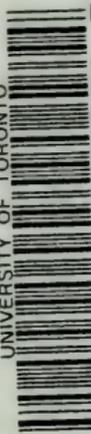


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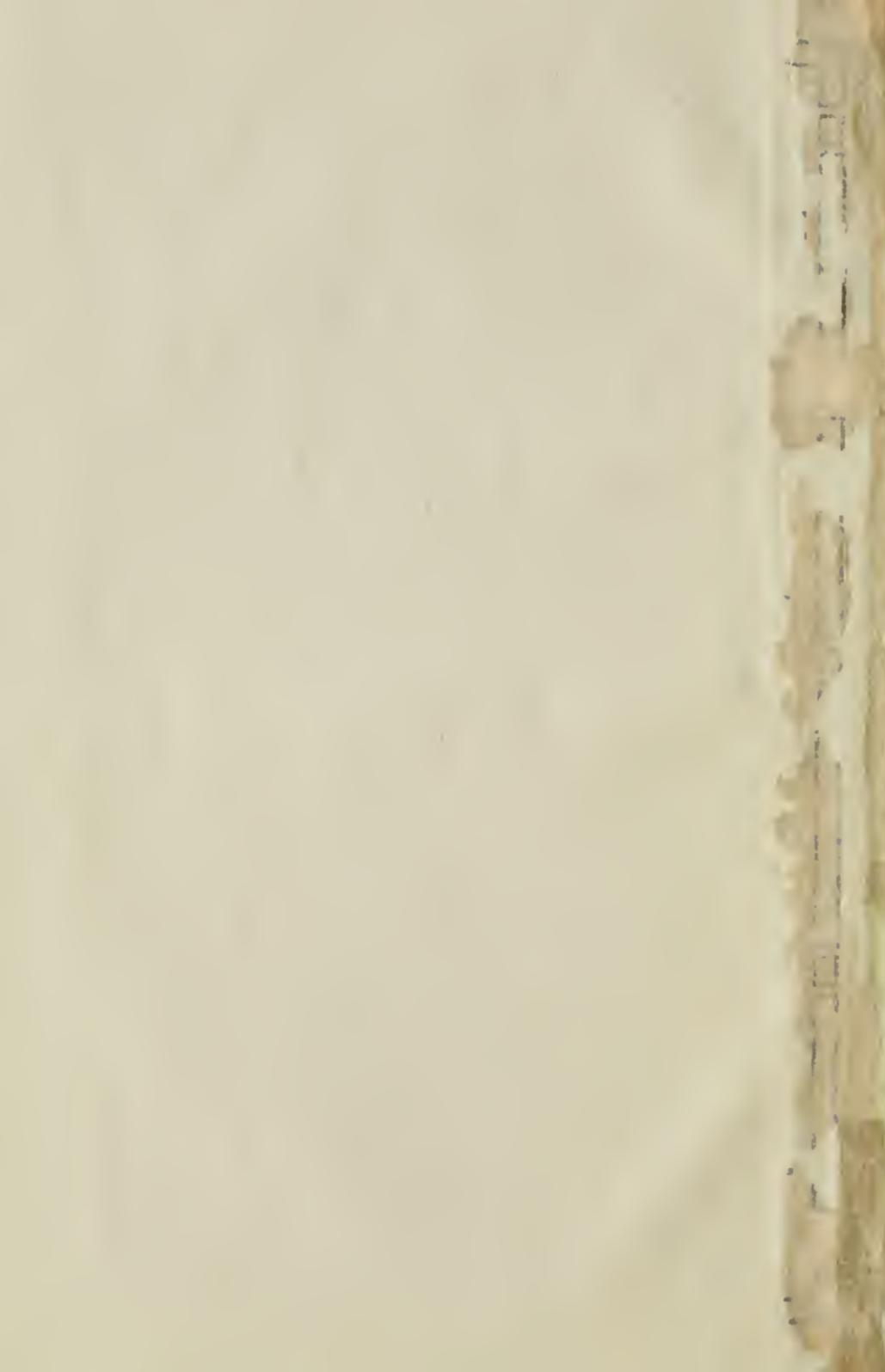
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CHAPTER I.

Solicitude of parents to marry their daughters.

It is, I think, a matter of common knowledge that Hindu parents have a great desire to see their girls married as early as possible. This hankering after the marriage of children probably owes its existence to the religious faith that every person must be married so as to be able to perform the religious duties more efficaciously. It is, perhaps, also due to the natural desire of procreation as well as to enjoy the *Grihast Ashram* or conjugal life. Lastly, it, perhaps, owes its origin in the fact that the best walk of life for women is the married life.

It may not be out of place to mention here an instance of this solicitude which I have noticed in common parlance among women on the subject of marriage. In the meeting of Hindu ladies the mother of an unmarried girl of

Solicitude
of parents
to marry
their
daughters.

fourteen or fifteen is addressed thus:—
 “ Sister ! ” is the common taunt “ how do you manage to digest what you eat and drink when you have got a grown-up girl to marry ” ?

Now, where all this solicitude of the Hindus is gone as soon as a girl becomes a widow ? Why should the Hindus become so callous and cruel to women when they lose their husbands for no fault of theirs ? Even raw girls whose marriages have not yet been consummated are debarred from re-marriage. I can not resist the temptation of making the following quotation from the late Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar’s book on Marriage of Hindu Widows:—“ Countrymen ! how long will you suffer yourselves to be led away by illusions. Open your eyes for once and see that India, once the land of virtue, is being overflowed with the stream of adultery and fæticide. The degradation to which you have sunk is sadly low. Dip into the spirit of your

Vidyasagar’s
 remarks.

Shastras, follow its dictates, and you shall be able to remove the foul blot from the face of your country. But unfortunately you are so much under the domination of long established prejudice, so slavishly attached to custom and the usages and forms of society, that I am afraid you will not soon be able to assert your dignity and follow the path of rectitude. Habit has so darkened your intellect and blunted your feelings that it is impossible for you to have compassion for your helpless widows. When led away by the impulse of passion, they violate the vow of widowhood, you are willing to connive at their conduct. Losing all sense of honour and religion, and from apprehensions of mere exposure in society you are willing to help in the work of fœticide. But what a wonder of wonders ! you are not willing to follow the dictates of your Shastras, to give them in marriage again, and thus to relieve them from their intoler-

able sufferings, and yourselves from miseries, crimes and vices. You perhaps imagine that with the loss of their husbands your females lose their nature as human beings and are subject no longer to the influence of passions. But what instances occur at every step to show how sadly you are mistaken. Alas ! what fruits of poison you are gathering from the tree of life, from moral torpitude and a sad want of reflection. How greatly is this to be deplored ! Where men are void of pity and compassion, of a perception of right and wrong, of good and evil, and when men consider the observance of mere forms as the highest of duties and the greatest of virtues, in such a country would that women were never born.”

Wretched
condition.

However young the widows may be they are, in a majority of communities, not allowed to put on good dress and jewellery, nor are they allowed to use other similar articles to which they were accustomed in their married life.

They have to keep fasts so often as really to starve themselves. In some places their heads are shaved. They are not allowed to take part in such ceremonies as are considered auspicious among married women, nor are they allowed to associate with married women on occasions of joy. In fact they are looked upon as objects of Divine curse and wrath. Sometimes elderly women of the deceased husbands' families curse them in words that they devoured their husbands. Often the burden of the entire household work is put on their shoulders and they are treated more as wretches than human beings. The real object of all this cruel treatment seems to be to make them feel their dejection and despondency so that physically their passions might always remain curbed and checked. It is really a living homicidal treatment.

CHAPTER II.

Duty of childless widows to re-marry.
Advantages of re-marriage.

Protection
of
women.

According to Manu women are always to remain under the protection of men. He has enjoined:—"In childhood must a female be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, on her sons; if she have no sons, on the near kinsmen of her husband; if he left no kinsmen, on those of her father; if she have no paternal kinsmen, on the sovereign; a woman must never seek independence." (MANU CHA. V, VERSE 148.)

Therefore, so long as the women are unmarried they are naturally in the protection of their parents or the latter's relations in their absence. From the time they are married they go into the protection of their husbands. They should, therefore, be remarried as soon as they become widows. Most of the

crimes arising from unchastity of widows will be obliterated by their re-marriage. The following remarks of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar are appropriate here:—“An adequate idea of the intolerable hardships of early widowhood can be formed by those only whose daughters, sisters, daughters-in-law and other female relatives have been deprived of their husbands during their infancy. How many hundreds of widows, unable to observe the austerities of a Brahmacharya life, betake themselves to prostitution and fœticide and thus bring disgrace upon the families of their fathers, mothers and husbands. If the marriage of widows be allowed, it will remove the insupportable torments of life-long widowhood, diminish the crimes of prostitution and fœticide and secure all families from disgrace and infamy. As long as this salutary practice will be deferred, so long will the crimes of prostitution, adultery, incest and fœticide flow on in

Crimes of unchastity obliterated.

Hardships of widowhood.

an-ever increasing current—so long will family stains be multiplied—so long will a widow's agony blaze on in fiercer flames.”

Women's
liking and
desire for
marriage.

From the experience of married life we must conscientiously admit that women have as much liking for married life as men. Now, if widowers marry so soon there is no reason why widows should remain unmarried. When widowers, not only knee-deep but even neck-deep in their funeral pyre, go in for remarriage it is all the more naturally necessary that the sooner the monstrous custom, which stands in the way of the remarriage of young childless widows, is done away with the better. For in the one case the manifestation of illicit felicity, or sin you may call it, may remain hidden, but in the other case nature would abhor, in a majority of instances, such a concealment.

In order to force the widows to their miserable lot they are often lulled with

the superstitious belief that in the next world they will regain their former husbands. A little reflection will disclose that this superstitious belief works out a curious fun. If a woman is to get back her former identical husband in the next world, then *a fortiori* men will get all their wives and thus a woman who has remained contented with one marriage only in this world will find herself a loser, seeing that she has to join with one or more rivals to burn her heart. Here is an illustration. A's first wife X dies. He marries a second wife Y who also dies leaving him a widower a second time. A marries a third wife Z who is ultimately left a young widow on A's death. Z does not re-marry. In the next world she gets her former husband A with two rivals (X and Y).

From the very bottom of their heart most of the young widows desire their re-marriage. But when asked they would always answer a 'no', because of the force

of the pernicious custom. They also see that virgins are, as a rule, never consulted regarding their marriage. They are rather forced into matrimony. Similarly widows naturally want that they should also be forced into re-marriage.

Early
marriage
checked.

Early marriage of girls would be greatly checked by the free introduction of widow re-marriage. As the state of the Hindu society now exists virgins are available both for bachelors and widowers. The latter naturally and generally desire to unite themselves with grown-up girls. Few parents like to give the hands of their girls to widowers. They, therefore, naturally desire to secure bachelor matches as early as possible to obviate the emergency of having recourse to widower matches; and thus the early marriage is encouraged. It would also be a very salutary and equitable rule of practice if widowers were never to marry a maiden but always a widow. It will, perhaps, be better to notice here that some of the opponents

of the widow marriage may object that widowers should not marry at all. I must answer at once to this objection that in this world it is impossible for widowers generally not to re-marry.

Re-marriage of Hindu widows would greatly prevent their losing the Hindu religion. I remember of an instance. A respectable old Khatri gentleman had an only son who died soon after his marriage. The young widowed daughter-in-law of this old man in order to re-marry herself became a Christian and thus entered into a second marriage. Another instance is to be found in a case (*Abdul Aziz Khan versus Musamat Nirma*) reported in 20 Indian Cases, page 335 (= I. L. R. 35 Allahabad, 466). It is a case decided by the Allahabad High Court and has been described with detailed particulars in Chapter V. There are other similar instances; and it is no use to describe them in detail.

CHAPTER III.

*Shastric authorities for the re-marriage
and its consequent validity under the
Hindu Law.*

In the Kali Yuga the authority of Parasara is of paramount importance. The late Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidya-sagar has very ably discussed that authority on this question and I can not do better than quote his observations in this matter:—"After all this, it can neither be denied nor questioned that the Parasara Sanhita is the Dharma Sastra of the Kali Yuga. Now, it should be enquired, what Dharmas have been enjoined in the Parasara Sanhita for widows. We find in the 4th Chapter of this work the following passage:—

नष्टे मृते प्रवृजिते ह्नांवे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥
मृते भर्त्तरि या नारी ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता ।
सा मृता लभते स्वर्गं यथा ते ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥
तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्द्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानवे ।
तावत्कालं वसेत् स्वर्गं भर्त्तारं यानुगच्छति ॥

“On receiving no tidings of a husband, on his demise, on his turning an ascetic, on his being found impotent or on his degradation—under any one of these five calamities, it is canonical for women to take another husband. That woman, who on the decease of her husband observes the Brahmacharya (leads the life of austerities and privations), attains heaven after death. She, who burns herself with her deceased husband, resides in heaven for as many Kalas or thousands of years as there are hairs on the human body or thirty-five millions.”

“Thus it appears that Parasara prescribes three rules for the conduct of a widow; marriage, the observance of the Brahmacharya, and burning with the deceased husband. Among these, the custom of concremation has been abolished by order of the ruling authorities; only two ways, therefore, have now been left for the widows; they have the option of marrying or of observing the

Brahmacharya. But in the Kali Yuga, it has become extremely difficult for widows to pass their lives in the observance of the Brahmacharya; and it is for this reason, that the Philanthropic Parasara has, in the first instance, prescribed marriage. Be that as it may, what I wish to be clearly understood is this—that as Parasara plainly prescribes marriage as one of the duties of women in the Kali Yuga under any one of the five above enumerated calamities, the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga is consonant to the Sastras.

“ It being settled that the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga is consonant to the Sastras, we should now consider whether the son born of a widow on her re-marriage, should be called a Paunarbhava (a son born of a woman married a second time. In the prior Yuga the Paunarbhava was considered as an inferior sort of son). There is a solution of this question in the Para-

sara Sanhita itself. Twelve different sorts of sons were sanctioned by the Sastras in the former Yugas, but Parasara has reduced their number to three for the Kali Yuga. Thus:—

औरसः क्षेत्रजश्चैव दत्तः कृत्रिमकः सुतः ।

“The Aurasa (son of the body or son by birth), the Dataka (son adopted) and the Kritrima (son made)”. “(In the text there appears an enumeration of four different sorts of sons, but Nanda Pandita in his Dataka Mimansa, has, by his interpretation of this passage, established that there are only three different sorts of sons in the Kali Yuga, the son of the body, the son adopted, and the son made. I have followed his interpretation.)

“Parasara, then, ordains three different sorts of sons in the Kali Yuga, the son by birth, the son adopted and the son made; and makes no mention of the Paunarbhava. But as he has prescribed the marriage of widows he has, in effect,

legalized the son born of a widow in lawful wedlock.

“Now, the question to be decided is, whether this son should be called Aurasa (son of the body), Dattaka (son adopted), or Kritrima (son made). He can neither be called Dattaka nor Kritrima, for the son of another man, adopted agreeably to the injunctions of the Sastras is called Dattaka or Kritrima according to the difference of the ritual observed during the adoption. But since the son begotten by a man himself on the widow to whom he is married is not another's son, he can be designated by neither of those appellations. The definitions of Dattaka (son adopted) and Kritrima (son made) as given in the Sastras, can not be applied to the son begotten by a man himself on the widow married to him, but he falls under the description of the Aurasa (son by birth). Thus:—

माता पिता वा दद्यातां यमद्भिः पुत्रमापदि ।

सदृशं प्रीतिसंयुक्तं स ज्ञेयो दत्त्रिमः सुतः ॥

“ The son given, according to the injunctions of the Sastras, by either of the parents, with a contented mind, to a person of the same caste, who has no male issue, is the Dattaka (son adopted) of the donee”.

सदृशान्तु प्रकुर्यादयं - गुणदोषविचक्षणम् ।

पुत्रं पुत्रगुणैर्युक्तं - स विज्ञेयस्तु कृत्रिमः ॥

“ He who is endowed with filial virtues and well acquainted with merits and demerits, when affiliated by a person of the same class, is called Kritrima (son made)”.

स्वे क्षेत्रे संस्कृतायान्तु - स्वयमुत्पादयेद्वियम् ।

तमौरसं विजानीयात् - पुत्रं प्रथमकल्पितम् ॥

“Whom a man himself has begotten on a woman of the same class, to whom he is married, know him to be the Aurasa (son of the body) and the first in rank.” Manu Chap. IX.

“The indicia of an Aurasa (son by

birth) as above set forth, apply, therefore, with full force to the son begotten by a man himself on a widow of the same class to whom he is wedded.

“Since the Parasara Sanhita prescribes the marriage of widows and out of twelve legalizes only three sorts of sons in the Kali Yuga ; since the indicia of the Dattaka (son adopted), and of the Kritrima (son made), do not apply to the son born of a widow in lawful wedlock, while those of the Aurasa (son by birth) apply to him with full force, we are authorized to recognise him as the Aurasa or the son of the body. It can by no means be established that Parasara intended to reckon the son of a wedded widow in the Kali Yuga as a Paunarbhava by which name such a son was designated in the former Yugas ; and had it been necessary to give him the same designation in the Kali Yuga, Parasara would certainly have included the Paunarbhava in his enumeration of the different sorts of sons in the Kali Yuga.

But far from this, the term Paunarbhava is not to be found in the Parasara Sanhita. There can be no doubt, therefore, that in the Kali Yuga, the son begotten by a person himself on the widow to whom he is wedded, instead of being called Paunarbhava, will be reckoned as the Aurasa.

“It being settled by the arguments above cited, that the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga is consonant to the Sastras, we should, now, inquire whether in any Sastras, other than the Parasara Sanhita, there is a prohibition of this marriage in the Kali Yuga. For it is argued by many that the marriage of widows was in vogue in the former Yugas, but has been forbidden in the Kali Yuga. It should be remembered, however, that in the Parasara Sanhita the Dharmas appropriated to the Kali Yuga only, have been assigned; and among those Dharmas the marriage of widows has been prescribed in the clearest manner. It can, therefore, never be main-

tained that widows have been forbidden to marry in the Kali Yuga. Under what authority this prohibitory dogma is upheld, is a secret known only to the prohibitionists.

“Some people consider the texts of the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas, quoted by the Smartta Bhattacharya Raghunandana in his article on marriage, as prohibitory of the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga. Those texts are, therefore, cited here with an explanation of their meaning and purport.

Vrihannaradiya Purana.

समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः - कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।

द्विजानामसवर्णासु - कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥

देवरेण सुतोत्पत्ति - र्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।

मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे - वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥

दत्तायाश्चैव कन्यायाः - पुनर्दानं वरस्य च ।

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं - नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥

महाप्रस्थानगमनं - गोमेधं च तथा मखम् ।

इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे - वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

“Sea-voyage; turning an ascetic; the marriage of twice-born men with damsels not of the same class; procreation on a brother’s wife or widow; the slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest; the repast on flesh-meat at funeral obsequies; the entrance into the order of a Vanaprastha (hermit); the giving away of a damsel, a second time, to a bridegroom, after she has been given to another; Brahmacharya continued for a long time; the sacrifice of a man, horse, or bull; walking on a pilgrimage till the pilgrim die, are the Dharmas the observance of which has been forbidden by the Munis (sages) in the Kali Yuga”.

“ Nowhere in these texts can any passage be found forbidding the marriage of widows. Those, who try to establish this forbiddance on the strength of the prohibition of “the giving away of a damsel, a second time, to a bridegroom, after she has been given to another”, have misunderstood the real pur-

port of this passage. In former times there prevailed a custom of marrying a damsel, who has been betrothed to a suitor, to another bridegroom when found to be endued with superior qualities. Thus:—

सकृत् प्रदीयते कन्या - हरंस्तां चौरदण्डभाक् ।

दत्तामपि हरेत् पूर्वार्त् - श्रेयाश्चैद्वर आब्रजेत् ॥

“ A damsel can be given away but once; and he, who takes her back after having given away, incurs the penalty of theft: but even a damsel given may be taken back from the prior bridegroom, if a worthier suitor offer himself”.

“The Vrihannaradiya Purana alludes only to the prohibition of the custom, prevailing in the former Yugas and sanctioned by the Sastras, of marrying a girl betrothed to one person, to a worthier suitor. It is absurd, therefore, to construe the prohibition into a forbiddance of the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga. Nor is it reasonable to understand this text of the Vrihannaradiya

Purana, by a forced construction, as prohibitory of such marriage, while the plainest and most direct injunction for it is to be found in the Parasara Sanhita.

Aditya Purana.

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं - धारणञ्च कमण्डलोः ।

देवरेण सुतोत्पत्ति - र्दत्ता कन्या प्रदीयते ॥

कन्यानामसर्वणानां - विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।

आततायिद्विजाप्रयाणां - धर्म्ययुद्धेन हिंसनम् ॥

वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि - प्रवेशो विधिदेशितः ।

वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेश - मवसङ्कोचनं तथा ॥

प्रायश्चित्तविधानञ्च - विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम् ।

संसर्गदोषः पापेषु - मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ॥

दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु - पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ।

शूद्रेषुदासगोपाल - कुलमित्रार्द्धसीरिणाम् ।

भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य - तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ॥

ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य - पक्रतादि क्रियापि च ।

भृग्वग्निपतनञ्चैव - वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ॥

एतानि लोकगुण्यर्थ - कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।

निवर्तितानि कर्मणि - व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ॥

“ Long continued Brahmacharya ; turning an ascetic ; procreation on a brother's wife or widow ; the gift of a girl already given ; the marriage of the twice-born men with damsels not of the same class ; the killing of Brahmanas, intent upon destruction, in a fair combat ; entrance into the order of a Vanaprastha (hermit) ; the diminution of the period of Asaucha (impurity) in proportion to the purity of character and the extent of the erudition in the Vedas ; the rule of expiation for Brahmanas extending to death ; the sin of holding intercourse with sinners ; the slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest ; the filiation of sons other than the Dattaka (son adopted) and the Aurasa (son by birth) ; the eating of edibles by a Grihastha (householder) of the twice-born class, offered to him by a Dasa, Gopala, Kulamitra and Ardhasiri of the Sudra caste ; the undertaking of a distant pilgrimage ; the cooking of a Brahmana's meat by a Sudra ; falling

from a precipice ; entrance into fire ; the self dissolution of old and other men—these have been legally abrogated, in the beginning of the Kali Yuga, by the wise and magnanimous, for the protection of men”.

“ Nowhere also in these texts can any passage be found prohibiting the marriage of widows. That the interdict of the “gift of a girl already given”, cannot be construed into such a prohibition, has already been shown in examining a similar interdictory passage in the Vrihannaradiya Purana.

“ Some people say that the prohibition of the filiation of sons other than the Aurasa (son by birth) and the Dattaka (son adopted) in the Aditya Purana leads to the forbiddance of the marriage of widows. They argue in the following manner:—In the former Yugas, the sons of widows, born in wedlock, were called Paunarbhavas ; now, as there is a prohibition to filiate any other sons in

the Kali Yuga except the Aurasa (son by birth) and the Dattaka (son adopted), this prohibition extends to the filiation of the Paunarbhava; the object of marriage is to have male issue; but if the filiation of the Paunarbhava begotten on a wedded widow be interdicted, the marriage of widows is necessarily interdicted. This objection appears, at first sight, rather strong and, in the absence of Parasara Sanhita, would have succeeded in establishing the prohibition of the marriage of widows. But they who raise this objection, have not, I believe, seen the Parasara Sanhita. It is true, indeed, that in the former Yugas, the son of a wedded widow was called Paunarbhava; but from what I have argued above in respect of the application of the term Paunarbhava to the son of a wedded widow in the Kali Yuga, it has been already decided that the distinction between a Paunarbhava and an Aurasa has been done away with. If then the son, born of a widow

in lawful wedlock, instead of being called a Paunarbhava, be reckoned as Aurasa in the Kali Yuga, how can the prohibition, in the Kali Yuga, of the filiation of sons other than the Aurasa and Dattaka lead to the interdiction of the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga ?

“It will now appear from the manner in which I have expounded the spirit of the above quoted texts of the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas that they do not prohibit the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga. But if the prohibitionists, not satisfied with the explanation, contend against the consonancy of this marriage to the Sastras, by citing the above texts as prohibitory of the marriage of widows, we have then to consider the following question : The marriage of widows is enforced in the Parasara Sanhita, but interdicted in the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas ; which of them is the stronger authority ? That is, whether, according to the injunction of Parasara, the marriage

of widows is to be considered legal, or, according to the interdiction of the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas, it is to be held illegal.

“ To settle this point, we should enquire what decision the authors of our Sastras have come to in judging of the cogency of two classes of authorities, when they differ from each other. The auspicious Vedavyasa has, in his own institutes, settled this point. Thus:—

श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां - विरोधो यत्र दृश्यते ।
तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणन्तु - तयोर्द्विधे स्मृतिर्वरा ॥

“ Where variance is observed between the Veda, the Smriti and the Purana, there the Veda is the supreme authority; when the Smriti and the Purana contradict each other, the Smriti is the superior authority”.

“ That is, when the Veda inculcates one thing, the Smriti another and the Purana a third, what is then to be done? Which Sastra is to be followed? Men

ought to regard all the three as Sastras, and if they follow only one of them, they disregard the other two; and by a disrespect of the Sastras they incur sin. The auspicious Vedavyasa, therefore, has settled the point, by declaring that when the Veda, the Smriti and the Purana are at variance with one another, then we should, instead of following the injunctions of the latter two, act up to those of the former; and in the event of a contradiction between the Smriti and the Purana, we should, instead of following the ordinances of the latter, act up to those of the former.

“Mark now, in the first place, that from the above exposition of the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas, they do, by no means, appear to prohibit the marriage of widows; secondly, if by any forced construction, they can be made to imply such a prohibition, then there arises a palpable contradiction between the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas and the Parasara Sanhita. The Para-

sara Sanhita prescribes, and the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas interdict the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga. The Parasara Sanhita is one of the Smritis, while the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas are Puranas. The author of the Puranas himself ordains, that when the Smriti and the Purana differ from each other, the former is to be followed in preference to the latter. Hence, even if the texts of the Vrihannaradiya and Aditya Puranas were made to imply a prohibition of the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga, we should, in spite of it, follow the positive injunction for the marriage of widows in the Parasara Sanhita.

“ It can now be safely concluded that the consonancy of the marriage of widows to our Sastras has been indisputably settled. A fresh objection, however, may now arise that though the marriage of widows be sanctioned by our Sastras, yet being opposed to ap-

proved custom, it should not be practised. To answer this objection, it should be inquired in what case is approved custom to be followed as an authority. The Auspicious Vasishtha has settled this point in his institutes. Thus:—

लोके प्रेत्य वा विहितो धर्मः ।

तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् ॥

“ Whether in matters connected with this or the next world, in both cases, the Dharmas inculcated by the Sastras are to be observed: where there is an omission in the Sastras, there approved custom is the authority.

“ That is, men should observe those duties which have been inculcated by the Sastras; and in cases where the Sastras prescribe no rule or make no prohibition, but at the same time a practice, followed by a succession of virtuous ancestors, prevails, then such practice is to be deemed equal in authority to an ordinance of the Sastras.

Now, as there is in the Parasara Sanhita a plain injunction for the marriage of widows in the Kali Yuga, it is neither reasonable nor consonant to the Sastras to consider it an illicit act, merely because it is opposed to approved usage ; for it is ordained by Vashistha that approved custom is to be followed only in cases where there is an omission in the Sastras. It is, therefore, indisputably proved that the marriage of widows, in the Kali Yuga, is, in all respects, a proper act.”

Manu and other sages are also not against the widow marriage. They have in a way sanctioned it. On this point Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar has observed thus:—

“ When, therefore, Manu, Yajnavalkya, Vishnu, and Vasishtha admit the re-marriage of women under certain contingencies, the conclusion that the marriage of widows is against the opinion of Manu and other Smriti writers

must be quite unfounded. It would seem that this conclusion has been advanced by persons, who have not thoroughly studied Manu and other Jurists. It would be uncharitable to suppose, that with a full knowledge of the subject they have brought forward such an unfounded and a false statement.

“ The fact is, that the marriage of widows is not contrary to the opinion of Manu and other Jurists, The only thing to be marked is, that they designated the re-married females Punarbhus, and the sons, born in such second wedlock, Paunarbhavas: while, according to Parasara, such females and such sons are not to bear those designations in the Kali-Yuga, This much is the extent of the difference of opinion between Parasara and the other Smriti writers. Had Parasara intended to continue those designations in the Kali-Yuga, he would certainly have assigned the term Punarbhu to such females and reckoned the Paunarbhava in his enumeration of

the several kinds of sons. That, in the Kali—Yuga, such females are not to be called Punarbhus and such sons, instead of being designated Paunarbhavas, are to be reckoned sons of the body, is borne out by the prevailing practice. Mark, if after troth verbally plighted, the suitor happens to die, or the match is broken by some cause or other, before consummation of the marital rite, the marriage of the damsel takes place with another person. In the preceding ages, such females were called Punarbhus and their issues Paunarbhavas. Thus:—

सप्त पौनर्भवाः कन्या - वर्जनीयाः कुलाधमाः ।

वाचादत्ता मनोदत्ता - कृतकौतुकमङ्गला ॥

उदकस्पर्शिता या च - या च पाणिगृहीतिका ।

अग्निं परिगता या च - पुनर्भूषभवा च या ।

इत्येताः काश्यपेनोक्ता - दहन्ति कुलमग्निवत् ॥

“Seven Punarbhu (remarried) damsels, who are the despised of their families, are to be shunned; the Vag-datta, she who has been plighted by

word of troth; the Manodatta, she whom one has disposed of in his mind; the Krita-kautukamangala, she on whose hand the nuptial string has been tied; the Udaka-sparsita, she who has been given away by the sprinkling of water; the Pani-grihita, she in respect of whom the ceremony of taking the hand has been performed; Agnim-parigata, she in respect of whom the marriage ceremonies have been completed; and the Punarbhu-prabhava, she who is born of a Punarbhu: these seven kinds of damsels described by Kasyapa, when married, consume like fire the family of their husbands."

"Now-a-days the marriage of four kinds of Punarbhus, out of the seven enumerated above, namely the Vagdatta, the Manodatta, the Krita-kautukamangala, and the Punarbhu-prabhava has become current. Such females have no distinctive appellation, and are regarded, in all respects, equal to the wives married for the first time, though

in former Yugas they were designated Punarbhus, and the sons born of them, instead of being called Paunarbhavas, are to all intents and purposes, considered the same as the sons of the body. They offer funeral cakes to their parents, succeed to their estate, and perform all other stated duties just like a son of the body; never, even by mistake, are they called Paunarbhavas.

“ It should now be observed, that, as the marriage of four, out of the seven kinds of Punarbhus of by-gone ages, is now current, and they are deemed as reputable as women married for the first time bearing even no distinctive appellation and, their issues undistinguished from the Aurasa putra (son of the body); if the second wedding of the remaining three Punarbhus were to come in vogue, by parity of reasoning, there would be no bar to their being regarded in the same light as wives married for the first time, and their sons being acknowledged as Aurasa putras (sons of the body)”.

The authority of Parasara enjoining the widow marriage is not inconsistent with the injunctions of the Vedas. "The following is the Vedic Text", says Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar "cited by Oppositionists":—

यदेकस्मिन् यूपे द्वे रशने परिव्ययति - तस्मादेको द्वे जाये विन्देत ।
यत्रैकां रशनां द्वयोर्यूपयोः परिव्ययति - तस्मान्नैका द्वौ पती विन्देत ॥

"As round a single Yupa (sacrificial post) two tethers can be tied, so a man can marry two wives. As one tether cannot be tied round two Yupas, so a woman can not marry two husbands."

"Their assumption that the marriage of widows is an anti-Vaidic doctrine, rests on this Text alone. My adversaries on meeting with the passage 'a woman can not marry two husbands', have jumped to the conclusion that the marriage of widows is opposed to the Vedas. This is not, however, the real purport of this Text of the Vedas. The meaning of the above cited passage is, that as

round a single Yupa two tethers can at the same time be fastened, so one man can at the same time have two wives ; and as one tether cannot at the same time be tied round two Yupas, so one woman cannot at the same time have two husbands ; not that, on the death of the first husband, she cannot have a second. The interpretation is not merely the result of my individual cogitation ; it is corroborated by a Text of the Vedas themselves, quoted by Nilakantha, one of the commentators of the Mahabharata, and by his exposition of that Text.

Text:—

नैकस्या बहवः सह पतयः ।

“ A woman cannot have many husbands together.”

Commentary.

सहेति युगपद्बहुपतित्वनिर्बंधो विहितो न तु समयभेदेन ।

“ The word Saha (together) in this

Vaidic Text means that a woman is prohibited from having many husbands at the same time, but her having many husbands at different times is not reprehensible."

"Thus, the attempt of my adversaries to prove the marriage of widows as opposed to the Vedas has failed. They ought to have considered that the Rishis, who are admitted to have compiled in their Sanhitas the spirit of the Vedas, would never have permitted such marriage, nor could the practice have prevailed in ancient times, had it been interdicted in the Vedas."

Some of the critics of the widow marriage are so fastidious as to raise an objection to the effect that as a woman has been once given away on her marriage to her first husband she cannot be given away a second time. Indeed, there is a ceremony of the nature of gift made at the celebration of the marriage. But this gift is not of the quality of a

gift of moveable or immoveable property so as to vest the ownership of the woman in her husband absolutely. For a woman is not a property. This gift is, I think, a mere ceremonial form of the making over of the custody of the woman in her youth by her father or other guardian, on marriage, to her husband. As already mentioned above in Chapter II, it is enjoined by Manu that a female must be dependent on her father in her childhood and "in youth on husband". Thus, as soon as the husband of a young woman dies, she is unprotected; and it is, therefore, all the more necessary that she must be re-married in order to be placed under the protection of a husband. No sooner she becomes a widow than she is naturally placed under the protection of her father or other paternal guardian because of consanguinity.

"We have at present in our country", says Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, "two sorts of marriage-the 'Brahma' and 'Asura', that is, by a gift or sale of the

daughter. Here the words 'gift' and 'sale' do not exactly mean what they mean elsewhere. In ordinary cases, a man can make a gift or sale of a thing if he has a right in it. He loses his right in that thing, if he once makes a sale or gift of it, and consequently can not make a sale or gift of it again. From time immemorial, this law prevails with reference to the gift or sale of land, house, garden, cattle, etc. There seems, however, to be no analogy between such sale or gift and sale or gift of a daughter. In the case of land, cattle, etc., no one can make a gift or sale if he has no right therein. Should he happen to make such a gift or sale, it becomes null and void. But this rule does not hold with reference to the gift of a daughter. Gift in marriage is not actual but merely nominal. The framers of our Sastras have enjoined the disposal of the daughter in marriage under the designation of gift. The marriage is consummated on any one's making

this gift. The marriage is valid and complete by the gift of the bride by a person who could have no right whatsoever in her, equally with her gift by him who may have an actual right in her. In the case of ordinary things, no person can make over by gift a thing to another when he has no right in that thing, while a bride can be made over in gift by any person of the same caste.

“ Thus :—

पिता दद्यात् स्वयं कन्यां - भ्राता वानुमतः पितुः ।

मातामहो मातुलश्च - सकुल्यो बान्धवस्तथा ॥

माता त्वभावे सर्वेषां - प्रकृतौ यदि वर्त्तते ।

तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां - कन्यां दद्यात् स्वजातयः ॥

“ The father should himself make the gift of the daughter, or the brother should do so with the permission of the father. The maternal grandfather, the maternal uncle, persons descended from the same paternal ancestor, and persons with whom there are ties of consanguinity, shall make the gift of the bride. In the absence of all these the

mother, if she is in her sane state, shall make the gift, if she is not, the gift shall be made by persons of the same caste."

"Mark now, if it had been the intention of the framers of our Sastras, that the same rule shall hold with reference to the gift of a bride as with reference to the gift of land, cattle, etc., that is, he alone who has a right in her shall be entitled to make the gift, then how could persons of the same caste be entitled to make the gift? If any one has a right in her it is her father and mother alone. The others can have a right in her by no possibility. If the rule had been that like the gift of land, cattle, etc., the gift of a bride shall be made by him alone who has a right in her, then the framers of the Sastras would not have stated the maternal grandfather etc., as persons entitled to make the gift, or why would they make the mother the person last entitled to make the gift? She should have been in that

case held second to the father only. In fact there cannot be the same right in a daughter as there is in land, cattle, etc ; if there had been, the giving away of a bride in marriage without the knowledge and consent of the father by any other person would have been considered null and void, being a gift by a person who had no right whatsoever. But it is not a rare occurrence that sometimes persons give away females in marriage under such circumstances. Why are such marriages valid ? Why cannot the father lay complaints before a court of justice and make void the gift of his daughter by a person who had no right whatsoever in her ? The gift of another's land and cattle is never valid. It becomes void when a complaint is lodged before a court of justice. From all these considerations, therefore, the gift of a bride is merely nominal and is founded on no right whatsoever. If then the gift of a daughter is founded on no right whatsoever in her, and if it is a gift merely nominal, and is

enjoined by the Sastras as only a part of the marriage ceremony, there is nothing to prevent the father to give her away in marriage again, if her husband is dead, or in any other contingencies specified in the Sastras. As in the Text quoted above, sanction is given to the gift of a female on her first marriage, so in other Texts like sanction is given, in certain contingencies, to the gift of her on her re-marriage.

“ Thus :—

सतु यद्यन्यजातीयः - पतितः क्लीब एव च ।

विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा - दासो दार्धामयोऽपि वा ।

ऊढापि देया सान्यस्मै - सहावरणभूषणा ॥

“ If after wedding, the husband be found to be of a different caste, degraded, impotent, unprincipled, of the same Gotra or family, a slave, or a valetudinarian, then a married woman should be bestowed upon another decked with proper apparel and ornaments.”

“ Mark, sanction is given here to

give away again a wedded female in marriage in due form. If the circumstance of having given away a daughter once in marriage were a bar to her being made a gift of on the occasion of re-marriage, then the great sage Katyayana would not have given clear sanction to her being made over to another as a gift, on her husband being found to be degraded, impotent, valetudinarian, etc. Moreover, it is not only that we find a mere sanction, but clear evidence is found that a father did make the gift of a widowed daughter on the occasion of her re-marriage.

“ Thus :—

अर्जुनस्यात्मजः श्रीमा - निरावान्नाम वीर्यवान् ।

सुतायां नागराजस्य - जातः पार्थेन धीमता ॥

ऐरावतेन सा दत्ता - ह्यनपत्या महात्मना ।

पत्यौ हते सुपर्णेन - कृपणा दीनचेतना ॥

“By Arjuna was begotten on the daughter of the Nagraja a handsome and powerful son named Iravan. When

her husband was killed by Suparna, Airavata, the magnanimous king of the Nagas, made a gift of that dejected, sorrow-stricken, childless daughter to Arjuna."

"When, therefore, the gift of a daughter is, as proved above, not founded on right, but only forms a part of the marriage ceremony, when there is clear sanction in the Sastras to make the gift of a daughter on the occasion of her re-marriage with all the rites and ceremonies of marriage, and when we have clear evidence of a widowed daughter having been made over as a gift on the occasion of her re-marriage, the objection that after the gift of the daughter the father has lost all his right in her and therefore cannot give her away a second time in marriage is altogether unreasonable. The fact is, those parties, who are entitled, according to the Sastras, to make the gift of a female on the occasion of her first marriage, can also do so on the occasion of her re-marriage."

The Mantras to be used on the occasion of a second marriage are the same as used on the occasion of the first marriage. This is a matter of common knowledge of all the Hindus. The second and every other marriage of the males is celebrated by the same Mantras as the first. Similarly, the re-marriage of widows should be performed by the same Mantras as the first marriage. On this point Ishwer Chandra Vidya-sagar has observed as follows :—

“When therefore, Manu, Vishnu, Vasishtha, Yajnavalkya, Parasara and other writers of our Sastras, have enjoined the re-marriage of women under certain contingencies; when they have denominated such marriage ‘the Sanskara of marriage’; when the word ‘Sanskara’ can by no means be applied to a mere intercourse of the sexes, not sanctified by Mantras; when they have legalized the issue of such marriages; and when, at the same time, they have not prescribed a different set of Mantras

for them, the Mantras now used in first marriages should certainly be used in the second, especially as there is nothing in those Mantras which would make them inapplicable to re-marriage of females.”

CHAPTER IV.

Validity of widow marriage under an Act of the British Indian Legislature.

Fastidious critics may still delight in the entertainment of their doubt as to the validity of the widow marriage under the Hindu Law though it has been very clearly established in the foregoing Chapter that such a re-marriage is legal and valid under the Shastras. It must now be brought home to them that under Act XV of 1856 our British Indian Government has made the validity of the Hindu widow re-marriage as clear as broad day light. For their in-

formation as well as for ready reference the Act shall be quoted literally in this Chapter later on.

Now, the widow marriage being as valid under the said Act as the marriage of maidens the pernicious custom—howsoever ancient and deep-rooted it may be—prohibiting the former is illegal and should be put an end to. A custom which is illegal cannot be enforced. Such a custom should not be countenanced for a moment and the sooner, therefore, it is obliterated the better. Let us cite an illustration. Suppose, there were a custom prohibiting marriage of virgins. What would be the fate of such a custom? The marriage of virgins is admittedly and clearly valid. The custom prohibiting such a marriage would be illegal and would not, therefore, exist even for a second.

Some people have a sentimental objection to the marriage of widows.

They have got this idea in their heads that a widow who has once enjoyed conjugal felicity is not a fit subject for nuptial union to a man a second time. This objection, on the very face of it, owes its existence to the selfishness and high-handedness of man. Why is a widower, who has similarly enjoyed the conjugal felicity, a fit subject for another marriage? The marriage of a widow being as valid under law as the marriage of a virgin, there is as much reason for discountenancing the one as the other on mere sentimental grounds.

ACT XV OF 1856.

**THE HINDU WIDOWS' RE-
MARRIAGE ACT.**

(PASSED ON THE 25TH JULY 1856.)

*An Act to remove all legal obstacles
to the marriage of Hindu
widows.*

Whereas it is known that, by the
law as administered in the Civil Courts

Preamble.

established in the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company, Hindu widows with certain exceptions are held to be, by reason of their having been once married, incapable of contracting a second valid marriage, and the offspring of such widows by any second marriage are held to be illegitimate and incapable of inheriting property; and whereas many Hindus believe that this imputed legal incapacity, although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion, and desire that the civil law administered by the Courts of Justice shall no longer prevent those Hindus who may be so minded from adopting a different custom, in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience; and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from this legal incapacity of which they complain, and the removal of all legal obstacles to the

marriage of Hindu widows will tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare ; It is enacted as follows :—

1. No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid, and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate, by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage, any custom and any interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Marriage of
Hindu
widows
legalized,

2. All rights and interests which any widow may have in her deceased husband's property by way of maintenance, or by inheritance to her husband or to his lineal successors, or by virtue of any will or testamentary disposition conferring upon her, without express permission to re-marry, only a limited interest in such property, with no power of alienating the same, shall upon her re-marriage cease and deter-

Rights of
widow in
deceased
husband's
property to
cease on her
re-marriage.

mine as if she had then died ; and the next heirs of her deceased husband, or other persons entitled to the property on her death, shall thereupon succeed to the same.

Guardian-ship of children of deceased husband on the re-marrige of his widow.

3. On the re-marriage of a Hindu widow, if neither the widow nor any other person has been expressly constituted by the will or testamentary disposition of the deceased husband the guardian of his children the father or paternal grandfather or the mother or paternal grandmother, of the deceased husband, or any male relative of the deceased husband, may petition the highest Court having original jurisdiction in civil cases in the place where the deceased husband was domiciled at the time of his death for the appointment of some proper person to be guardian of the said children, and thereupon it shall be lawful for the said Court, if it shall think fit, to appoint such guardian, who when appointed shall be entitled to have the care and custody of the said

children, or any of them during their minority, in the place of their mother; and in making such appointment the Court shall be guided so far as may be by the laws and rules in force touching the guardianship of children who have neither father nor mother.

Provided that, when the said children have not property of their own sufficient for their support and proper education whilst minors, no such appointment shall be made otherwise than with the consent of the mother unless the proposed guardian shall have given security for the support and proper education of the children whilst minors.

4. Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to render any widow who, at the time of the death of any person leaving any property, is a childless widow, capable of inheriting the whole or any share of such property if before the passing of this Act, she would have been incapable of inheriting

Nothing in this Act to render any childless widow capable of inheriting.

the same by reason of her being a childless widow.

Saving of rights of widow marrying, except as provided in sections 2 and 4.

5. Except as in the three preceding sections is provided, a widow shall not, by reason of her re-marriage forfeit any property or any right to which she would otherwise be entitled; and every widow who has re-married shall have the same rights of inheritance as she would have had, had such marriage been her first marriage.

Ceremonies constituting valid marriage to have same effect on widow's marriage.

6. Whatever words spoken, ceremonies performed or engagements made on the marriage of a Hindu female who has not been previously married, are sufficient to constitute a valid marriage, shall have the same effect if spoken, performed or made on the marriage of a Hindu widow; and no marriage shall be declared invalid on the ground that such words, ceremonies or engagements are inapplicable to the case of a widow.

7. If the widow re-marrying is a minor whose marriage has not been consummated, she shall not re-marry without the consent of her father, or if she has no father, of her paternal grand-father, or if she has no such grand-father, of her mother, or, failing all these, of her elder brother, or failing also brothers, of her next male relative.

Consent to re-marriage of minor widow.

All persons knowingly abetting a marriage made contrary to the provision of this section shall be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding one year or to fine or to both.

Punishment for abetting marriage made contrary to this section.

And all marriages made contrary to the provisions of this section may be declared void by a Court of law; Provided that, in any question regarding the validity of a marriage made contrary to the provisions of this section, such consent as is aforesaid shall be presumed until the contrary is proved, and that no such marriage shall be declared void after it has been consummated.

Effect of such marriage Proviso.

Consent to
remarriage
of major
widow.

In the case of a widow who is of full age, or whose marriage has been consummated, her own consent shall be sufficient consent to constitute her re-marriage lawful and valid.

CHAPTER V.

Act XV. of 1856 is defective and requires amendment.

There are some defects in the Hindu Widows' Re-marriage Act (XV of 1856) which, I think, constitute by far the greatest obstacle to the working of the Act and mainly account for as to why the Act has remained almost a dead letter. It is high time now that these defects should be removed; and I have made some suggestions which, I hope, if carried out, will greatly facilitate the marriage of Hindu widows.

The second section of the Act, so far as it divests a Hindu widow of the property which has already vested in

her by succession to her husband or to his lineal successors, practically prohibits the marriage of a widow who has succeeded to the estate of her husband. For though such a widow would naturally, from her heart of hearts, desire a moral matrimonial alliance in the way a widower of similar status would desire, yet for fear of loss of the property to which she has succeeded she cannot carry out her wishes.

Subsequent unchastity cannot divest a Hindu widow of an estate which has already devolved on her [see (1) *Matunjinee Debea v. Joy Kali Debea*, 14 W. R., O. C., 23; (2) *Kerry Kolutany v. Moni Ram Kolita*, 19 W. R. 367; I. L. R., 5 Cal., 776 (P. C.); (3) *Nihalo v. Kishen Lal*, I. L. R., 2 All. 150 (F. B.); (4) *Bhawani v. Mahtab Kunwar*, I. L. R., 2 All. 171; and (5) *Keshav Ram Krishna v. Govind Ganesh*, I. L. R., 9 Bom., 94].

Thus a widow has more encouragement for leading an immoral unchaste

life if she so chooses to degrade herself, but has no encouragement to lead a moral married life. In this view I am supported by the following quotations from Mittra's Hindu Widow (Tagore Law Lecture, 1879) pp. 213 and 214:—

“ There is a singular contradiction
 “ between Act XV of 1856 and the case
 “ of Kerry Kalitany (19 W. R., 367).
 “ If a widow re-married she will lose her
 “ husband's property by section 2 of the
 “ Act but if she became unchaste, she
 “ will continue to hold the property.
 “ Therefore, an honest widow who from
 “ conviction re-marries, is subjected to
 “ the forfeiture of her rights; but a
 “ libertine widow is protected from
 “ similar forfeiture. Does not the de-
 “ cision in the case of Kerry Kalitany
 “ as compared with Act XV of 1856,
 “ hold out inducements to widows to
 “ become unchaste rather than remarry
 “ under the ~~sanction of law and religion~~
 “ ~~to~~ sanction of law and religion ? ”

Act XV of 1856 is an enabling and not a disabling Act. I would therefore suggest that its second Section be so amended as to remove the forfeiture of the property already vested in a widow. The reversioners' position cannot be said to become worse. For on the death of a widow the property would pass to the reversionary heirs of her first husband. Nor can it be said that her subsequent husband will waste the property. For a widow's waste can be checked by the reversioners. She should not be placed in a worse position than an unchaste widow for fear of any waste. Still less is the forfeiture clause supported by any reasonable sentiment of her former husband's relatives. For this sentiment should be affected more keenly by the unchastity of the widow than by her remarriage.

To remove this forfeiture is quite consistent with the preamble of the Act which provides to the effect that the

marriage of Hindu widows will “tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare.”

If necessary a provision be added to the effect that the children, if any, of the widow by her re-marriage will not inherit her former husband's property which will pass, on her death, to his reversionary heirs.

Under Section 7 of the Act a minor widow of the age of 13 years, whose marriage has been consummated, can re-marry with her own consent; but a widow of the age of 15 years whose marriage has not been consummated cannot contract a valid marriage without the consent of her guardians in the order enumerated in the section. It does not appear under what principle the consent of the former is sufficient while that of the latter is not. It cannot be reasonably said that consummation of marriage adds to the discretion of a

girl. It is the age and experience that contribute mainly towards discretion. Then the order in which the guardians, whose consent is necessary to validate the marriage of a minor widow, are enumerated is a practical check to such marriages. It has occurred more than once that the mother of a minor widow is ready to re-marry her but her father is against the remarriage. Consequently no valid marriage can take place.

The second sentence of the section which imposes criminal liability has a very great deterrent effect. I think the ordinary criminal law relating to kidnapping, abduction, etc., contained in the Indian Penal Code is quite sufficient. I would, therefore, suggest that the second sentence of section 7 should be repealed altogether. The other parts of the section should be so far amended as to allow a widow of the age of 15 years no matter whether her marriage has or has not been consummated to re-marry without standing in need of the consent

of any of her guardians. Her own consent should be sufficient to constitute her marriage lawful and valid. In case of a widow whose age be less than 15 years and whose marriage has not been consummated the consent of one of her parents and, in their absence, of the guardians in the order enumerated in the section should be required to validate her marriage.

To avoid the effect of the provisions of section 2 of the Act, several widows have to adopt the artifice of conversion. They lose their religion by becoming converts to the Mohamedan faith and thus keep in their possession their late husband's estate. As an illustration of this artifice I am quoting below the judgment of the Allahabad High Court reported in 20 Indian Cases, p. 335 (Abdul Aziz Khan V. Musammatt Nirma) corresponding to I. L. R., 35 All., 466. The judgment is dated the 5th June 1913 and runs thus:—

“This appeal arises under the following circumstances. One Musammât Parbati, the widow of one Ganga Ram, who was a Hindu, instituted a suit claiming that she, in exercise of her legal rights wished to make a well and build a temple on a portion of the property in the possession of which she was as a Hindu widow. She alleged that the defendants to the suit were preventing her from exercising her legal rights and she claimed an injunction to restrain them. The plaintiff got a decree in the Court of first instance. The defendants appealed. While the appeal was pending Musammât Parbati became a convert to Mohamedanism and married one Wali Mohammad. She then put in a petition stating that she no longer wished to prosecute her suit and prayed that her suit might be dismissed. Thereupon the present respondent, Musammât Nirma, the mother of her husband, who would have been entitled to the estate for her life if Musammât Parbati were then dead, made an application

that she might be brought upon the record and allowed to defend the appeal. The Court below allowed this application. Hence the present appeal.

“The appellants contend that Musammat Parbati did not lose her estate upon becoming a convert to the Mohamedan religion but that her right to her husband’s property was protected by Act XXI of 1850, and that being a Mohamedan she was entitled to contract a legal marriage with her present husband. On the other hand the respondent contends that under section 2 of Act XV of 1866, the re-marriage of Musammat Parbati worked a forfeiture of her interest in her first husband’s estate, and that, therefore, there was a devolution of interest to the present respondent. It was further contended that even if this be not so, Musammat Parbati, though she represented her husband’s estate so long as she remained a Hindu widow, ceased to do so when she changed her religion and

married again, and that, therefore, the present respondent, as next reversioner, ought to be allowed to continue the proceedings and protect the estate.

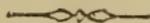
“ In our opinion her conversion to the Mohamedan religion did not divest Musammatt Parbati of her interest in her first husband's estate in view of the provisions of Act. XXI of 1850. This has been repeatedly held in this Court and by their Lordships of the Privy Council. The last case to which we may refer is the case of *Khunni Lal V. Gobind Krishna Narain* (8 A. L. J., 552; 10 Indian Cases, 477; I. L. R., 33 All., 356). We are also clearly of opinion that section 2 of Act XV of 1856 does not divest her of her interest in her first husband's estate. Section 2 of Act XV of 1856 cannot possibly include all widows. It is necessarily confined to “Hindu widows” Musammatt Parbati was not a Hindu when she married her present husband. This Court has consistently held that

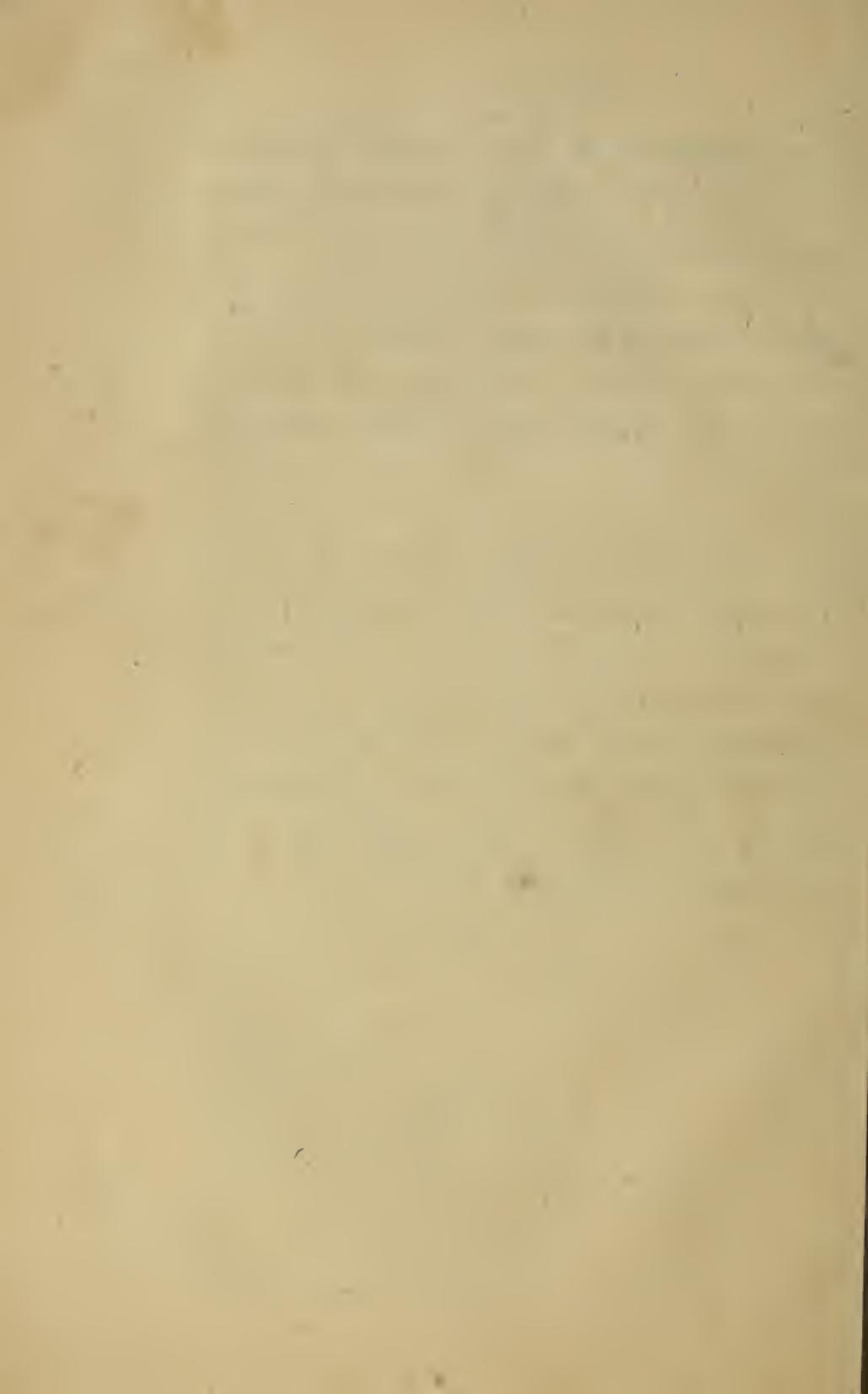
the provisions of this Act do not apply to cases where the second marriage is valid irrespective of the provisions of the Act. Therefore, on the main ground of appeal, we think that the contention of the appellant is correct. Our attention has been called to the ruling of the Calcutta High Court in the case of Matungini Gupta V. Ram Rattan Roy (I. L. R., 19 Cal., 289). This ruling is inconsistent with the rulings of our own Court.

“ With regard to the second contention, namely, that Musammat Parbati in the events which have happened ceased to represent her late husband's estate we need only point out that the sole ground upon which the respondent could be substituted for Musammat Parbati would be that there had been a devolution of the estate, which, for the reasons already stated is clearly not the case. No doubt, if anything detrimental to the estate is done by Musammat Parbati or by any other person, the

reversioners may have a right to take steps for the protection of the estate by instituting a suit of their own. This is a very different thing to being substituted for Musammât Parbati in a suit which she instituted of her own motion and which she does not choose to prosecute.”

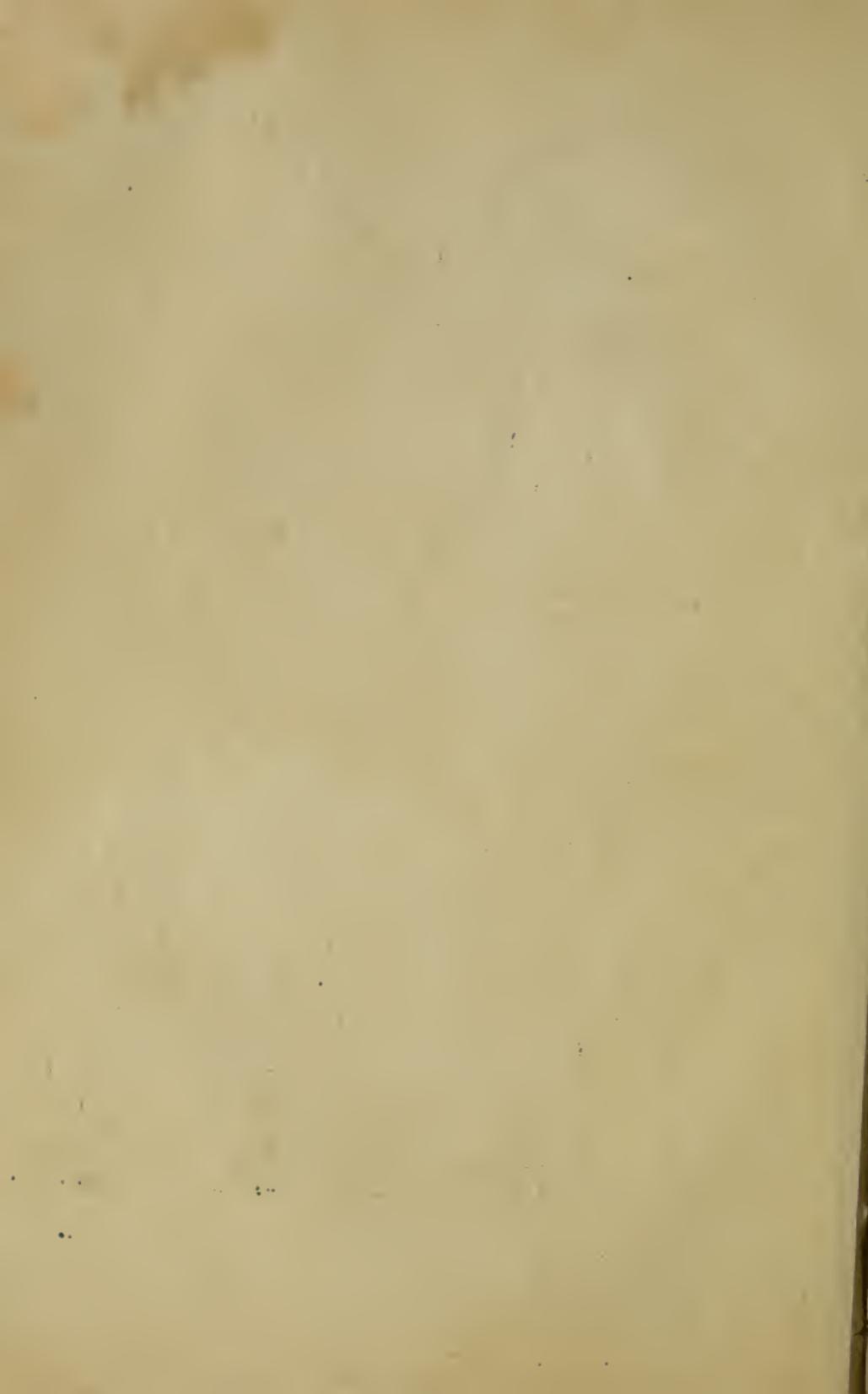
To sum up, if a Hindu widow for the maintenance of her morality and religion re-marries she is deprived of her former husband's estate. But, on the other hand, if she leads an unchaste life or becomes a convert to another religion and then re-marriage^{ed} she does not lose that estate.







TAGORE
MAN & POET



TAGORE MAN AND POET

(A Brief Survey of the Poet's Inspirations)

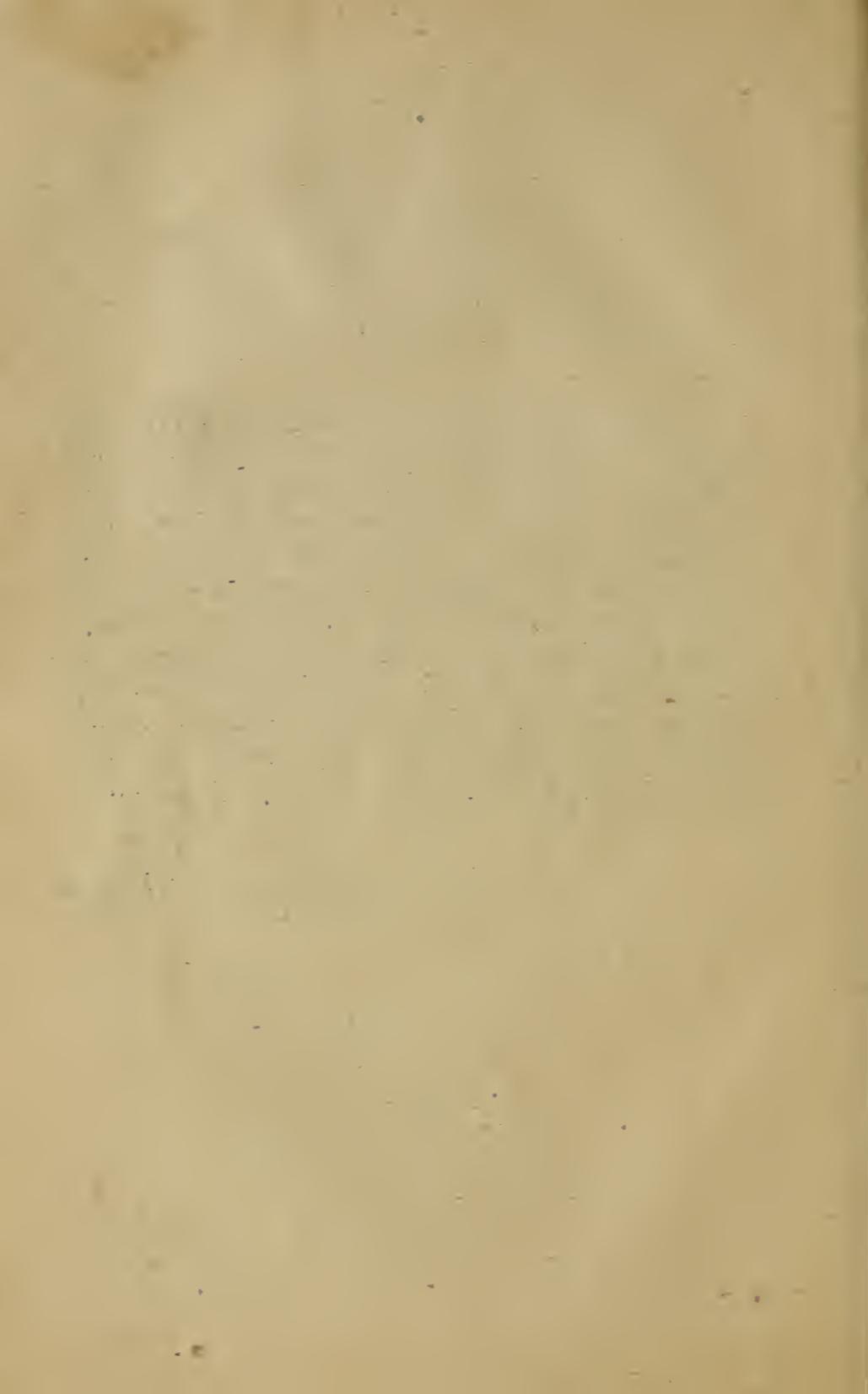


TAGORE MEMORIAL PUBLICATIONS
LAHORE



What can be greater than to be a poet like Tagore? Philosophers have lived and died, their schools of philosophy have grown up and been forgotten. Kings have lived and died and who remembers then their names and dynasties they founded? Great generals have achieved glory and been forgotten. But the poet lives for ever, he lives in the hearts of today, he lives in the hearts of tomorrow and a poet like Tagore who loved his country was none the less a lover of all countries. Even in every fibre of his being, in every silvery hair of his head, in every rich red drop of his blood.

Sarojini Naidu



Let us go back to the early period of the nineteenth century when the history of the Bengal Renaissance was in the making. The sixteenth century is particularly known for the revival of art and letters under the influence of classical models in the Western Europe. The course adopted by the Bengal Renaissance Movement in the nineteenth century was surprizingly similar to that of Europe in the sixteenth century.

Of course, similar efforts conclude in a similar manner and similar actions have similar reactions. The history of mankind has preserved thousands of such instances that go a long way to bear testimony to this fact. The history of the Ancient India is dyed red with the blood of the Drivadians, so ruthlessly shed by the Aryans. The other chapter of the history opens with the murder and massacre of the Aryans, the tyrants, by the foreigners. The Brahmins charged the Sudras with hot-melted lead in their ears ; the Brahmins were disgraced and disregarded by the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans, with the avarice of victory, plundered the freedom of the world ; the Mohammedans were compelled to be on their knees before the superior might. In the same way, when we look into the pages of the

history of Europe we find that the Roman emperors, while riding their horses, used to put their feet on the shoulders of the submissive sovereigns ; but the time came when Romans had to suffer for the oppression and barbarity they had rendered to other nations, intoxicated with their imperialistic pride, kingly grandeur and grand civilization. The invisible hand of Nemesis gave such a heavy slap on the majestic face of the Old Rome that the Roman imperialism was obliged to knock out its true nature—the mockery of civilization.

Similarly, we can take the case of an individual, a group, a nation or a country, and can, very confidently, say that nature, according to its unchangeable principle, does not exempt any party from getting proper reward or retaliation for its good deeds or misdoings.

Just in the same manner efforts put forth for the right cause produce good results, though at one time at an early stage and at the other at a later one. In accordance with the law of nature the Renaissance Movement of Europe brought out the best results awakening the people of Europe to a new life. Exactly the same law was applicable to the results of the Renaissance Movement of Bengal.

To the West the shock was given by the concussion of the Arabic civilization and the faith of Islam. The insensibility of the intellectual sufferings of Europe—a visible insignia of the Dark Ages—turned into the sense of reason. This shock was the foreshadow of the intellectual progress in Europe. There happened afterwards the revival of the Latin and Greek antiquities giving rebirth to Latin and Greek art and culture. The shock was also followed by a new interpretation of

the Christian Scriptures. Both revival and interpretation, acting together, formed the full Reformation and Renaissance.

To the East the shock was given by the concussion of the Western civilization which infused something uncommon and new in the East, helping forward its remarkable rebirth. There happened afterwards the movement for bringing back into vogue the Sanskrit classics—the treasures of the early Aryan Age. The shock was also followed by the reformation from within of the ancient Hindu mythology. Both revival and reformation, acting together, gave prominence to the Bengal Renaissance Movement led by the most enthusiastic leader—Rabindranath Tagore.

During the time of Sir William Bentinck, Lord Macaulay planned for introducing the English language as the medium of instruction in India. His famous minute was written in 1835. In support of his scheme he himself said that it should be their endeavour, as far as possible, to create such a mass in India as would do the intermediary work by conciliation and compromise between them and millions of subjects. In Bengal it was then a burning question whether the introduction of the English language in accordance with Macaulay's minute should be encouraged or not. It was one of the most momentous questions ever discussed under the sun. Perhaps one may doubt the importance of the question but no wise brain, aware of the issues involved, not for Bengal only but for the whole of the East, will find any exaggeration in the significance of the question.

It was no less than Macaulay's folly to disregard Sanskrit classics and Bengali literature.

He was guilty, in the eyes of our countrymen, of pouring contempt upon the Sanskrit language. Nevertheless Macaulay had the upper hand; people's voice fell on deaf ears. However the people received a shock. Their sentiments were aroused and they were naturally compelled by their conscience to go deep into the Sanskrit classics and there came the hour of revival.

Prof. Wilson in 1853 while delivering a speech before the Parliament expressed his opinion about Macaulay's minute saying that in reality they had created a mass of the English-knowing people who had no sympathy with their countrymen and if they had had any, it was of no avail to them.

In a way, Prof. Wilson was right. Just after the introduction of the English language the new life which first appeared led to the shaking of old customs and ancient convictions, and the social sphere was disturbed to an utmost extent. The people were thrown in a vast ocean and they had to strain every nerve to reach the shore. They needed from without a shock and they had got it. They struggled to get out of the commotion. At this stage Wilson's insight proved practically at fault. Quite reverse to his expectations, the English-knowing people proved true sympathisers of their countrymen and every unit of their sympathy was of real use to their motherland. The language which can express most modern and scientific ideas immensely increased the potentiality of our Indian vernaculars.

Raja Rammohan Roy was the one prominent personality whose noble presence played a great part, at this juncture, in saving Bengal from misfortune. His self-command, distinctive character

and tutelary spirit singled him out among his contemporaries. His prophetic vision made him one to gauge, quite accurately, the force of every new current. He also had the qualities to foresee the results of every movement and guide the people in his own way with an accuracy incapable of missing the mark. Raja Rammohan Roy was not the least of an opportunist. He could never tolerate to wait for dead men's shoes. He was rather of the belief that chances are always at our threshold and we are to pick them up. He paved out a new road, vehemently promoting the new Western learning and helping forward Macaulay's programme with all his zest and zeal. But his efforts put forth in this respect did not, in any way, correspond to Prof. Wilson's version. The best spirit of his remarkable life was prone to fill the hearts of Bengalees with a true reverence for the Indian past. It would naturally lead to the revival of the Sanskrit classics, for the Indian past was bright mostly with the same. Taken in this sense Raja Rammohan Roy was the crown of the revival movement. Besides, he never neglected his own vernacular, the Bengali language, rather recognized its full value by bringing it back into literary use.

Our Poet's father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, was the next prominent personality known for the literary revival in Bengal. The Maharshi got his early education at the school founded by Raja Rammohan Roy and was influenced by the teachings of the latter received by him through his teachers in the school. The Maharshi was same to Raja Rammohan Roy's kingdom of thought as Akbar was to Babar's kingdom of India. The

Raja rooted a plant deep in the soil of Bengal and the Maharshi watered it, protected it and made it grow into a fruitful tree.

The Maharshi enjoyed a life of eighty-eight years. During this long period of his life he ever remained busy with his Brahma Samaj work. He personally went from place to place preaching the Brahma religion and establishing branches of the Brahma Samaj. To him ancient India was the cradle of all that was pure in morals and religion. "He was a man," says his son, Satyendranath, "more deeply imbued than any one in modern times, with the genuine spirit of the ancient rishis. It is singular that the one field of religious inspiration which was foreign to him was the Hebrew Scriptures. He was never known to quote the Bible, nor do we find any allusion to Christ or his teachings in his sermons. For him the Indian Scriptures sufficed. His religion was Indian in origin and expression, it was Indian in ideas and in spirit." The Maharshi's religious character and moral strength gave spiritual light to that age with an eminence of its own. His holy personal influence was immensely impressive and he was known as 'Maharshi' not only among his Brahma Samaj circle but the title was given to him by universal consent. During the days of the collision of foreign and Indian civilizations his spiritual authority held his country close to its own historic past. Raja Rammohan Roy was the strongest influence in moulding the life of Devendranath. Devendranath, like Raja Rammohan Roy, did never hesitate to stand against old, hackneyed convictions, harmful to the society of the day. He was the prominent promoter of the Adi Brahma Samaj, Sadharan Sama-

and Brahma Samaj. "To my mind," says Prof. Max-Muller, "these three societies seem like three branches of the one vigorous tree that was planted by Rammohan Roy. In different ways they all serve the same purpose ; they are all doing, I believe, un-mixed good, in helping to realize the dream of a new religion for India, it may be for the whole world—a religion free from many corruptions of the past, call them idolatry, or caste, or verbal inspiration, or priestcraft,—and firmly founded on a belief in the One God, the same in the Vedas, the same in the Old, the same in the New Testament, the same in the Koran, the same also in the hearts of those who have no longer Vedas or Upanishadas or any sacred Books whatever between themselves and their God. The stream is small as yet, but it is a living stream. It may vanish for a time, it may change its name and follow new paths of which as yet we have no idea. But if there is ever to be a new religion in India, it will, I believe, owe its very life-blood to the large heart of Rammohan Roy and his worthy disciples, Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen."

Devendranath instilled spirit and life in the hearts of his people who had great love and reverence for him. They followed him to reach the inner cores of their hearts and moved their senses for higher ideals—to bring in a creative period in the Bengali literary history. This movement brought home awakening of Bengal. Owing to this movement there also set in a creative period in the history of the whole of India, giving a beginning of a new era for the East.

Besides other lively factors the conflict between the new Western learning and the revived Sanskrit

classics left its deep impressions upon the face of the Bengal Renaissance. Toru Dutt, alive with her womanly grace and charm, gave vent to her feelings in a foreign language but the fragrance of the Sanskrit past is so beautifully macerated in her writings that our ancient culture is conspicuous of her songs rendering them to be a valuable national asset. Michael Dutt was a wonderful poet. He encircled the world's heart with the depth of his poetry. He began by composing his poems in English verse, and while his beautiful expression of his elevated thoughts had won name and fame for him and besides his being considered one of the best English poets his literary powers were still at their height, he bade good-bye to his pen which had a swift flow in English verse. It was just the time when he accorded enthusiastic welcome to his mother tongue resulting in the richness of the Bengali literature. All his later poems, in Bengali, are written in a strikingly resonant and majestic metre. He was truly, as he was called, the Milton of the Bengal revival. Bankim Chander's novels remind us, when we read them, of the romance writings in the West. They clearly reveal the zest with which the young Bengal was exploring its new-found treasure.

This period is important from another point of view. The writers of this era evinced an unusual interest in the study of the English language but at the same time they stuck to their own ancient ideals. They drank deep at the Pierian spring of the Western knowledge but their love of Indian thought and culture was not affected in the least. They were not swept away by the

influence of English studies. They simplified the language as also the subject-matter so as to suit the exigencies of their own people. They did not dwell upon the far-fetched themes but depicted the village life of Bengal in their works. They chose their subject-matter from the rich store of their glorious past. Thus they tried to inspire their readers with the ancient culture of their own country ; to infuse a broad and liberal kind of nationalism into their minds and to bring them into contact with the best that had been thought and done by their forefathers.

Young Rabindra was the torch-bearer of this ideal. His indefatigable zeal for revival of ancient Indian culture accomplished more than any other of his contemporaries. Bankim, the celebrated novelist, has been called the pioneer of the Bengal Renaissance. Tagore may be called the high-priest of this movement.

Art comes easy to Rabindranath. Highest art, it has been said, is unconscious and Rabindranath's art is undoubtedly unconscious. It is said of him that a certain gentleman approached him to interpret a poem of his, which had baffled his understanding for long and Tagore's retort was, " Ah ! who knows what it means ? " He wrote through vision and his vision was quick and open. Though not on purpose, much of his works are replete with the gospel of his father in his own inimitable simple style.

It was not more than three decades back that he came into limelight. Even his countrymen did not recognise his genius before he was lionized by the West with the Nobel Prize. His early poems are subjective but the subjective tone is replaced by

the prophetic one in his later verse. No longer he sits in the remote corner to enjoy himself the ravishing delights of nature. He is out to rub shoulders with the common humanity, to share their lot of sorrows and sufferings, to face the pangs of hunger and poverty, to make a bold stand against the icy hand of death without any fear, and realize God in his contemplations.

Fame and honour did not make him intoxicated. He never forgot his humbler friends. He was never indifferent to them even when at the highest rung of the Fortune's ladder.

He drew his inspiration from the soil of Bengal and in turn his songs and poems inspired, enchanted and guided the Bengalee youth. Most of his compositions are symbol of the rising hopes and aspirations of his own people. He has filled their hearts with rosy dreams of "Golden Bengal." Bengal is the acknowledged land of song and music and through Rabindranath's influence all the song and music has been directed at realizing that dream.

The Poet is a man of vision and in his subconscious mind there is a sacred sense of awe that God has visited his people and through his music and literature he has filled the mind of his people with this awe. Verily India retains even today her living faith in the Unseen.

For a true understanding of the temperament and character of Rabindranath Tagore, it is well worth to recall the environment in which he was nourished and brought up. When his father, the Maharshi, was present in the house, all the household became still and hushed, as if anxious not to disturb his meditations.

He was quite young when his mother died.

Her face, when he saw it for the last time, was calm and beautiful in death and awakened in him no sense of childish terror ; it did not excite even wonder ; all seemed so peaceful. It was much later that he was conscious of death's real meaning.

In his childhood he was too much given to loneliness. He remained away from his father, yet his father's influence was the deepest on Tagore's life. To him he was literally the fountain-head of inspiration. When the icy hand of death had bereft him of mother's fond love, he was kept in the charge of the servants of the household. He would sit day after day in his room and peeping through the window would roam in a world of imagination.

Since his infancy he worshipped nature. To him a mere piece of cloud coming up in the blue sky would make feel with joy. Nature supplied him the food for his imagination in his leisure. He never felt the loneliness of his early life. To him nature was a loving companion, that never forsook him and always revealed to him new treasures of beauty and joy.

He would get up from sleep early in the morning and would roam about in his garden and the meanest flower that grew there filled him with thoughts too deep for tears. A mere breath in the open sunshine would awake him to new life. The trees, the green grass, the chirping of sparrows, all conspired to thrill him through and through.

The renowned Bengali poets, Chandi Dass and Vidya Pati, wielded a very great influence in arousing his creative talents. He had been a

serious student of these master minds since his adolescence and enjoyed their study to his heart's content. Not infrequently a line or couplet would make him leap with joy. He imbibed their spirit in his youthful verses composed after their style and published some of his poems under the nom de plume 'Bhanu Singh Thakur.' For a time at least this Bhanu Singh baffled literary Bengal. They wondered who this weird Bhanu Singh could be. Like that of Coleridge most of his juvenile poetry was conventional and imitative written after the classical models but undoubtedly it showed the trend of his taste. It showed the future poet, as morning shows the day.

Later on he forsook the classical style and began to compose his verses in the romantic vein. The poems published under the name of *Sandhya Sangit* (Evening Songs) bear testimony to this fact. This shocked the older generation but the younger generation hailed him as their leader. The chief source of his inspiration was the religious literature of early Vaishnavas. He did not resort to the English models unlike most of his contemporaries. These poems composed in the religious fervour have been very dear to him even in his after life and their influence is marked in his later poetry especially in the lyrics of the famous *Gitanjali*.

The Poet realized the inner beauty of the soul one fine morning in the Free School Lane, Calcutta. He felt as if the thick veil of ignorance was rent asunder with a dramatic suddenness. His mind was unusually calm and reposeful. He was lost in watching the sunrise from the Free School Lane. All of a sudden he felt dazzled of an inner vision. The veil was rent, the darkness had gone.

He felt that everything was self-luminous; every noise a perfect rhythm, every creature saturated with godhood. He realized that there was unity behind all diversity. He beheld one behind many. The distinction of form and colour was lost. Every person, even the tiniest of living beings, was invested with the glory and freshness of a dream. A solemn glee possessed his soul. He was wrapped in meditation. His heart was full of love and gladness born of it.

Then he went to the remote places; he scaled the dizzy heights of the Himalayas in search of such ethereal joy; such inner vision of things but he sadly failed. He felt ever since that this world is brimful with joy and glory visible to those who have pierced the thick veil of ignorance. The thick wall of sorrow vanishes like a cloud in the radiant light of love. Love transforms the most commonplace thing to a thing of beauty and joy. It seemed as if his capacity for love was challenging all limitations. He loved everything great as well as small. He saw his God where the path-maker was breaking stones; where the tiller was tilling the ground. He loved the labourers whose garments were covered with dust and face withered with fatigue.

This ecstatic mood possessed him for several days on end. His brothers decided to have a pleasure trip to Darjeeling. Tagore accompanied them. He thought he might have a greater thrill of this blissful experience—oneness at the core of all things. He expected to find more harmony and severity in the height of the Himalayas than in the busy thoroughfare of the Sadar Street. But alas he found that all along he had been labouring

under a delusion. He wrongly thought that truth could be got from outside. The majestic and lofty peaks could whisper no truth into his eager ears but the concourse and noise of people in the Sadar Street had done that. The Almighty Lord; His wonder works. He works alone, unfathomed and unknown. He can open the whole universe in the narrow space of a single line; He can exhibit the whole world in a grain of sand; can hold infinity in the palm of your hand and eternity in an hour.

The volume of his poems entitled *Morning Songs* is the expression of Poet's ecstatic period—his first vision. He is impatient to realize the beauty of the world. But for lack of practical experience his lyrics though full of imagination are not intimately related to common human experience.

Circumstances, however, so conspired that it was no longer possible for him to live in an enchanted land of dream and imagination. His father soon gauged the sensibilities of the poetic genius of his son and felt that his intellectual development was tending to become lop-sided, if he did not rub shoulders with the practical men of the world. With this end in view he sent him away to supervise the family estate right on the bank of the Ganges. This change was a double blessing to the youthful Tagore. Firstly it brought him into contact with moral life of Bengal. Day after day he moved and talked with the native village-folk and dealt with the practical affairs. He began to understand and appreciate their rising hopes and also the fears that were looming large before their eyes. He awoke to the pangs of

poverty and misery. He had never understood these monsters before. The second advantage that he derived from the change of environment was he had a fine scope to commune with nature. He could find no better place than the sacred bank of the Ganges for nature study. The calm and tranquillity inspired him to "ecstatic heights in thought and rhyme." He would roam from village to village in his boat and breathe fresh life.

Most of his time he passed in silence. For many days at a stretch he would not exchange a single word with any living being till his voice became thin and weak through lack of use. During his boat excursions he had the chance to study and converse with the village-folk, to watch their customs and traditions, to share their joys and sorrows and feel their wants and limitations. This gave him enough material to take to short story writing. Many of the short stories written in those days are excellent and some think these to be superior to many of his well-known lyrics.

Another great consequence of his stay among the rural folk of Shilaidah was that he developed a great love for Bengal, the land of his birth. The great national movement had not yet set its foot in the soil of Bengal but the forces that worked its way were silently working through the Bengal's sensitive sons. Rabindranath too was being fired with flame of patriotism. He had already an invincible faith in the destiny of his countrymen. His contact with the village people only confirmed this faith. He did not minimise the danger that threatened the native life through its contact with the West-fangled ideas, but he had an ultimate hope in the new national life of his province.

Next phase in the life of Tagore begins since he went to Santiniketan from Shilaidah. When he was supervising his father's estate, he was feeling restless like a young eagle to fly away and find wider scope for his talents. The monotonous life at Shilaidah was only a long period of preparation.

As time passed on he was becoming aware of an inner call to give up the present work and dedicate his life to the service of his country. At last he could not control this passion. He first came to Calcutta and then to Santiniketan and decided to found a school. The difficulties to realize this aim were many. The main was of raising funds. He spared nothing that belonged to him. He sold his books, his copyright and everything that he could lay hand on but the task he had assigned for himself demanded much more than he could give. For a time it appeared that the mission he had chosen would fail ; but he carried on the struggle and the trials and tribulations that beset his way worked a great and wholesome change into the life of the Poet. These very obstacles proved to be the birth-throes of a greater man in him. They worked a great change in his own inner life.

At forty, his wife died. He had scarcely recovered from this rude shock when his daughter developed symptoms of consumption. Her precarious condition compelled him to give up school and nurse and tend her but all his efforts proved in vain. She succumbed to illness leaving gap in the Poet's sensitive heart never to be filled again. But the worst had yet to be. The Poet's youngest son, upon whom he bestowed more care than

others, fell suddenly ill with cholera and died within a few days.

Death had preyed upon three of his dearest ones within a small interval but made herself the loved companion of the Poet—no longer an object of fear; but a bosom friend. He had realised by this so-called calamity that death was a great blessing in disguise. It was his belief that not even an atom in this universe is lost. He was aware of a sense of completeness. To him death, in the last analysis, was not a calamity but a perfection.

It was during this period of travail that *Gitanjali* was written. The original was written in Bengali. "I wrote these poems," the Poet said, "for myself. I did not think of publishing them when I was writing." He has attempted to express fullness of human life, in its beauty as perfection. These lyrics are full of subtlety of rhythm, of untranslatable delicacies of colour, of metrical inventions. The work of a supreme culture, they yet appear as much the growth of the common soil as the grass and the rushes.

The last phase of his life is that of the traveller, the pilgrim. He began to keep indifferent health and was compelled to set out to Europe for a change. But the outward change worked a spiritual change as well. He felt a new spiritual unfoldment.

As soon as he left the Indian shores or was sailing in the Atlantic, he realised that his own soul was overgrowing the limitations imposed by outside factors. He imagined himself a voyager to the open road! to the emancipation of the self! to the realization of Love.

In a letter to Deenabandhu Andrews dealing with the meeting of the conflicting races of the world and the removal of colour prejudice he observed that the meeting of the races on equal footing was the greatest question that concerned the fate of Homo Sapiens and that no sacrifice would be too great to solve this vexing problem once for all and achieve the victory of God in Man.

Oversea travels had completely changed his outlook. He began to face questions and problems of international interest. He cast aside the narrow nationalism which had been the dominant and the most insistent feature of most of his poetry and songs. The philosopher was awake in the poet. He began to weave a philosophy of his life and thoughts and interpret the deeper meaning of life. It should not, however, be construed from the above that his lyrical zeal had cooled down by this time. He had been pouring his musical strains till the very last day of his life.

He himself carried out the translation work of his Bengali poems. He was so unconscious of his own genius that he felt very diffident while showing the manuscript of translation to some of his English friends and said that he had to strip his Bengali verses of all their *grande* ornaments and clothe them in the simplest English dress.

That English setting has since been acknowledged by the great men of letters. W. B. Yeats wrote a lengthy foreword to the English translation of *Gitanjali* and he pays him the tribute for his command of a foreign language in the following words :

“ I know no German, yet if a translation of a German poet had moved me, I would go to the

British Museum and find books in English that would tell me something of his life and of the history of his thought. But though these prose translations have stirred my blood as nothing has for years, I shall not know anything of his life and of the movements of thought that have made them possible. It is unquestionably a great triumph on the part of an author translating his own poems into a wholly new language thus giving his message to two peoples at once in a noble literary form."

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SREEMAT SARASWATI PRABODHANANDA.

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Sahityabhushan, Bidyabinode,
Head Master of a High English School.

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Preface.

Sree Chaitanya Chandramrita is an authentic book written by Saraswati Prabodhananda on the true attributes of Sree Gauranga as he appreciated Him. This great savant—the author of the book—did not write it on second-hand information ; he came in direct contact with The Lord and took to His lotus feet after great deliberations, and he was a great intellectual giant—the greatest erudite scholar of his time. So, what he says in this book can be safely relied on without the least hesitation or doubt. It was for this reason, that, that saint of a man, Babu Sisir Kumar Ghosh, the well-known founder of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, who carried home into the minds of the educated public the tenets and teachings of Sree Gauranga by writing books like "Amiya Nimai Charit" in six parts in Bengali and "Lord Gauranga in two parts in English, very kindly asked me to bring out the translation of this book ; and so is my humble attempt. Babu Sisir Kumar saw it and left a remark in writing—"It is good. I like it."

I admit my weakness both in my knowledge of English and in my conception of the true attributes of The Lord ; so, I fear, I have not been able to hold

before all the true spirit of what Saraswati Prabodhananda meant in these verses of his. Still, I hope, this will help the reader in getting a glimpse of Sree Gauranga.

I agree with Hegel, a philosopher of the west, that religion is a matter of revelation. And I believe that this revelation comes through concentration and prayer. And if we pray for some time—"Oh Lord! Open mine eyes," Truth will be revealed to us. This translation of the book, I hope, will awaken in the reader's mind a desire to know about Gauranga, and so he may be inclined to pray to God for the revelation of the Truth about the Lord.

It will not be out of place here to give a short sketch of the life of Saraswati Prabodhananda, for, unless we know the life of the author, we may not be inclined to accept the truth he realises.

Life Sketch of Saraswati

Prabodhananda.

Saraswati Prabodhananda's native home was at Belgundi, a village near Seringapatam on the river Caveri in Mysore in the Deccan. From his very boyhood he was of a thoughtful turn of mind. In his early life he studied the Vedas and the six schools of Hindu Philosophy, specially the Vedanta; and the nothingness of the world as delineated by Sankaracharyya in his well-known commentaries on the Vedanta Philosophy

so much impressed him, that he renounced the world at a very early age, even before his marriage, and turned a Sanyasi by embracing the cult of Sankaracharyya. He now settled at Benares, the then greatest centre of learning in western India. At that time there were two main centres of learning in India—one at Benares and the other at Navadwip ; the former was well-known for the culture of the Vedanta Philosophy and the latter for the Nyaya Philosophy. Saraswati Prabodhananda was the leader of the Vedantists and Basudev Sarbabhaum was the leader of Naiyayiks (the followers of Nyaya). Both of them were distinguished intellectual geniuses. Basudev belonged to Bengal and Prabodhananda belonged to Southern India. Prabodhananda's former name was Prakasananda before he was blessed with the grace of The Lord.

Formerly Nyaya Philosophy was cultured only in Mithila or modern Behar ; and the scholars of this philosophy there did not allow this philosophy to go outside Mithila, lest their fame should be cast into shade, for, they feared, that people of greater intellect of other provinces might surpass them, if they could get an opportunity to have the whole book written and spread in their parts of the country. They specially feared the Bengali intellect. This was in the fifteenth century when there was no printing press. The only way of access to the book was to write it out and thus spread it from place to place ; but it was not allowed. So

students from other provinces would go there to study this philosophy. And, it happened, that Basudev Sarbabhaum of Navadwip went there as a student, and so sharp was his memory, and so keenly did he feel the want of this great philosophy in Bengal, that he committed the whole book to memory and brought it to his own province. It was he who first started at Navadwip a **tol** or school for teaching Nyaya in a most attractive way. Mithila was thus really thrown into the back ground and students from various provinces began to flock to the feet of this great teacher Sarbabhaum. And this was an age of learning, and, students came by thousands. Not only Nyaya, other branches of knowledge also were cultured here at Navadwip which was then a very big city. Sarbabhaum's renown spread far and wide.

Raja Pratap Rudra the then mighty independent Hindu king of Orissa heard of his reputation and made him his court-pundit. So great was his influence, that next to Jagannath he was adored by one and all of the whole of Orissa. He shifted his home from Navadwip and lived with his family at Puri near to the temple of Jagannath. The big house known as Gangamatha Matha at Puri still stands to remind one of the vast erudition of this great scholar. Though not a sannyasi himself, he was the preceptor of many sannyasi students and these came from different parts of the country to study at his feet. That was the day of the Vedanta

philosophy as expounded by Sankaracharyya. The learned Basudev therefore was well-versed in this philosophy as well, nay, he was well-versed in all the philosophies and all the sacred Hindu Scriptures as a great scholar of his reputation should have to be. He, too, was a great follower of Sankar except in the fact that he did not embrace the sannyasa stage of life. He cherished the theory of Sankar in high esteem and considered it to be the highest goal of human life. And what is this theory in short? It is this. True salvation consists in the absolute merging of the human soul in the Great Divine Soul. The cult of **Bhakti** and **prem** was unknown to them, or at least not recognised by them. Sarbabham had seen before his very eyes at Puri various expressions of **Bhakti**, for, millions of people from different parts of the country flocked there to be blessed with the sight of Jagannath, they all bowed before Him, fell prostrate before Him, prayed to Him in various ways with folded hands, gave many offerings to Jagannath, and so on; and he perceived no doubt that the people were doing all this out of firm devotion or **bhakti**; but, still he believed, that **bhakti** was not an end in itself, he thought that it was only a means to the attainment of that **Jnana** which was preached by Sankaracharyya and which speaks of the absolute disappearance of the human soul in Brahma—The Great Being. Thus did Sarbabhaum pass his days in Puri.

Sree Gauranga the Latest Incarnation of God or better, Who is God Incarnate, came down to the world at Navadwip, and, from the very beginning of His descent up to the age when He was twentyfour years, He transformed the whole of Bengal into a land of bliss by His sweet Kirtan. One writer puts it beautifully thus that Santipur was almost immersed and the whole of Nade (Navadwip) was flooded by the ocean of love revealed and swollen by the holy Kirtan introduced by The Lord. He loved all equally. He made no distinction of caste or creed. The virtuous and the sinful found equal solace in His warm embrace. The learned and the ignorant, the educated and the illiterate, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, all found equal shelter at His lotus feet and they were equally graced by His look of love. Equality of man was established by His superior love. People began to love one another as their brethren. This universal brotherhood The Lord wanted to spread all over India. So he left Navadwip and in the garb of a **Sannyasi** travelled over the whole country on foot. At first He went to Nilachal now called Puri. Sarbabhaum had a long controversy with Him and was converted, and the whole of Orissa with Raja Pratap Rudra and his spiritual guide Kasi Misra followed Sarbabhaum, and they all looked upon The Lord as God Incarnate. They all began to worship Sree Gauranga as the most Perfect Embodiment of Bliss, Beauty and Love.

Now that Basudev Sarbabhaum became a staunch devotee of The Lord, he came to realise what a dry and unpleasant life he lived so long by following the path of **jnan**. Now by worshipping Sree Gauranga and enjoying the sweet bliss of His love he fully appreciated that his life was now what it should be, and that such a life is worth living. He now found the world around him all blissful. And again, this thought crossed his mind how many a man like him was sadly deprived of this sweet bliss of life by treading in that dry path of **jnan**. Specially he thought of Saraswati Prakashananda, that well-known saint of Benares of all-India repute, and also of the men of his way of thinking. He felt pity for that saint and his disciples ; and so firm was his conviction that he would be able to convert the saint to this cult of **bhakti** and **prem** and give him the true bliss of life, that he went on foot to Benares hundreds of miles away from Puri. But alas ! he had to come back unsuccessful. That pedant of Benares could not be brought round by any earthly power.

On the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in the Bengali month of Magh Sree Gauranga left Navadwip, and having delivered Sarbabhaum at Puri in the month of Chaitra, He left for the Deccan by the first week of Baisakh. And having travelled over the whole of Southern India He made millions of converts there. They all worshipped The Lord as the latest Incarnation of God, and the whole Deccan danced in divine delight

with The Lord in loud **Kirtan** or singing the names of Hari. Even the very native home of our saint Prakasananda was not excepted. This the saint could hardly bear. He never believed in Avatar. And a Bengali Sannyasi should pass for an Avatar ! This was more than he could bear. And again, the idea of singing aloud the names of God and dancing in divine joy specially on the part of a Sannyasi was quite repugnant to his ideas. This could never be religion, he thought. The Saraswati took such **Kirtan** and dance for some form of hypnotism practised upon the people by Sree Gauranga, by which He overpowered them ; he could never imagine that the ecstatic divine delight that made the people dance with The Lord could be so easy of access, for, he for his whole life could not attain the least of such joy in his trance by all his strictest penance. So, he took Sree Gauranga at best for a sentimental hypnot. All the more was his wrath when he heard that Gopal Bhatta, his own nephew, whom he loved much and whom he had educated in his own ideals, also embraced this faith and took to the lotus feet of Sree Gauranga.

The Lord came back to Puri after He had blessed the whole of Southern India with His Supreme Love. As we see now, in those days too, numerous pilgrims would flock to this sacred place to be sanctified with the sight of Jagannath. And when the happy message spread from mouth to mouth that Sree Gauranga The Great

Nadia Avatar was living at Puri and doing His blissful **Leela** of love to the superior delight of all hearts, the number of pilgrims increased more and more. Saraswati Prakashananda of course came to know of all this. He knew as well that the mighty scholar Basudev Sarabhaum and also the king of Orissa looked upon Sree Gauranga as Jagannath Himself or The Lord of all the worlds. The more he learnt all this, the more was he burning within himself with the fury of ire and the less could he control his passion. At last he gave vent to his feelings of wrath and malice in a letter to The Lord sent through one of the pilgrims. The letter was simply a **sloka** or verse written by the saint in Sanskrit. It ran thus—

“Benares is a very sacred place. The holy Ganges is flowing by. Those who desire salvation must reside here. He who lives elsewhere is foolishly duped like a beast that runs after a mirage.”

Or, in other words, Saraswati Prakashananda likened The Lord to a beast, as He was living at Puri and not at Benares where Saraswati himself was residing. The fact is, that Saraswati Prakashananda had no faith in the sanctity of Benares or in that of the waters of the Ganges. He never believed that salvation could be attained merely by living in that place. His ideal of salvation consisted in the oneness of the human soul with the Divine or the absolute disappearance of the former in the latter, and

this, he believed, could only be attained by the culture of **Nirbhed Brahmajnan** which amounts almost to Buddhistic Nirvana. The object of his writing that letter to The Lord was not to give Benares a much more exalted position than Puri, but simply to belittle the position of Sree Gauranga and trumpet his own vaunted superiority. But The Lord only smiled with mercy to go through the letter. He sent a reply. It ran thus—

“My friend, Love is the highest end of human life. God is All-Love, All-Beauty and All-Bliss. Be pleased to culture that love. We need not enter into any controversy over the superiority or inferiority of any place, or any human being or any scripture.”

What a wide difference between these two letters ! Prakasananda's letter breathed contempt, while that of The Lord was teeming with Love. Prakasananda likened The Lord to a beast, while The Lord called him a friend. Prakasananda expected a reply in filthier terms, for, his was a fighting spirit, —his argumentative mind wanted a shastric fight. But the reply was far above him, and so he was frustrated. For the second time he made a meaner attempt to incite The Lord by crying Him down ; for, about this time next year he sent another letter through a pilgrim which was more vilifying than before. But The Lord did not think it worth His while to send a reply this time.

In the sixth year of His Sannyasa life Sree Gauranga went to Benares on His way to Holy Brindavan. The Lord at that time had only three disciples there, and they were Tapan Misra a Brahman, Chandra Sekhar a Kayestha, and Purushottam a Vaidya. Tapan Misra's native home was in East Bengal. He was an old man and had studied many **shastras**, but could not determine the true end of life and the means to that end. In spite all his erudition he sincerely felt his ignorance of the true attributes of God, the final goal of human life and how to attain it and all that. When Sree Gauranga in His household life as Pundit Nimai had gone to East Bengal, Tapan Misra saw a vision at night that dictated to him thus— "O Tapan! Go to Nimai Pundit and fall at His feet, for, He is The Holy Incarnation of this age. He will enlighten you on all that you want to know." And verily Tapan Misra went to The Lord Nimai and fell at His holy feet and prayed to Him that He might reveal all truths to Him. Sree Gauranga said—

"The Highest End of human life, the means to attain that end, all truths about God, and whatever thou mayest desire to know, will all be revealed to thee through **Sankirtan** or singing the names of Hari."

So saying, The Lord gave him the following **maha-mantra** or the Hymn of all hymns :—

Harā Krishna Harā Krishna Krishna Krishna Harā Harā
Harā Rāma Harā Rāma Rāma Rāma Harā Harā.

The Lord told him further to go to Benares and live there with his family, for, he said, in that very place he would see Him again some years after. So, at His bidding Tapan came to Benares and was so long waiting all expectant for the day when he would see his sweet Lord. And the day came at last, for The Lord came and lived with him for some days.

It was spread all over Benares that a Superman of Divine Beauty had appeared in the sacred city and whoever saw Him was attracted to His feet. Prakasananda, from all reports that reached his ears, understood that He was no other than Sree Gauranga Himself Who had maddened the whole Deccan. Saraswati Prakasananda was the undisputed leader of the place, nay, people adored him next to Bisweswar or Lord Siva. Naturally therefore he expected that Sree Gauranga would go to his place to have an interview with him. But no. He mixed with none. He would everyday go to the holy Ganges for a bath and return to Tapan Misra's house. During a few days' stay there, the divine halo round His Holy Figure and His sweet Kirtan won numerous hearts. And very soon He left Benares for Brindavan.

In the absence of The Lord that pedant saint began to speak vehemently against Him before all his disciples and all the people that came to him. For he said, "That

Bengalee Sannyasi, whom they call Avatar, knows nothing of the Vedanta, nothing of the Shastras. He had not the heart to mix with the learned sannyasis of this great city. The anniversary day of the meeting of the sannyasis is drawing near and he left the place even before that date, lest he should have to be present at the meeting and be exposed. Absolutely vain is his attempt in this great place of learning''

Now that Sree Gauranga was gone, Prakasananda breathed a sigh of relief to think that no more was there any chance of his superior unrivalled position being shaken by that mighty sannyasi of Bengal. But this could never be. The object of Sree Gauranga was to bless all the sannyasis and for that all the people with His Divine Love. And with this object in view He was out on His religious tour. It was He who knew full well how and when to do it. The whole of Bengal was already flooded with His love. And so was the Deccan. The western India now remained ; and Benares was the main centre. Should He and could He leave this place without illumining it with the divine lustre of His love ! No. That could not be. Let us see how He did it.

From the Holy Brindavan Sree Gauranga came again to Benares on His way back to Puri ; and stayed here for more than two months. Full two months The Lord took to make Sanatan fully conversant with the true imports of all the Hindu philosophies and all the

scriptures and above all with the highest philosophy of Supreme Love.

Sanatan was the prime minister of Hossain Shah the then Nawab of Bengal. He had a unique position there, for he was the right hand of the Nawab. Hussain Shah had delegated most of his power to this able minister and in many affairs Sanatan acted as Nawab. But all his rank and tittle, pelf and power gave him no rest. When he heard of The Great Nadia Avatar, he thought of renouncing the world and taking to His lotus feet for eternal peace. Now, when he learnt that the Lord left Puri for Brindavan, Sanatan made no delay. He ran to his Loved Lord and met Him at Benares when He came back from Brindavan. Here Sanatan got his full inspiration from the Lord for his future sacred mission at Sree Brindavan.

Prakasananda was much amazed to learn that The Lord was again at Benares. All the more was he taken aback to learn that the prime minister of Bengal cut off worldly ties out of deep love for Sree Gauranga. And again, the masterly exposition that The Lord made of all the scriptures to Sanatan must have also been reported to him. Further, the number of followers of Sree Gauranga gradually increased day by day. All these seemed to shake the high pillar of vanity on which the savant sat. But what could Prakasananda do now? The only way left to him was to speak evil of the Lord with much more vehemence in season and out of season; his Sannyasi disciples too followed the instance of their preceptor.

A Mahratta Brahman by this time like many others became a staunch follower of The Lord. He was formerly a disciple of Prakasananda. One day he went to him and with much humility requested him to see Sree Gauranga once, for, he believed, that to see Him was to love Him. The Brahman fully believed that all the spite, all the ill-feeling that the great savant cherished against The Lord would vanish in a moment as soon as he would see Him, for, the very sight of The Lord would convince that great saint that He was God Incarnate. But Prakasananda laughed him down and said, "You too have gone mad ! I know him. He is Chaitanya. But he is a great cheat ! Benares, you know, is the greatest centre of learning in all India. No sentimental foolishness will have a place here. Tell him he will have to go away baffled from here. As for yourself, I ask you not to mix with him and be befooled. Study Vedanta."

The Mahratta Brahman was all the more wounded, but his firm faith in The Lord was not in the least shaken. He arranged for a meeting of the sannyasis with The Lord. His house was sufficiently spacious to accommodate numerous people. The sannyasis were invited even without the permission of the Lord, for he believed, that The Lord was too kind to refuse his humble prayer which was not for his own selfish end but for permanent good of the sannyasis and of all the people of Benares. And actually when the Brahman with humble entreaties made this proposal to The Lord that He should grace the

meeting by His presence, The Lord agreed with a smile.

The spacious hall that was temporarily raised for the purpose by that blessed Brahman was filled to its utmost capacity. Thousands of sannyasis met. Other people too gathered by thousands out of great curiosity to see the shastric-fight. The prominent disciples of Prakasananda were all prepared for the fight ; they thought that they would be able to calm Sree Gauranga at a word, their preceptor would not have to speak at all ; they expected thereby to show the mighty power of the savant, for, they were under the impression that people would hardly be able to gauge the infinite depth of learning of their preceptor by seeing such in his disciples. The people that were by this time attracted to the feet of The Lord were also present there. They had a firm faith in Him no doubt, but, so frail is human mind, and sometimes it is so much beset with doubts and suspicions and peepings of disbelief, that they too sometimes felt waverings in their hearts. Some went there to make their "assurance doubly sure,"—to have their faith in The Lord firmer still. Some had firm conviction that The Lord would win over the sannyasis to His side by His very presence and by embalming their hearts with love by His very look ever beaming with lustre of love. But every one was confident that this day would decide the fate of Kasi (Benares).

However, all the people that assembled were

eagerly waiting for that happy moment of the arrival of The Lord, and when their expectation reached its highest pitch, The Lord came—A Bright Holy Figure, Humility Personified, Beauty Embodied and Love Incarnate. Four disciples were with Him, and these were Tapan Misra, Sanatan, Chandra Sekhar, and Purushottam. The prediction of the Mahratta Brahman came to be true—the very sight of The Lord exercised a charm over the whole assembly, all were electrified, and, spell-bound, as it were, all the people, even that king of sannyasis with all his followers stood up in a body to greet The Lord. Saraswati Prakasananda himself stepped forward to lead Him to the centre of the meeting. All took their seats. Perfect silence reigned over the assemblage for some time. Prakasananda was so much overpowered by a thrill of delight not felt before, that he could not for a while open his lips. A struggle was now raging in his mind—struggle between his natural and spontaneous submission to The Lord and his former vanity. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other predominated. Sometimes he felt he was in a bright region far above this mortal world, sometimes his haughtiness, his superior position, his vast erudition tried to bring him down. In a word, waves of feelings tossed his mind—two divergent thoughts troubled his spirit. Once from above he could see the unsoundness of his position below, and again from below he could see the brightness far above. And in this struggle his

master mind could judge what a vast difference is there between undisturbed calmness of spirit and the agitating uneasiness of vaunted glory. At last collecting himself, the learned sage spoke out in a tone of humility, in a spirit of submission. Two things were uppermost in his mind. He lived and moved and had his being in Vedanta. So he wanted to know from The Lord what was His idea about it. And again, he could not for the world imagine what ecstatic joy there might be that could make a man dance and sing and shed tears as The Lord and His followers did. So this was also what he wanted to know from The Lord.

So sweetly and feelingly and at the same time in such a masterly way did The Lord reply, that every word of His acted as a miracle—it sent a thrill of joy to every heart. His learned and lucid exposition of the Vedanta philosophy and in that connexion the holy Vedas and His final deduction of the Truth—that God is All Love and He is to be attained and worshipped with love which is the summum bonum of human life, and that, as God is All-Bliss, the world too is all blissful—simply charmed them all and made them feel that Sree Gauranga is God Incarnate and that He came down to the earth not only as the Saviour of mankind but also to transform this world into Golok or the Highest Heaven of love. And last of all He said that taking the Names of Hari* is the simplest, easiest

*The word Hari is derived from the root **Hri** which

and surest way of attaining **prem** (love) and getting the true revelation of God ; no rigidity, no penance, no ritual, no sacrificial ceremony is possible in this Age of Sin. Not to speak of attaining **prem** which is the highest end of human life, even salvation is not possible by following any path other than the simple way of taking His Names. Sankirtan*, He said, cleanses the mirror of the mind where God is rightly reflected, it extinguishes the fire of all troubles, it sheds the cool beam of the true end of life, it gives life to all learning, it swells the ocean of bliss, it enables one to taste more and more of the purest nectar of love, it purifies all hearts and it is ever supreme.

The whole assembly felt they were in a bright land of love with Sree Gauranga as their Lord. All were quite changed. And the meeting dispersed after the Lord was treated with some sweets, and the Lord partook of them with Prakasananda at the same plate.

Every word of the Lord was now ringing in the ears of the great Saraswati ; His Sweet Figure was deeply impressed upon his mind. In his solitude now Prakasananda saw before his mind's eye nothing but the sweet Figure of the Lord and he heard nothing but His sweet

means **to steal, to remove** ; The Lord says, the Name Hari has various meanings, two of which are most important—(1) He removes all evils and (2) Steals (wins) all hearts with love.

*Sankirtan implies loud singing as well as counting Names in beads.

words. But he had not yet seen the sweet dance of the Lord.

Prakasananda passed the whole night without a wink of sleep. Next day in the morning too he was in that blissful mood of mind when a disciple of his ran to him to report that Sree Gauranga was dancing a divine dance in the street with innumerable people around Him. This He did on His way back from a bath in the Ganges. Immediately got up the saint, he forgot his position, left off his Danda and Kamandalu (saint's staff and beggar's bowl) and ran to the spot like a simple child that runs to see a curious thing. And what he saw was simply captivating. He saw that a bright sweet youthful Figure of about 16 was shedding forth a lustre of love and bliss over the whole multitude by His heavenly dance ; His eyes were beaming with love ; His sweet smile was winning all hearts ; a wave of beauty played on every part of His limbs. For some time he stood still drinking of the sweet nectar of that divine Beauty. He lost all control over himself. In the overflow of his divine delight all his limbs began to wave and at last he joined in the dance with others.

The Lord was in the centre. The sannyasis were around Him, and all other people formed the outer circle. They were all dancing with uplifted arms. Their eyes beaming with divine joy were all turned to the sweetest and most delightful Figure of their most beloved Lord. Some eyes were shedding blissful tears. They were all

singing aloud with The Lord the sweet Name of Hari. The strokes of their feet shook the earth, the loud sound of Haribol uttered all at once from thousands of throats rent the sky and resounded all quarters. A wave of delight passed over the whole of Benares. They had heard the name of Hari many a time and on many an occasion before. They themselves too took the name of Hari now and then. But they never felt such superior power, such supreme delight, such mighty attraction, such heavenly bliss, such sacred thrill of charm. Crowds gathered more and more and all electrified they joined in the dance. They all felt that they were being translated to some brighter world. Such divine dance was a sight for the gods to see. Having thus infused a new spirit into the hearts of all, Sree Gauranga stopped **kirtan** and went to the house of that blessed **bhakta** Tapan Misra.

The Lord was to leave for Puri the next day. Alone at night the savant went to The Lord and most earnestly entreated Him to permit him to go with Him that the Saraswati might pass the rest of his life at His lotus feet; for he said, "Oh my gracious Lord! Thou art The Bliss of my life. I would rather die this moment than bear Thy separation." The Lord consoled him and said, "I desire that thou livest at the Holy Brindavan, and that is the fit place for thee. Rest assured, I shall ever be with thee there."

The words of The Lord consoled him and cheered

him up and from this day forward he went by the name of Prabodhananda.

The Lord went to Puri and the savant to Brindavan where he passed his days in happy communion with The Lord.

Benares now became a second Nadia and every house was resounded with the holy **kirtan**.

Sree Chaitanyachandramrita.

Adoration.

1. I with all my disciples bow down to Sree Gauranga. He is All Spirit. He came down to Navadvip the Highest Heaven on earth. He is the greatest of all Incarnations. He is most wonderfully generous to embrace all. He transcends all bounds in His grace. The object of His Incarnation is to bless all His beings with the pure & sweet nectar bliss of His love and show the way of worship with love by Himself worshipping God Krishna with love as an Ideal Bhakta.

2. I bow down to The Lord Who is of unspeakable glory. Being graced by His divine nectar of love a man feels such an ecstasy of delight that he dances, sings aloud, and sometimes rolls on the ground, although such a man was never before in touch with religion, nay, was ever given to irreligion, and although he formerly never came in contact with any holy man.

3. I bow down to Sree Gauranga. It is He Who by His coming down to the earth has revealed the

mystery of Divine Love by the very utterance of His Name. This love was unattained by those that were given to Karma or Yoga, and it was beyond the reach of penance, meditation, renunciation of or indifference to the world, mere knowledge of the attributes of God, nay, it was not attained by any amount of adoration of God or even by the worship of Krishna.

4. I bow down to The Gracious Lord Sree Chaitanya. It is He alone Who is able to endow with the truest Love, all that see him, or touch him, or sing His Name, or think of Him or bow down to Him or revere Him from a distance.

5. I with all my disciples bow down to Gouranga and Gouranga alone. Whoever is enriched with His look of Grace, shuns Kaibalya (i. e. merging of the human soul in the Divine in salvation) as hell, avoids heaven as an imaginary thing, looks upon senses as venomous snakes with their fangs of venom drawn out, considers the rank of king of gods as insignificant as that of a worm and finds the universe full of bliss.

6. I with all my disciples bow down to Gaur Chandra. By drinking of the bright, wonderful and blissful nectar of love trickling out of His lotus feet all the bhaktas (i. e. devotees), who are revered even by the gods, feel such an ecstasy of maddening delight, that they smile at Brahma, Vishnu & Siva (the Creative, Protective and Destructive powers of God), do not hold the great Vaishnavas in very high esteem, and pity the sages

absorbed in Yoga (for none of these taste of the nectar of Love as they do not worship Sree Gauranga).

7. I with all my disciples bow down to the Holy Figure of Chaitanya in Whom has God Incarnated. He is the greatest of all incarnations, as He has revealed the brightest path of **bhakti** and **prem**, and, in comparison with this work of His, all the works of other incarnations, such as, the slaughter of demons, the revelation of the path of **Yoga**, the creation of the world, the raising of the earth from beneath the flood of water and so on, are all cast into shade.

Prostration.

8. I bow to Chaitanya Chandra. The glow of His face surpasses that of crores of moons taken together. He is the eternal source of all bliss of love. His Smile surpasses the beauty of the beam of the most beautiful moon.

9. I bow again and again to Chaitanya Chandra Who is the source of all the good of the world. Devotion to His lotus feet blesses a man with **prem** (love) which is the highest end of human life.

10. I adore Chaitanya Chandra. He is the Super-human Bliss Personified, and is the Greatest of all Incarnations that came down to the world for the good of mankind. His eyes are as wide as the petals of lotus. He dispels all the evils of the universe by the loud, maddening and blissful sound of 'Hari' 'Hari' in His Kirtan with

His uplifted arms of golden hue and by the charming movements of His feet in His divine dance when His body becomes beautifully restless.

11. I bow again and again to Chaitanya Chandra. He is the giver of the sweetest nectar of love. He is attractive to all by the golden glow of His divine beauty. He has taken the human form to do His blissful **Leela**.

12. I with the utmost wonder adore Gaur Hari. He appears in the disguise of a Sanyasi indeed, but, in fact, the glow of his body gives forth numerous oceans, as it were, of nectar of sweet beauty. The torrents of His tears show that His eyes are, as it were, numerous new clouds. The wealth of His love throws numerous heavens in the background.

Benediction.

13. Sree Radha and Krishna are united in the person of Sree Gauranga. The glowing hue of His body is far more beautiful than the pollens of the blossomed golden lotus. His shoulders are like those of a lion. His body shows wonderful expressions of intense delight that He inwardly enjoys out of **prem**, the mystery of which even the sages cannot explore. His lips shine with the sweetest of the sweet smile. May this Holy Figure of The Lord save you all from all evils of the baneful world.

14. The Lord at the sight of the newly formed clouds gets mad after Krishna. Seeing the feather of a pea-cock He shakes. At the sight of the **Gunja** seeds

He loses all consciousness, (for, the colour of Krishna is like that of new clouds ; Krishna put on pea-cock's feather on his coronet and the garland of **Gunja** seeds round His neck ; and all this reminded Him of Krishna). He startles to see the youthful figure of Krishna when His body puts on a very wonderfully beautiful appearance. May this Golden Figure of Gauranga impart a new life and spirit to you all.

15. Sree Gauranga, the Son of Sachee, is the ocean of kindness. He puts on a cloth, the colour of which is light red like that of the evening sun. The great bright halo round His body emits nectar of love. He is God Himself. He is the most perfect Incarnation and all incarnations came from Him. He is ever associated with His bliss-giving power incarnated in Vishnupriya. May this Lord with all His glory shine in the firmament of your heart like the full moon and dispel the darkness of ignorance by shedding the lustre of love.

16. To ascertain the number in counting the names 'Hare' 'Krishna' which He has revealed for the good of mankind, The Lord ties knots in the cloth in his loins, while His hands shake out of extreme **prem** and His face is bathed in tears. As such, He goes to the temple to see Jagannath Who is His own Image. Thus He spreads delight to all that have true eyes to see with. May this Golden Figure of The Lord save you all by attracting you to His lotus feet.

17. The bright lustre of Chaitanya Chandra all at

once removes altogether all the inward darkness of the whole world. It ever swells by force the ocean of love and bliss. It cools the world that ever suffers much from various kinds of afflictions. May this lustre of The Lord always shine in the hearts of you all.

The Eulogium of the devotees of Gauranga.

18. The devotees of Gauranga happily play about in the bright path of **bhakti** and **prem** which was unknown to the sages and other godly persons before the advent of The Lord to the world, to which none had any access in spite of their acute intellect, which even the Sage Suka (the expounder of the Bhagavat) did not know and which was not kindly revealed even by Krishna Himself.

19. So long as people are not favoured with the kind look of those that are devoted to the lotus feet of Sree Chaitanya, they speak of Brahma, The Great Being ; the way that speaks of the merging of the human soul with the divine does not appear to be unwelcome to them ; the Vedic rites do not appear to be means of bondage to the world, and so long the people are engrossed in useless controversy over the outside and immaterial things of various shastras.

20. In whom else such firm devotion to God, such abhorrence of mundane things like hell, such waves of

superior humility, such superhuman spirit, and such firm attachment to the path of **bhakti & prem**, can be seen as is seen in the adherents of Gauranga ?

21. He, who has once seen the most beautiful face of Sree Gauranga beaming with supreme love and shining with tearful eyes like glowing blossomed lotus, is ever so entranced in ecstatic joy of love that every moment gives fresh and fresh bliss, that he never desires to give up the feet of Gauranga which are the source of vast oceans, as it were, swollen with supernatural beauty.

22. Unless a man takes to the feet of a devotee of Gauranga, he cannot have an idea even of Brindavan, the highest region of love, which is unexplored by the Vedas, though he may strictly follow the four stages of life, or worship Vishnu, or travel over holy places, or he may minutely study the Vedas.

23. Even the best thing, that may be attained by churning, to the utmost power, the boundless ocean of nectar, will be most unwelcome like poison to those that receive light from the lustre of the feet of Gauranga who is Love Incarnate.

24. These are the great virtues of the devotees of Gauranga — they possess much more humility than a straw, they have a naturally beautiful and attractive feature, their words are sweet as nectar, they despise sordid things of the world, and they are absorbed in the love of God.

25. However much one may take to the feet of

thousands of well-known preceptors, however much one may study the Vedas and other shastras, the mystery of love is easily attainable to those only who are blessed with the gracious look of Sree Chaitanya.

26. However much one may practise the strictest penance, or have a control over the senses or one may pass a rigid life like a puritan, however much one may be engrossed in the meditation of the unity of the human soul with the divine, or one may be firmly devoted to Vishnu, none will possess the infinitesimal part of the natural virtues possessed by those who are illumined with the bright bliss of love of the persons who worship Gauranga and His Divine Consort Vishnupriya Who is the bliss-giving power of The Lord.

27. The followers of Sree Gauranga are so much overpowered with a superior feeling of delight that they have all joined in His divine dance. The **bhaktas** like Murari Gupta and others in their highest delight dance to think that they can leap across the vast ocean and jump over the high mountains of great obstacles in the way of attainment of God Who is Beauty, Bliss and Love. The **bhaktas** like Sribas and others while dancing in the greatest glee pity the lots of gods and all beings that take pride in their display of power, for, they think, that they are deprived of the fortune of dancing with The Lord. And the **bhaktas** like Adwaita in the exuberance of their delight dance to think that such delight pervades the whole universe.

28. When Sree Gauranga plays about in His divine dance displaying His greatest treasure of **bhakti** & **prem** out of His own grace, the people being free from malice have come to know of the sweetness of the close relationship of love between God and man which none in the world had or has or will have any chance of knowing without the grace of The Lord.

29. Oh ! who is so highly fortunate as to bring before my eyes Sree Gauranga the Son of Sachee, Whose true attributes even the essence of all the Vedas cannot fully ascertain and Who humbles down the pride of the gods and sages that being unaware of His lotus feet consider themselves very great.

30. Sree Gauranga is God Himself. Most wonderfully does He show His God-Power, so that, whoever resigns himself to Him has all his desires fulfilled, nay, he attains **prem**, the highest end of human life, without doing any penance or going through any rituals.

The misfortune of those that are averse to Sree Gauranga.

31. One may have performed innumerable religious rites or one may be whole heartedly devoted to Hari, but if he does not worship Sree Gauranga, he cannot be considered to be blessed, for he does not enjoy the bliss of **prem** the greatest treasure that man should have in life.

32. Unfortunate are they who feel self complacence to think and utter that they are Brahma. Unfortunate are they who are given to rituals and are thus turned to matter. Unfortunate are they who practise strict but queer penance, such as, exposure to the heat of the sun and fire in summer, to excessive cold even by remaining immersed in water in winter, to constant torrents of rain in the rains, abstinence from food, holding of stools & urine without passing them as nature requires and so on. Unfortunate are they who hold a check over the senses and have thereby to think of the bitterness of the world and of the baneful effect of the gratification of the senses, that is, who thereby have to look upon the dark side of the world. I pity the lots of these beasts of men, for gross matter always arises in their minds ; and such men do not enjoy the least of beauty and bliss attained from a firm devotion to Sree Gauranga.

33. Oh ye learned men ! As it is impossible for a seed to sprout on a stone though it be drenched all over with nectar ; as the tail of a dog never gets straight however much it may be spread ; as the moon cannot be reached by stretching out the hands ; so no one can have the taste of the fountain of bliss of prem without the grace of Gauranga, though he may perform all the rites and ceremonies or follow any kind of rigid path that the shastras may prescribe.

34. How poor is he and pitiable is his lot who remains poor without enriching himself with the gems

revealed to all with the swelling of the ocean of **prem** at the Descent of Sree Gauranga.

35. How sadly plunged are they in the ocean of miseries who do not dive into the ocean of **prem** widely spread at the Descent of Sree Gauranga.

36. How wretched is he who is so unfortunate as not to taste of the nectar bliss out of the ocean of nectar bliss of the highest love spread far and wide at the revelation of Sree Gauranga.

37. How sadly do they wander about in vain in the world who do not look upon Sree Gauranga as God Himself, for, however learned and versed in all the shastras they may be, they only look upon the material side of the world.

38. How impossible it is for him to attain true **bhakti** who has not seen or realised Sree Gauranga even for once Who most wonderfully loses all control over His limbs out of maddening delight while enjoying the sweetness of His own names 'Hare' "Krishna" etc. and Who again and again exhorts all the people to sing the glory of Krishna.

Note:—The gems are the different forms of worshipping God with love—such as—Dasya, Sakhya, Batsalya and Madhur i. e., loving God as the servant loves his master, or as the friend loves his friend, or as the parent loves the son, or as the wife loves her husband. These four forms are attainable by taking the names Hare, Krishna etc. and by staunch devotion to the Lord Sree Gauranga.

39. Why should not sprout come out without a seed ? Why a man born blind should not see ? And why should not a man devoid of legs ascend the summit of a high mountain, if it be possible for a man, turned from Sree Gauranga Who is the store-house, as it were, of the wonderful treasure of the nectar of love, to get the least of the highest bliss of love ?

40. Stupid, nay, the beast of a man must he be whose mind is not turned to Gauranga The Great God Himself Who all on a sudden endows with the most wonderful bliss of love the fortunate followers and worshippers of Radha Govinda by the uncommon spread of the extreme delight arising out of love with which the Lord does His **Leela**.

41. O God ! How much given to gross matter are they who do not look upon Sree Gauranga as God, although they have seen times without number how numerous **bhaktas** have experienced the great superior power of their Lord, and although they have found that such great mysterious power is possible in none else except in God and such power cannot be found in any of the numerous Avatars (Incarnations) of God as described in the various shastras.

42. Oh God ! The world is surely covered with a shade of illusion and it must have come down to a state of atheism if Sree Gauranga be not looked upon as God ; for, though He is not revealed by the Vedas He has come down of Himself out of His grace and it is He

by Whose kind look all His beings get such supreme bliss of love that they set at naught all kinds of salvation which may be the outcome of a desire to escape from misery.

43. Useless is the high pedigree, useless is the power of eloquence, useless is the renown, vain is the study, vain is the beautiful appearance or young age, vain is the wealth that one may have, useless is the descent in a Brahman race and useless is the ascetic stage of life, if the man possessing any or all of these does not worship Sree Gauranga, The Lord of the **Gopees**, The Avatar of the Kali age.

44. How can he, who is a stranger to piety, love Sree Gauranga Whose followers like Bakreswar and others are so much overpowered with an exuberance of feeling of bliss of love that even those that live in the higher plane of heaven feel a thrill of joy to see them ?

45. Oh ! Alas ! Demons of men must they be who out of hard heart on account of their vain argumentative disposition do not greatly revere The Lord Sree Gauranga Who is Perfect Bliss personified and from Whom all the Avatars come and Who, by His unspeakable grace and by speaking with His lips beaming with smile and also by a kind look from a distance with His eyes beaming with affection, gives the fountain of bliss of love.

Speaking of the sad misfortune of those that are averse to Sree Gauranga, Sarswati Prabodhananda feels such an intense humility that he thinks himself devoid of

all bliss of worshipping The Lord. And so he speaks out his mind.

46. How pitiablely am I deprived ! Oh ! very surely am I deprived. The whole world is immersed in the **prem** of Gauranga ; but a single drop of that nectar of **prem** has not been to my lot.

47. Who in this world has not attained the summum bonum of life and that too most easily when the earth has been touched by the dust of the lotus feet of Gauranga ? But, alas ! useless has been my life, all my learning has been in vain, and my Sannyas or renunciation of the world has been for nothing, for, owing to my continued misfortune I have not got the least of that **prem** which is the only end of human life.

48. What a wonder ! the vast ocean of the Grace of Gaur Chandra is swollen and has flooded the earth ; but, unfortunate as I am, the least drop of it has not touched me.

49. The age of **Kali** is like Death, for it brings irreligion and horror ; the senses are like powerful enemies, the path of **bhakti** & **prem** is obstructed in this age with numerous thistles of Karma (rituals), **jnana** (the vain deceptive consciousness of the union of ego with Brahma) vain reasoning & so on. Oh my Lord Sree Gauranga Chandra ! I am undone ! What shall I do ? Where shall I go if Thou dost not show Thy mercy to me now.

50. I need not worry over the time that is uselessly

spent, for I have not seen the Lord of that mysterious power, nor have I tasted of the nectar of bliss by worshipping the lotus feet of The Lord. This is my prayer now that I may be blessed with the company of those **bhaktas** who are wholeheartedly devoted to Sree Gauranga and who are the ornaments as it were of the world.

51. In this age of **Kali** who except Gauranga will be my Friend to raise me from my fall, for I am given to numerous Karmas or rites, tightly bound up with the chain of most dreadful desires, my mind is ever distressed, and I am influenced in my surroundings by evil minded people.

52. Oh ! Alas ! what have I done so long ! all the numerous attempts and practices I made to reach God have been futile like seeds in a barren land, so, now, with all my heart & soul I take to the feet of Sree Gaurchandra which have a wonderful virtue of giving rise to **bhakti** even in a barren mind.

53. Oh ! Alas ! How will the Kalpa creeper of pure **bhakti** sprout forth in my barren mind ! But there is one thing most hopeful in my mind that he who takes the name of Gauranga has no cause of grief or sorrow.

54. Oh ! my Lord, Sree Gauranga Chandra ! Give me shelter at Thy feet ? I am helpless, for, I am fallen in the ocean of miseries of the world, I am about

to be devoured by the snakes and crocodiles of passions, and again I am tied with a chain of desires.

55. Oh Chaitanya Chandra ! Thou art The Lord of the wealth of love which is beyond the reach of knowledge. If Thou dost cast gracious glance at me, the charming path of **bhakti** will not be far from us though it was not so easily accessible to Siva, Suka, Uddhav, Narada & others.

56. Oh Lord ! In what other Avatar can such unrestricted mercy, such wonderful display of **prem**, and such parental affection can be seen as in Thee---The great Avatar of Gauranga.

Unflinching devotion to the Adored.

57. Oh my stupid mind ! Accept Sree Gauranga as God Incarnate and worship Him. It is He Who by His own splendour of love has attracted the world to the blissful lotus feet of Krishna and He it is whose mysteries none of the Srutis can unravel.

58. Let him, who likes, worship Krishna and follow the different ways of **bhakti**, such as, hearing and singing Kirtan, thinking of his beauty, resignation to Him and so on, for the attainment of the end of life, but the only object of my worship is Sree Gauranga Who is the Infinite ocean of the nectar of love (**prem**) and Who has revealed the great mystery of prem (love) that remained unrevealed so long.

59. Let those, that expect worldly wealth, fulfil-

ment of wordly desires or even emancipation, worship The Great God with all His resplendent power. Let people by giving up all other forms of worship do **Dasya-bhakti** to Kaishna (i. e. serve Krishna as a devoted servant does his master). But my mind is tempted to attain that unspeakable mystery of love which none of the above can get. So do I take to the feet of Chaitanya Chandra.

60. Ah ! How blessed I am that the most powerful Thief Sree Gauranga has stolen away all my firm adherence to social and vedic rites, all the shame I felt at loud laughter, singing aloud, and happy dance consequent on Kirtan and also all I did from a natural disposition for the sustenance of body and life.

61. This Lord Sree Gauranga, the glow of Whose beauty is like that of the inmost part of a golden plantain tree, has all on a sudden firmly fixed my mind to His feet by pouring forth from His eyes beaming with mercy and affection a number of oceans of nectar love that ever gives fresh, bright, sweet & most intense bliss.

62. How sweetly doth my mind yearn after Navadwip where out of His infinite grace came down Sree Gauranga The Lord Himself Who is the highest Love and Bliss and Beauty Incarnate and Whose charming hue is like that of pure gold, where there is a fountain of bliss of **bhakti** in every house, and which place (Navadwip) is far more sweet & beautiful than even Baikuntha itself.

63. Let the Shastras say whatever they like ; let

the logicians or sophists argue in whatever way they please ; the nectar of the lotus feet of Sree Gauranga sustains my life.

64. Even if all the eight supernatural powers that are acquirable by practising severe austerities & that are difficult of attainment, come within my reach very easily ; even if the gods themselves come down to serve me : nay, even if this body of mine be transformed into a four armed deity ; my mind does not in the least waver from the feet of Gaur Chandra.

65. I rather welcome to live in the midst of fearful flames all around me than live anywhere in the company of those that turn away from the lotus feet of Gauranga. If my mind be illumined with the least of the lusture of the feet of Gauranga, it does not hanker after Baikuntha, even though it may come of itself.

66. Neither world-wide fame, nor any of the eight supernatural powers that may be attractive to others, nor a four-armed body coveted by many by the worship of Vishnu is acceptable to me save and except firm devotion to Gauranga & His Divine Consort Vishnupriya.

67. Most humbly do I pray that this my life may pass away while uttering the names such as, Oh Chaitanya ! Oh Thou Gracious Lord ! Oh Thou most Beautiful ! Oh Thou Love Incarnate ! Oh Thou The Life & Soul of all the beings ! Oh Thou Beauty Incarnate ! Oh Gouranga ! Oh Thou Ocean of all virtues and of all good ! Oh Thou Bliss Incarnate ! Oh Thou Lover of

Thy own names ! Oh the Saviour of the fallen ! and so on.

68. Oh Lord ! when shall I be most sincere by nature in my devotion to Thee Who art the giver of the highest bliss of love and Who art the life of the **bhaktas** that worship with love ! And when shall my mind be all on a sudden illumined with the lustre of the gem of love of Sree Radha by virtue of the superior power of that sincere devotion to Thee !

69. The only object of my meditation is Sree Gauranga the Perfect Embodiment of all effulgence and the Great Repository of mercy, Who is most perfectly self-contained in the enjoyment of His Own bliss and thus distributes bliss to all, Who constantly utters the names Hare-Krishna etc. His own names, Whose golden hue is brighter than the purest gold and on Whose breast shines the garland of blossomed **damanaka** flowers.

70. May I ever keep in my mind Sree Gauranga Who is the highest Ideal of **Bairagya** (aloofness from the world of matter), Whose eyes are riveted to the bright face of Jagannath in the temple at Nilachal (Puri) just as bees are firmly attached to the lotus, Whose love (**prem**) gives rise to high waves of maddening bliss to flood all around Him and Whose supreme beauty attracts all females.

71. May I be absorbed in the meditation of Gaur Hari with His purple dress on, with His sacred body beautified with hairs standing on end out of great

emotion of love and ornamented with drops of tears, more beautiful than the beautiful pearls, falling from His eyes that surpass the lotus in beauty.

72. I am eagerly waiting for the day when, in consequence of my meditation, shall appear in my mind the feet of Gaur-Hari Whose beauty stupefies Cupid even, Whose sanctity far surpasses the sacredness of the waters of the Ganges, Whose soothing coolness is far superior to that of the moon, Whose charming sweetness throws in the background the finest nectar, Whose superior bounty belittles the bounty of Kalpa tree and Whose all-embracing affection is more blissful than the affection of a mother.

73. Most Gracious is Sree Gauranga ! He delights the world by giving again and again the nectar of His sweetest of the sweet **prem** (love). How beautiful He looks with purple cloth in his loins. The glow of His beauty surpasses that of thousands of lightning all taken together. May This Lord be the only object of my love.

74. When, out of good fortune dawning upon me as a result of thousands of births, should be placed in my heart the feet of Sree Gauranga, Whose beauty far excels the beauty of thousands of Cupids, Whose sweet beauty of the face casts thousands of autumnal full moons into shade and Whose superior bounty makes the bounty of thousands of Kalpa tree quite insignificant ?

75. The moon-beam removes the outer darkness of the world for the time being, but the lustre of Sree Gauranga all on a sudden drives off for ever all the darkness of the mind of the whole world, the former swells the ordinary ocean for a while, while the latter always swells up by force the ocean of the bliss of love ; the former cools at night the outside world heated by the rays of the sun, while the latter cools day and night the inner as well as the outer world that groans painfully under various troubles. May such lustre of Sree Gauranga illumine all our hearts.

76. The Body of Sree Gauranga sometimes becomes lean and sometimes plump, Oh ! now tears of bliss are seen in His eyes, and now His face beams with smile. Once the Body becomes cool and the next moment hot like fire. Sometimes He runs and again stops and remains motionless. Ah ! Sometimes He speaks much and the next moment He remains speechless. May such Sree Gauranga shine in my heart !

77. Sree Gauranga is The Lord of lords. He is all Supreme. So He makes no distinction between the deserving and the undeserving. He does not care to determine who is the worthy object of mercy and who not. Nor does He wait for the time. But He favours all with the bliss of **bhakti** and **prem** that is hard to be attained by falling prostrate before the image of a god or even by any form of meditation. Such Gauranga Who is God Himself is the highest object of my worship.

78. I take to the feet of Sree Gauranga Who has graciously delivered the most sinful, the low-born, the ill-natured, the most wicked, the vilest chandalas, those that are always addicted to filthy desires, those that are born in an atmosphere of irreligion and the people that have lost their sense by evil company.

79. Sree Gauranga is the only Object of my worship. He, having left the beautiful Brindavan on the banks of the Holy Jamuna, does His Sweet **Leela** in the flower garden on the sea-shore at Puri. He has given up His saffron cloth and has put on purple cloth instead. Having concealed the sapphire hue of His body He has now revealed Himself in golden hue.

Homily

or

Exhortation to the people

for

Worshipping Sree Gauranga.

80. Oh ye ignorant people ! Seek out the path of **bhakti** and **prem**. It was not revealed through the **Vedas**. Sages never found out this path and it was beyond their reach before. If you are diffident of the attainment of this path as it is so difficult to be attained, I would appeal to you to give up all other paths and take to the feet of Sree Gauranga.

81. Oh ye people ! Fall prostrate at the feet of Gauranga. He **is** the Great God. His golden beauty

attracts all hearts. He looks beautiful with His cloth on the colour of which is like that of the pollens of a newly blossomed lotus. He holds up His folded hands above His head and His tender cheeks are bathed in tears rolling down from His eyes, when He is in an ecstasy of **bhakti** and **prem**.

82. Oh ye brethren ! Sing ye aloud, if you like, the very powerful names of Krishna, The Lord of Gokul ; or, you may, if you please, think of His sweet Divine beauty that does good to the world ; but there is not the least chance of your being drenched in the nectar bliss of **prem**, unless you are enlightened with the kind look of Sree Gauranga, The Lord of lords.

83. Oh ye people ! The **bhaktas** of Sree Gauranga are so much overwhelmed with the ecstatic delight of divine love, that, they smile to see all your attempts in other paths in order to attain that delight ; so, please do not all of a sudden follow any other path. I tell you the great secret—Sree Gauranga is The Great Lord of that bliss of love which is so highly spoken of in the Vedas.

84. Oh ye insensate people ! Have you not heard of Gaur Hari ? Why then should you moan that you have not come across the true spiritual guide from whom you may know of the blissful path of worshipping Sree Krishna, which brings aversion to the path of **Jnana** (i. e. the consciousness of the absolute disappearance of the human soul in the divine). And how

is it that you cannot determine Whom you should betake yourselves to ?

85. Oh ye people ! Give up all your vain attachment to Karma (rites and ceremonies) ; don't allow at any moment the least of the controversy over the distinction between spirit and matter to reach even the precincts of your ears ; don't have any attachment to your mortal frame or anything connected with it. By the Grace of Gauranga you will come by the sweetest and most wonderful **prem**, the end of all ends of human life.

86. Look upon the females with awe, and avoid them as you do a tigress ; look upon the short-lived heaven with contempt, vain is the practice of **Yoga** as dictated in the **shastras**. Ah ! Thrice useless is wandering about in the holy places as a pilgrim. Acquire the treasure of love by worshipping Sree Gauranga Who in the guise of a **Sannaysin** dances on the sea-shore at Puri out of the intense delight of His Own.

87. Oh ye brethren ! You desire to plunder the treasure of **prem** by devotion to the lotus feet of Sree Krishna ! Why should you then for nothing seek out the path of **Yoga**, access to which is very difficult. If you cherish the hope of attaining the fountain head of **prem** which is unknown even to **Siva** and **Brahma**, be then firmly attached to the Great Lord Sree Gauranga Whose boundless glory none can gauge.

88. The more a man of piety is devoted to Sree

Gauranga, the more is he blessed with the **prem** of Sree Radha.

89. Oh ye people ! If you fully appreciate the real truth of all the Shastras, do ye all, in this age of Kali, take to the lotus feet of Sree Gauranga, meditate Him and sing His glory with all your heart, out of love and highest delight, for, He is adored by **Siva** and **Brahma**, and, He is the Source of the boundless ocean of the most blissful mystery of the purest love.

90. Oh ye pious men ! with straws in my teeth,* by falling at your feet, and with all the humble entreaties that I can command, I request you all that you be devoutly attached to the feet of Gauranga Chandra after giving away all other forms of worship.

91. Neither salvation nor **bhakti** in various other forms is to be coveted, and these are not very rare things. But the rarest and the most coveted thing is the Grace of Sree Gauranga.

92. May ye all take to the lotus feet of Sree Gauranga ! You will then attain perfection by getting the highest bliss of **bhakti** and **prem**, and you will be able to delight the three worlds by your sweet disposition, blessed fortune, kindness, forbearance and many other virtues of the kind.

93. If you have a mind to cross the ocean of life, if you desire to be drenched in the nectar bliss of

* This is a sign of great humility.

Sankirtan, if you want that all the faculties of your mind swim delightfully in the ocean of love, be devoted to the feet of Gauranga.

94. True knowledge, absolute freedom from sensual pleasures, blissful **bhakti** can never be attained in any way other than staunch devotion to the lotus feet of Sree Gauranga.

95. If the people do not worship Sree Gauranga ! Who is God Himself and Who is worshipped even by the greatest of gods, the world becomes void of all sense and death pervades everywhere.

96. Not to speak of the worm of an ordinary mortal king, even **Indra** himself the king of the gods appears like a humble servant to him who cherishes a hope for the attainment of the feet of Sree Gauranga, The Lord of lords.

97. What is the necessity for a man to beg at the door of a king, if he hopes to get at Sree Gauranga. What fool is there to care for silver if he gets the philosophers' stone !

98. Many are the people who pass years in a sitting posture in the caves of mountains in the meditation of the halo of God ; others there are who are absorbed in the practice of **Yoga** ; there are many who have attained the eight supernatural powers ; and many are there, who, out of vain pedantry, boastfully hold controversy over the different interpretations of the shastras. But who is there in the world that dances in the highest glee of

love save and except those that are favoured with the Grace of Gauranga !

99. If Sree Gauranga The Great be propitious to me, I don't care for the piety attained by living at Kasi (Benares), nor do I care to go to Gaya, the very salvation even appears to me to be quite an insignificant thing to be avoided like a cockle. Why then should I talk of any other topic ! I have not the least fear from the great **Rauraba** hell, not to speak of any apprehension from wife and children.

The Super-Excellence of Sree Gauranga.

100. Glory to Sree Gauranga ! How tender-hearted is He though He possesses the prowess of a young lion ! How sweet is the glow of his beauty like that of a golden sprout ! And how vastly doth the ocean of His love flood all the worlds !

101. Glory to the Lord Sree Gauranga ! He excels numberless Cupids in beauty, surpasses innumerable moons in delighting all hearts, supercedes all mothers in maternal affection, defeats numerous oceans in serenity, transcends the sweetest of nectar in sweetness, belittles millions of Kalpa trees (wish-yielding trees) in bountifulness, and He reveals wonder of all wonders in respect of His Love.

102. All glory to The Lord Sree Gauranga ! He reveals His most admirable greatness to His **bhaktas**. They, being overwhelmed with a single wave of love arising out of the worship of His lotus feet and being possessed with the highest love, dance in maddening delight which strikes even **Siva**, **Brahma** and others with great wonder.

103. Greatest glory be to Gauranga, the Son of Shachee and the Consort of Vishnupriya ! His shout is like the loud roar of millions of mad lions. His brilliance is like that of millions of suns, but at the same time much cooler than millions of moons. His gait surpasses that of millions of mad elephants. His very Name dispels millions of sins. He is the Lord of millions of **Brahma** and other gods. He is the Spirit of all spirit revealed in Human Shape.

104. May the Great Beautiful Illuminating Light of Navadwip be ever glorious ! This Light ever shines by the constant supply of oil of affection. This Light dispels the inner darkness of caves of hearts, reveals wonderful power, and all on a sudden illumines the way to God, which was formerly long and distant, solitary, full of thorns and brambles and hence inaccessible, which made people wander about for nothing, but has now become short, charming, full of associates and help-mates, pleasant and most blissful.

105. This wonderful Light, the source of all the luminaries of heaven, ever shines in this world out of

graciousness, and with the wick of supreme affection sheds forth, all around, divine golden lustre which is most beautifully sweet, dispels both the outer and the inner darkness, and burns the insects of sophists even from a distance, but which is more pleasant and soothing than the beams of millions of moons.

106 How beautifully shines Gaur Hari, when He, being intoxicated with the highest love of His Own, sometimes moves on gently, sometimes echoes all quarters with loud shout, sometimes light; up the sky with flashes of light as He laughs aloud again and again, and sometimes quakes with all His limbs like leaves gently moving with the wind.

107. How gloriously doth shine Sree Gauranga the son of Shachee, the most fortunate of womankind ! He is all pure. How beautifully doth He dance, at the sight of which all impurity and all insincerity flee away ! He showers the nectar of the highest love that removes all the troubles that flesh is heir to. It is **Bhaktas** alone that taste of the sweetness of devotion to His feet.

108. How wonderfully beautiful doth Gauranga look when He, being deep immersed in the thought of separation from Krishna like Sree Radha, drenches His pale cheeks with tears streaming from His eyes, heaves deep sighs moment after moment, and sometimes wails aloud, and most piteously gives out the sounds like 'Ah' ! 'Alas !' and so on.

109. How divinely sweet doth Sree Gauranga

look with the glow of His beauty like that of the purest gold, when He does His Leela as Child Krishna, and when again and again He appears as Radha and Krishna—two in the same Person !

The Greatness of the Avatar of Sree Gauranga.

110. Sree Gauranga is my only Resort. At His descent to the earth, the Sweet Names of God have all on a sudden been revealed to the corporeal beings who were immersed in the deepest abyss of sin, and, the heart, that was as hard as thunder, has become soft and tender.

111. Sree Gauranga is Kindness Incarnate. At His descent people have given up all forms of **Yoga**, meditation, penance, attempts at renunciation of wordly things and at control of the senses ; they have given up all the Vedic rites ; and why to speak of their aversion to forbidden acts, they are enjoying the highest bliss of love, the Supreme end of human life.

112. How wonderful is the power of Sree Gauranga that at His descent to the earth, those, that were restless by falling into the whirlpool of **Karma** (i. e. rites and ceremonies and outer formalities of religion), have got perfect rest, those that were harder than the hardest of stone have become tender, and those that

were absorbed in **yoga**, have given it up, and by the grace of the Lord they all dance in divine delight.

113. At the revelation of the path of **bhakti** with the descent of The Lord Gauranga, nothing else than the bliss of **bhakti** was pleasant to anybody, the people given to the sordid world have given up all talk about their wives and children, the learned have given off all vain discussion about shastras, the **yogis** have been relieved of all troubles that they voluntarily undertook by exposure of their body to the inclements of weather, the ascetics have given up penance, and the sages have forsaken the path of **jnan** (that is, the path that dictates the practice of acquiring consciousness of oneness of the human soul with the divine).

114. At the Descent of The Lord Sree Gauranga every house has been resounded with loud shouts of **Sankirtan**, every person looks beautiful with the expression of signs of **prem** on his body, such as, hairs standing on end, blissful tears and so on ; and the sweetest of the sweet path of **prem**, that was unknown to the vedas even, has been made known to all.

115. At the Descent of Krishna in the person of Sree Gauranga all the quarters of the world have been all on a sudden inundated with the flood of bliss arising out of the ocean of love, and the whole world has been astonished to see the expression of **prem** unseen and unheard of before.

116. Some there were, who were under the sway

of unconquerable pride in their ability in the exposition of all the shastras ; some considered themselves fortunate in being able to perform all the rituals and thus thought that they were placed in a very high stage of religion ; some took the Names of Krishna twice or thrice ; still the minds of all these were not divested of crookedness. But now at the appearance of Gaurchandra the bliss of **prem** has been to the lot of one and all.

117. At the coming down of Sree Gauranga, Whose lotus feet even the gods desire to worship, and Whose sweet **Leela** delights all hearts by delivering all the humankind from the bondage of the world, the ocean of sweet bliss and love has inundated the earth ; and, who is there young or old, male or female, learned or illiterate. that has not tasted of this bliss of worshipping God with love !

118. When Sree Gauranga the most perfect Embodiment of love and bliss came down to the earth, **Siva**, **Narada** and all the heavenly beings, **Lakshmi** the goddess of fortune, Balaram the brother of Krishna, all the Erishnies (the people of Brishni race where Krishna was born), all the inhabitants of the Holy Brindavan—the Gopas and the Gopees, all came to the earth with Him.

119. When Sree Gauranga of beautiful golden hue came down to the earth to make a free gift of His **prem** to all without discriminating who deserved and who did not, all His former **bhaktas** in His previous incarnations

came down to the earth to His lotus feet and enjoyed much more bliss of **prem** than before.

120. Oh ! How strange ! At the descent of Sree Gauranga to the earth with the most wonderful mystery of His power, even the females in the zenana laugh aloud out of ecstatic divine joy ; people, whose hearts were as hard as stone owing to worldly attachment, have been softened ; and even those that were dull of intellect have been illumined with divine light to understand the true essence of all the shastras.

121. However much the people were versed in all the different shastras, they were ignorant of their true spirit ; they were not far-sighted and their intellect was not keen enough to turn their mind to **prem** or the truest end of all ends of human life. But when Sree Gauranga most graciously came down to the earth, all the people got an opportunity to enter into the blissful path of **bhakti** and **prem** which is so glaringly and most bountifully disclosed by Him.

122. God Himself has Incarnated in Sree Gauranga to spread the highest love, wherein centres all the **Leela** of Radha and Krishna, and to expound and practically demonstrate to the full realisation of the people the true essence of the Bhagavat which has only been touched in its outline and not in detail by Suka, the son of Vyasa, in the chapters on the **Leela** of **Rash** in that great holy book.

123. By the Grace of Sree Gauranga The Great

Lord some have obtained **dasya prem** like Uddhaba, some **sakhya prem** like Sree Dam and others, some **batsalya prem** like mother Yasoda, some **madhur prem** like the Gopees of the Holy Brindavan, and thus all obtained the highest treasure of love.

124. Before Sree Gauranga came, all the great sages promulgated and interpreted the shastras in their own way with reasonings in their favour, and they were not at one with one another in their views, and still none of them had firm faith in the views they held. But with the appearance of Sree Gauranga, Whose power and greatness is beyond all comparison, the path of **bhakti** and **prem** is determined by one and all to be the only way to God, and this they have ascertained to be the true intents of the Srutis and all the Shastras.

125. The nails of the feet of Sree Gauranga are so many moonstones, as it were. Their lustre is most wonderful, it swells the ocean of the purest nectar bliss of love and this ocean immerses the whole world. This lustre arises in my mind.

126. The sages of old might have favoured some with deliverance by virtue of their great piety ; and they might have taken them to Baikuntha or heaven ; but none has flooded the earth with the ocean of love as Sree Gauranga has done.

127. Nobody can comprehend the playful **Leela** of Sree Gauranga. What a wonder ! Even the low-

mindful man baser than a cow-slaughterer has his heart softened by the grace of The Lord and sheds blissful tears of love and he softens others' hearts as well ; while, the heart of the man thoroughly given to piety or that of the man firmly devoted to Vishnu remains as hard as stone without His grace.

128. How infinitely deep is the heart of Sree Gauranga ! It is simply surprising to the world. Being possessed with Krishna, sometimes He walks on all fours as a child, sometimes He acts as a cowboy, sometimes He dances with various beautiful figures of His body, and again, being possessed with Radha He piteously wails by repeatedly uttering the Name 'Hari.'

129. Not to speak of the great attractiveness of His acting in the same Person the **Leela** of Sree Krishna with Radha and all the **Gopees** out of ever-fresh, ever-sweet, and ever-increasing love, His playful **Leela** even as Child Krishna on the sea-shore at Puri attracts all hearts. Such sweet and world-charming Golden Figure of The Lord enchants my heart.

130. **Prem**, the highest end of human life, which did not even reach the ears of anybody, the superior power of the Name of Krishna, that was unknown to all, the greatest beauty of Sree Brindavan where none had any access, Sree Radha the highest Perfection of Beauty and Bliss whom none ever knew—all these have been revealed to the world with the descent of Sree Gauranga.

Charming Beauty of the Youthful Figure and His ecstatic dance.

131. Sree Gauranga is The Great God Himself. He dances on the sea-shore at Puri. And what a wonder ! He displays then His world-charming Figure Whose conception could not be found in all the Srutis, and such beauty is adored by Siva, Bramha, Vyasa, and all the gods and sages. The lustre of the wave of the most perfect beauty, bliss and love playing on every limb of The Holy Figure charms and illumines all the worlds.

*132. What a transcendant beauty doth He display when Sree Gauranga The Ideal Youth in the middle of His teens plays in His dance singing His own Names with silk cloth on, with a necklace shining on His breast, ear-rings round His ears, tinkling ornaments round His anklets, and with His fine black glossy hair

*When Saraswati Prakasanada was blessed with the grace of The Lord, He was to all outward appearance a Sannyasi with His head shaved and with the purple loin cloth on, and with no ornaments on ; but the Saraswati describes Him as the most Beautiful Youth in the middle of His teens with His long black glossy hair bound up in a knot entwined with wreaths of flowers and with His limbs decorated with ornaments. And how ? Sree Gauranga is All-Spirit, and He revealed Himself to Prakasananda as The Most Beautiful Youth.

bound in a knot above the head, which knot again is encircled with a wreath of blossomed **mallika** flowers.

133. When Sree Gauranga being intoxicated with His own **prem** makes **tandava** dance, all the sages out of love appear near and sing hymns, the **Siddhas** (aerial beings or angels) cover the earth with constant showers of flowers, the **Gandharvas** (music-loving angels) sing and the gods play on **Dundubhis** (kinds of musical instruments).

134. Sree Gauranga, in Whom God hath now Incarnated, being drenched in the nectar of His own highest love, plays about in various ways— sometimes He laughs, sometimes cries, sometimes falls into a swoon, sometimes rolls on the ground and again runs on, sometimes dances, sometimes heaves deep sighs and sometimes wails aloud uttering the sounds like Ah ! Alas ! and so on.

135. God Himself having Incarnated in Sree Gauranga is creating in all minds an attraction to the lotus feet of Sree Radha by Himself playing on the Sea-shore the part of Sree Radha in her extreme pangs of separation from Sree Krishna ; And, as such, Sree Gauranga, with purple cloth on His loins and with His pale cheek white as the half-ripe jujube fruit placed upon the palm of His left hand, is making the ground before Him clayey by torrents of tears.

136. Lord Gauranga dances delightfully in the flower garden on the sea-shore when the halo round

His body illumines all around like the moon-beam, and His loins look most beautiful with the purple cloth He puts on ; He brightens the sky with the lustre of His teeth when He laughs loud, makes the ground muddy by constant drops of tears, and resounds all quarters by the loud strokes of His feet against the ground.

Lamentation.

137. When will Sree Gauranga with His Divine Consort Vishnupriya be the object of my whole-hearted adoration and meditation, Who has all on a sudden intoxicated this world with the finest liquor of the highest love, Whose highly beautiful instructions were beyond the conception of Lakshmi, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, and Whose attributes could not be determined by the Upanishads that contain the elaborate exposition of the essence of the Vedas ?

138. O my Lord Sree Gauranga ! Where art Thou gone ! The bright path of sincere devotion to God, that Thou hast shown, is nowhere to be found now. Some sects are found to be cold & callous owing to their attachment to **Karma**, some sects are confined to mere recital of **mantras**, certain people are found to be following only superficial ceremonials, some make sham attempts at the control of the senses,

amongst some people there is seen vitiation in the worship of Krishna, some make a vain show of their **jnan**, and amongst many devotion to God exists in mere words and outer formalities.

139. Oh ! Will that sweet and pleasant time come back when Sree Gaur Hari came down to the world and by His unspeakable glory plunged the earth in the Ocean of bliss and love and when loud shouts of Sankirtan delighted all hearts ?

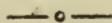
140. Oh Thou All Gracious Lord Sree Gauranga ! That very Gauda still remains, the sea-shore at Puri is still the same ; there is the Image of Jagannath in the temple of Puri as before, the names of Krishna are still uttered by men ; but, alas ! Oh Lord ! nowhere is seen such fountain of love as was witnessed at the time when Thou didst Thy **Leela**. Shall I, Oh Lord ! see the same fountain bliss of love again ?

141. Sree Gauranga cannot be said to be a part incarnation, for, no part incarnation has ever revealed or can ever reveal such superior power of love and graciousness ;—the most wonderful revelations that Gauranga has made are beyond all comparison and far above all conception. —Sree Gauranga is surely the most Perfect Incarnation—He is God Himself.

142. A mere child am I, my words can hardly express the infinitesimal part of the glory of Lord Gauranga. Still, may what I speak in these few verses be

acceptable to Him, for, He is Lord of all lords, His love knows no bounds, and His high glory is ever adored by all the sages.

143. I have come in touch with the people who worship Sree Krishna Chaitanya, which worship does away with the bondage of worldly attachment, I have come across the disciples of Sree Gauranga who are the fore-runners in the path of **bhakti**, I have, with as much keen judgment as I can command, consulted the ever-cheerful sages whose nature is to give true delight to all by the true decision of all the shastras, and my object is to speak out the true intents of what I have studied, learnt, observed and experienced ; so, I pray that The Lord Gauranga may be pleased with me at what I have said in these few verses.



THE END.

Appendix.

Meanings of sanskrit words used in the translation.

[Sree Gauranga is known by many other names, such as, Gaur Hari, Gaur Chandra, Gauranga Chandra, Nimai, Chaitanya, Sree Chaitanya, Sree Chaitanya Chandra, Sree Krishna Chaitanya].

[Vishnupria is the Divine consort of Sree Gauranga. She is the perfect Embodiment of the bliss-giving power of the Lord Sree Gauranga.]

Bairagya—Freedom from attachment to worldly things.

Batsalya prem--Parental love. Sakhya prem--Friendly love.

Dasya prem—Love of the servant for the master.

Madhur prem—Love of the wife for the husband.

These are the four grades of love. When turned towards matter, it brings the downfall of man.

Sree Gauranga, the centre and source of all love came to earth to attract all hearts and enable all His people to love Him as the Master, or the Friend or the son or the Husband according as the kind of love stood upper-most in their minds.

Bhagavat—The sacred scripture dealing specially with the Leela of Sree Krishna.

Bhakta—A devotee.

Bhakti—Devotion.

Brahma—The Great Being.

Brahma—The creative power of God.

Brindavan—The holy place in the district of Mathura in U. P. where Sree Krishna did His Leela in Dwapara Age.

Brishni—The race where Krishna was born.

Gokul—That part of Brindavan where Sree Krishna was brought up in His infant stage.

Gopa—Milk-man.

Gopee—Milk-maid. Young Gopas were Krishna's male friends, and young Gopces His female friends.

Indra—The king of gods.

Jagannath—Lit. The Lord of the world. The Image of Jagannath at Pari is referred to.

Jasoda—The Holy Mother of Krishna.

Jnan—Knowledge. It is used in the special sense of consciousness of the oneness of the human soul with the divine, which, according to Sankaracharja, is the highest salvation and the highest end of human life. Bhaktas do not aspire to this kind of salvation. Instead of absolute merging or disappearance of the human soul in the divine, as the followers of some school of Hindu Philosophy hold to be the summum bonum of human life, Bhaktas want to enjoy eternal bliss of Bhakti for which the worshipper exists eternally by the worshipped—he will not disappear altogether in the worshipped.

Kāli—Also called Kāli Yōgā or Kāli Age. Hindu scriptures speak of four ages—Satya, Trēta, Dwapar and Kāli. According to the needs of the time and capacities of the people to comprehend God, one Avatar came in one age, and another Avatar in another age. Sree Krishna came in the Dwapara Age and Sree Gauranga in the Kāli Age. So, Sree Gauranga is the latest Incarnation of God.

Karma—Lit. Actions or doings ; rituals ; rites and ceremonies. Those, who have faith in Karma, believe that men take births and rebirths and are punished or rewarded in the next life according to their doings in this life.

Leela—The playful life of an Avatar.

Mantra—Hymn.

Narada—The well-known divine sage.

Navadwip—The place in the district of Nadia in Bengal where Sree Gauranga was born.

Nirbhed Brahma Jnan—The same as Jnan.

Radha—The bliss-giving power of Sree Krishna.

Rash—The sweet beautiful dance that Sree Krishna had with the Gopees. It is perfectly pure and blissful.

Raurava—The name of the vilest hell.

Sachee—The Holy Mother of Sree Gauranga.

Sannyasi or Sannyasin—A saint.

Siva—The destructive power of God.

Sree Dam—The name of a Gopa friend of Sree Krishna.

Sruti—The Vedas, so called, as they were the divine words heard and recorded by the sages of old (Derived from Sanskrit root **sru** to hear).

Suka—The son of Vyasa. Vyasa wrote the Bhagavat as revealed to him ; and Suka reproduced it to Raja Pareekshit.

Tandava dance—Dance in divine ecstatic joy.

Uddhab—A friend of Sree Krishna.

Upanishads—The commentaries of the Vedas.

Vishnu—The protective power of God.

Yoga—Trance by a systematic control of respiration which requires a regular training.

Yogi or Yogin—He who practises the above.

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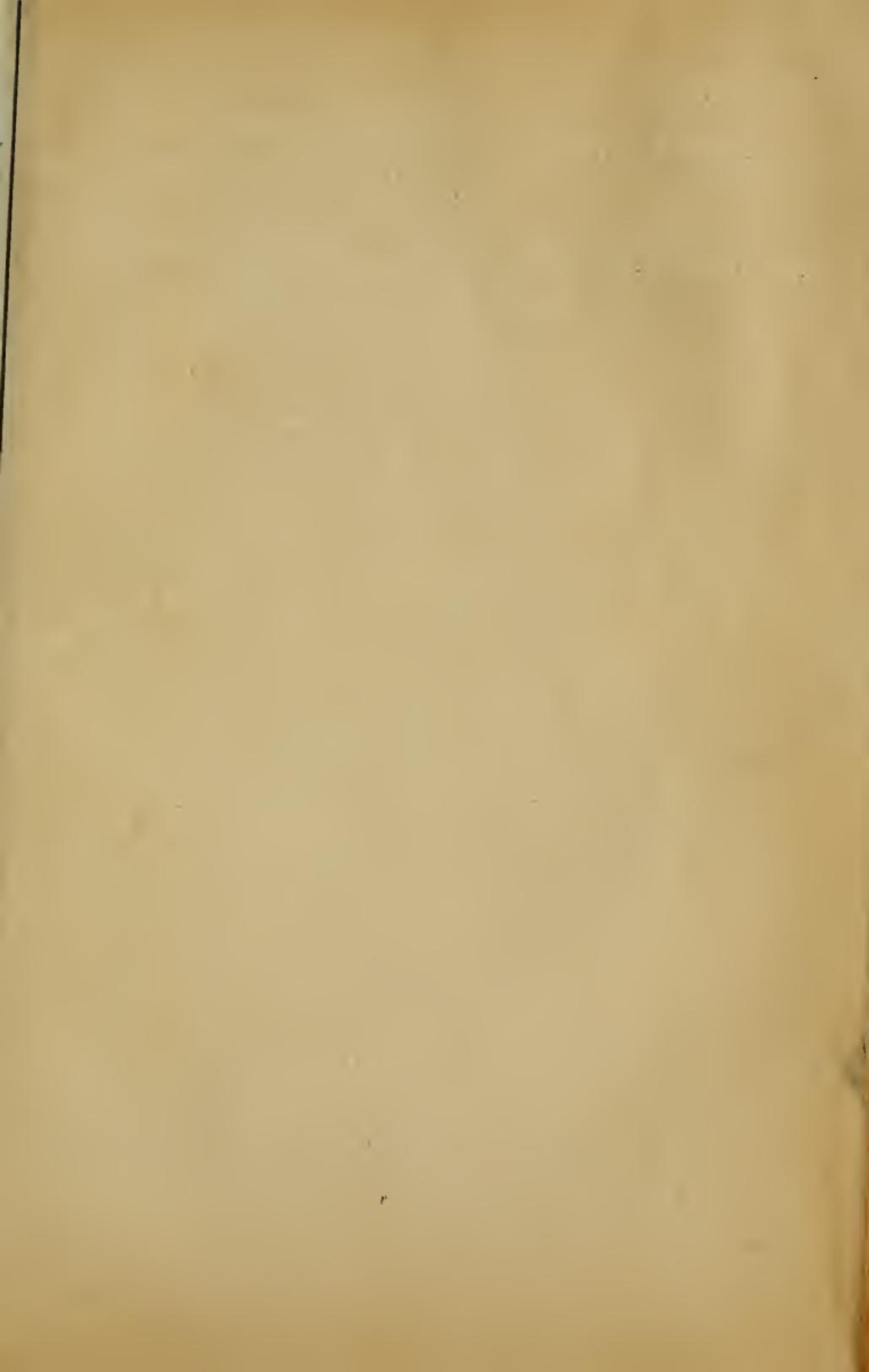
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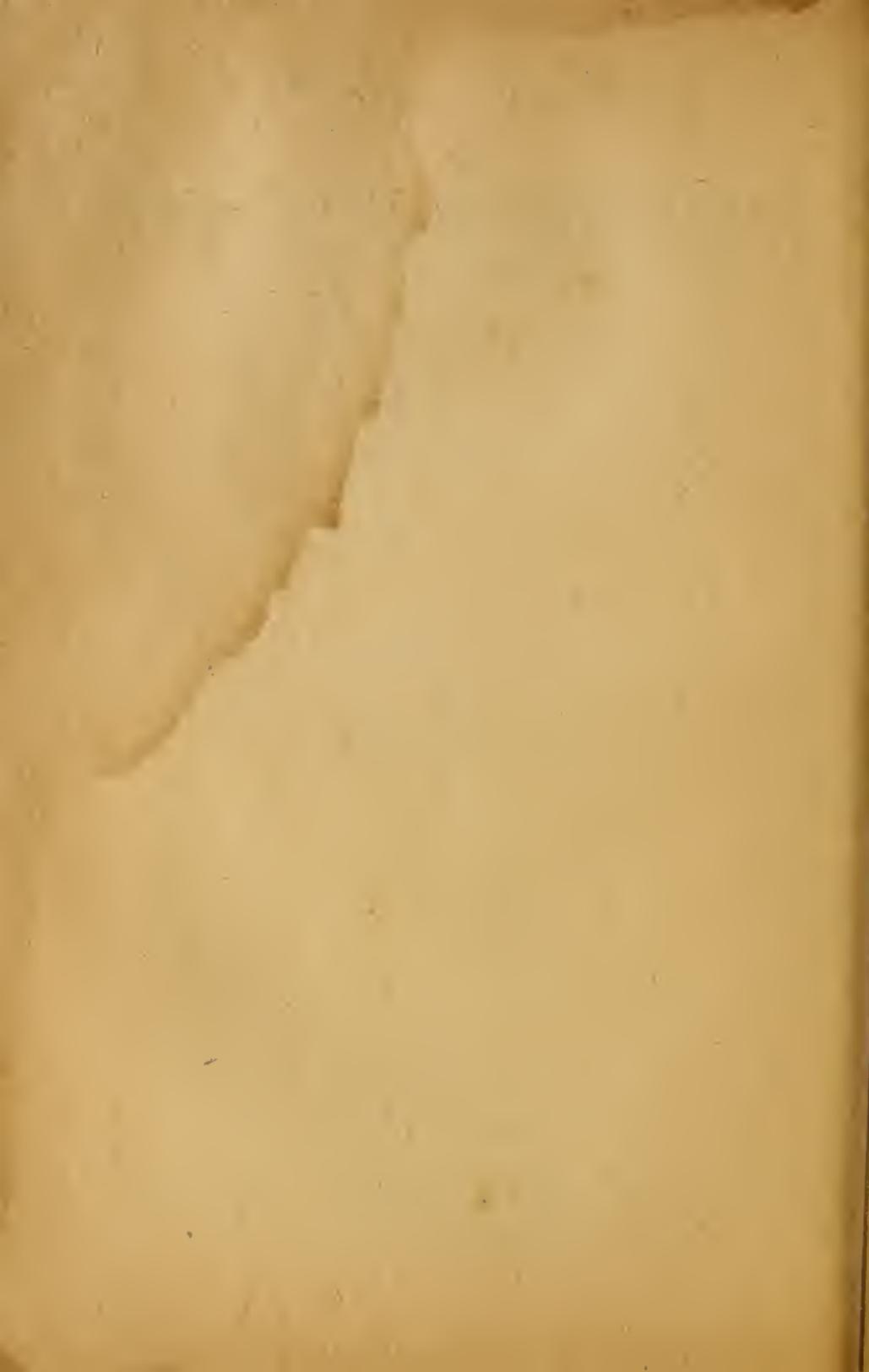
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Indian Railways



THIRD CLASS IN INDIAN RAILWAYS*

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling third class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling, among other reasons, for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the mail train and paid Rs. 13-9. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became un-

*Ranchi, September 25, 1917.

bearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was, at one time, avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way passengers got for tea tannin water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid mis-called milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance, but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty-looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter; they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station I found that the ghariwala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would

pay him the authorised fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the ghari or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention I could not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorised number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water, and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty.

The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water.

The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Punjabi Mahomedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahomedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribe to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonepur, Chakradharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction stations and been at the 'Mosafirkhanas' attached to these stations. They are discreditable-

looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power adequately to describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes, or disinfecting fluids are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third-class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonapur flies having failed, wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities, but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain third class booking-office is a Black-Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving.

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protest of non-smokers. And this, notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in the compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this, but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the first class passengers with that of the third class. In the Madras case the first class fare is over five times as much as the third class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth, of the comforts of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and comfort.

It is a known fact that the third class traffic pays for the ever-increasing luxuries of first and second class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the third class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters third class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this: let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Rajas, Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others, who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning, go through the experiences now and then of third class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of third class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with ordinary creature comforts.

VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION*

It is to be hoped that Dr. Mehta's labour of love will receive the serious attention of English-educated India. The following pages were written by him for the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras and are now printed in their present form for circulation throughout India. The question of vernaculars as media of instruction is of national importance; neglect of the vernaculars means national suicide. One hears many protagonists of the English language being continued as the medium of instruction pointing to the fact that English-educated Indians are the sole custodians of public and patriotic work. It would be monstrous if it were not so. For the only education given in this country is through the English language. The fact, however, is that the results are not all proportionate to the time we give to our education. We have not reacted on the masses. But I must not anticipate Dr. Mehta. He is in earnest. He writes feelingly. He has examined the pros and cons and collected a mass of evidence in support of his arguments. The latest pronouncement on the subject is that of the Viceroy. Whilst His Excellency is unable to offer a solution, he is keenly alive to the necessity of imparting instruction in our schools through the vernaculars. The Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe, who are scattered in all parts of the world, finding it necessary to have a common tongue for mutual intercourse, have raised Yiddish to the status of a language, and have succeeded in translating into Yiddish the best books to be found in the world's literature. Even they could not satisfy the soul's yearning through the many foreign tongues of which they are masters; nor did

*Introduction to Dr. Mehta's " Self-Government Series ".

the learned few among them wish to tax the masses of the Jewish population with having to learn a foreign language before they could realise their dignity. So they have enriched what was at one time looked upon as a mere jargon—but what the Jewish children learnt from their mothers—by taking special pains to translate into it the best thought of the world. This is a truly marvellous work. It has been done during the present generation, and Webster's Dictionary defines it as a polyglot jargon used for inter-communication by Jews from different nations.

But a Jew of Middle and Eastern Europe would feel insulted if his mother tongue were now so described. If these Jewish scholars have succeeded, within a generation, in giving their masses a language of which they may feel proud, surely it should be an easy task for us to supply the needs of our own vernaculars which are cultured languages. South Africa teaches us the same lesson. There was a duel there between the Taal, a corrupt form of Dutch, and English. The Boer mothers and the Boer fathers were determined that they would not let their children, with whom they in their infancy talked in the Taal, be weighed down with having to receive instruction through English. The case for English here was a strong one. It had able pleaders for it. But English had to yield before Boer patriotism. It may be observed that they rejected even the High Dutch. The school masters, therefore, who are accustomed to speak the published Dutch of Europe, are compelled to teach the easier Taal. And literature of an excellent character is at the present moment growing up in South Africa in the Taal, which was only a few years ago, the common medium of speech between simple but brave rustics. If we have lost faith in our vernaculars, it is a sign of want of faith in ourselves; it is the surest sign of decay. And no scheme of self-government, however benevolently or generously it may be bestowed upon us, will ever make us a self-govern-

ing nation, if we have no respect for the languages
our mothers speak.

SWADESHI*

It was not without great diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon Swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many shortcomings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing in what I am about to say that I am not either already practising or am not preparing to practise to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnestly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know that you will bless my word with a similar prayer.

After much thinking I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that, perhaps, best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate

*Address delivered before the Missionary Conference on February 14, 1916.

neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. And, as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

Let us briefly examine the three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and, therefore, a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion today as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving out, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion, not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising while continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover I have some claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagavad Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion

with which I sing "Lead kindly light" and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations. And enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps, therefore, allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu, but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that "Go ye unto all the world" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so-called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, had been little understood in Europe, and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a special sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact, in your own silent manner, you influence politics not a little. And I feel that, if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated as they often appear to have done. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the Swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me. India is really

a republican country, and it is because it is that, that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Caesar what was Caesar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered to its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We, the educated classes, have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those

great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of Swadeshi, much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt, though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot be true, is that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything

for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion for tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for Swadeshi, and almost the whole of India forswear foreign goods. There is a verse

in the Bhagavad Gita, which, freely rendered, means, masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the Swadeshi vow even though it may, for a time, cause considerable inconvenience. I hate legislative interference, in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed, plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt Swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon Swadeshi as a rule of life. With them it is a mere patriotic effort not to be made if it involved any self-denial. Swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which today he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss Swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible, forget that Swadeshi, after all, is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against Swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any warrant in the civilised code of morality. With them to practise Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the position. But I would urge that Swadeshi

is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and, if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others. As for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the State. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that everyone followed this mode of life, we should have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non la* is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the key to a proper practice of Ahimsa or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and show, by your preaching, sanctified by practice, that patriotism based on hatred "killeth" and that patriotism based on love "giveth life."

AHIMSA*

There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of Ahimsa synchronise with our becoming bereft of manly virtues. During the past 1,500 years we have, as a nation, given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of unmanliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a Vaishnavite, and was taught Ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher, Rajachand Kavi, who was a Jain by birth. Thus, though my views on Ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these works. They are a part of my life, and, if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had learnt to give them, I should still hold to the view of Ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our Shastras seem to teach that a man who really practises Ahimsa in its fulness has the world at his feet; he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form it means not injuring any

*The *Modern Review*, October, 1916.

living being whether by body or mind. It may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed, the proper practice of Ahimsa *requires* me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am, in any way whatsoever, the guardian of such a child. It was, therefore, most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill-will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. *Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands.* Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of Ahimsa, I *must love* my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. As man cannot deceive the loved one, he does not fear or frighten him or her. Gift of life is the greatest of all gifts; a man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must, therefore, be himself fearless. A man cannot then practice Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of a soldier's virtues. General Gordon has been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to Ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is

to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. „Such a one was Ambarisha, who stood his ground without lifting a finger though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors who were being pounded by the French gunners and who rushed to the guns' mouths with 'Allah' on their lips, showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation. Ambarisha's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waved their hats, ceased firing, and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was Ahimsa in its active form. It *never* barter away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of Ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk to his victim over the dead body of her defender; in the second, he has but to overpower the defender; for it is assumed that the cannon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied when the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance, as the defender has matched his very soul against the mere body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl would stand and infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance, barring of course, that of her own personal courage.

If we are unmanly today, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the

person causing it. He is no follower of Ahimsa who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher or who, in order to do a supposed good to his country, does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. Here the love of the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity, or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa truly understood is in my humble opinion a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never overdo it. Just at present we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer into their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers, and this land of ours will once more be the abode of gods.

THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION*

The only claim I have on your indulgence is that some months ago I attended with Mr. Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom he wanted to explain the principles of co-operation. The chawl in which they were living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent rains had made matters worse. And I must frankly confess that, had it not been for Mr. Ewbank's great zeal for the cause he has made his own, I should have shirked the task. But there we were, seated on a fairly worn-out *charpai*, surrounded by men, women and children. Mr. Ewbank opened fire on a man who had put himself forward and who wore not a particularly innocent countenance. After he had engaged him and the other people about him in Gujrati conversation, he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to the suspicious looks of the man who was first spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities of co-operation. I fancy that Mr. Ewbank rather liked the manner in which I handled the subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to me to tax your patience for a few moments upon a consideration of co-operation from a moral standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-operation is next to nothing. My brother, Devadhar, has made the subject his own. Whatever he does, naturally attracts me and predisposes me to think that there must be something good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr. Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had a unique opportunity of watching the effect of some co-opera-

*Paper contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference, September 17, 1917.

tive effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr. Ewbank's ten main points which are like the Commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr. Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the Twelve Tables. There are so-called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co-operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr. Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impress on those who come in contact with him. Mr. Hodge is a co-operative enthusiast and probably considers that the result which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co-operation. I, who was able to watch the efforts, had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necessarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institution I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place at the disposal of the nation a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the national genius, and, if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co-operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the

students of the Scottish Churches College and, in order to point a moral, he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. "There were two powers, which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life. . . . The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men were trained to believe in God and in themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created the Scottish banking system was built." Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvellous Scottish banking system only on the character so built. So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for that 'without character there is no co-operation' is a sound maxim. But he would have us go much further. He thus waxes eloquent on co-operation: "Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future, never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here; and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co-operative movement." In his opinion it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment. In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here; in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an enthusiast's exaggeration. Mark his peroration: "Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace." Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the world

has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character: they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made passible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is today that, as in law so in war, the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows, therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral men moral. But the wisdom of the Estate or philanthropists demands that they should help on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-opera-

tion alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognises the moral aspect of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles." With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The registrars will, in that event, ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pie lent to the members. Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-seller's bill or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

A word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting the best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particular rapacious Mahajan. Doubts have been expressed as to the success of co-operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent an evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence.' I have found him to be not always

relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways and even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?

I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the hand-loom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists firstly in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox hand-looms, secondly, in weaning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other services and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister or a doctor, and thirdly by helping those weavers who have abandoned their occupation to revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies

them at their door with the yarn they need ; its volunteers take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence on such help as *friends* render it. We, therefore, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is pre-determined. And we, the middlemen, being volunteers, obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families, I hope, for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope, at an early date, to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touched them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realise it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of "co-operation of scoundrels" that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

NATIONAL DRESS*

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.

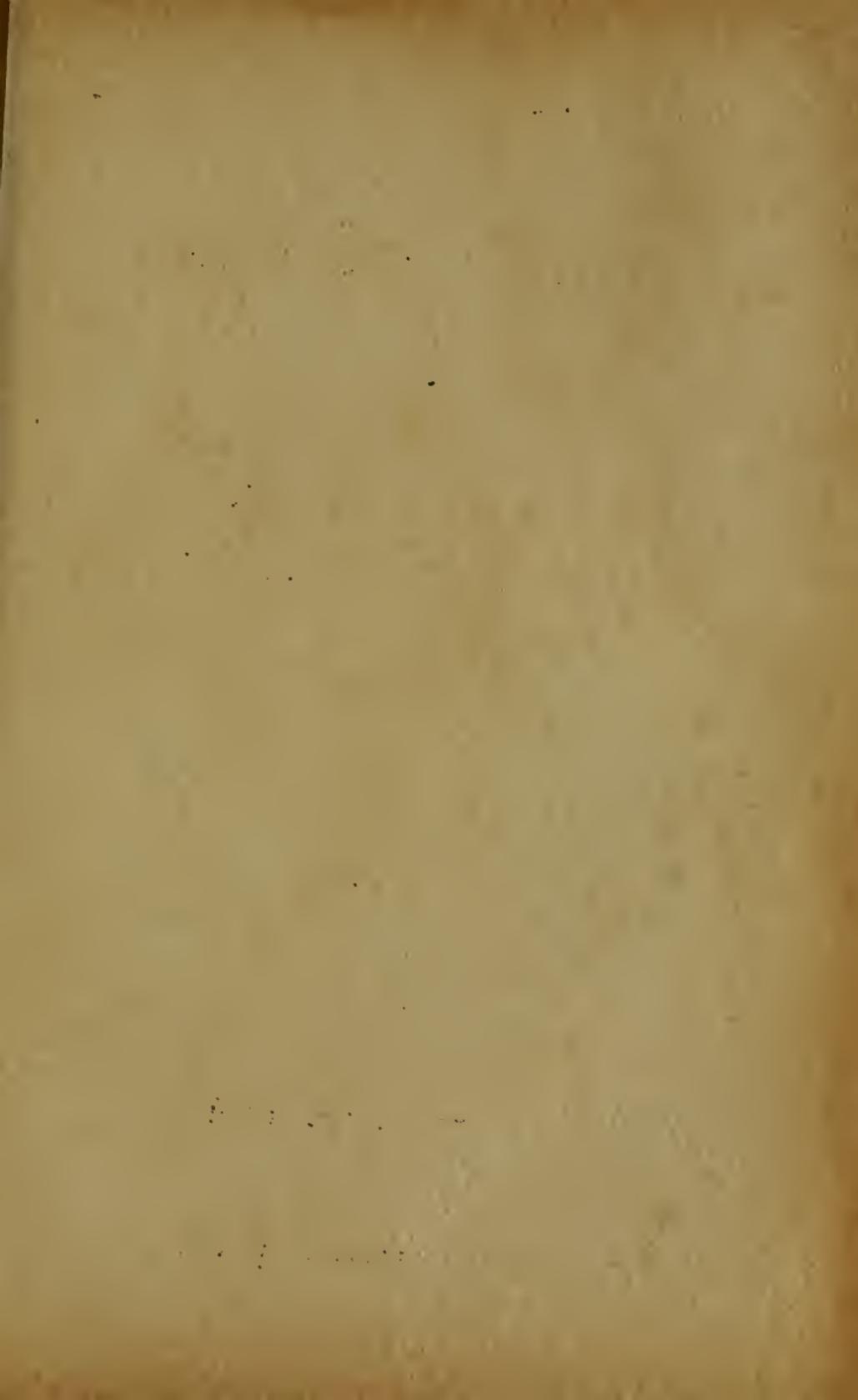
One change I have made and it is that, having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of Swadeshi, my clothing is now entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn and made by me or my fellow workers. Mr. Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have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

*Reply to Mr. Irwin's criticism of his dress in the *Pioneer*.

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, in spite 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.

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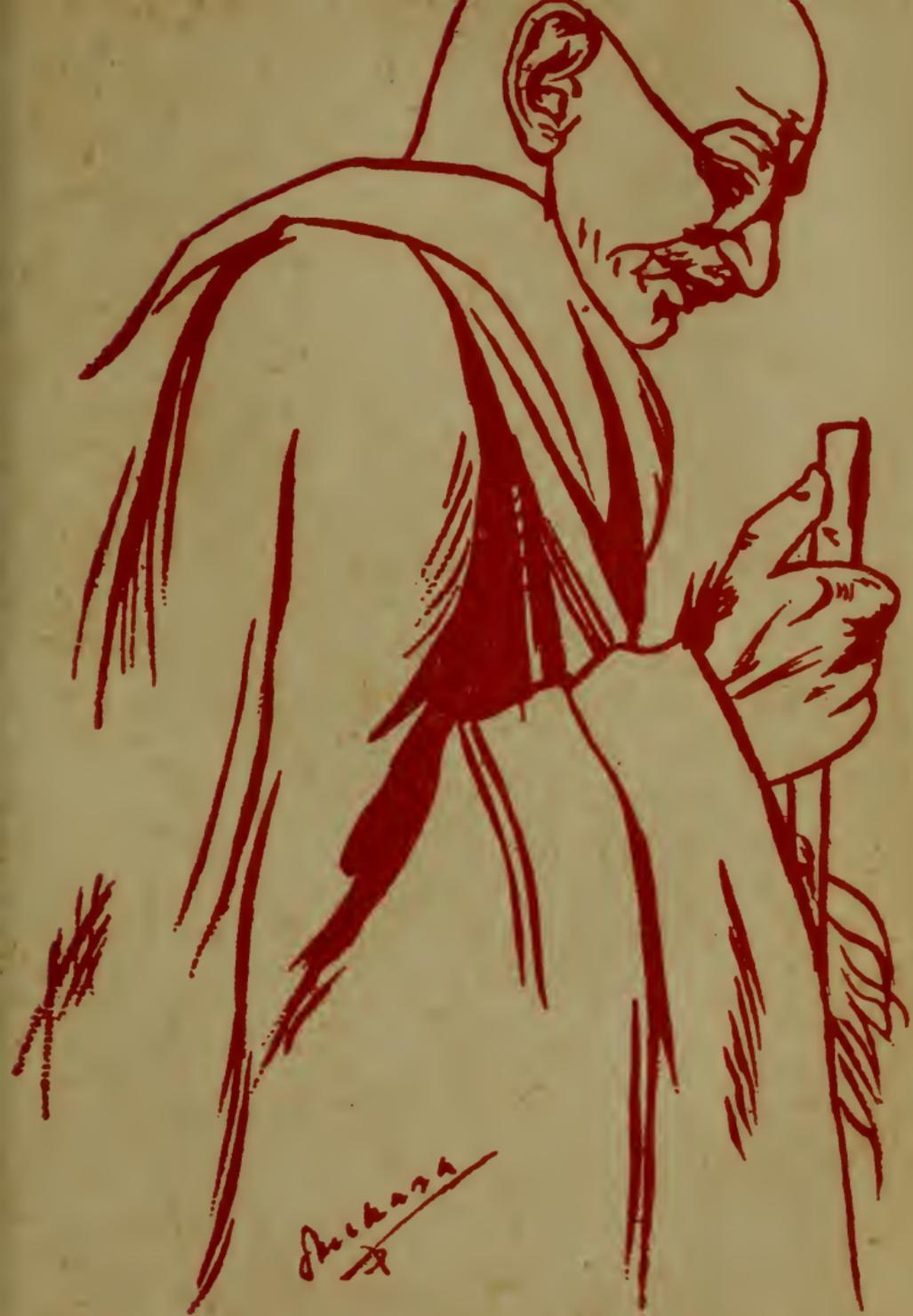


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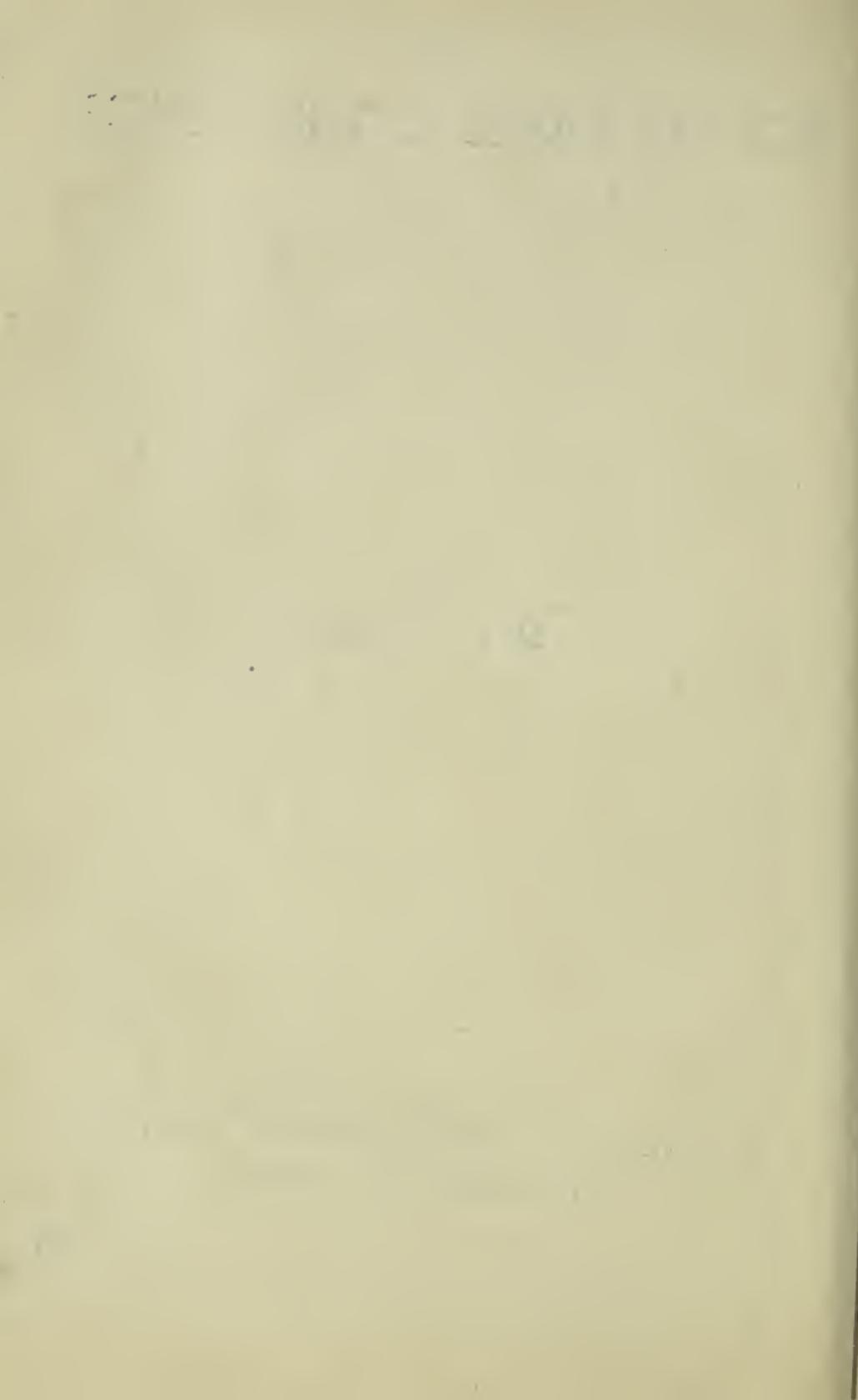
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I wish to tender my humble apology for the long delay that took place before I am able to reach this place. And you will readily accept the apology when I tell you that I am not responsible for the delay, nor is any human agency responsible for it. (*Laughter*). The fact is that I am like an animal on show and my keepers in their over-kindness always manage to neglect a necessary chapter in this life and that is pure accident. In this case, they did not provide for the series of accidents that happened to us—to me, keepers, and my carriers. Hence this delay.

Friends, under the influence of the matchless eloquence of the lady (Mrs. Besant) who has just sat down, pray, do not believe that our University has become a finished product and that all the young men who are to come to the University that has yet to rise and come into existence, have also come and returned from it finished citizens of a great Empire. Do not go away with any such impression, and, if you, the student world, to which my remarks are supposed to be addressed this evening,

* *Speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Benares Hindu University.*

consider for one moment that the spiritual life, for which this country is noted and for which this country has no rival, can be transmitted through the lip, pray, believe me you are wrong. You will never be able merely through the lip to give the message that India, I hope, will one day deliver to the world. I myself have been "fed up" with speeches and lectures. I except the lectures that have been delivered here during the last two days from this category, because they were necessary. But I do venture to suggest to you that we have now reached almost the end of our resources in speech-making, and it is not enough that our ears are feasted, that our eyes are feasted, but it is necessary that our hearts have got to be touched and that our hands and feet have got to be moved. We have been told during the last two days how necessary it is, if we are to retain our hold upon the simplicity of Indian character, that our hands and feet should move in unison with our hearts. But this is only by way of preface.

I wanted to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening, under the shadow of this great college in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me. I know that if I was appointed an examiner to examine all those who have been attending during these two days this series of lectures, most of those who might be examined upon these lectures would fail. And why? Because they have not been touched. I was present at the sessions of the great Congress in the month of December. There was a much vaster audience, and will you believe me when I tell you that the only speeches that touched that huge audience in Bombay were the speeches

that were delivered in Hindustani? In Bombay, mind you, not in Benares where everybody speaks Hindi. But between the vernaculars of the Bombay Presidency, on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, no such great dividing line exists as there does between English and the sister languages of India; and the Congress audience was better able to follow the speakers in Hindi. I am hoping that this University will see to it that the youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the medium of their vernaculars. Our language is the reflection of ourselves, and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the sooner we are wiped out of existence the better for us. Is there a man who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? (*Cries of 'Never'*). Why this handicap on the nation? Just consider for one moment what an unequal race our lads have to run with every English lad. I had the privilege of a close conversation with some Poona professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life. Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges and find out for yourselves how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. The charge against us is that we have no initiative. How can we have any if we are to devote the precious years of our life to the mastery of a foreign tongue? We fail in this attempt also. Was it possible for any speaker yesterday and today to impress his audience as was possible for Mr. Higginbotham? It was not the fault of the previous speakers that they

could not engage the audience. They had more than substance enough for us in their addresses. But their addresses could not go home to us. I have heard it said that after all it is English-educated India which is leading and which is doing all the thing for the nation. It would be monstrous if it were otherwise. The only education we receive is English education. Surely, we must show something for it. But suppose that we had been receiving, during the past fifty years, education through our vernaculars, what should we have today? We should have today a free India, we should have our educated men, not as if they were foreigners in their own land but speaking to the heart of the nation; they would be working among the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past fifty years would be a heritage for the nation. (*Applause*). Today even our wives are not the sharers in our best thought. Look at Professor Bose and Professor Ray and their brilliant researches. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses?

Let us now turn to another subject.

The Congress has passed a resolution about self-government, and I have no doubt that the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League will do their duty and come forward with some tangible suggestions. But I, for one, must frankly confess that I am not so much interested in what they will be able to produce, as I am interested in anything that the student world is going to produce or the masses are going to produce. No paper contribution will ever give us self-government. No amount of speeches will

ever make us fit for self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit us for it. (*Applause*). And how are we trying to govern ourselves? I want to think audibly this evening. I do not want to make a speech, and if you find me this evening speaking without reserve, pray, consider that you are only sharing the thoughts of a man who allows himself to think audibly, and if you think that I seem to transgress the limits that courtesy imposes upon me, pardon me for the liberty I may be taking. I visited the Viswanath Temple last evening, and as I was walking through those lanes, these were the thoughts that touched me. If a stranger dropped from above on to this great Temple and he had to consider what we as Hindus were, would he not be justified in condemning us? Is not this great Temple a reflection of our own character? I speak feelingly as a Hindu. Is it right that the lanes of our sacred Temple should be as dirty as they are? The houses round about are built anyhow. The lanes are tortuous and narrow. If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness, what can our self-government be? Shall our temples be abodes of holiness, cleanliness and peace as soon as the English have retired from India, either of their own pleasure or by compulsion, bag and baggage?

I entirely agree with the President of the Congress that before we think of self-government, we shall have to do the necessary plodding. In every city there are two divisions, the cantonment and the city proper. The city mostly is a stinking den. But we are a people unused to city life. But if we want

city life, we cannot reproduce the easy going hamlet life. It is not comforting to think that people walk about the streets of Indian Bombay under the perpetual fear of dwellers in the storeyed buildings spitting upon them. I do a great deal of railway travelling. I observe the difficulty of third class passengers. But the Railway Administration is by no means to blame for all their hard lot. We do not know the elementary laws of cleanliness. We spit everywhere on the carriage floor, irrespective of the thought that it is often used as sleeping space. We do not trouble ourselves as to how we use it; the result is indescribable filth in the compartment. The so-called better class passengers over-awe their less fortunate brethren. Among them I have seen the student world also. Sometimes they behave no better. They can speak English and they have worn Norfolk jackets and, therefore, claim the right to force their way in and command seating accommodation. I have turned the search-light all over, and as you have given me the privilege of speaking to you, I am laying my heart bare. Surely, we must set these things right in our progress towards self-government. I now introduce you to another scene. His Highness the Maharajah, who presided yesterday over our deliberations, spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in the great *pandal* in which the foundation ceremony was performed by the Viceroy. Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of the greatest jeweller who chose to come from Paris. I compare with the richly bedecked noblemen the millions of the poor. And, I feel like

saying to these noblemen : ‘ There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India ’ (*Hear, hear and applause*). I am sure it is not the desire of the King-Emperor or Lord Hardinge that, in order to show the truest loyalty to our King-Emperor, it is necessary for us to ransack our jewellery-boxes and to appear bedecked from top to toe. I would undertake, at the peril of my life, to bring to you a message from King George himself that he expects nothing of the kind. Sir, whenever I hear of a great palace rising in any great city of India, be it in British India or be it in India which is ruled by our great Chiefs, I become jealous at once and I say : ‘ Oh, it is the money that has come from the agriculturists.’ Over 75 per cent of the population are agriculturists, and Mr. Higginbotham told us last night in his own felicitous language that they are the men who grow two blades of grass in the place of one. But there cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow others to take away from them almost the whole of the results of their labour. Our salvation can only come through the farmer. Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it.

Now, last but not the least, it is my bounden duty to refer to what agitated our minds during these two or three days. All of us have had many anxious moments while the Viceroy was going through the streets of Benares. There were detectives stationed in many places. We were horrified. We asked ourselves : ‘ Why this distrust ? Is it not better that even Lord Hardinge should die than live a living death ? ’ But a represen-

tative of a mighty Sovereign may not. He might find it necessary even to live a living death. But why was it necessary to impose these detectives on us? We may foam, we may fret, we may resent, but let us not forget that India of today in her impatience has produced an army of anarchists. I myself an anarchist, but of another type. But there is a class of anarchists amongst us, and if I were able to reach this class, I would say to them that their anarchism has no room in India, if India is to conquer the conqueror. It is a sign of fear. If we trust and fear God, we shall have to fear no one, not Maharajahs, not Viceroy, not the detectives, not even King George. I honour the anarchist for his love of the country. I honour him for his bravery in being willing to die for his country; but I ask him: 'Is killing honourable? Is the dagger of an assassin a fit precursor of an honourable death?' I deny it. There is no warrant for such methods in any scriptures. If I found it necessary for the salvation of India that the English should retire, that they should be driven out, I would not hesitate to declare that they would have to go, and I hope I would be prepared to die in defence of that belief. That would, in my opinion, be an honourable death. The bomb-thrower creates secret plots, is afraid to come out into the open, and when caught pays the penalty of misdirected zeal. I have been told: 'Had we not done this, had some people not thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we have got with reference to the Partition Movement.' (*Mrs. Besant: Please stop it*). This was what I said in Bengal when Mr. Lyon presided at the meeting. I think what I am saying is

necessary. If I am told to stop I shall obey. (*Turning to the Chairman*) I await your orders. If you consider that by my speaking as I am, I am not serving the country and the Empire, I shall certainly stop. (*Cries of 'Go on'*). (*The Chairman: Please explain your object*). I am explaining my object. I am simply (*Another interruption*). My friends, please do not resent this interruption. If Mrs. Besant this evening suggests that I should stop, she does so because she loves India so well, and she considers that I am erring in thinking audibly before you, young men. But even so, I simply say this that I want to purge India of the atmosphere of suspicion on either side; if we are to reach our goal, we should have an empire which is to be based upon mutual love and mutual trust. Is it not better that we talk under the shadow of this college than that we should be talking irresponsibly in our homes? I consider that it is much better that we talk these things openly. I have done so with excellent results before now. I know that there is nothing that the students are not discussing. There is nothing that the students do not know. I am, therefore, turning the search-light towards ourselves. I hold the name of my country so dear to me that I exchange these thoughts with you, and submit to you that there is no reason for anarchism in India. Let us frankly and openly say whatever we want to say to our rulers and face the consequences, if what we have to say does not please them. But let us not abuse. I was talking the other day to a member of the much-abused Civil Service. I have not very much in common with the members of that Service, but I could not help admiring the manner in

which he was speaking to me. He said : ‘ Mr. Gandhi do you for one moment suppose that all we, Civil Servants, are a bad lot, that we want to oppress the people whom we have come to govern ? ’ ‘ No ’ I said. ‘ Then, if you get an opportunity put in a word for the much-abused Civil Service ? ’ And, I am here to put in that word. Yes ; many members of the Indian Civil Service are most decidedly over-bearing ; they are tyrannical, at times thoughtless. Many other adjectives may be used. I grant all these things and I grant also that, after having lived in India for a certain number of years, some of them become somewhat degraded. But what does that signify ? They were gentlemen before they came here, and if they have lost some of the moral fibre, it is a reflection upon ourselves. (*Cries of ‘ No ’*). Just think out for yourselves, if a man who was good yesterday has become bad after having come in contact with me, is he responsible that he has deteriorated or am I ? The atmosphere of sycophancy and falsity that surrounds them on their coming to India demoralises them, as it would many of us. It is well to take the blame sometimes. If we are to receive self-government we shall have to take it. We shall never be granted self-government. Look at the history of the British Empire and the British nation ; freedom-loving as it is, it will not be party to give freedom to a people who will not take it themselves. Learn your lessons, if you wish to, from the Boer War. Those who were enemies of that empire only a few years ago, have now become friends.

At Gurukula*

I propose to produce as much only of it as in my opinion is worth placing on record with additions where they may be found necessary. The speech, it may be observed, was delivered in Hindi. After thanking Mahatmaji Munshi Ram for his great kindness to my boys to whom he gave shelter on two occasions and acted as father to them and after stating that the time for action had arrived rather than for speeches, I proceeded : I owe a debt of gratitude to Arya Samaj. I have often derived inspiration from its activity. I have noticed among the members of the Samaj much self-sacrifice. During my travels in India I came across many Arya Samajists who were doing excellent work for the country. I am, therefore, grateful to Mahatmaji that I am enabled to be in your midst. At the same time it is but fair to state that I am frankly a Sanatanist. For me Hinduism is all-sufficing. Every variety of belief finds protection under its ample fold. And though the Arya Samajists and the Sikhs and the Brahmo Samajists may choose to be classed differently from the

* Report by Gandhiji of his own speech delivered at the anniversary of the Gurukula.

Hindus, I have no doubt that at no distant future they will be all merged in Hinduism and find in it their fulness. Hinduism like every other human institution has its drawbacks and its defects. Here is ample scope for any worker to strive for reform, but there is little cause for secession.

Throughout my travels I have been asked about the immediate need for India. And perhaps I would not do better than repeating this afternoon the answer I have given elsewhere. In general terms a proper religious spirit is the greatest and most immediate need. But I know that this is too general an answer to satisfy anybody. And, it is an answer true for all time. What, therefore, I desire to say is that owing to the religious spirit being dormant in us, we are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our Pandits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Neither the spiritual teachers nor our political governors could possibly desire that we should hide the truth from them. Lord Willingdon, speaking to a Bombay audience, has been saying recently that he had observed that we hesitated to say 'no' when we really meant it and advised his audience to cultivate a fearless spirit. Of course, fearlessness should never mean want of due respect or regard for the feelings of others. In my humble opinion fearlessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp

the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do, and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth save the fear of God. Loyalty to the Governor of governors supersedes all other loyalty and gives an intelligent basis to the latter.

And, when we have sufficiently cultivated this spirit of fearlessness, we shall see that there is no salvation for us without true Swadeshi, not the Swadeshi which can be conveniently put off. Swadeshi for me has a deeper meaning. I would like us to apply it in our religious, political and economic life. It is not, therefore, merely confined to wearing on occasions a Swadeshi cloth. That we have to do for all time, not out of a spirit of jealousy or revenge, but because it is a duty we owe to our dear country. We commit a breach of the Swadeshi spirit certainly if we wear foreign-made cloth, but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian, wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waistcoat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind, is not a very graceful spectacle. Swadeshi in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and re-enact it in the present generation. The pandemonium that is going on in Europe shows that modern civilisation represents forces of evil and darkness whereas the ancient, *i.e.*, Indian civilisation, represents in its essence the divine force. Modern civilisation is chiefly materialistic as ours is chiefly

spiritual. Modern civilisation occupies itself in the investigation of the laws of matter, and employs the human ingenuity in inventing or discovering means of production and weapons of destruction, ours is chiefly occupied in exploring spiritual laws. Our Shastras lay down unequivocally that a proper observance of truth, chastity, scrupulous regard for all life, abstention from coveting other's possessions and refusal to hoard anything but what is necessary for our daily wants is indispensable for a right life ; that without it a knowledge of the divine element is an impossibility. Our civilisation tells us with daring certainty that a proper and perfect cultivation of the quality of ahimsa which in its active form means purest love and pity, brings the whole world to our feet. The author of this discovery gives a wealth of illustrations, which carries conviction with it.

Examine its result in the political life. There is no gift so valued by our Shastras as the gift of life. Consider what our relations would be with our rulers if we gave absolute security of life to them. If they could but feel that, no matter what we might feel about their acts, we would hold their bodies as sacred as our own, there would immediately spring up an atmosphere of mutual trust, and there would be such frankness on either side as to pave the way for an honourable and just solution of many problems that worry us today. It should be remembered that in practising ahimsa there need be any reciprocation though, as a matter of fact, in its final stages it commands reciprocation. Many of us believe, and I am one of them, that through our civilisation we have a message to deliver to the

world. I tender my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly. I would like to use the British race for transmitting this mighty message of ahimsa to the whole world. But that can only be done when we have conquered our so-called conquerors, and you, my Arya Samaj friends, are perhaps specially elected for this mission. You claim to examine our scriptures critically. You take nothing for granted and you claim not to fear to reduce your belief to practice. I do not think that there is any room for trifling with or limiting the doctrine of ahimsa. You dare, then, to reduce it to practice regardless of immediate consequences which would certainly test the strength of your convictions. You would not only have procured salvation for India, but you would have rendered the noblest service that a man can render to humanity—a service, moreover, which you would rightly assert, the great Swami Dayanand was born for. This Swadeshi is to be considered as a very active force to be ceaselessly employed with an ever-increasing vigilance, searching self-examination. It is not meant for the lazy, but it is essentially meant for them who would gladly lay down their lives for the sake of truth. It is possible to dilate upon several other phases of Swadeshi, but I think I have said enough to enable you to understand what I mean. I only hope that you, who represent a school of reformers in India, will not reject what I have said, without a thorough examination. And, if my word has commended itself to you, your past record entitles me to expect you to enforce in your own lives the things of eternity about which I have ventured to speak to you this afternoon and cover the whole of India with your activity.

In concluding my report of the above speech, I would like to state what I did not in speaking to that great audience and it is this. I have now twice visited the Gurukula. In spite of some vital differences with my brethren of the Arya Samaj, I have a sneaking regard for them and it, and perhaps the best result of the activity of the Arya Samaj is to be seen in the establishment and the conduct of the Gurukula. Though it depends for its vitality entirely upon the inspiring presence of Mahatmaji Munshi Ram, it is truly a national and self-governing and self-governed institution. It is totally independent of Government aid or patronage. Its war chest is filled not out of moneys received from the privileged few, but from the poor many who make it a point of honour from year to year to make a pilgrimage to Kangri and willingly give their mite for maintaining this National College. Here at every anniversary a huge crowd gathers and the manner in which it is handled, housed and fed evinces no mean power of organisation, but the most wonderful thing about it all is that the crowd consisting of about ten thousand men, women and children is managed without the assistance of a single policeman and without any fuss or semblance of force, the only force that subsists between the crowd and the managers of the institution is that of love and mutual esteem. Fourteen years are nothing in the life of a big institution like this. What the collegiates who have been just turned out during the last two or three years would be able to show, remains to be seen. The public will not and cannot judge men or institutions except through the results that they show. It makes no allowance for failures. It is a most exacting judge. The

final appeal of the Gurukula as of all popular institutions must be to this judge. Great responsibility therefore rests upon the shoulders of the students who have been discharged from the college and who have entered upon the thorny path of life. Let them beware. Meanwhile those who are well-wishers of this great experiment may derive satisfaction from the fact that we have it as an indisputable rule of life, that as the tree is so will the fruit be. The tree looks lovely enough. He who waters it is a noble soul. Why worry about what the fruit is likely to be ?

As a lover of the Gurukula, I may be permitted to offer one or two suggestions to the committee and the parents. The Gurukula boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85% of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10% occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand-weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools, can saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped, will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of the Gurukula lads. The sanitary arrangements at the fair left much to be desired. The plague of flies told its own tale. These irrepressible sanitary inspectors incessantly warned us that in point of sanitation all was not well

with us. They plainly suggested that the remains of our food and excreta need to be properly buried. It seemed to me to be such a pity that a golden opportunity was being missed of giving to the annual visitors practical lessons on sanitation. But the work must begin with the boys. Then the management would have at the annual gathering three hundred practical sanitary teachers. Last but not least let the parents and the committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their after life and are antagonistic to *brahmacharya*. They have enough to fight against in the evil inclinations common to us all. Let us not make their fight more difficult by adding to their temptations.

In Round Table Conference

I must confess at the outset that I am not a little embarrassed in having to state before you the position of the Indian National Congress. I would like to say that I have come to London to attend this sub-committee, as also the Round Table Conference, when the proper time comes, absolutely in the spirit of co-operation and to strive to my utmost to find points of agreement. I would like also to give this assurance to His Majesty's Government, that at no stage is it, or will it be, my desire to embarrass authority; and I would like to give the same assurance to my colleagues here, that however much we may differ about our viewpoints, I shall not obstruct them in any shape or form. Therefore, my position here depends entirely upon your goodwill, as also the goodwill of His Majesty's Government. If at any time, I found that I could not be of any useful service to the Conference, I would not hesitate to withdraw myself from it. I can also say to those who are responsible for the management of this Committee and the Conference that they have only to give a sign and I should have no hesitation in withdrawing.

I am obliged to make these remarks because I know

that there are fundamental differences of opinion between the Government and the Congress, and it is possible that there are vital differences between my colleagues and myself. There is also a limitation under which I shall be working. I am but a poor humble agent acting on behalf of the Indian National Congress ; and it might be as well to remind ourselves of what the Congress stands for and what it is. You will then extend your sympathy to me, because I know that the burden that rests upon my shoulders is really very great.

The Congress is, if I am not mistaken, the oldest political organisation we have in India. It has had nearly fifty years of life, during which period it has, without any interruption, held its annual session. It is what it means—national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes. It is a matter of the greatest pleasure to me to state that it was first conceived in an English brain. Allan Octavian Hume we knew as the father of the Congress. It was nursed by two great Parsees, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhoy Naoroji, whom all India delighted to recognise as its Grand Old Man. From the very commencement the Congress had Mussulmans, Christians, Anglo-Indians, I might say all religions, sects, and communities represented upon it more or less fully. The late Badruddin Tyebji identified himself with the Congress. We have had Mussulmans and Parsees as Presidents of the Congress. I can recall at least one Indian Christian president at the present moment, W. C. Bonnerji. Kalicharan Bannerji, than whom I have not had the privilege of

knowing a purer Indian, was also thoroughly identified with the Congress. I miss, as I have no doubt all of you miss, the presence in our midst of Mr. K. T. Paul. Although he never officially belonged to the Congress, he was a nationalist to the full and a sympathiser of the Congress.

As you know, the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, whose presence also we miss today, was a president of the Congress, and, at present, we have four Mussulmans as members of the Working Committee, which consists of fifteen members. We have had women as our presidents, Dr. Annie Besant was the first, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu followed. We have her as a member of the Working Committee also; and so, if we have no distinctions of class or creed, we have no distinction of sex either:

The Congress has, from its very commencement, taken up the cause of the so-called 'untouchables'. There was a time when the Congress had at every annual session as its adjunct the Social Conference, to which the late Mr. Ranade had dedicated his energies, among his many activities. Headed by him, you will find in the programme of the Social Conference, reform in connexion with the untouchables taking a prominent place. But in 1920, the Congress took a large step and brought the question of removal of untouchability as a plank on the political platform, made it an important item of the political programme. Just as the Congress considered Hindu-Moslem unity, thereby meaning unity amongst the people following all the great religions, to be indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj, so also did the Congress consider the removal

of untouchability as an indispensable condition for the attainment of full freedom.

The position the Congress took up in 1920 remains intact today and so you will see that the Congress has attempted from its very beginning to be what it has described itself to be, namely ' national ' in every sense of the term.

If Your Highnesses will permit me to say it, in the very early stage, the Congress took up your cause also. Let me remind this committee that it was the Grand Old Man of India who sponsored the cause of Kashmir and Mysore, and these two great Houses, I venture, in all humility, to submit, owe not a little to the efforts of Dadabhoy Naoroji and the Congress. Even now the Congress has endeavoured to serve the princes of India by refraining from any interference in their domestic and internal affairs.

I hope that this brief introduction that I thought fit to give will serve to enable the sub-committee and those who are interested in the claims of the Congress, to understand that it has endeavoured to deserve the claim that it has made. It has failed, I know, often to live up to the claim, but I venture to submit, that if you were to examine the history of the Congress, you would find that it has more often succeeded, and progressively succeeded, than failed. Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven hundred thousand villages, no matter whether they come from what is called British India, or what is called Indian India. Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of

protection, has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions. You do find now and again an apparent clash between several interests. If there is a genuine and real clash, I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of these dumb millions. It is, therefore, essentially a peasant organisation, or, it is becoming so progressively. You, and even the Indian members of the sub committee, will, perhaps, be astonished to find that today the Congress, through its organisation, the All-India Spinners' Association, is finding work for nearly 50,000 women in nearly 2,000 villages, and these women are possibly fifty per cent Mussulman women. Thousands of them belong to the so-called untouchable classes. We have thus, in this constructive manner, penetrated these villages, and the effort is being made to cover every one of the 7,00,000 villages. It is a superhuman task, but if human effort can do so, you will presently find the Congress covering all of these villages and bringing to them the message of the spinning wheel.

This being the representative character of the Congress, you will not be astonished when I read to you the Congress mandate. I hope that it may not jar upon you. You may consider that the Congress is making a claim which is wholly untenable. Such as it is, I am here to put forth that claim on behalf of the Congress in the gentlest manner possible, but also in the firmest manner possible. I have come here to prosecute that claim with all the faith and energy that I can command. If you can convince me to the contrary and show that the claim is inimical to the

interests of these dumb millions, I shall revise my opinion. I am open to conviction, but even so, I should have to ask my principals to consent to that revision before I could usefully act as the agent of the Congress. At this stage I propose to read to you this mandate so that you can understand clearly the limitations imposed upon me.

This was a resolution passed at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress :

‘ This Congress, having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it, and desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj, meaning complete independence, remains intact. In the event of a way remaining otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegation will work for this goal, and in particular so as to give the nation control over the army, external affairs, finance, fiscal and economic policy, and to have a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of the financial transactions of the British Government in India to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England and the right for either party to end the partnership at will : provided, however, that the Congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.’

Then follows the appointment. I have in the light of this mandate endeavoured to study as carefully as I was capable of studying the provisional conclusions arrived at by the several sub-committees appointed

by the Round Table Conference. I have also carefully studied the Prime Minister's statement giving the considered policy of His Majesty's Government. I speak subject to correction, but so far as I have been able to understand, this document falls short of what is aimed at and claimed by the Congress. True, I have the liberty to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably in the interests of India, but they have all to be consistent with the fundamentals stated in this mandate.

I remind myself at this stage of the terms of what is to me a sacred settlement, the settlement arrived at Delhi between the Government of India and the Congress. In that settlement, the Congress has accepted the principle of federation ; the principle that there should be responsibility at the centre, and has accepted also the principle that there should be safeguards in so far as they may be necessary in the interests of India.

There was one phrase used yesterday, I forgot by which delegate, but it struck me very forcibly. He said, ' We do not want a merely political constitution.' I do not know that he gave that expression the same meaning that it immediately bore to me : but I immediately said to myself, this phrase has given me a good expression. It is true that Congress will not be, and personally speaking, I myself would never be, satisfied with a mere political constitution which to read would seem to give India all she can possibly politically desire, but in reality would give her nothing. If we are intent upon complete independence it is not from any sense of arrogance ; it is not because we want to

parade before the universe that we have now severed all connexion with the British people. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, you find in this mandate itself that the Congress contemplates a partnership; the Congress contemplates a connexion with the British people, but that connexion should be such as can exist between two absolute equals. Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called, a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject. I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject; but I have now aspired, I still aspire, to be a citizen not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership if possible; if God wills it, an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another. Hence, you find here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever this connexion, to dissolve the partnership. May I say—it may be irrelevant to the consideration, but not irrelevant to me—that as I have said elsewhere, I can quite understand responsible British statesmen today being wholly engrossed in domestic affairs, in trying to make both ends meet. We could not expect them to do anything less, and I felt, even as I was sailing towards London, whether we, in the sub-committee at the present moment, would not be a drag upon the British ministers, whether we would not be interlopers. And yet, I said to myself, it is possible that the British ministers themselves might consider the proceedings of the Round Table Conference to be of primary importance even in terms of their domestic affairs. Yes, India can be held by the sword. But what will conduce to the prosperity

of Great Britain, and the economic freedom of Great Britain : an enslaved but a rebellious India, or an India, an esteemed partner with Britain to share her sorrows, to take part side by side with Britain in her misfortunes ?

Yes, if need be, but at her own will, to fight side by side with Britain, not for the exploitation of a single race or a single human being on earth, but it may be conceivably for the good of the whole world. If I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order that I, belonging to a nation which counts one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race upon earth, or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. And so I said to myself, whilst I was nearing the shores of your beautiful island that, perchance it might be possible for me to convince the British ministers that India as a valuable partner, not held by force but by the silken cord of love, an India of that character might be conceivably of real assistance to you in balancing your budget, not for one year but for many years. What cannot the two nations do—one a handful but brave, with a record for bravery perhaps unsurpassed, a nation noted for having fought slavery, a nation that has at least claimed times without number to protect the weak—and the other a very ancient nation, counted in millions, with a glorious and ancient past, representing at the present moment two great cultures, the Islam and Hindu cultures, and if you will,

also containing not a small but a very large Christian population, and certainly absorbing the whole of the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers almost beneath contempt, but in philanthropy and enterprise almost unequalled, certainly unsurpassed. We have got all these cultures concentrated in India, and supposing that God fires both Hindus and Mussulmans represented here with a proper spirit so that they close ranks and come to an honourable understanding, take that nation and this nation together, I again ask myself and ask you whether with an India free, completely independent as Great Britain is, an honourable partnership between these two nations cannot be mutually beneficial; even in terms of the domestic affair of this great nation. And so, in that dreamy hope I have approached the British Isles, and I shall still cherish that dream.

And when I have said this perhaps I have said all, and you will be able to dot the i's and cross the t's, not expecting me to fill in all the details, and tell you what I mean by control over the army, what I mean by control over external affairs, finances, fiscal and economic policy, or even the financial transactions which a friend yesterday considered to be sacrosanct. I do not take that view. If there is a stock-taking between incoming and outgoing partners, their transactions are subject to audit and adjustment, and the Congress will not be guilty of any dishonourable conduct or crime in saying that the nation should understand what it is taking over and what it should not take over. This audit, this scrutiny, is asked for not merely in the interests of India; it is asked for in the interests of both. I am positive that the British

people do not want to saddle upon India a single burden which she should not legitimately bear, and I am here to declare on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will never think of repudiating a single claim or a burden that it should justly discharge. If we are to live as an honourable nation worthy of commanding credit from the whole world, we will pay every farthing of legitimate debt with our blood.

I do not think I should take you any farther through the clauses of this mandate and analyse for you the meaning of these clauses as Congressmen give them. If it is God's will that I should continue to take part in these deliberations, as the deliberations proceed I shall be able to explain the implications of these clauses. As the deliberations proceed I would have my say in connexion with the safeguards also. But, I think, I have said quite enough in having, with some elaboration and with your generous indulgence, Lord Chancellor, taken the time of this meeting. I had not intended really to take that time, but I felt that I could not possibly do justice to the cause I have come to expound to you, the sub-committee, and to the British nation of which we the Indian delegation are at present the guests, if I did not give you, out of the whole of my heart my cherished wish even at this time. I would love to go away from the shores of the British Isles with the conviction that there was to be an honourable and equal partnership between Great Britain and India.

I cannot do anything more than say that it will be my fervent prayer during all the days that I live in your midst that this consummation may be reached. I thank you, Lord Chancellor, for the courtesy that

you have extended to me in not stopping me, although I have taken close upon forty-five minutes. I was not entitled to all that indulgence, and I thank you once more.

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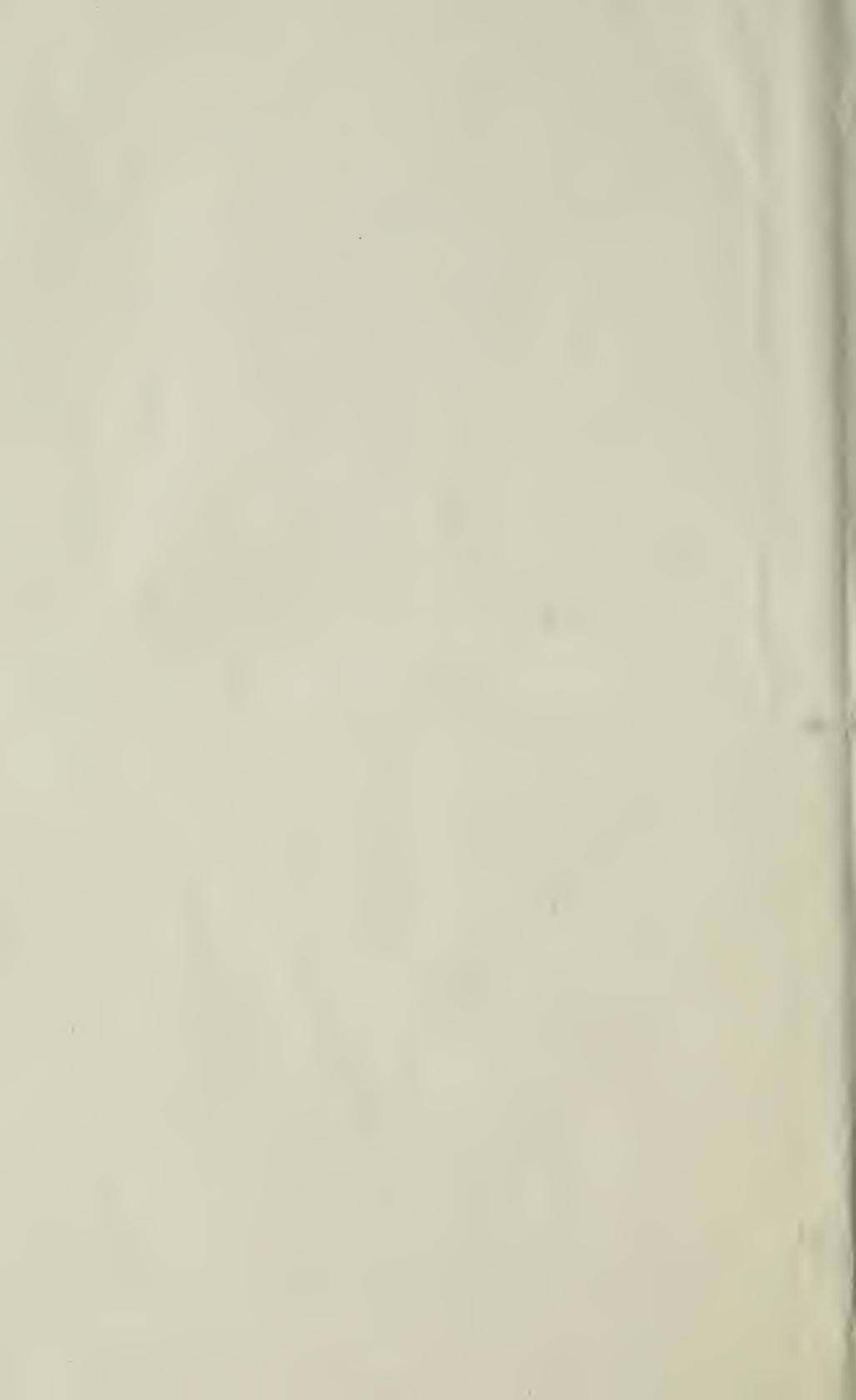


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