is our duty to purge ourselves of the superstition and uproot the habit of considering women as our inferiors. Their is another body of men who in pursuit of their passions decorate their wives from period to period during twenty-four hours even as we decorate our idols. We must shake ourselves free of this idolatry. Then at last they will be what Uma was to Shankara, Sita to Rama, Damayanti to Nala, they will be our companions, they will discourse

with us on equal terms, they will appreciate our sentiments, they will nurse them, they would by their marvellous intuitive powers understand our business worries as by magic, share them with us and give us the soothing peace of the home. Then but not till then is our regeneration possible. To attain to that lofty status through girl-schools is highly improbable for a long time. So long as we are destined to groan under the shackles of child-marriages, so long will husbands have to become teachers of their child-wives. It is not tuition in the alphabet only that is here contemplated. Step by step they have to be initiated in political and social subjects and literary training is not indispensable for imparting such knowledge to them. Husbands who aspire after the position of teachers will have to alter their conduct towards their wives. If husbands were to observe Brahmacharya so long as their wives have not reached maturity and are receiving their education under them, had we not been paralysed by inertia, we would never impose the burden of motherhood upon a girl of 12 or 15. We would shudder even to think of any such possibility.

It is well that classes are opened for married women and that lectures are given for them. Those who are engaged in this kind of activities are entitled to credit. But it appears that until husbands discharge the duty incumbent on them, we are not likely to obtain great results. Upon reflection this would appear to be a self evident truth."

Wherever we look, we observe imposing structures upon weak foundation. Those who are selected as teachers for primary schools may, for the sake of courtesy, be so called. In reality, however, it is an

abuse of terms to call such men teachers. A scholar's childhood is the most important period of life. Knowledge received during that period is never forgotten. And it is during this period that they are helped the least, and they are shoved into any so-called school.

In my opinion, if in this country, instead of devoting our pecuniary resources to ornamenting our schools and colleges beyond the capacity of this poor country, we were to devote them to imparting primary education under teachers who are well trained, upright and sobered by age, in hygienic conditions, we should in a short time have tangible results. Even if the salaries of the teachers in primary schools were doubled, we could not obtain the desired results. Paltry changes are not enough to secure important results. It is necessary to alter the framework of primary education. I know that this is a difficult subject. There are many pitfalls ahead, but its solution ought not to be beyond the power of the Gujarat Education League. It ought, perhaps, to be stated that their is no intention here of finding fault with primary school teachers individually. That they are able beyond their capacity to show us results, is a proof of the stability of our grand civilisation. If the same teachers were properly fitted and encouraged, they could show us undreamt-of results.

It is, perhaps, improper for me to say anything about the question of compulsory education. My experience is limited. I find it hard to reconcile myself to any compulsion being imposed on the nation. The thought, therefore, of putting an additional burden in the shape of cumpulsory education worries me. It appears to be more in keeping with the times to experiment in free and voluntary education. Until

we have come out of the compulsion stage as the rule of life, to make education compulsory seems to me to be fraught with many dangers. The experience gained by the Baroda Government may help us in considering this subject. The results of my examination of the Baroda system have been so far unfavourable. But no weight can be attached to them as my examination was wholly superficial. I take it for granted that the delegates assembled here, will be able to throw helpful light on the subject.

It is certain that the golden way to remove the defects enumerated by me is not through petitioning. Great changes are not suddenly made by Governments. Such enterprises are possible only by the initiative of the leaders of a nation. Under the British Constitution voluntary national effort has a recognised place. Ages will pass away before we achieve our aims, if we depended solely upon Government initiative. As in England so in India, we have to lead the way for the Government by making experiments ourselves. Those who detect short-comings in our educational system can make the Government remove them by themselves making experiments and showing the way. Numerous private institutions should be established in order to bring about such a consummation. There is one big obstacle in our path. We are enamoured of 'degrees.' The very life seems to hang upon passing an examination and obtaining a degree. It sucks the nation's life-blood. We forget that 'degrees' are required only by candidates for Government service. But Government service is not a foundation for national life. We see, moreover, that wealth can be acquired without Government service. Educated men can, by their enterprise,

acquire wealth even as illiterate men do by their cleverness. If the educated class became free from the paralysing fear of their unfitness for business, they should surely have as much capacity as the illiterate class. If, therefore, we become free from the bondage of 'degrees,' many private institutions could be carried on. No Goverment can possibly take charge of the whole of a nation's education. In America private enterprise is the predominant factor in education. In England numerous schools and colleges are conducted by private enterprise. They issue their own certificates. Herculean efforts must be made in order to put national education on a firm foundation. Money, mind, body and soul must be dedicated to it. We have not much to learn from America. But there is certainly one thing which we can copy from that country. Great educational schemes are propounded and managed by gigantic trusts. Millionaires have given off their millions to them. They support many a private school. These trusts have not only untold wealth at their disposal, but command also the services of able-bodied, patriotic and learned men, who inspect and protect national institutions and give financial assistance, where necessary. Any institution conforming to the conditions of these trusts is entitled to financial help. Through these trusts even the elderly peasant of America has brought to his door the results of the latest experiments in agriculture. Gujarat is capable of supporting some such scheme. It has wealth, it has learning, and the religious instinct has not yet died out. Children are thirsting for education. If we can but initiate the desired reform, we could, by our success, command Government action. One act actually accomplished will be far more forcible than thousands of petitions.

The foregoing suggestions have involved an examination of the other two objects of the Gujarat Education League. The establishment of a trust such as I have described is a continuous agitation for the spread of education and a practical step towards it.

But to do that is like doing the only best. It could not, therefore, be easy. Both Government and millionaires can be wakened into life only by coaxing. *Tapasya* is the only means to do it. It is the first and the best step in religion. And I assume that the Gujarat Education League is an incarnation of *Tapasya*. Money will be showered upon the League when its secretaries and members are found to be embodiments of selflessness and learning. Wealth is always shy. There are reasons for such shyness. If, therefore, we want to coax wealthy men, we shall have to prove our fitness. But although we require money, it is not necessary to attach undue importance to that need. He who wishes to impart national education can, if he is not equipped for it, do so by labouring and getting the necessary training and having thus qualified himself will, sitting under the shadow of a tree, distribute knowledge freely to those who want it. He is a Brahmin, indeed, and this dharma can be practised by every one who wishes it. Both wealth and power will bow to such a one. I hope and pray to God that the Gujarat Education League will have immoveable faith in itself.

The way to Swaraj lies through education. Political leaders may wait on Mr. Montagu. The political field may not be open to this Conference. But all endeavour will be useless without true education. The field of education is a speciality of this Conference. And if we achieve success in that direction, it means success all over.