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WITH GANDHIJI IN CEYLON

With Gandhiji in Ceylon

A JOURNAL OF THE TOUR WITH AUTHORISED
VERSION OF ALL IMPORTANT SPEECHES

BY
MAHADEV DESAI

Forge the Link Stronger.—GANDHI



S. GANESAN,
PUBLISHER, TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS.
1928

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Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji in Ceylon

CHAPTER I

IN LANKA : THE ENCHANTED ISLE

The First Week

LANKA, a name by which every Indian child knows Ceylon, Lanka which our first knowledge associates with Ravana whose insolent might was humbled by Rama, Lanka which a knowledge of history teaches every Indian to connect indissolubly with Bharatavarsha, as the land where Lord Buddha's teaching spread and fructified and still abides, Lanka which has ever been culturally one with India, inasmuch as it claims with India innumerable cultural traditions, Lanka, of which the people, in spite of the rather drastic social conquest by the West, still look like the Indians' kith and kin,—Lanka is a land which Gandhiji in his wanderings of over ten years has ever longed to visit, no less with the object of seeing the land whose ravishing beauty makes it 'a pearl in the islands of the earth,' than for studying living Buddhism at close quarters, no less

with the object of studying the life of a people whom Bishop Heber abused in his ignorance, whilst he admired 'the noble island in all its natural riches,' than with the object of sympathising with, and if possible, guiding, a people, alike denationalised as his own, and alike ravaged as his own, by what passes as 'Western civilisation,' but which, in the language of an English historian, "with its wine and bread and saltpetre" came as a scourge upon the Island.

But the visit, when it actually came about, happened, as Gandhiji said to the Civic Fathers in Colombo with engaging candour to be a 'mercenary' visit.

And yet the receptions and welcome that he had from the day of his landing at Colombo on the evening of the 13th could compare favourably with the warmest and the most enthusiastic ones that he has received anywhere in India. The Colombo Municipality, a more or less Government body, presented a felicitously worded address which was read by the Chairman who is a member of the Civil Service. H.E. the Governor offered Gandhiji a warm welcome through his Colonial Secretary and invited him to a friendly meeting. For both of these Gandhiji was entirely unprepared. It was no wonder, then, that the people's reception was something overwhelming in its spontaneity and enthusiasm. Thousands thronged the thoroughfares through which he was announced to pass, and at most places crowding had to be controlled by regulating admission by tickets.

The Buddhist and the Christian Ceylonese vied with the Hindu Ceylonese and Indians in according their tributes of welcome and tokens of sympathy for the cause that took Gandhiji to Ceylon. They refused to regard the visit as a 'mercenary' one, and understood it instead to be a humanitarian one. All alike contributed their mite for the Khadi fund, the Ceylonese no less than the Tamilians, Government servants no less than private individuals, Members of Council no less than

the common shopkeepers, the students no less than their parents and guardians, and the clerks and the cooks and the barbers and the labourers claimed their right to help in a cause which was as much their own as of their more fortunate brethren.

Part of the house where we had been put up was converted into a Khadi shop, and from morning until night the shop was besieged by customers drawn from all sections of the people. In giving Gandhiji this tremendous reception, the people of Ceylon claimed him as their own, and assured him that his visit was likely to bind Ceylon into more an indissoluble union, if possible, with 'Mother India,' an expression used in the labour address which touched Gandhiji to the depths.

It were futile to attempt to give an idea of the various meetings or a summary of the various speeches. I can but mention some of the salient features.

Two Chettiar friends whose acquaintance we made in Chettinad — Sjis. Kasbivishvanath Chettiar and Pichappa Subramanyam—had volunteered to precede us to Ceylon and organise the Chettiar merchants there. The Chettiars' meeting,* the first in Ceylon, was a triumph of their efforts, and their contributions—those of the clerks more than of their masters—were a credit to them. The students' contributions were no less than those by students in different places in South India. The labour meetings,†—a mammoth gathering,—which had to be addressed through two interpreters simultaneously, was a triumph of orderly arrangement and organisation, and their handsome purse and the quiet work of their volunteers were entirely the result of Sjt. Goonasinbe's endeavours.

In very few places in India does one find labour so well organised as here. The barbers—Maruthwakulas—only twenty

* (Vide page 43 for full speech)

† (Vide pp. 43 do.)

or so in number came to Gandhiji's residence with their handsome contribution of Rs 400.

Just as in Madras, the intellectuals in Colombo exacted from Gandhiji their toll of speeches, but it was inevitable. Those in Madras had no excuse having heard him frequently, but for the Ceylonese this was the first occasion.

The reception by the Buddhist Congress was an impressive one—over five hundred priests in their yellow robes seated in the spacious hall of the Vidyodaya College to chant their benediction on Gandhiji. Gandhiji's reply* contained in brief his tribute to the Enlightened One, and his conception of the ultimate unity of Buddhism and Hinduism. He tried to clear what in his opinion were the three misconceptions about Buddhism, and in doing so summed up his message to the Buddhists.

The speech † at the Y. M. C. A. was not an address to the Ceylonese Christians, but to all the Christian missionaries going to the ends of the earth to preach the gospel. It was delivered with a warmth and passion perhaps never before reached during recent years. It was an appeal to each and all to turn the searchlight inwards, "to live the life, to live the religion and to let it speak for itself." It was a speech originally intended to enlist the sympathy of the audience in his search for truth, and also its sympathy for the cause for which he was living and for which he would love to die. But the discussion of the first became so elaborate and intensive that he had no time left for dealing with the bearing of Jesus' message on Khadi.

* (Vide pp 54 for full speech).

† (Vide pp 60 for full speech).

CHAPTER II
LIFE AND RELIGION

The Second Week

THE visitor to Ceylon, so long as he is 'in Colombo, sees nothing beyond the beautiful harbour, which with its 20 million tonnage of mercantile vessels entering and leaving the port, ranks sixth in the world, and beyond some of the parts of the town which remind one of Mylapore and Chowringhee. In modern towns what can one expect to find but a sort of dull drab uniformity of huge piles of buildings and of a superficial culture? And Colombo, where the "unifying" agency of the Western civilisation has been perhaps busier than elsewhere, has the look of any other modern town. But as you go into the interior,—or as the Ceylonese say 'Upcountry,'—you begin to have the smell of Ceylon's 'spicy breezes.'

We motored along the coast north up to Gbilaw and thence entered the hill districts near Karunegala, finally reaching Kandy, having taken numerous places on the way. It is through a magnificent road with forests of huge rubber and cinnamon trees, with tea, coffee and cocoa in between, that one reaches the beautiful city encircled by an amphitheatre of hills. But the proud Kandyan tells you, as you begin going into raptures over the scenery around you, that you have seen nothing yet. I realised the truth of the remark when we went next day to the central district of Badulla, and from Badulla to Nuwara Eliya, and thence to Hatton and other tea plantations and back to Kandy, and then again from Kandy to Colombo.

European travellers have written pages upon pages on the exquisitely lovely scenery of this natural park of the world, and have tried to describe the kaleidoscopic vision that passes before

one's eyes as one moves from scene to scene. Some of them rest content with comparing the boldness of scenery around Nuwara Eliya with that of Snowdon, whilst others find in the neighbourhood of Badulla something more charming than the Sussex downs. The whole prospect, another exclaims, is 'more like enchantment or a dream of fairyland, than sober reality.' The truth of the matter is, that on such vast subjects as these great works of Nature, as the Countess of Oxford says, "even the superb vocabulary of a Ruskin will probably not be more illuminating than what the schoolboy writes in the visitor's book at Niagara, 'Uncle and all very much pleased'." Better perhaps than attempting the impossible is the attitude of those who stand in silent prayerful awe, because they cannot find utterance to express their sense of the might, majesty and glory of the Almighty's works, and the humilistating feeling of their own littleness.*

To Gandhiji, as to Wordsworth, 'there was not a nook within that solemn grove, but were an apt confessional,' and he wondered why man was unable to satisfy himself with these imposing temples that Nature had reared before him, and sought to find his God in brick and mortar which he called a temple!

Gandhiji concluded his long speech* at Badulla with this reference to the curse of drink: "As I was coming to-day from Kandy to this place, I passed through some of the finest bits of scenery I have ever witnessed in my life. Where Nature has been so beneficent and where Nature provides for you such innocent and ennobling intoxication, and gives you invigorating air to breathe, it is criminal for man or woman to seek intoxication from that sparkling but deadly liquor."

But that brings me to the people of this enchanted isle. Out of a total population of 4.5 million people, 2.9 millions are Sinhalese, and 1 million Tamilians, out of whom over half a

* (Vide pp. 75 for full speech.)

million are working as labourers on the tea, rubber and other estates. Ceylon has before it therefore not only the problem of the harmonious relationship between the Sinhalese and the Tamilian, but also of the conditions of labour on the estates.

The bulk of the population which is agricultural finds its livelihood from the paddy and cocoanut crops, which latter covers a million out of the total four million acres under cultivation. The tea industry which has grown to stupendous proportions—17 crores of pounds of tea being exported every year—is principally in the hands of the European planter. Rubber, of which the area planted has increased sixteen times to what it was in 1904, is another principal industry, 12½ per cent. of the world's production being claimed by Ceylon. That also belongs largely to the European planter. Among minerals the graphite industry is substantial, providing employment for about 30,000 Sinhalese men and women. But the bulk of the labour in the island—whether on the plantations or on the plains and roads—is drawn from Tamil Nad in India. No doubt the immigrant comes to Ceylon because he cannot make both ends meet in Tamil Nad, parts of which are subject to years of successive famines. But there is little doubt also that the Tamilian is necessarily more industrious than the Sinhalese and is usually preferred by the estate managers. This disinclination to work is no doubt due to Nature's bounties. Even Knox, the English captive, in 1681 found the Sinhalese 'not laborious and industrious,' incapable of utilising the 'plenty of cotton growing in their own grounds, sufficient to make them good and strong cloth for their own use.'

The Buddhists have still retained not only the caste system of Hinduism, but even untouchability. In spite of the first command of Lord Buddha they eat meat and some of them even beef, in spite of the fifth command the 'civilised' ones think it respectable to drink liquor, and in spite of the last

command they have enshrined what they regard as a genuine tooth relic of the Buddha in fine cases of gold, two of them being inlaid with rubies! In an article written some time ago Anagarika Dharmapala thus bewailed the lot of his co-religionists: 'The flower of the land, the rising generation of Sinhalese youth, has come under the influence of Christian propagandists. . . . Practices which were an abomination to the ancient noble Sinhalese have to-day become tolerated under the influence of Semitic sociology. . . . In the days of Sinhalese kings no liquor was sold, no animals were slaughtered.' 'Apes of the West,' 'more denationalised than any other people' 'strangers in their own land' are some of the epithets that Ceylonese writers themselves have given to the present generation of English-educated men and women. .

But let me not be unfair to the Sinhalese Buddhists. They have kept the word of the Master intact, preserved his teachings unsullied and unadulterated. They have a wealth of Buddhistic literature in their colleges and viharas to which every student of Buddhism must turn. But they do not seem to have followed out to its logical conclusion the doctrine of *ahimsa*. They do not seem to realise that many of their present practices are inconsistent with their profession of *ahimsa*. Imagine for instance the Ahimsa Society of Kandy claiming in its address that the Ceylon Buddhists have practised and preserved the *Ahimsa dharma* for 2500 years. And the President of the Kandy public meeting welcomed Gandhiji as 'the most powerful propagandist, of the doctrine of *ahimsa* which our master preached for the benefit of mankind,' little realising what Gandhiji's *ahimsa* meant. Gandhiji had very little time at Kandy to refer in his speech to these claims, but his two speeches before the Buddhists in Colombo sum up his appeal to the Buddhists for a real Buddhistic revival.

And what will one say of the Government which, though

It has more than doubled its revenue during the last ten years, derives 11 millions of rupees from arrack, rum and toddy, out of a total revenue of 126 millions! So long ago as 1872 a conscientious Governor of the Island, Sir William Gregory, sounded this note of warning which is yet unheard: "English rule has given to Ceylon many blessings which the inhabitants are ever ready to acknowledge, . . . but we have at the same time extended a curse throughout the island which weighs heavily in the other scale, namely drunkenness. Some years ago a drunken Kandyan would have been disgraced in the eyes of his fellows. Now the occurrence is so common that the disgrace has passed away. . . . I have had some remarkable petitions on the subject. 'They say, 'restrict the places of sale, and thus discourage intoxication and diminish the great moral and social evils that flow from it.' In these recommendations I warmly concurred. In restricting the sale of intoxicating liquor, some diminution of revenue was to be expected, but, in the words of the petitioners, any decrease under that head would be more than compensated by an improvement in the general well-being of the community and in the reduced cost of establishment for the suppression of crime." Here are words of wisdom by a Governor who knew his duty, which a Government claiming to have conscience should lay to heart.

But whatever may be the failings of the Sinhalese, he has a big heart, and wherever we went we met with nothing but large-heartedness. During our tours in India we occasionally came across places, like those in Travancore for instance, where people, however wealthy, have yet to learn to give. But the Ceylonese seem to have learnt to give. The total collections at the end of the first week were in the neighbourhood of 60,000 rupees. This amount of Rs. 60,000 included purses from wayside places and from places like Kandy and Badulla, purses from students, and individual contributions. The mention of 'students

reminds me of the students of the Dharmaraja College whose Parsi Principal collected a purse from his students for presentation to Gandhiji, and of the Zahira College—an institution for Mussalman boys. The speech of the Principal of this College wherein he referred to Gandhiji's services to the Muslims in South Africa,—with a touching reference to Mir Alam's murderous attack on Gandhiji,—and to his services in the cause of Islam in India, was particularly felicitous and the purse of Rs. 400 quite handsome. The collections include those from the Tamil Union—gentlemen and ladies—in Colombo, as also from the Parsi community in the city. These latter had given their contributions to the general purse, but they felt that as a community they must invite Gandhiji to their midst and offer a special purse. The brief speech * that Gandhiji addressed to them was one paragon of praise of the sacrifice and large-heartedness of the Parsis and a warm acknowledgment of the debt he owed to them. The presence of the Parsis always makes Gandhiji feel completely at home, and when once he starts talking to them he finds it difficult to stop.

But I must come to the response which I prize much more than any other, and which leaves in the mind a feeling of regret that Gandhiji could not give more of his time to the humble labourers. I referred in the previous chapter to the mammoth gathering of the labourers in Colombo. During this week we saw many more such gatherings on the tea estates about Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and Hatton. What faith and yet what ignorance! I met groups of them as they were vainly trying to get a glimpse of Gandhiji above the vast sea of human heads surging before them.

* Why have you come here? I asked.

A woman who was angered at the absurdity of the question

* See page 99

answered with a counter question: 'Tell me why you have come!'

Another meanwhile took up the conversation and said: 'Don't you know? We have come to see our god!'

'Your god?' I asked. 'Do you know him?'

'Of course, Gandhi.'

'Have you paid anything for the purse?'

'Certainly, a day's wage, 45 cents.'

'Do you know what use he is going to make of your money?'

'No. But surely he must have some good thing in view.'

We explained to him the purpose of the Khadi collections.

'Do you know what he advises you people?' I said. 'He asks you to realise the dignity of labour, to lead clean and straight lives, refuse to accept conditions which force you into unclean and immoral lives, and above all tells you that the drink habit is worse than a snake-bite, while the one kills the body the other poisons and corrupts the soul, and so he wants you to fly from the curse as you do from a hissing snake.'

But they were inattentive. We had unnecessarily distracted their attention. They had come to see Gandhiraja! And as we left them, we came across a few stragglers still showing the effects of drink, and one dancing in great glee with 'Mahatma Gandhiji-ki jai' on his lips!

This was at Hutton. Let not the reader, however, run away with the impression that this was the case everywhere. At Badulla there was a wonderfully quiet meeting which Gandhiji addressed for upwards of three quarters of an hour; and as he appealed to those who had not yet given their mite, money poured in like rain and as gently as rain, whilst the speech was going on. It was an unforgettable scene, nearly three hundred rupees being thus collected on the spot. At Nuwara Eliya the same thing happened; over and above the purse of Rs. 4,097 the meeting collections were about Rs. 500.

And no one was more pained than Gandhiji at the thought that he could not give more time to these simple folk, see them in their homes,—squalid even in a garden of Eden like Nuwara Eliya,—share and 'sup' their sorrows, and show them how to avoid diseases like hookworm, so common amongst them even on these health resorts! He would have loved to meet the planters and the Kanganis (agents), and moot proposals with them for the improvement of the labourers' lot, but it could not be. He could only leave for them the message of purity and abstinence. One can only hope and pray that it will reach them and their employers so that they may no longer allow this backbone of the Island labour to go to rack and ruin. It is *their* backbone as well, and they will remain straight and strong only so long as the backbone is straight and strong.

In the numerous speeches that Gandhiji had to make during these busy days he never, as usual, failed to strike an informal and intimate note. One of the men at one place asked if Kasturba was Gandhiji's mother, and an old European lady who walked along by their car had the same impression. With amused joy Gandhiji said, 'Yes, she is my mother.' The next morning at a public meeting which she did not attend, people missed her and inquired why 'mother' had not come. Gandhiji said: "A gentleman did last night mistake her for my mother, and for me as for her it is not only a pardonable mistake but a welcome mistake. For years past she has ceased to be my wife by mutual consent. Now nearly 40 years ago, I became an orphan and for nearly thirty years she has filled the place of my mother. She has been my mother, friend, nurse, cook, bottle-washer and all these things. If in the early morning of the day she had come with me to divide the honours, I should have gone without my food, and no one would have looked after my clothing and creature comforts. So we have come to a reasonable

understanding that I should have all the honours and she should have all the drudgery. I assure you that some of my co-workers will duly inform her of all the kind things you have said about her, and I hope the explanation I have given will be accepted by you as sufficient excuse for her absence.

" You will forgive me for having taken up your time over a flimsy personal explanation. But if the men in front of me, and especially the women, will understand the serious side of the explanation and appreciate the secret of it, I have no doubt that you will all be the happier for it. For I am sure that it is not necessary for me to explain to a people inspired by the spirit of Buddha's life, that life is not a bundle of enjoyments and privileges but a bundle of duties and services. That which separates man from beast is essentially man's recognition of the necessity of putting a series of restraints on worldly enjoyment. And that led on to the curse of drink, which makes him burn into a flame in every one of the speeches that he has made.

But I must close. There was the meeting with the Sinhalese ladies of which I should like to take note in this connection. But space forbids it this week. The speech at the Ceylon National Congress was a weighty one, and is reproduced *in extenso* in the second part.

CHAPTER III
THE HAUNTING MEMORY
The Third Week

THE scene changes. From those vast expanses of uniform green, whether on the hill or in the valley, from those scenes of glorious forests and luxuriant vegetation and from the mountain sides denuded of their trees, we return to the south. The whole railroad from Colombo to Galle and Matara—the southernmost points of Ceylon—runs along the palm-fringed coast of the Indian ocean, sometimes scarcely a dozen yards from the surging sea.

But the scene continues to haunt you not only because of the wonderful scenery you have left behind, but also because of the many seas of humanity you have seen on those mountain sides, come from their distant homes in South India in the hope of a happier day. 'And does the Tamīl labourer find in Ceylon a happier day?' is the question that continues to occur to you. Edward Carpenter who was here 25 years ago was shocked at the odious commercialism which drives these gangs to these parts and sighed for the Tamīl coolie who comes "as a slave and must remain so to the end of his days. That is not very long, however; for poor food and thin clothing, and the mists and the cool airs of the mountains soon bring on lung diseases, of which the slight-bodied Tamīl easily dies."

"I dare say 3d. a day seems a very small wage to you," said a planter youth to Edward Carpenter, "but it is really surprising how little these fellows will live on."

"It is surprising, indeed, when you see their thin frames, that they live on," said Edward Carpenter.

"Ah," rejoined the youth, "but they are much worse off at home; you should see them when they come from India."

And Edward Carpenter exclaims in indignation: "This is how our tea, which we set so much store by, is produced in Ceylon and elsewhere. Commercialism somehow has a way of destroying all natural beauty in those regions where it dwells. Here the mountain sides are torn up, the immense and beautiful forests ravaged from base to summit, and the shaly escarpments, that remain, planted in geometrical lines with tea-shrubs....It is curious, when one comes to think of it, that such huge spaces of the earth are devastated, such vast amounts of human toil expended, in the production of two things—tea and wine—which, to say the least, are not necessities and which certainly in the quantities commonly consumed are actually baneful. If their production simply ceased what a gain it might seem!"

Well, the picture, so far as the ravages on the mountain sides are concerned, is naturally worse today, and so far as the labourers are concerned perhaps not much better. In 1924 over 18,700 deaths were registered in a population of something over six lakhs, and the principal causes of the deaths were pneumonia, bronchitis and dysentery, the victims being residents of the most healthy districts of the Island—Kandy and Nuwara Eliya. And this in spite of the improvement in the wages, and the reports of the Labour Commission, and government regulations about the housing of labourers! And as to production, it will not cease so long as consumption does not cease.

But I must pass on. Moratuwa, Panadura, Horana, Kalutara, Balapitiya and many more places on the way to Galle were ready with their purses and addresses. There are very few Tamils in these low-country regions, but even the enthusiasm of the common Sinhalese villager, who had perhaps heard of Gandhi for the first time in his life, was as unbounded as of the Tamil. One wonders at the spontaneity and the exuberance of the receptions all round.

There were a number of addresses and purses at Kaintara. Here at a wayside place the Salvation Army people waylay him, there at another small place not on the programme some Buddhist ladies stop the car and refuse to let it go. The Tirana-gama Women's Buddhist Association has a purse and an address which Gandhiji dare not refuse! "After the lapse of centuries the touch of your saintly feet has ennobled the soil of this fair Isle of Lanka"—that is how the address begins, and records with joy the "happy memory of this visit of yours with the message of Khadi and the begging bowl on behalf of the suffering brothers in our common motherland."

At Balapitiya Gandhiji was presented with a beautiful little address on palm-leaf encased in a pretty little dagoba-shaped silver casket. "The permanent population of the Island have ever recognised and have never forgotten the kinship that exists between them and your countrymen," said the address and wondered why the latter still refuse the Buddhists' claims on Buddha Gaya.

At Galle the reception was practically in the hands of students, and at Matara the Chauffeurs' Union got the better of the other residents, monopolised the reception, organised a *perikara* (procession) of about a hundred fantastically decorated motor cars, read an address and presented a purse. The wife of the Indian District Judge, Mr. Prasad, offered her hospitality and the Reception Committee recognised her right to invite Gandhiji and his party.

At Akmimana Gandhiji was requested to lay the foundation stone of a weaving school for girls, and little villages between Matara and Galle had their little purses to offer.

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE

From the south we returned again to Colombo, the headquarters. It had yet many meetings in store for Gandhiji, and

many purses too, and yet no mass meeting in the real sense of the term. I may say that excepting labour meetings, mass meetings are unknown in these parts. The educated aristocracy live in rigid isolation from the masses but I have an impression that if the Reception Committee had tried to organise the masses too, the results, great as they were would have been greater. In Kandy, for instance, I was told that the purse of Rs. 4,000 was from a few individuals, and the masses had not been approached at all. These remarks became a fitting preamble to an account of what was advertised as a public meeting of the Sinhalese ladies in Colombo.

Gandhiji had looked forward to a meeting like one of those women's meetings in South India attended by thousands. But instead there was a meeting of little more than a dozen ladies in the drawing room of a stately palace. It was a misnomer to call it a public meeting.

'I am used to ladies' meetings where thousands of sisters come in their naturalness,' said Gandhiji, 'and there the hearts meet. I do not think I can say that about the stiff meeting.'

And stiff it was and a perfect study in contrasts—Gandhiji in his simple loin-cloth, in all his ease, and grace and absence of self-consciousness, inquiring where the simple women he wanted to meet could be, and finding instead a fashionable drawing room meeting.

For a moment it looked as though he would say nothing and go on to the next function on his programme. But he saw that the ladies were not to blame, they were what they were, and received their guest in the only way they could. So he gave them a talk, and I do not think the friends had ever had in their lives a more uncomfortable half hour. For he went for them with all the fervour and fire that he could command.

He gave them a picture of the starving millions, and said :
"When Mahendra came to Ceylon the children of the motherland

were not starving either materially or spiritually, our star was in the ascendent and you partook of the glory. The children are starving to-day and it is on their behalf that I have come with the begging bowl, and if you do not disown kinship with them, but take some pride in it, then you must give me not only your money but your jewellery as sisters in so many other places have done. My hungry eyes rest upon the ornaments of sisters, whenever I see them heavily bedecked. There is an ulterior motive too in asking for ornaments viz. to wean the ladies from the craze for ornaments and jewellery. And if I may take the liberty that I do with other sisters, may I ask you what it is that makes woman deck herself more than man? I am told by feminine friends that she does so for pleasing man. Well, I tell you if you want to play your part in the world's affairs, you must refuse to deck yourselves for pleasing man. If I was born a woman, I would rise in rebellion against any pretension on the part of man that woman is born to be his plaything. I have mentally become a woman in order to steal into her heart. I could not steal into my wife's heart until I decided to treat her differently than I used to do, and so I restored to her all her rights by dispossessing myself of all my so-called rights as her husband. And you see her today as simple as myself. You find no necklaces, no fineries on her. I want you to be like that. Refuse to be the slaves of your own whims and fancies, and the slaves of men. Refuse to decorate yourselves, don't go in for scents and lavender waters; if you want to give out the proper scent, it must come out of your heart, and then you will captivate not man, but humanity. It is your birthright. Man is born of woman, he is flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone. Come to your own and deliver your message again."

And he cited for them the example of Seta defiant in her purity, and Miss Schlesin who with her defiant purity and

innate fearlessness commanded in South Africa the adoration of thousands including amongst them fierce Pathans, robbers and questionable characters, and rounded off by telling them wherein true honour lies.

"Do you know the hideous condition of your sisters on plantations? Treat them as your sisters, go amongst them and serve them with your better knowledge of sanitation and your talents. Let your honour lie in their service. And is there not service nearer home? There are men who are rascals; drunken people who are a menace to society. Wean them from their rascality by going amongst them as fearlessly as some of those Salvation Army girls who go into the dens of thieves and gamblers and drunkards, fall on their necks and at their feet, and bring them round. That service will deck you more than the fineries that you are wearing. I will then be a trustee for the money that you will save and distribute it amongst the poor.

"I pray that the rambling message that I have given you may find a lodgment in your hearts."

There were as I said numerous meetings and numerous parties on the last day, every little association trying to beat the other. Gandhiji thanked them for their overflowing enthusiasm, and left a message for all the Indians in Ceylon, which was so compact that I must reproduce it *verbatim* for the benefit of all living in a foreign country :

"The one maxim of conduct that should guide us in life is, that we who come from another country must throw in our lot entirely with the people of the country of our adoption. Their welfare must be our primary concern. Our own must be subservient to theirs. That seems to be the only line consistent with dignity, and it follows along the lines of the great teaching that we should do unto others as we wish that they should do unto us. Thinking along these lines, as you know, I have repeatedly suggested to Englishmen in India

that they should subordinate their own interests to those of the people amongst whom they are living and nobody has questioned the propriety of this statement. There cannot be one law to govern the relations between ourselves and the governors who come to our land another for us when we go to another land. And though I consider that Ceylon is not a foreign land and though it has given me great pleasure to hear it owned by the Sinhalese that India is their motherland, it is much better to regard ourselves as foreigners when we wish to regulate our relations with them. *The safest rule of conduct is to claim kinship when we want to do service, and not to insist on kinship when we want to assert a right.* Indeed I have applied this rule of life, which I call the golden rule of conduct, even for inter-provincial relations in India. For instance, whenever I have gone to Bengal or to the Punjab or to any other province outside Gujarat, I have not hesitated to suggest to the Gujaratis that they should consider the welfare of the provinces to which they go as superior to theirs. I know no other method of preserving sweet relations in human affairs and I am fortified in my conclusion by an experience extending over a long period of years that, wherever there is an interruption in the servance of this golden rule, there have been bickerings, quarrels and even breaking of heads, and I have no doubt whatsoever that if you will govern your conduct according to that rule, you will cover yourselves with honour and glory, and your conduct will redound to the credit of the country from which we come and whose deliverance we are seeking with all our power."

And again at another meeting: "I would ask you to live as sugar lives in milk. Even as a cup of milk, which is full up to the brim, does not overflow when sugar is added to it, but the sugar accommodates itself to the milk and enriches its taste, even so would I like you to live in this Island, so as not to become interlopers, and so as to enrich the life of the people

amongst whom you are living. Take care that none of the vice we have in India are brought with you in order to poison the life; nor must we bring with us to these shores the curse of untouchability."

But I must hurry on. Not that I have finished Colombo. There are two more big items--the meeting of the Young Men's Buddhist Association and the farewell meeting. The speech at the Y. M. B. A. is reproduced in extenso in the Second Part and part of the speech at the farewell meeting at the end of this Part for parting message refers to the whole of Ceylon.

IN JAFFNA

We went straight to Jaffna from Colombo, much to the disappointment of the Eastern province, and not without regret that we could not see the ancient cities of Anuradhapura, the capital of Sinhalese kings for a thousand years and the place of the sacred Bo-tree reputed to be 3,250 years old and having some of the finest dagobas built by Sinhalese kings, Pollanaruwa which succeeded it as the capital and still reveals the glory of the great Parakramabahu Mahintale the sacred spot where kind Devanampriya Tishya with his people accepted the message of non-violence from Mahendra, and Sigiriya with its ancient Buddhist foreseers.

'I shall see all these places by deputy,' said Gandhiji, and sent Kakasaheb, who has been for some time with us, to go and study the ancient monuments, not with the eyes of the curious, but with the eyes of a devotee and an antiquarian.

Friends from Trincomalee, however, came all the way to Anuradhapura station at midnight, woke up Gandhiji and presented their purse!

To Jaffna at last. If I were to do full justice to Jaffna, it would require a chapter to itself, but I must content myself with a very brief account.

Jaffna students, it will be remembered, were the first to invite Gandhiji, and then the other friends took up the proposal. In more respects than one the Jaffna peninsula stands apart from Ceylon. Being almost exclusively populated by the Tamils, it is a bit of South India. As one of the addresses said, 'We are nearer to Mother India than even the people of South India itself.'

The writer of *Ancient Jaffna* describes in much detail the fame of ancient Jaffna as the centre of a great weaving industry. "The Nagas," he says, "were so skilled in the art of weaving that the cotton stuffs manufactured by them have been compared to the 'sloughs of serpents,' to 'woven wind,' and to 'vapour of milk,' and they are generally described as of such fine texture that the eye could not make out its warp and woof." And even to-day the young men of Jaffna bid fair to make Jaffna a centre of activity from which the other parts may draw inspiration.

There is a Hindu Board of Education which has considerably interested itself in the welfare of the 'suppressed' classes and the young men have made Jaffna 'dry'. They are making a laudable effort to revive the ancient village communities, and unlike Colombo and other parts, the Jaffna purse represents collections from the poorest villager in the peninsula. 'I went from village to village,' said Perinbanayagam of the Jaffna College who first invited Gandhiji, 'and have collected small cents from hundreds of those villagers who know Gandhiji and his work.' And though the programme at Jaffna was mercilessly heavy, Gandhiji, thank God, stood it all, borne up, so to say, by the overflowing enthusiasm of the workers.

The Students' Congress was a grand affair and worthy of Jaffna with its numerous educational institutions. Gandhiji's message for the revival of ancient culture, with the charkha as

the central symbol of non-violence which refuses to accept or desire what all the others cannot have, was rather too heavy for the students, but it was an independent contribution in the direction, and will be found in the Second Part. After the public meetings were done, Gandhiji was taken round to all the educational institutions,—about a dozen in number,—and though he was not expected to speak to the boys he gave them brief messages on the education of the heart, on the combined culture of the mind, the body, and the heart and the meaning of the charkha. And well did they deserve it, looking to the fact that the bulk of the Jaffna purse came from the students, some of whom had given Rs. 5 each.

The members of the Shaiva Managayar Sabai, all old girls of the Ramanathan Girls' College, managed by Lady Ramanathan, gave a splendid purse of Rs. 1,111 and a still better address, containing as it did a precious promise: 'We shall never forget this day,' it said, 'when we have had the privilege of seeing you. Your presence here is a great inspiration to us and we wish to commemorate it by inaugurating a new women's movement in Jaffna for the spread of Khadi and the introduction of the spinning wheel into every home. We also wish to keep the anniversary of this day sacred to be devoted to the collection of a contribution for the spread of Khadi.' A noble conception, nobly expressed, and in keeping with 'the exquisite taste and simplicity of the reception,' which, said Gandhiji, 'touched him to the core.'

The labourers here as elsewhere showed the greatest enthusiasm, and gave a generous purse, and the Indian community also did not lag behind. Their meeting was one of the best meetings we had, Mrs. Kantawala, the wife of the District Judge and Lady Ramanathan fully sharing the popular enthusiasm and helping to make auctions fetch over Rs. 800.

In his public speech at Jaffna Gandhiji spoke at length on

the right and wrong methods of carrying on temperance and prohibition campaigns. Though Jaffna is technically dry, it is open to the wine-bibber to get as much foreign liquor as he wants from neighbouring districts, apart from the liquor-vendor carrying on illicitly his nefarious profession. Only total prohibition can cure this state of things and the words that Gandhiji addressed to the workers were as necessary as they were timely :

" It has given me the greatest joy to discover that you are very nearly on the point of becoming dry. Your closing of the pestilential taverns and liquor dens is a great step in the right direction. You deserve the heartiest congratulations of not only the people of this place, not only the people of Ceylon but of the motherland. It gives me additional joy to have your promise that you are determined to see that in the near future you have attained total prohibition. But I have discovered that you have internal difficulties in your way in the attainment of total prohibition. A correspondent has sent me a communication enclosing a pamphlet which is evidently designed to counteract the activities of those who are working for total prohibition. That pamphlet, I must confess, is ably written, and on the face of it, seems to contain, to my painful surprise, the support of some religious divines. In his eagerness to be witty and smart, the author of that pamphlet has not, I am sorry to say, hesitated to wound the susceptibilities of those whose mission he has set about opposing. He does not hesitate to laugh at the very artistic plantain leaf on which rice and curds are beautifully simply served. Nor does he hesitate to laugh at the simple life of those who are satisfied with a mere dhoti to cover themselves, and to call them half-nude. In spite of all my desire to be fair and just to him, I have not been able to discover the slightest connection between the serious subject of prohibition and this light-hearted laugh at the simplicity of his own countrymen, if

the author of the pamphlet is an Indian. But whether your difficulties are internal or external, I hope you will persist in your effort to bring about total prohibition.

"But as I always believe in giving the critics their due and believe in learning from the critics what is worth learning, I would like to make two suggestions which have been derived from this pamphlet. The first thing is to avoid the slightest shadow of compulsion or untruth. No reform worth the name has yet, in my humble opinion, been achieved by compulsion. For whilst compulsion may lead to apparent success, it gives rise to so many other evils which are worse than the original evil itself. But I must not be misunderstood. I do not regard legislation declaring total prohibition as in any shape or form compulsion. And when there is honestly and clearly expressed public opinion in favour of total prohibition, it is not only the right of the people, but it is the sacred duty of the people to declare that total prohibition by legislation and take all effective steps to enforce that legislation.

"Of instances of untruth cited by the author of his pamphlet, are examples, as he suggests, of people taking part in prohibition meeting themselves being given to the drink habit. If there are any such hypocritical people working this prohibition campaign I have no doubt that it is doomed to fail. In a cause so just, noble and humane, I hope that you will take special precautions to keep yourselves free of hypocrites.

"The second suggestion, which, it seems to me, I should place before you, is that having attained legislation you may not, you dare not sit still. The writer of the pamphlet insinuates that prohibition in America has been a failure. I happen to know better from Americans themselves. Difficult, almost impossible as prohibition for a big country like America may appear to us, it is not a failure, but it is gradually succeeding. Compared to the difficulties the brave reformers of America

have to face, you have very little. But I would like you to take a leaf out of the book of those brave reformers. They are not only not sleeping after the legislation which they have attained after an incessant struggle stretching over a long period, but they are doing great, gigantic constructive work. For when the drink devil takes possession of a man, it is the most difficult thing to wean him. Americans are therefore devising all kinds of means to deal with this class of persons. With the drunkard, the drink-craze is a disease. And you will have to take him in hand as you will an ailing brother or an ailing sister of yours. In the place of taverns you will have to give them refreshment rooms and all kinds of innocent recreations in order to keep the drunkards busy at something in which they may be interested. If you have got all the facilities for achieving this reform and if you are entirely successful you will set a noble example to all India.

"Lastly, you will not be impatient or angry with the opponents who may be working against you. I do not know whether the same condition prevails in Jaffna as prevails in India and other parts of the world. But I do know that in India, in England and in America, the Anti-Prohibitionists have not only on their side able but unprincipled writers to help them, but they have also brewers' money. But if you will follow the prescription of truth and non-violence, you will disarm all these clever writers inspite of the money at their back."

CHAPTER IV MORE MEMORIES

I PROPOSE to put together here some of the things I could not include in the foregoing chapters.

It is now generally known that Christian missionaries everywhere seek Gandhiji out to have a talk with him on things of the spirit. But very rarely does one raise a question—like Mr. De Boer at Vellore did—as to what exactly Gandhiji means by 'things of the spirit,' and why. Sometimes it would seem as though they delighted in riddling him with questions like those that a Protestant might put to a Jesuit or *vice versa*, and as a result they get more confounded than ever. I cannot express my feelings in the matter better than a European lady did at the end of the Conference with the missionaries in Colombo. 'I wanted,' she said, 'to ask Gandhiji about the spiritual meaning of Khadi, and what he expects us Westerners to do in that behalf. Instead these friends asked questions which were hardly of immediate concern.' All friends are aware by now that only one mission and one alone takes Gandhiji from one end of the country to the other, and one would feel thankful if they took a leaf out of this lady's book.

But far from doing this, a missionary friend in Kandy invited Gandhiji to his College, and inflicted on him manuscript eloquence covering several sheets, and introduced therein things which were anything but relevant. In a hall packed with school children scarcely over fifteen years of age, he attacked what he called Gandhiji's eclecticism and what he had misread in the newspapers as Gandhiji's characterisation of all the work of the Englishmen as wholly evil.

Gandhiji refused to be drawn into an elaborate defence and

simply said: "I appreciate your frankness, but what you have said about me is hardly correct. I have never considered all the work of Englishmen as unmitigated evil. I cannot recall any moment in my life when I dreamt that it was so. But I did say, and do say now, that the sum total of Government's work in India has been an unmitigated evil. With reference to my eclecticism and my attitude towards Christianity, the thing is I am afraid too deep for words. To the children I would say: Unless your education is founded on truth, good character, and purity of life, it is nothing worth. It will be like a house built on sand. I hope therefore that you will strive to be truthful in thought, word and deed."

But to turn to some of the questions raised by the Missionary friends at Conferences. Just as a Protestant would ask a Jesuit as to what he meant by the doctrine of obedience, a friend at the Colombo meeting asked what Gandhiji thought of the possibility of the forgiveness of sin. Gandhiji explained at length how there could be no forgiveness like the forgiveness that a criminal prays for and gets from an earthly king. It was a question of a change of heart brought about by true contrition and ceaseless striving for purification. In this connection Gandhiji referred to the case of the Plymouth Brother whom he has himself made historic by a detailed reference in the *Autobiography*.

"But the Plymouth Brother I met," said Gandhiji, "argued that there was no such thing as human effort. If you accept the fact of crucifixion, sinfulness would go altogether. I was astounded as I knew and was intimate with quite a number of Christian friends who were making a definite effort. 'Don't you fall?' I asked him. 'Yes,' he said, 'but my strength comes from the fact that Jesus intercedes for me and washes my sins away.'

Well, I tell you, the Quaker friend who had introduced

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me to the Plymouth Brother felt no less astounded. Asking for forgiveness means that we should not sin again, and the grant of forgiveness means that we would have power to resist all temptation. It is only after a persistent, untiring effort that God comes to our rescue as a wall of protection and there is a growing consciousness that we shall not sin.

In a famous controversy with Huxley, I remember Gladstone having said that when the definite grace of God was pledged to us we became incapable of sin. Jesus was incapable of sin from birth, Gladstone, said but we could be such by constant striving. So long as there is a single evil thought coming to our mind, we must conclude that there is not complete forgiveness or grace."

Another friend wondered if Gandhiji's position in matters of faith was not like living in a sort of half-way house.

'I certainly admire the friend who made that criticism,' said Gandhiji, 'but he may be sure that there is no half-way house for me. I have been described as an intolerable wholehogger. I know that friends get confused when I say I am a Sanatanist Hindu and they fail to find in me things they associate with a man usually labelled as such. But that is because in spite of my being a staunch Hindu I find room in my faith for Christian and Islamic and Zoroastrian teaching, and therefore my Hinduism seems to some to be a conglomeration and some have even dubbed me an eclectic. Well, to call a man eclectic is to say that he has no faith, but mine is a broad faith which does not oppose Christians,—not even a Plymouth Brother,—not even the most fanatical Musselman. It is a faith based on the broadest possible toleration. I refuse to abuse a man for his fanatical deeds, because I try to see them from his point of view. It is that broad faith that sustains me. It is a somewhat embarrassing position, I know,—but to others, not to me!'

At another meeting of the missionaries (at Jaffna) he developed this last thought, in reply to a question as to what he would wish India to be like in matters of religion. He reiterated his impatience with the missionary or the Musalman who thinks of getting hold of the untouchable for the sake of increasing his flock, and said that like the Dewan of Mysore he would ask them all to strive to make the untouchables better Hindus if they could.

"I should love," he said, "all the men,—not only in India but in the world,—belonging to the different faiths, to become better people by contact with one another, and if that happens the world will be a much better place to live in than it is to-day. I plead for the broadest toleration, and I am working to that end. I ask people to examine every religion from the point of the religionists themselves. I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, *i.e.*, to be wholly Hindu, or wholly Christian, or wholly Musalman, but I want it to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another."

One of the missionary friends wanted to know how the Gita and the New Testament compared as sources of comfort so far as Gandhiji was concerned, and instead of giving a bald answer that he derived all the comfort that he needed from the Bhagavad Gita, he retold the story of beginnings of his religious studies in England, with which the readers of the Autobiography are in the main familiar.

All missionaries seem to forget that the men they approach with their gospel have their own traditions and their own religion which sustain them from generation to generation. Gandhiji told these friends that when he read the Sermon on the Mount he read nothing new, but found in it, vividly told, what he had learnt in his childhood: 'There is nothing much in giving a cup of water to one who gave you a cup of water, or

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saluting one who salutes you, but there is some virtue in doing a good turn to one who has done you a bad turn.' 'I have not been able to see,' he said, "any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagavad Gita. What the Sermon describes in a graphic manner, the Bhagavad Gita reduces to a scientific formula. It may not be a scientific book in the accepted sense of the term, but it has argued out the law of love—the law of abandon as I would call it—in a scientific manner. The Sermon on the Mount gives the same law in wonderful language. The New Testament gave me comfort and boundless joy, as it came after the repulsion that parts of the Old had given me. Today supposing I was deprived of the Gita and forgot all its contents but had a copy of the Sermon, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the Gita."

And as though summing up the argument with a great warning, he said, '*You know there is one thing in me, and that is that I love to see the bright side of things and not the sunny side,* and so I can derive comfort and inspiration from any great book of any great religion. I may not be able to reproduce a single verse from the Gita or the New Testament, a Hindu child or Christian child may be able to repeat the verses better, but those clever children cannot deprive me of the assimilation that is in me today of the spirit of the two books.'

That I am afraid is a big dose and too heavy to be included in a brief chapter of memories. I shall give lighter ones.

In Colombo autograph-hunters, if I may call them so, were as numerous as in any other 'civilised' part of the world, and Gandhiji had always his condition with which to present them, though he relaxed the part about spinning. He was satisfied if friends in Ceylon promised to wear Khadi habitually. Students in Jaffna, I may say to their credit, did not find it difficult to give the promise. But a lady in Colombo who was very anxious to have the autograph was rather taken aback

when she heard of the condition. She pressed her case as well as she could, then she presented her various difficulties—parties, official invitations, this thing and that thing. How could she wear Khadi on all occasions? Her husband tried to help her out of her supposed difficulties. But no, it was she who had to make the promise and not he. It was an awkward twenty minutes for her. Now she took the autograph book in her hand then again she placed it before Gandhiji, and repeated the process for a number of times. But her love of truth ultimately prevailed, and she said, 'I will remain without the autograph but will not hastily make a promise I may fail to keep.'

The lady I have talked of was a Christian lady, though I forget her name. I now give an instance where the friend who made the promise was better than her word.

Mrs. DeSilva, wife of the Hon. W. A. DeSilva, came one fine morning with her contribution for Khadi, and pressed Gandhiji to 'step into her house' one day. 'Yes,' said Gandhiji, 'if you will do some business with me. I can go to your place only as a Khadi hawker.' She smiled assent, and sealed her promise with an immediate purchase of over a hundred rupees worth of Khadi from our shop on the premises. The day on which Gandhiji fulfilled his part of the contract she was ready with some surprises to spring on him. Gandhiji had some Khadi with him. As the mother and the daughters inspected the stuff Gandhiji said, 'I hope you will take the whole lot.' Well, she took not only the whole lot, but gave a blank cheque so to say for all the Khadi, coarse and fine, that we had left at home, promised to popularise it in all the charitable institutions for which her husband's charity is responsible and promised also to send more orders in future.

I have already introduced Lady Ramanathan in the foregoing chapter. She is an American by nationality, and a Cey-

lonese Indian, if I may say so, by marriage with Sir P. Ramanathan, an entirely self-made man, a philanthropist and a prominent figure in the public life of Ceylon. Gentleness itself Lady Ramanathan hates to obtrude herself on you. The arrangements she made for Gandhiji's reception at the Ramanathan Girls' College were a reflection no less of her gentleness than of her refinement, and one could not fail to notice her unobtrusive hand in the wonderful address that was presented at the College. But she was not satisfied with that. She came to see Gandhiji off at the station, with fruit and milk and what not, and of course with an additional collection made by the girls. One could almost read the wrench on her face as she got ready to part, and then the actual parting! will ever abide in the memory.

Very few people in Ceylon know Jayavardhana, possibly many Buddhists will wonder that there could be a Jayavardhana with Jayaramdas as his name. But however much he may avoid publicity he will have to face it, inasmuch as he has promised to spread the gospel of the charkha and Khadi on a more extensive scale than he has hitherto been able to do. Sjt. Jayavardhana was in the Ceylon Railway service and a keen student of *Young India* before he went to the Saharmati Ashram to take a course in all the processes preliminary to weaving. He and the youngsters that accompanied him became members of the Ashram family for the time being, going through all the details of the daily routine of Ashram life and returned home after having finished the course. Today he and his family are perhaps the only people in Ceylon who are wearing cloth made out of their own yarn, and Sjt. Jayavardhana has promised Gandhiji not to hide his light under a bushel but to get into touch with friends who would be interested in the work, and have a sort of production centre in Ceylon. He has put himself in touch with some of the Buddhist Bhikkhus who have

promised to spread the cult of the charkha, and of non-violence and temperance more actively than before, and we may hope that, God willing, the grain of mustard seed may, in days to come, grow into a big tree.

Two pictures of commonfolk.

During the riots of 1915 there was a good deal of firing and bloodshed, and over and above the actual bloodshed, quite an amount of wounding of the feelings of the people and laceration of hearts.

The story goes that some one noticed that the sacred Tree at Anuradhapura had begun to wither away, presumably because of the wicked way in which the Word of the Enlightened One was being violated. Crowds upon crowds went to the Bo-Tree with pots full of milk, and poured it at the roots of the tree in poignant devotion. I should not have believed the story if I had not witnessed a similar example of devotion.

On the day Gandhiji visited the Dalada Maligawa or the Temple of the Tooth as it is called, there was evidently a great rush. It is not an easy thing for the common people to have a sight of the 'sacred tooth.' The tooth, the genuineness of which has often been questioned, is kept in several goldcases one over another, and some of them studded with jewels. How can humble folk see it, when the whole thing is kept under heavy and double or triple locks and keys? And so a pious woman had come that day to have her chance. The Chief in charge of the relic was showing everything in a most detailed manner, and many had their chance to have a full satisfactory look at it. But the poor woman who could not possibly stand in front of the crowds had to keep back, and the consequence was that she could not fulfil her heart's desire as the relic was put under lock and key as soon as Gandhiji had finished seeing it. Imagine the disappointment and distress of the poor woman as she stared at the crowd who had a sight of the tooth

whilst she had been kept away. Almost with tears in her eyes she entreated Gandhiji to somehow enable her to see the relic. Gandhiji had already spent a lot of time there, and had no more time to lose. But no. He requested the Chief to repeat the process of exhibition, if not for the poor women, at least out of consideration for his sympathy for her. It was done, Gandhiji again witnessing the ceremony, and the poor woman's joy knew no bounds! One may be sure that she felt that day as though she had the *darsan* of the Buddha himself.

Here is a picture of another variety also taken from the crowds.

A European, an advertising agent of some cigarette or tea company, I forget which, was one of the crowd that thronged the roads on the day Gandhiji spoke to the Young Men's Buddhist Association. He had with great difficulty scrambled to Gandhiji's car, perhaps succeeded in exchanging a word, or shaking hands with him—I do not quite know. But there at the gate I found him, jumping about and shouting in great exhilaration, '*Gandhi is a sport*,' '*Gandhi is a sport!*' I am sure if Gandhiji had heard it he would have appreciated this compliment, so spontaneously given, more than many others that are day in and day out being showered on him.

Having given these little bits, I propose to sandwich them between the first heavy item and the one which follows.

While in Colombo we had a pretty little encounter with the law students. They had promised to go to Gandhiji's residence to present their purse to him. Later it seems they got jealous of the smaller institutions that Gandhiji was visiting, changed their mind, and gave a sort of notice to the Reception Committee that they should either bring Gandhiji to their college or sacrifice a 'substantial purse'! The threat however was lost on the Committee, and the students thought it

discreet to keep their previous promise. So they came, but lodged their complaint against the Reception Committee for taking Gandhiji to private houses and to minor educational institutions and ignoring the Law College! But they had counted without their host? Gandhiji twitted them first with inaccuracy about facts, in that they had stated that Gandhiji had visited private houses,—whereas he had called only on Mrs. DeSilva and that as a hawker,—and with their inability to understand that Gandhiji should naturally give preference to those who were yet children and fathers of tomorrow over those who in all probability were fathers of today. The joke was enough to put them in proper humour, and they made amends by recognising the difficulty of the Reception Committee, and proceeded to turn the little time they had with Gandhiji to good account. 'How to spiritualise the legal profession' was the point on which they sought advice, which Gandhiji readily gave them:

"I am glad you have put this question. For I may say that if I cannot speak on this subject with authority, no one else can. For throughout my career at the bar I never once departed from the strictest truth and honesty.

Well, then the first thing which you must always bear in mind, if you would spiritualise the practice of law, is not to make your profession subservient to the interests of your purse, as is unfortunately but too often the case at present, but to use your profession for the service of your country. There are instances of eminent lawyers in all countries who led a life of self-sacrifice, who devoted their brilliant legal talents entirely to the service of their country although it spelt almost pauperism for them. In India you have the instance of the late Manu Mohan Ghose. He took up the fight against the indigo planters and served his poor clients at the cost of his health even at the risk of his life, without charging them a

single pie for his labours. He was a most brilliant lawyer, yet he was a great philanthropist. That is an example that you should have before you. Or better still you can follow Ruskins' precept given in his book *Unto this Last*. 'Why should a lawyer charge fifteen pounds for his work,' he asks, 'whilst a carpenter for instance hardly gets as many shillings for his work?' The fees charged by lawyers are unconscionable everywhere. I confess, I myself have charged what I would now call high fees. But even whilst I was engaged in my practice, let me tell you I never let my profession stand in the way of my public service.

"And there is another thing which I would like to warn you against. In England, in South Africa, almost everywhere, I have found that in the practice of their profession lawyers are consciously or unconsciously led into untruth for the sake of their clients. An eminent English lawyer has gone so far as to say that it may even be the duty of a lawyer to defend a client whom he knows to be guilty. There I disagree. The duty of a lawyer is always to place before the judges, and to help them to arrive at, the truth never to prove the guilty as innocent. It is up to you to maintain the dignity of your profession. If you fail in your duty what shall become of the other professions? You, young men, claiming as you have just done to be the fathers of tomorrow, should be the salt of the nation. If the salt loses its savour where with shall it be salted?"

CHAPTER IV

FAREWELL

Ceylon gave Gandhiji more than he had expected. When we left Colombo the figure of collections was Rs. 86,000. We were afraid Jaffna might not be able to finish a lakh. But it did much more. Every one who helped in the success of the tour deserves the warmest congratulations and has earned the blessings of *Daridranarayan*.

There was no special farewell meeting in Jaffna as there was in Colombo, but the parting from friends at both the places was as sad as it could be.

'I assure you,' said Gandhiji 'I am leaving Ceylon not without a heavy heart, and if I could at all have managed it I would have certainly stayed longer.' He would have certainly loved to have given some time to the many workers that this tour brought in close touch with him, Dr. Ratnam, Sjt. Peri Sundaram, Somasundaram, Amarsekere of Colombo, Sjt. George DeSila of Kandy, Sjt. Kumar Soorier and Handy Perinbanayagam and his young friends of Jaffna, is only for the furtherance of his cultural and humanitarian mission. He would have loved to know more of the leading men of Ceylon like Sjt. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. W. A. DeSilva, and Sir P. Ramanathan, and of ladies like Mrs. DeSilva and Lady Ramanathan. He would certainly have loved to come in close contact with the priests some of whom promised to take up his mission. But I am sure they will all take the will for the deed. I am sure they all must appreciate the cultural message of truth and non-violence with its practical application in the shape of Khadi.

The triumph of his tour was, as Sjt. D. B. Jayatilaka said, nothing but Ceylon's homage to the ideals of truth, non-violence and self-sacrifice. Let us hope therefore that the parting message left by Gandhiji will abide and fructify in this land of Buddhism. I reproduce the message of the spinning wheel :

"I know, and I am happy to know, that you in this land are strangers to the gnawing pauperism in India which starves the millions of India from day to day. The spinning wheel has therefore perhaps no economic importance for you. But I have no doubt about its great cultural value for this fair land. Its living message of simplicity is applicable to all lands, and you will admit that if your boys and girls and even grown-up men and women gave about an hour a day to self-spinning and became self-contained regarding their clothing requirement, it would do no harm to you, but would give dignity and self-confidence to this nation. I have been watching, not without considerable anxiety, the craze for fashion which has now seized the young men belonging to the higher classes. Little do they know how by being slaves to this hypnotic dazzle from the West they are isolating themselves from their poorest countrymen who can never adopt those fashions. I cannot help thinking that it would be a great national catastrophe, a great national tragedy, if you were to barter away your simplicity for this tinsel splendour. But whether you appreciate this cultural side of the spinning wheel or not, you have from many a platform voluntarily declared your allegiance to India by affectionately calling her Mother India. You have by your generous purses given tangible evidence of that allegiance. May I appeal to you to forge this link stronger and make it a living thing by finding in your wardrobes ample room for Khadi.

I have no power in me to make any the slightest return for the lavish kindness you have showered on me. But I have no doubt that the dumb and the starving millions on whose behalf

you have opened your purse strings will bless you for the help you have rendered them, and as a self-appointed representative of these millions I can but pray to the Almighty that he may bless you and endow you with all that blessings that you may deserve."



PART II: SPEECHES

HOW TO BEHAVE IN A STRANGE LAND *

Friends, I thank you for all these purses that you have presented to me in this eminently businesslike manner. I feel again like finding myself in Chettinad. The very pleasant recollections that I have of my recent visit to Chettinad have become vivid and fresh before me this afternoon. Their generosity and kindness, I shall never forget, and you are here in Colombo but repeating what I witnessed in Chettinad. The only consolation that I have in receiving all these gifts and kindness from you is that it is all being done for the sake of *Daridra Narayana*, and seeing that I regard myself as but a humble trustee for the millions of paupers of India, I not only feel no shame or humiliation in receiving these gifts, but I feel impelled by your generosity and kindness to ask for more.

Rich and generous corporation though you be it is really not possible for any single corporation to fill the millions of mouths of *Daridra Narayana*. If, therefore, there are still in your midst those who have not given at all, or given in a miserly fashion, I appeal to you to open out your purses and give as much as you can, on behalf of *Daridra Narayana*. I can conceive of no better investment for wealthy Indians, whether in India or outside, and let not your generosity end with merely giving money. If you will establish a living bond with these dumb millions, you must wear khadi which is produced by their sacred hands. If you will continue to think along these lines, you will find that it will become necessary for you, if you are to have that bond continuously with the dumb millions, to purify your lives. Wherever there is pure love, there is charity, there

* Speech at the Nagarathar's meeting in Colombo on the 19th November 1937.

is personal purity, there immediately arises cohesion in that society. You will find that one step in your march towards purity leads on to another.

You are in what might be considered a strange land. Geographically and officially speaking, Ceylon is not considered part of India. You, as merchants living in this hospitable land, are expected to behave towards the indigenous population in an exemplary and honest manner. By your conduct will be judged the conduct of the millions of India. I hope, therefore, that your dealings with the people in this fair island are absolutely just and free from all reproach. Let your scales be absolutely correct, your accounts accurate and I hope that you regard every woman in this island as your sister, daughter, or your mother, as the case may be. Let possession of wealth not render us giddy. It must carry with it a greater sense of responsibility, if it is to be a blessing to the possessor and those in whose midst it is earned.

I must not detain you any longer to-day. I have hardly commenced my work in Ceylon yet and in the course of my tour in this island, I shall have many things to speak about. I would like you to follow whatever I have to say in the different places where I shall be taken and nothing will please me better than to find when I have gone away from this island that you have not forgotten the things that I may lay before you from the deepest recesses of my heart.

I thank you once more for all these generous purses and if there are any in this meeting who want to pay, they are at liberty to do so. Let me also inform you that if you want Khadi, you get it at the place where I am accommodated. May god bless you.

A LINK WITH THE STARVING MILLIONS*

I thank you for your address and your purse. During the short time I had at my disposal I tried to glance through the report of the work of your Society and I beg to tender to you my congratulations on its many activities. Vivekananda is a name to conjure with. He has left on India's life an indelible impress and you will find at the present time societies named after him in many parts of India; and this is apart from the many branches of the Rama Krishna Mission.

But I see that I must not keep you long at this meeting. There are impatient crowds waiting outside. All that I would say at the present moment is that I wish every prosperity to this Society, and may I suggest that your activities will be incomplete unless you add to these the one thing that renders service to *Daridra Narayana* (God incarnated in the poor). Your purse to me is a token of your appreciation of the message of the spinning wheel. If Vivekananda is the name of your Society, you dare not neglect India's starving millions, and the conviction is daily being driven home that without the spinning wheel it is impossible to serve the starving millions of India.

I have therefore no hesitation in making an appeal to the Indians, whether they are living in India or outside, that they should carry with them on their persons an emblem of the living bond between themselves and the starving millions in their motherland.

I wish to say to my sisters on the right and the fashionable Indians living in Colombo, or for a matter of that in all Ceylon, that it is now possible, after six years of continued activity, to give you all the fineness you can reasonably desire, even in Khaddar.

I pray to you that you will not despise the little service it is

* Speech at the Vivekananda Society, Colombo on 12-11-27

possible for you to render to these starving millions of your countrymen and women by wearing Khaddar, rather than foreign and mill made cloth.

I thank you once more for your address.

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS *

Chairman and friends,—I must first of all apologise to you for not standing up and speaking to you. For years past I have been unequal to address audiences standing, and if I address you sitting and if I do not receive your address standing, I hope you will not put it down to want of courtesy on my part. I am sorry also that at the present moment, I have not a voice that would carry my speech far enough. I have also to apologise to you and the citizens of Colombo for not having arrived here in time, but of that the blame must rest on stronger shoulders—I refer to H. E. the Viceroy. It was he who invited me to go to Delhi and if you pass a vote of censure on him, I should certainly join you, but perhaps you will excuse H. E. the Viceroy and through him me also.

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to receive this address at your hands. I was totally unprepared for it. Mine, if you would like to take it so, is a mercenary visit. I have come to Ceylon in reply to invitations from some of my own countrymen, and seeing that I have devoted this year, which is now about to expire, to making collections on behalf of the cause which is designed to serve the millions of paupers in India, the temptation that these friends gave me was irresistible.

I very nearly came to this pearl among the isles of the

*Reply to the Colombo Municipal address on 15th November, 22.

earth in 1901. You may not know that I have many *Mu* man friends in South Africa, who are dear to me as life itself, and some of them urged me to go to Ceylon on my way to India and I would gladly have done so. Then I should have come as a sojourner in your midst, to appreciate the unrivalled beauties of this Island and to enjoy also the open hospitality of its citizens, but I cannot say the same thing to-day. For I have my eye solely on business. Hence I said that I was not prepared for this address, because I least deserve it.

But I am a lover of municipal life. It never fell to my lot to serve a single municipality as its Councillor,—but I came, as a citizen, in close touch with two premier Corporations, I mean Durban and Johannesburg, and if you were to ask the Mayors of these two Corporations, they will perhaps testify that I served them as much as a single citizen, humble like myself could do.

I consider it a great privilege for a person to serve a place where he has cast his lot. I have been since studying the methods of the great Corporations throughout India more or less closely, and I have been in search of an ideally conducted Municipality. I must confess to you that I have not yet found one in my own country. I should love to think that you are that ideal Corporation, but I am unable to say anything because of my great ignorance about your achievements.

Yesterday I asked for a copy of the latest report of your administration, but it was not possible for me to go through the whole of that interesting document.

Having done plague work for myself in Durban and Johannesburg I turned over the pages referring to plague and it gave me something of a shock when I read in those paragraphs that you were not yet entirely immune from that curse.

These two Corporations, Durban and Johannesburg, had also their share of the plague. In Johannesburg it was of the

most virulent type, but the Municipal Council counted no cost too great to protect the citizens against further inroads.

I won't take you into the very interesting history of how Johannesburg battled against the plague. Durban also did likewise. And it was in that connection that I had an opportunity of reading the very wonderful history of the Corporation of Glasgow and how Glasgow poured money like water in order to make that great city plague proof. And it succeeded. I don't know that since that visitation Glasgow has had another. I am speaking under correction, but I hope that my impression is correct.

I can say from first hand knowledge that Johannesburg has not had a visitation again. Of course it has got a climate second to none in the world, which is in its favour, but the manliness of its citizens also stands out to its credit.

As you know Johannesburg is a cosmopolitan city. It has a great Bantu population; it has its share of the Indian population, and it has also its ghettos. Still Johannesburg is immune.

Here I find your difficulty with the Harbour Masters—that it is expensive to disinfect all the grain that comes to or passes through this beautiful harbour of yours. I think this Corporation should fight against these interests in order to make the city absolutely free from plague and invest a passing visitor like myself with a sense of perfect freedom. My medical advisers would tell me, "in your dilapidated condition you must not go to a place like Colombo." If I were inclined to listen to my medical advisers I should certainly not have come if I had read a report of that character beforehand.

That is one thing. The second thing I read in this interesting document was about your dairies.

I notice that you import dried milk from New Zealand. You are finding room for the dried constituents of milk, and then in that special language you reassemble the constituents

A Bhau Dev.
I mudi ya



Gandhi in Ceylon.

સા સાહેબ જાગે જાગે

and sell that liquid; but as it appears under the name of milk, I wonder how your medical officers pass that stuff as milk at all.

I was sent by my friends, when I was having my convalescence in the Nandi Hills, a book on vitamins, and if writers distinguished and specialised are truthful they tell us lay people that milk is robbed of vitamins when subjected to a certain temperature; but I know something of dried constituents of milk and I know that milk loses its vitamins when it reaches the dry state. And when you rob it of its vitamins you rob it of half of its richness.

You have many dairies here. I want to throw out a suggestion. You have inspectors and you have bye-laws and you have prosecutions. Why should you go through all this trouble and why not municipalise your dairies and take control of your milk supply. Believe me, you will then conserve the health of your babies and you will conserve also the health of those dilapidated people like myself.

There is a great labouring population for whom milk should be cheap; it should be standardised like your stamps and people should be able to get milk absolutely guaranteed. If you want to ensure that you can't do better than to municipalise your milk supply and make it accessible to the poorest man in the city.

A third thing. I know that you have a very beautiful harbour. I have passed through the cinammon gardens—a credit to any city in the world. I have noticed some of your palatial buildings—all very good indeed. But do the dwellers in the cinammon gardens, or those residing in the city who do business, require trustees to look after their welfare? I fancy not. You are trustees for those who can't look after themselves; you are trustees therefore for the welfare of the labouring population.

I have not been able to visit your slums to be able to see at

first hand what the conditions in the slums are. And if you are able to tell me that your slums will be just as sweet-smelling as your cinnamon gardens I would take you on trust and advertise you throughout my wanderings and say "go to Colombo if you want to see an ideal municipality," but I hardly think you will be able to gain this certificate of merit from me in reference to the condition of your slums.

I have been going into certain statistics, and I think that a place like Colombo, which certainly was dry in one respect, can easily afford to go dry in another. If you are trustees for the welfare of the citizens of Colombo you will make Colombo dry as it is really possible for you to do. I think then you will earn the thanks not only of the citizens of Colombo and of a humble individual like myself but of all eastern municipalities.

May God help you to keep always in the direction I have indicated. I thank you once more for the address and the kind things you have said of me.

KHADI AND BUDDHA'S TEACHING*—I

It has given me great pleasure to be able to come to Colombo and Ceylon and to make your acquaintance. Wherever I go, I love to see school children.

Here in Ceylon the majority of boys come under the influence of Buddhist teaching. That great master taught us what is known as the right path and you boys come to institutions of this character to learn the right path, and to learn the right path is not merely to pack your brains with many things that sound nice and sweet, but to do the right things.

The first maxim of the right path is to tell the truth, to think the truth and to act the truth and the second maxim is to

* Speech delivered at the Ananda College, Colombo on 13.11.27.



Gandhiji addressing
students of the Ananda College, Colombo.

love all that lives. Gautama Buddha was so filled with mercy and kindness that it was he who taught us to love not only the members of the human family, but to love all the animal world. He taught us also personal purity of life. Therefore, if you boys are not truthful, merciful and kind, if you are not pure in your personal conduct, you have to learn nothing in this institution.

Which of you can tell me where Gautama Buddha was born? (A boy promptly answered: He was born in Kapilavastu in India).

I suggest to all of you, boys, that you owe something to Gautama's countrymen. I am sorry to have to tell you, boys, if you do not know already, that in the land where Gautama lived and taught and which is hallowed by his sacred feet, there is dire distress and poverty.

The one reason why the millions in India are so poor is because they left their ancient industry or have been deprived of it and that was the spinning wheel. Now, they can revive the spinning wheel if everybody in India and others will wear the clothes that can be spun out and woven from it. The cloth is called khadi.

If you will render something unto Gautama's countrymen for the great message of mercy that he delivered to you and to me, you will certainly wear khadi. So far as I know, all the cloth that you little boys and others have worn has not been produced in Colombo or Ceylon, and seeing that you must buy some cloth in order to cover yourselves, it is your primary duty to buy that cloth which is woven by the famishing millions who are the countrymen of Gautama. If you will do so, you will then be in a position to act according to the second maxim in the right path that I mentioned you and what I have told you naturally applies with double force to your teachers and parents.

If you are clever, good and brave boys, you will discuss this

thing with your teachers and with your parents and ask them what it was that this strange man called Gandhi from India told you, and if I am not mistaken, they will endorse every word of what I have said to you. You have given this money to me for that very purpose and I thank you and the teachers for giving me this money and thinking of the famishing millions of India. To wear khadi is merely to follow up the step that you have taken to-day.

May God bless you all.

KHADI AND BUDDHA'S TEACHING *—II

Principal, teachers and boys,—I thank you very much for giving me this donation for the work which has brought me to this beautiful Island. It gives me great pleasure to be able to make your acquaintance.

I propose to say to you what I have been just now saying to the boys of Ananda College. You are here being taught the path that the Great Buddha gave to the world. And if you do not represent the teaching of the Buddha in your own lives you having belonged to this institution will be considered useless, and you will not be true representatives of Buddha's teachings. Everything else that you will learn here will be perfectly useless unless you can reproduce the central teaching of Gautama in your own lives. His was the right path, right speech, right thought and right conduct. He gave us the unadulterated law of mercy. And the extent of the law as he defined went beyond the human family. His love, his boundless love went out as much to the lower animals, to the lowest life as to the human beings. And he insisted upon purity of life.

* Speech delivered at the Balanda Vidyalaya, Colombo on the 15th November 1927.



Gandhi addressing the Students of the Nalanda Vidyalaya, Colombo.

I want to suggest to you that if you are fulfilling this law of mercy, love, kindness and human sympathy the least you can do is to render something unto the countrymen of the Buddha.

You know that he was an Indian and his message was delivered first of all to India. Painful though the fact is, nevertheless, it is unfortunately true that it is his countrymen who are to-day the poorest in the world. Millions are furnishing hut they need not furnish if they will work at the spinning wheel and if we Indians and you people of Ceylon will wear khadi which can be produced from the spinning wheel.

You do not manufacture so far as I am aware any cloth in Ceylon. Every yard of cloth that you are wearing is imported from outside. And I suggest to you that if you will carry out this law of mercy that the Buddha taught and if you will make some return for the debt that you owe to Gautama, you will, until you are able to produce your own khadi, wear khadi that is manufactured in India.

My friend*, the translator, proudly pointed out that the cloth he was wearing was manufactured in Ceylon. I would prohibit you from buying a single yard of khadi manufactured in India if he should be able to supply you with khadi. And you will certainly be still better followers of the Buddha if you will work with your own hands and manufacture khadi. If you will do that you will not only help India but you will help the whole world by setting a noble example. But meanwhile I suggest to you that you will be doing the right thing by following up your gift by yourselves wearing khadi.

Teachers and boys, I thank you once more for this gift of yours and for inviting me to this school. And I pray that God may bless you.

* Sri Jeearamdas Jayewardene.

MESSAGE TO THE BUDDHISTS *

I thank you very sincerely for the address that you have given to me. I appreciate the courtesy, in that you have supplied me with a translation of your address in advance. I am equally grateful to His Holiness and the priests for the benediction that they have pronounced just now. I shall always esteem it as a great privilege that I have received this benediction this afternoon, and I can give His Holiness and the priests in the presence of this assembly the assurance that I shall always strive to deserve that benediction.

Your address mentions it and His Holiness also just now mentioned the fact about the Buddha Gaya temple which is situated in India.

I have been interesting myself in this great institution for a long time, and when I presided over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress at Belgaum, I had the privilege of doing what was possible on behalf of the Congress in this connection.

I had sent to me by some unknown friend in Ceylon the controversy that took place in connection with what I did at the Congress in this matter. I did not think it proper to take part in that controversy nor do I desire even now to go into it. I can only give you my assurance that everything that was humanly possible for me to do to advance your claim I did and I shall still do. I must tell you, however, that the Congress does not possess the influence that I would like it to possess. There are several difficulties raised in connection with the proprietary rights. There are technical legal difficulties also in the way. The Congress appointed a Committee of the best men

*Speech delivered on 19th Nov. 27 at Vidyaodaya College, Colombo, in reply to an address presented by the All-Ceylon Congress of Buddhist Associations.



Gandhi entering M. J. Andra Temple, Colombo.

that were at its disposal to go into this matter and if possible even to come to terms with the Mahant who is at the present moment in possession of the temple. That Committee has already reported, and I take it that some of you have seen the report of that Committee. That Committee endeavoured to have an arbitration appointed, but it failed in its efforts to do so.

But there is absolutely no reason to lose hope. I tell you that all my personal sympathies are absolutely with you, and if the rendering of its possession to you was in my giving you can have it to-day.

In your address was mentioned another temple that is situated in Ceylon. I do not know anything about the controversy regarding this temple. I would therefore, like some of you to give me particulars about it, and tell me if there is anything that I can do in connection with it whilst I am in your midst. You may take it for granted that I should take a personal interest in it if I feel that there is anything that I can do, and I should do so not in order that I might oblige you, but in order to give myself satisfaction.

For, you do not know perhaps that one of my sons, the eldest boy, accused me of being a follower of Buddha, and some of my Hindu countrymen also do not hesitate to accuse me of spreading Buddhistic teaching under the guise of Sanatana Hinduism.

I sympathise with my son's accusations and the accusations of my Hindu friends. And sometimes I feel even proud of being accused of being a follower of the Buddha, and I have no hesitation in declaring in the presence of this audience that I owe a great deal to the inspiration that I have derived from the life of the Enlightened One.

Indeed, at an anniversary celebration in the new Buddha Temple that has been erected in Calcutta I gave expression to this view. The leader in that meeting was Anagarika

Dharmapala. He was weeping over the fact that he was not receiving the response that he desired for the cause which was close to his heart, and I remember having rebuked him for shedding tears.

I told the audience that though what passed under the name of Buddhism might have been driven out of India, the life of the Buddha and his teachings were by no means driven out of India.

This incident happened I think now three years ago, and I have seen nothing since to alter the view which I pronounced at that meeting.

It is my deliberate opinion that the essential part of the teachings of the Buddha now forms an integral part of Hinduism. It is impossible for Hindu India to-day to retrace her steps and go behind the great reformation that Gautama effected in Hinduism. By his immense sacrifice, by his great renunciation and by the immaculate purity of his life he left an indelible impress upon Hinduism, and Hinduism owes an eternal debt of gratitude to that great teacher. And if you will forgive me for saying so and if you will also give me the permission to say so, I would venture to tell you that what Hinduism did not assimilate of what passes as Buddhism today was not an essential part of Buddha's life and his teachings.

"It is my fixed opinion that Buddhism or rather the teaching of Buddha found its full fruition in India, and it could not be otherwise, for Gautama was himself a Hindu of Hindus. He was saturated with the best that was in Hinduism, and he gave life to some of the teachings that were buried in the Vedas and which were overgrown with weeds. His great Hindu spirit cut its way through the forest of words, meaningless words, which had overlaid the golden truth that was in the Vedas. He made some of the words in the Vedas yield a meaning to which the



Gandhi at Maliga Kanda Temple, Colombo.

men of his generation were utter strangers, and he found in India the most congenial soil.

And wherever the Buddha went, he was followed by and surrounded not by non-Hindus but Hindus, those who were themselves saturated with the Vedic law.

But the Buddha's teaching like his heart was all-expanding and all-embracing and so it has survived his own body and swept across the face of the earth. And at the risk of being called a follower of Buddha I claim this achievement as a triumph of Hinduism. Buddha never rejected Hinduism, but he broadened its base. He gave it a new life and a new interpretation.

But here comes the point where I shall need your forgiveness and your generosity, and I want to submit to you that the teaching of Buddha was not assimilated in its fulness whether it was in Ceylon, or in Burma, or in China or in Tibet. I know my own limitations, I lay no claim to scholarship in Buddhistic law. Probably, a Fifth Form boy from Nalanda Vidyalaya would plough me in a Buddhist catechism. I know that I speak in the presence of very learned priests and equally learned laymen, but I should be false to you and false to myself if I did not declare what my heart believes.

You and those who call themselves Buddhists outside India have no doubt taken, in a very large measure the teaching of the Buddha, but when I examine your life and when I cross-question the friends from Ceylon, Burma, China or Tibet, I feel confounded to find so many inconsistencies between what I have come to understand as the central fact of Buddha's life and your own practice, and if I am not tiring you out, I would like hurriedly to run through three prominent points that just now occurred to me.

The first is the belief in an all-pervading Providence called

God. I have heard it contended times without number and I have read in books also claiming to express the spirit of Buddhism that Buddha did not believe in God. In my humble opinion such a belief contradicts the very central fact of Buddha's teaching. It seems to me the confusion has arisen over his rejection, and just rejection, of all the base things that passed in his generation under the name of God. He undoubtedly rejected the notion that a being called God was actuated by malice, could repent of his actions, and like the kings of the earth could possibly be open to temptations and bribes and could possibly have favourites. His whole soul rose in mighty indignation against the belief that a being called God required for his satisfaction the living blood of animals in order that he might be pleased,—animals who were his own creation. He therefore, reinstated God in the right place and dethroned the usurper who for the time being seemed to occupy that White Throne. He emphasised and redeclared the eternal and unalterable existence of the moral government of this universe. He unhesitatingly said that the law was God Himself.

God's laws are eternal and unalterable and not separable from God Himself. It is an indispensable condition of His very perfection. And hence the great confusion that Buddha disbelieved in God and simply believed in the moral law and because of this confusion about God Himself, arose the confusion about the proper understanding of the great word *nirvana*. *Nirvana* is undoubtedly not utter extinction. So far as I have been able to understand the central fact of Buddha's life, *nirvana* is utter extinction of all that is base in us, all that is vicious in us, all that is corrupt and corruptible in us. *Nirvana* is not like the black, dead peace of the grave, but the living peace, the living happiness of a soul which is conscious of itself, and conscious of having found its own abode in the heart of the Eternal.

The third point is with regard to the low estimation in which the idea of the sanctity of all life came to be held in Buddhism's travels outside India. Great as Buddha's contribution to humanity was in restoring God to His eternal place, in my humble opinion greater still was his contribution to humanity in his exacting regard for all life, be it ever so low. I am aware that his own India did not rise to the height that he would fain have seen India occupy.

But the teaching of Buddha, when it became Buddhism and travelled outside, came to mean that sacredness of animal life had not the sense that it had with an ordinary man. I am not aware of the exact practice and belief of Ceylonese Buddhism in this matter, but I am aware what shape it has taken in Burma and China. Burma especially the Burmese Buddhists will not kill a single animal, but do not mind others killing the animals for them and dishing the carcasses for them for their food.

Now, if there was any teacher in the world who insisted upon the inexorable law of cause and effect, it was inevitably Gautama, and yet my friends, the Buddhists outside India, would, if they could, avoid the effects of their own acts.

But I must not put an undue strain upon your patience. I have but lightly touched upon some of the points which I think it my duty to bring to your notice, and in all earnestness and equal humility I present them for your serious consideration.

One thing more and I shall have done. Last night the members of the Reception Committee asked me to speak to one of these audiences of the connection khadi had with Ceylon. I have not left much time for myself to expand this message before you, but I shall try to summarise it in two sentences.

One thing is that you who regard Buddha as the ruler of your hearts owe something to the land of his birth, where millions of his descendants for whom he laboured and for whom he died are today living a life of misery, living in a state of per-

petual semi-starvation. I venture, therefore, to suggest that khadi enables you to establish a living bond between yourselves and the ruler of your hearts.

If you will follow the central fact of his teaching and regard life as one of renunciation, of renunciation of all material things, all life being transitory, you will at once see the beauty of the message of khadi which otherwise means simple living and high thinking. Taking these two thoughts with you, I suggest to every one of you to dot the i's and cross the t's and make out your own interpretation of the message of khadi.

I thank you again for the great kindness that you have shown, for the address and for the benediction, and I hope that you will receive the humble message that I have given to you in the same spirit in which it has been delivered. Regard it as a message not from a critic, but from a bosom friend.

MESSAGE TO THE CHRISTIANS*

"The message of Jesus, as I understand it is contained in his Sermon on the Mount unadulterated and taken as a whole, and even in connection with the Sermon on the Mount, my own humble interpretation of the message is in many respects different from the orthodox. The message, to my mind, has suffered distortion in the West. It may be presumptuous for me to say so but as a devotee of truth, I should not hesitate to say what I feel. I know that the world is not waiting to know my opinion on Christianity.

"One's own religion is after all a matter between oneself

* Addressing a huge gathering in the hall of Y. M. C. A., Colombo, on 18-11-27 Gandhiji welcomed the occasion as one more instance of the close touch, in which he was daily finding himself with Christians throughout the world. 'There are some who will not even take my flat denial when I tell them that I am not a Christian,' said Gandhiji, and in trying to explain his own attitude to Christianity, gave in his simple way a message to the whole of the Christian world.

and one's Maker and no one else's, but if I feel impelled to share my thoughts with you this evening, it is because I want to enlist your sympathy in my search for truth and because so many Christian friends are interested in my thoughts on the teachings of Jesus.

"If then I had to face only the Sermon on the Mount and my own interpretation of it, I should not hesitate to say, 'Oh yes, I am a Christian.' But I know that at the present moment if I said any such thing I would lay myself open to the gravest misinterpretation. I should lay myself open to fraudulent claims because I would have then to tell you what my own meaning of Christianity is, and I have no desire myself to give you my own view of Christianity.

"But negatively I can tell you that to my mind much of what passes as Christianity is a negation of the Sermon on the Mount. And please mark my words. I am not at the present moment speaking of Christian conduct. I am speaking of the Christian belief, of Christianity as it is understood in the West. I am painfully aware of the fact that conduct everywhere falls far short of belief. But I don't say this by way of criticism. I know from the treasures of my own experience that although I am every moment of my life trying to live up to my professions my conduct falls short of these professions. Far therefore be it from me to say this in a spirit of criticism. But I am placing before you my fundamental difficulties.

"When I began as a prayerful student to study the Christian literature in South Africa in 1893, I asked myself 'Is this Christianity?' and have always got the vedic answer, *Neti Neti* (not this, not this). And the deepest in me tells me that I am right.

"I claim to be a man of faith and prayer, and even if I were cut to pieces, I trust God would give me the strength not to deny Him and to assert that He is. The Muslim says He is and

there is no one else. The Christian says the same thing and so the Hindu, and if I may say so, even the Buddhist says the same thing, if in different words.

"We may each of us be putting our own interpretation on the word God,—God who embraces not only this tiny globe of ours, but millions and billions of such globes. How can we, little crawling creatures, so utterly helpless as he has made us possibly measure His greatness, His boundless love, His infinite compassion, such that He allows man insolently to deny Him, wrangle about Him, and cut the throat of his fellowman? How can we measure the greatness of God who is so forgiving, so divine?"

"Thus though we may utter the same words they have not the same meaning for us all. And hence I say that we do not need to *proselytise* or do *shuddhi* or *fabligh* through our speech or writing. We can only do it really with our lives. Let them be open books for all to study. Would that I could persuade the missionary friends to take this view of their mission. Then there would be no distrust, no suspicion, no jealousy and no dissensions."

Gandhiji then took modern China as a case in point. His heart, he said, went out to Young China in the throes of a great national upheaval, and he referred to the anti-Christian movement in China, about which he had occasion to read in a pamphlet received by him from the students' department of the Young Women's Christian Association and Young Men's Christian Association of China. The writers had put their own interpretation upon the anti-Christian movement, but there was no doubt that Young China regarded Christian movements as being opposed to Chinese self-expression. To Gandhiji the moral of this anti-Christian manifestation was clear. He said:

"Don't let your Christian propaganda be anti-national, say *hase* young Chinese. And even their Christian friends have

come to distrust the Christian endeavour that has come from the West. I present the thought to you that these essays have a deep meaning, a deep truth, because the young men who wrote them were themselves trying to justify their Christian conduct in so far as they had been able to live up to the life it had taught them and at the same time find a basis for that opposition.

"The deduction I would like you all to draw from this manifestation is that you Ceylonese should not be torn from your moorings, and those from the West should not consciously or unconsciously lay violent hands upon the manners, customs and habits of the Ceylonese in so far as they are not repugnant to fundamental ethics and morality. Do not confuse Jesus' teaching with what passes as modern civilisation, and pray do not do unconscious violence to the people among whom you cast your lot. It is no part of that call, I assure you, to tear up the lives of the people of the East by their roots. Tolerate whatever is good in them and do not hastily, with your preconceived notions, judge them. Do not judge lest you be judged yourselves.

"In spite of your belief in the greatness of Western civilisation and in spite of your pride in all your achievements, I plead with you for humility, and ask you to leave some little room for doubt, in which as Tennyson sang, there was more truth, though by 'doubt' he certainly meant a different thing. Let us each one live our life, and if ours is the right life, where is the cause for hurry? It will react of itself."

The Y. M. C. A. has among its members Buddhists also, and the president had specially asked Gandhiji to say a word of advice to the Christian and Buddhist youth. He gave them the following message:

"To you, young Ceylonese friends, I say: Don't be dazzled by the splendour that comes to you from the West. Do not be

thrown off your feet by this passing show. The enlightened One has told you in never-to-be-forgotten words that this little span of life is but a passing shadow, a fleeting thing, and if you could realise the nothingness of all that appears before your eyes, the nothingness of this material case that we see before us ever changing, then indeed there would be treasures for you up above, and peace for you down here, peace which passeth all understanding, and happiness to which we are utter strangers. It requires an amazing faith, a divine faith and surrender of all that we see before us.

"What did Buddha do, and Christ do, and also Mahomed? Theirs were lives of self-sacrifice and renunciation. Buddha renounced every worldly happiness, because he wanted to share with the whole world his happiness which was to be had by men who sacrificed and suffered in search for truth.

"If it was a good thing to scale the heights of Mount Everest, sacrificing precious lives in order to be able to get there and make some slight observations, if it was a glorious thing to give up life after life in planting a flag in the uttermost extremities of the earth, how much more glorious would it be to give not one life, surrender not a million lives but a billion lives in search of the potent and imperishable truth?

"So do not be lifted off your feet, do not be drawn away from the simplicity of your ancestors'. A time is coming when those, who are in the mad rush to-day of multiplying their wants vainly thinking that they add to the real substance, real knowledge of the world, will retrace their steps and say: 'What have we done?'

"Civilisations have come and gone, and in spite of all our vaunted progress I am tempted to ask again and again 'To what purpose?' Wallace, a contemporary of Darwin, has said the same thing. Fifty years of brilliant inventions and discoveries,



The Ceylon Labour Union Volunteer Corps who served Mahatma Gandhi during his visit to Ceylon with Mr. A. F. Gunasingha, President of the Union.

he has said, has not added one inch to the moral height of mankind. So said a dreamer and visionary if you will, — Tolstoy. So said Jesus, and Buddha, and Mahomed, whose religion is being denied and falsified in my own country to-day.

"By all means drink deep of the fountains that are given to you in the Sermon on the Mount, but then you will have to take sackcloth and ashes. The teaching of the Sermon was meant for each and every one of us. You cannot serve both God and Mammon. God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Tolerance incarnate, allows Mammon to have his nine days' wonder. But I say to you, youths of Ceylon, fly from that self-destroying but destructive show of Mammon."

ADVICE TO LABOURERS*

Mr. Chairman, friends and fellow labourers: I thank you for presenting me with your beautiful address and handsome purse for the cause which has brought me to this pearl amongst the Islands of the earth.

I have called myself a labourer in addressing you as fellow labourers and I have done so for the simple reason that since 1904 I have been endeavouring to live to the best of my ability as a labourer myself.

But long before that date I began to understand and appreciate the dignity of labour and it was long before that date that I realised at the same time that labour was not receiving its due. And out of His infinite grace God so fashioned my life that I began to be drawn closer and closer to labour and to its service.

It therefore gives me great joy to be in your midst and to

* Speech delivered at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Labour Union at Colombo on the 16th November 1927.

receive from fellow-labourers an address and also a purse on behalf of those who are, materially speaking, infinitely worse off than yourselves.

The use made by you in your address of the expression "Mother India" has touched me to my deepest recesses. The use of that expression, in my opinion, derives great significance because I know all of you are not Indians. Perhaps to those amongst you who are not Indians, the significance that I attach to that expression and which I shall presently explain to you was not before your mind's eye when you made use of the expression.

Legend—and legend at times is superior to history—, has it that in remote times a King called Rama came to Lanka to rid this Island of an evil King, and instead of exercising the rights of conquest by annexing this fair Island to India, he restored it to the brother of that evil King, called Vibhishan, and crowned him King of Lanka.

Rendered in modern language it means that Rama before trying the loyalty of the people of Lanka or the loyalty of King Vibhishan and putting either him or the people through a course of tutelage, gave them straight away complete self-government, dominion status.

Many changes have come about since the date assigned to the period of this legend both in this place and in India, and the two countries have undergone many vicissitudes of fortune, but the fact remains that the millions in India, even to the present day, believe in this legend more firmly than in any facts of history.

And if you, people of this beautiful Island, are not ashamed of owning some connection with your next door neighbour I would advise you and ask you to share the pride that millions of Indians have in owning this legend.

Now you can understand why I told you that you, who are

in my opinion, a daughter state did well in using the term "Mother India" for India when expressing your allegiance to that country.

I would also point out to you that whether Rama of the legend ever lived on this earth or not, and whether also the ten-headed Ravana of the legend lived in Lanka or not, it is true that there is a Rama who is living to-day and there is also a Ravana who is living to-day. Rama is the sweet and sacred name in Hinduism for God and Ravana is the name given in Hindu mythology to evil, whenever evil becomes embodied in the human frame. And it is the business, the function, of God Rama to destroy evil wherever it occurs and it is equally the function of God Rama to give to his devotees like Vibhishan a free charter of irrevocable self-government.

Let us all, whether we are labourers or otherwise seek to rid ourselves by the help of God Rama within us, of the ten headed monster of evil within us, and ask for the charter of self-government.

And you fellow labourers who have still to receive your due are perhaps in special need of Rama's help and Rama's grace in order that you may rid yourselves of evil and fit yourselves for self-government.

Don't believe it, if any one tells you that it was I who secured the comparative freedom for the indentured labourers of South Africa, or that it was I who secured freedom for the labourers of Ahmedabad or Champaran. They secured whatever they did, because they complied with the rules, the inexorable rules, governing self-government. They won because they helped themselves.

Let me briefly tell you what in my opinion you should do to come to your own. Combination amongst yourselves in the form of Unions is undoubtedly the first. But I can tell you from experience that your very Union can become one of the causes

of your bondage if you do not comply with other conditions which I shall presently mention to you.

Each and everyone of you should consider himself to be a trustee for the welfare of the rest of his fellow labourers and not be self seeking. You must be and remain non-violent under circumstances however grave and provoking. If you will be men and realise your dignity, you must give up drink in its entirety if you are given to that cursed habit. A man under the influence of drink becomes worse than a beast and forgets the distinction between his sister, his mother and his wife. And if you really believe me as your friend you will take the advice of this old friend of yours and shun drink as you would shun a snake hissing in front of you. A snake can only destroy the body but the curse of drink corrupts the soul within. This therefore is much more to be feared and avoided than a snake. You should also avoid gambling if you are given to that evil habit.

There is a still more delicate thing about which I was pained to receive a letter, only yesterday or today, from a friend who has given his signature.

He tells me that personal parity amongst labourers is somewhat conspicuous by its absence. He tells me that many of you, men and women, huddle yourselves together in a small space, irrespective of any restriction that modesty imposes upon us and demands from us.

One of the things that sharply distinguishes man from beast is that man from his earliest age has recognised the sanctity of the marriage bond and regulated his life in connection with woman by way of self-restraint which he has more and more imposed upon himself.

My dear friends, if you will realise your dignity as men and rise to your full height, as you ought to, you will bear this little thing in mind that I have told you, treasure it and give effect to it from this very night.

If your means do not permit you to have separate and sufficient habitations so as to observe the laws of primary decency you will refuse to serve under such degrading conditions and for such insufficient wages.

I would honour you as brave men if you would accept a state of utter starvation rather than that you should labour on such insufficient wages as would render it impossible for you to observe the primary laws of morality. I do not care whether you are Hindus, Buddhists, Christians or Mussalmans, the demand of religion is the same and inexorable, that every woman other than your wife must be treated by you as your sister or your mother, whose body must be held as sacred as your own.

I would advise you to use your Union as much for internal reformation as for defence against assaults from without, and remember that while it is quite proper to insist upon your rights and privileges it is imperative that you should recognise the obligation that every right carries with it.

Whilst therefore you will insist upon adequate wages, proper humane treatment from your employers and proper and good sanitary lodgings, you will also recognise that you should treat the business of your employers as if it were your own business and give to it your honest and undivided attention.

You must on no account neglect your children but should give them a decent education and properly so that they may be able, when they grow up, to play their part on the human stage nobly and well.

Lastly, while you have done well in thinking of the more unfortunate millions in India, I would advise you to establish a living bond between them and yourselves, especially if you still consider that India is the Mother State, the Mother Country; you will for the sake of the poor millions invest every pice or every cent that you spend on your clothing in khadi and nothing else.

I thank you once more for your address and your purse and for the patient attention with which you have listened to the few words I have said to you this evening.

I also thank your volunteers who have been silently and unselfishly serving me.

I hope and pray that the words I have spoken to you this evening will enter your hearts, and God will give you the wisdom and the strength to carry out such of my advice as may commend itself to you.

ADVICE TO THE PUBLIC *

I thank you for these addresses as also for the generous purses that you have presented to me.

You have in your addresses very kindly mentioned my wife also. But I am very sorry to have to inform you that she is not with me this morning. The fact is that we are not travelling in Ceylon to receive honours from you, but purely for the business which I have undertaken on behalf of the poor millions of India. As a matter of fact, people have often, as a gentleman did last night, mistaken her for my mother. For me, as for her also, I hope, it is not only a pardonable mistake, but a welcome mistake. For years past, she has ceased to be my wife by mutual consent. Nearly forty years ago I became an orphan, and for nearly thirty years she has been my mother, friend, nurse, cook, bottle-washer and all these things. If in the early hours of the day, she had come with me to divide the honours, I should have gone without my food. And nobody would have looked after my clothing and creature comforts. So we have come to a reasonable understanding that I should have all the honours and she should have all the drudgery. I assure you that some of

* Speech at Matale public meeting on 18th November 1927.

the co-workers will duly inform her of all the kind things that you have said about her and I hope that the explanation that I have tendered you will be accepted by you as sufficient excuse for her absence.

You will forgive me for having taken up so much of your time over a flimsy personal explanation, but if the men in front of me, and especially the women will understand the serious side of the explanation and appreciate the secret of it I have no doubt that you will all be the happier for it.

I have no doubt that it is not necessary for me to draw the attention of a people whose country is dominated by the spirit of the Buddha, to the fact that life is not a bundle of enjoyments and privileges, but a bundle of duties and services.

That which separates man from the beast is essentially man's recognition of the necessity of putting a series of restraints, on worldly enjoyment.

I am therefore surprised to find that in this land of Buddha people are given, as they are given in other parts of the country, to drink.

In studying the statistics of this Island, I found that the drink revenue was a substantial part of the general revenue. I was still more shocked to discover that, unlike us in India, the drink habit did not carry with it a sense of shame and disrespectability.

You know that I belong to the country where Gautama was born, where he found his enlightenment, and where he passed his life. Whatever the Ceylonese scholars in Buddhism may say to the contrary, I want you to take it from me that this drink habit is totally against the spirit of the Buddha. Because in this land, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam are represented in abundance, I tell you that in Hinduism drink is a sin: I know that it is equally held abominable in Islam. I am sorry to confess that in Christian Europe drink is not considered disrespectful,

but I am glad to be able to tell you that hundreds, if not thousands, whose friendship I have the privilege to enjoy, have assured me that this drink habit in Europe is entirely contrary to the spirit of Christ.

I am in close touch with Christian America. You know how bravely these men in America are battling against the drink evil. I would therefore respectfully urge you all, whether you are Buddhists or Hindus, Christians or Mussalmans, to unite together in making a supreme effort to rid this country of this drink curse.

Whatever may be said about the medical necessity of drink in cold climates, every one is agreed that there is absolutely no occasion for drink in the climate of a temperate zone like this.

One of the things to which I would like to draw your attention is the existence of untouchability in the most liberal religion in the world—Buddhism. I wish you would take immediate steps to declare every man to be absolutely equal with the rest of you. You are denying Buddhism, you are denying humanity, so long as you regard a single man as an untouchable.

Lastly since you have been good enough to sympathise with my mission, I would ask you to broaden your sympathy by making your purchase of cloth in khadi alone, so long as your clothes are not manufactured in this beautiful Island.

My barber friends have presented me with an address and a purse. It is a manifestation from fellow-workers of sympathy for the starving millions, which deeply touches me. I would be happier if those, who have, will always think of those, who have not.

I thank you once more for the addresses and the purses.

DUTIES OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS.*

Mr. Chairman and friends, I thank you very sincerely for the address that you have given me and the mention made therein to some services that I have rendered to my country and mankind in general.

I have been reading to-day something of the ancient city and the struggles that citizens have been undergoing, and a feeling of pain and sorrow has crept upon me. I have not yet finished this booklet, but I have read enough of it to realise the difficulties the citizens of this place are undergoing. I can only say to them through this audience that my whole heart goes out to them. I hope that all your right and lawful aspirations will be fulfilled.

As I said in Colombo, I am a lover of Municipal life. I do believe that Municipal service is a privilege and duty which every citizen should render to the best of his or her ability. That service can be rendered without becoming a member of the Municipality. It is not given to everyone to be elected a member.

I do not suppose that you, in Ceylon, are different from the people in India and therefore I fear that here, as in India, places in the Municipalities are often aspired after, and if that is so, the sooner we get rid of this idea the better for us.

I do not know whether you have any slums here. I fear you are not without them, and those who are Municipal Councillors owe a duty to the poor citizens more than to the rich ones.

I have had experience of Municipal work in Bombay, Calcutta and Allahabad and almost all the principal cities in India, and I have noticed that those who are powerful and wealthy are able to have Municipal service properly and

*Speech at the Kandy Municipality on 18-11-27.

promptly rendered to them, but, the poorest people on the contrary hardly receive any consideration. No Councillor makes it his duty to serve the poorest. I will be wrong if I let you understand that that is the condition in all Indian cities. I may also say that this state of things is improving though the improvement is painfully slow.

I venture to suggest to you that, in Ceylon, you are happier, much happier, than we are in India, in that you have not huge masses of men to deal with. You have got a country second to none in natural beauty and climate. There is absolutely no reason why you should have plague, or the fear of plague. You should be able, as are some of the Municipalities in South Africa, to keep off such visitations. I may tell you that the Municipalities there make it their business. Like the Cape Municipality to advertise their places and to draw people from all parts of the earth. They advertise their cities by making them gems of beauty and you here surpass even Cape Town.

The natural scenery that I see about me, in Ceylon, is probably unsurpassed on the face of the earth. If you will add to it by ideal town planning and sanitation with all efforts humanly possible, you can certainly advertise this beautiful spot and draw people from all parts of the earth much to their betterment and your own.

They will have much to learn in this Island which received enlightenment from the Great Buddha. You have a great religion which is not surpassed on the face of the earth. It is a religion which has ennobled humanity. It is professed by the largest number of the human race but your religion, as it stands at present, is not at its best because you do not put forth your highest possible effort. It is your duty to do so. You cannot begin better than by turning your places into little paradises on earth. I thank you again for your address of welcome.

PLEA FOR PERSONAL PURITY *

It has been my good fortune to feel at home and make myself at home wherever I have gone in any part of the world, and had I not been able to do so, probably I should have died without having had to commit suicide long ago. But I feel doubly at home when I see my Parsi friends. You cannot understand this really. And you might also think that I am joking. It is not joking. It is serious, because of my having been in closest association with Parsis in South Africa and in India, and having had personally nothing but treasures of love from them. Even now you do not know, of course, but it gives me great pleasure to own before you that some of my best workers are Parsis, and they are those three grand daughters of the Grand Old Man of India.

But I must not detain you on my personal and family affairs. I thank you very much for this purse and I like this opportunity of having come to you.

As I told the boys of the Trinity College a little while ago your education is absolutely worthless, if it is not built on a solid foundation of truth and purity. If you, boys, are not careful about the personal purity of your lives and if you are not careful about being pure in thought, speech, and deed, then I tell you that you are lost, although you may become perfect finished scholars.

I have been asked to draw your attention to one thing. Purity consists first of all in possessing a pure heart, but what there is in the heart really comes out also and is shown in outward acts and outward behaviour. And a boy who wants to keep his mouth pure will never utter a bad word. Of course, that is quite clear. But he neither will put anything into his

* Speech at the Dharmaraja College, Kandy on 18-11-27.

mouth that will cloud his intellect, cloud his mind and damage his friends also.

I know that there are boys who smoke, and in Ceylon perhaps you are as bad as they are in Burma, though boys are becoming bad everywhere so far as this wretched habit of smoking is concerned. And of course, Parsis as you know, are called or rather mis-called, fire-worshippers. They are no more fire-worshippers than you and though they see God through that great manifestation the Sun which is nothing but the God of Fire.

Some of you good Parsis never smoke, and you make it a point, whenever you have a number of boys in your care, to train the boys not to foul their mouths by smoke.

If any of you are smoking, you will henceforth give up that bad habit. Smoking fouls one's breath. It is a disgusting habit. When he is in a railway carriage, the smoker never cares whether there are ladies or men sitting about him who never smoke, and that the stench that comes out from his mouth may be disgusting to them.

The cigarette might be a small thing from a distance, but when the cigarette smoke goes into one's mouth and then comes out, it is poison. Smokers do not care where they spit. Here Gandhiji related a story from Tolstoy to explain how the tobacco habit was more disastrous in its effects than drink and proceeded:—

Smoking clouds one's intellect, and it is a bad habit. If you ask doctors, and they happen to be good doctors, they will tell you that smoke has been the cause of cancer in many cases, or at least that smoke is at the bottom of it.

Why smoke, when there is no necessity for it? It is no food. There is no enjoyment in it except in the first instance through suggestion from outside.

You, boys, if you are good boys, if you are obedient to your

teachers and parents, omit smoking and whatever you save out of this, please send on to me for the famishing millions of India.

AT KANDY *

I am obliged to you for these numerous illuminated addresses, costly caskets and many purses.

I had hoped to be able to speak to you at some length, but your kind presentations of the gifts and the reading of those addresses have taken up over forty minutes out of sixty allotted for this meeting.

It has given me the greatest pleasure to be able to visit this beautiful Island of yours. I have come to understand some of the difficulties and sorrows of the people of Kandy during the few hours that I have been in your midst. I wish that it were possible for me to give you more than lip sympathy, but as it is, I have to be satisfied with assuring you of my hearty sympathy and with praying that your sorrows may somehow be alleviated.

You have, in one of your addresses, asked me to do something in order that you may have the Buddha Gaya restored to you. I can give you my assurance that I shall not fail to do everything that is in my power to restore the property to you. (Cheers). But I wish I could think that your applause was justified because, I fear that in spite of all my efforts, my power to help you is much less than you seem to imagine.

I would therefore warn you against building much hope on my assurance, and ask you to continue your effort to vindicate your right absolutely unabated.

I had hoped to be able to speak to you on the message of the spinning wheel as it is applicable to you, but I feel that it is

* Speech in reply to the addresses at the public meeting at Kandy on 18-11-37.

my duty to occupy the few minutes at my disposal with more serious and more urgent problems before you.

I have heard and it has given me pain to learn that even with you the followers of the Enlightened One there is untouchability rigidly observed. I assure you that it is wholly against the spirit of the Buddha. And I would urge Buddhists and Hindus to rid the community of this curse.

There is again the drink curse prevalent in your midst, as it is in other parts of the world. In so far as I know it, it is opposed to the spirit of all the great religions of the world and most decidedly Buddhism.

I understand that you have the right of local option in your midst. It would give me the greatest satisfaction to learn when I have left your shores that you are making the fullest use of this right of local option in order to rid this beautiful Island of this curse.

I was distressed to learn that the estates and the plantations were not covered by the right of local option. I hope that the information given to me is not true. But whether that information is true or false, I hope that my voice will somehow or other reach the great planters who ought to regard themselves as the trustees for the welfare of the labourers on whom depends their marvellous prosperity. I venture respectfully to suggest to them that it is their duty to take a personal interest in the social welfare of the labourers whose bodies and even their souls are entrusted to their care. I regard it as their duty not only to put no temptation in the way of their labourers in the shape of drink, but to make an active effort to wean them from their errors.

I see that the time allotted for this meeting is over and I must conclude by repeating my thanks to the people of Kandy for the extraordinary kindness that they have shown to me.

THE TRIPLE MESSAGE OF KHADI.*

Mr. Chairman and Friends,—I thank you for your address and purse. It has given me the greatest pleasure to be in your beautiful Island.

I see before me thousands of labourers from the neighbouring plantations. I wish that I had time to go in your midst and look at the surroundings in which you are living and your habitations and mode of life.

You may not all know that nearly a generation of my life has been passed either in the midst of labourers or in closest contact with them and nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to have passed a few days in your midst, understanding your wants and aspirations, but I hope that the cause which prevents me from doing so will be accepted as sufficient excuse for my not coming in your midst and living with you for a time.

The cause is that I am travelling just now as a self-appointed representative of millions in India who are infinitely worse off than any of you here. It is for their sake that these purses, that you have seen presented to me, have been given.

Every rupee of this purse will go to find employment in their own huts for 16 women at least per day. These are men and women who cannot afford, even if they semi-starve, to leave their own homes, huts and fields. Out of the monies that are being collected throughout the year, nearly every year 50,000 women are being supported in their own homes through the spinning wheel industry.

Behind these spinners, several thousand weavers, dyers, printers, washermen and others are also being supported who but for this revival of spinning, would have been without any work.

* Speech at the public meeting in Badulla on 19-11-27.

This work is being done through the agency of an all-India organisation called the All-India Spinners' Association which contains several self-sacrificing men, either sons of millionaires or of proved merit and integrity.

Whilst for this cause I gladly collect sums from monied men, it gives me great joy to be able to collect also from poor men like those of you who are sitting in front of me. Every cent, every anna received from a willing heart is just as welcome as the rupee or ten-rupee note received from a rich man.

I know that many of you who have graced this occasion with your presence have not had the opportunity given to you to subscribe to this fund. If my guess is correct, and many of you have not subscribed, I invite you before you leave this meeting, to give your mite to this cause if you are so minded.

I am glad to be able to inform you that whilst I am making this appeal to the audience, a member has already sent me evidently all the money that he had in his pocket, Rs. 8 and odd.

But a more serious thing to which I wish to refer is that you should all establish a living bond with these starving millions by wearing khadi, which is produced by them out of these funds. All these monies will be perfectly useless if I do not find customers for the khadi that I manufacture. I see that the response has already commenced before my appeal, and if every one of you put your hands into your pockets, and give your eyes to the men who are collecting and ears to me, I shall easily deliver the message I am about to give you.

There is an important matter which I want to discuss with you. A Wesleyan friend informed me this morning that hundreds of looms used to work here and he told me sorrowfully that owing to importation of foreign cloth and foreign yarn, all these looms were lying idle and this old industry had all but died out in this district.

I have told this gentleman that if he wants the assistance of experts in order to teach all the processes from ginning to hand spinning, he can have it in Ceylon itself. There is near Colombo a family which has already learned all the processes and manufactures its own cloth from raw cotton.

There is no doubt whatsoever that if there are really needy men and women in this fair island, nothing can be better than that you should clothe yourselves out of cloth of your own spinning and weaving. I therefore hope that you will help this Rev. Gentleman with all your hearts for his work and progress and make use of all the industry and skill that he may place at your disposal.

I understood from another visitor this afternoon that you are without any organisation here for doing this class of social work or political work of any nature whatsoever, and indeed nothing would please me better than to find that as one of the results of this meeting, you had such a working organisation manned by selfless workers.

Still another friend came to me and asked me what was the message of the spinning wheel for the people of Ceylon. He told me that there were men and women in this Island who also needed work, and in answer to my cross-questions, he told me also that he wanted me to show a way whereby the youth of this fair land can be weaned from hasty and indiscriminate imitation of the West.

A fourth friend writes to me, saying that all the beautiful garments that I see on some of the women of Ceylon and all the faultless European style dress that I see on so many young men must not be taken by me to be an indication of the possession of wealth by the wearers. This correspondent tells me that many of these stylishly dressed men often find themselves in the hands, I am sorry to say, of Chetties or Pattan money-lenders.

Well the spinning wheel has a message for all this class of people. To the starving man or woman who has no work possibly for him or her to do, the spinning wheel says:—

"Spin me and you will at least find a crust of bread for yourself."

That is its economic message, but it has also a cultural message for one and all. The spinning wheel says culturally to you and to me :—

"Seeing that there are millions on the face of this earth who are compulsorily idle for want of work, and since I am the only instrument that can be placed in their hands without taking work away from a single mouth, will you not spin me for the sake of these millions and produce an atmosphere of honest industry, honest work and self-reliance and hope for all on God's earth?"

That is the cultural message the spinning wheel addresses to all people of the earth, no matter to what country, religion or race they belong.

I assure you that slowly but surely this cultural appeal of the spinning wheel is finding a lodgment in the remotest corners of the earth. I know Englishmen, Austrians, Germans, Poles, who have already accepted this appeal of the spinning wheel. And I assure well to do men and women of Ceylon that if they will accept the cultural message of the spinning wheel and try to make at least some part of their own clothing they will find themselves, at the end of the task much taller than they are to-day.

The spinning wheel has a third message which is metaphorical. It stands for simple life and high thinking. It is a standing protest against the modern mad rush for adding material comfort upon comfort and making life so complicated as to make one totally unfit for knowing one's self or one's God. It says appealingly every minute of our life to you and to me :—

"Use me and you will find that if all of you unitedly make use of me, small and insignificant though I may appear, I shall be an irresistible force against the mad, indiscriminate worship of the curse called machinery."

It is a standing rebuke to the men and women of Ceylon who go in for all kinds of fashions and styles and it tells them.

'Do not for the sake of your country ape the manners and customs of others which can only do harm to you and for heaven's sake do not wish to be what every one of the people of Ceylon cannot be'

I must now place before you one or two other subjects which I wish to dwell upon, and I want to tell you about the drink evil.

I know that many of you, labourers, are given to the drink habit. The drink habit is worse than a snake bite. A snake bite may poison a body to death, but the drink habit poisons and corrupts the soul. I would therefore urge you to fly from that curse as you would fly from a hissing snake.

I would respectfully urge the employers of labour in this district to regard themselves as trustees for the welfare of their employees and try to wean them from the drink habit. It is their bounden duty, in my humble opinion, to close every canteen in their neighbourhood and take away every such temptation from their men. I can tell them from personal experience that if they will open for their men decent refreshment rooms and provide them with all kinds of innocent games, they will find that the men will no longer require this intoxicating liquid.

As I was passing to-day from Kandy to this place, I passed through some of the finest bits of scenery that I have ever witnessed in my life. Where nature has been so beneficent and where nature provides for you eternal and innocent intoxication in the grand scenery about you, surely it is criminal for men or women to seek intoxication from that sparkling but deadly

liquor. I suggest to the followers of the Enlightened One that it is totally against the spirit of his teaching to consider that drink can possibly be taken by those who adore the Buddha.

I was deeply pained to hear that even many of you who are Buddhists observe the curse of untouchability. I understood from a very high officer that some of you Buddhists consider it an insult for an untouchable woman to wear upper garments. I have no hesitation in saying without fear of contradiction that if you believe in untouchability, you deny totally the teaching of the Buddha. He who regarded the lowest animal life as dear as his own would never tolerate this cursed distinction between man and man and regard a single human being as an untouchable.

I was equally sorry to hear that you, Hindus, had not left this curse in India itself, but had taken it with you even on entering Ceylon. I so wish that both the Buddhists and Hindus living in Ceylon would set about working and remove this curse from their midst.

I must devote a sentence or two to one very important thing which I had almost forgotten.

While I was in Colombo I received a letter which told me that the life of the men and women in the estates and in all huge workshops was not as pure as it ought to be. The letter went on to say that the relations between men and women, were not what they should be.

What chiefly distinguishes man from the beast is that man from his age of discretion begins to practise a life of continual self-restraint. God has enabled man to distinguish between the sister, his mother, his daughter and his wife. Do not for one moment imagine that because you are labourers you are absolved from having to observe these necessary distinctions and restrictions. If your huts are not so constructed as to enable you

to observe the laws of decency and necessary privacy. I would request your employers to provide you with facilities to enable you to do so.

May God help you to understand the significance of these last words of mine!

AT NEWARA ELIYA *

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I thank you for your address and your purse. Everywhere my speeches have been interpreted both into Singalese and Tamil but here as I see the majority of you are Tamils I suggested to the Chairman of the Reception Committee to dispense with Singalese in order to save your time and my time and I hope that you will accept this arrangement. You, Sir, have apologised for the simplicity of your address. There was not only no necessity for an apology, on the contrary you deserve my hearty congratulations for saving money. Claiming as I do to represent the famished and famishing millions of India, I cannot be too strict, nor can you be too strict about every farthing that you collect in saving anything else for the starving millions. I grudge every rupee that is spent on flowers and in ornamentation whatsoever. You will remember that every rupee that you so save means sixteen starving women getting their meals and it is on their behalf that I have come to your Island to ask for your support. It has been a matter of great joy to me to find the people here liberally responding to my appeal. I understand that this purse represents the voluntary collections made by labourers and kanganies and the like. I can make no return save empty thanks for this generosity, but I do know this that God will bless every one of you who has voluntarily contributed to this purse. Every cent, every rupee that you may spend on

* Speech delivered at Newara Eliya on 20-11-27.

your pleasures, accoutrements, toys, ornamentation and thrifty frugality is only so much waste, but you may depend upon it that every rupee, every guinea given to this cause will return to you tenfold and if there are in this assembly any people who have not yet contributed to this purse or not been approached by anybody I would ask them to silently send in their gift to me while I am speaking to you. I am emboldened to make this appeal, because of the very generous response the meeting at Badulla made to me and the appeal at the meeting itself. You know that every home in the numerous villages of India has become at the present moment dilapidated because the poor people have been deprived of the only industry they had to supplement their resources from agriculture. I hope that whilst the friends are making their collections no noise will be made, but please preserve silence while I speak, for I want to make a personal appeal to labourers whom I see in front and behind me from neighbouring estates surrounding this beautiful hill.

ADVICE TO LABOURERS

I want you, the labourers, to understand that I am but one of you and have been casting my lot with you ever since my visit to South Africa nearly 30 years ago. I want you to realise and recognise your own dignity as men and women. Do not despise yourselves or allow others to despise you, because you are labourers. There never was and never is shame in honest labour. Without the existence of labour around these hills, their present condition would have been utterly impossible, but there are some well-defined conditions attached to your dignity, if you will preserve it. The first and foremost is that you must not go near the liquor shops. Drink is a devil in whose net you must not find yourselves. A man who comes under the influence of drink forgets the distinction between his wife and

sisters. You should therefore, if you have not already given up, make a sacred resolve that you will not pollute your lips by the touch of that cursed water, but if after having fed and clothed yourselves and your families, you have got some money to lay by, keep it for a better purpose, keep it for educating your children, keep it for a rainy day when your hands and your feet can no longer work and the time comes for you to rest. All these savings would come in useful to you and I would ask you to use a portion of the same for people much poorer than yourselves in the name of God.

I know also that many of you are not leading pure lives. It is wrong to live an impure life. God has made man so that he of all beings on earth can distinguish between women who are his sisters, daughters, mother and wife. Refuse to live under conditions which will make it impossible for you to live a life of discipline, purity and restraint. I wish that my voice will be heard by your employers, as I know that they will see to it that they take a personal interest in your daily life. I know that many of you use your idle hours, your spare hours in gambling your time and money away. You must not use your idle hours in this criminal fashion. Since you have sufficient open air life in your plantations, I would advise you to employ your leisure hours to cultivate your minds and if you have leisure spend your time in spinning for yourself and for your family.

I understood when you come to this Island you bring with you the curse of Untouchability. I tell you that there is no warrant in Hinduism for Untouchability. It is wrong to consider a single human being as untouchable, and if you will bear in mind all the things I told you, you will find yourselves better men and better women for having practised these things.

DUTY OF PLANTERS

I am reminded by a letter received from Colombo that

hookworm is prevalent in many of the estates in Ceylon. It is a disease wholly avoidable and it surprises me to find that your own employers have not been able to give you lessons to avoid this wretched disease. I know positively that this disease is due only to filth. The letter that I have received says that there are some remedies which are quite good and if there are such, you can certainly resort to them, but the better thing is to prevent the disease, seeing that it is so easily preventible and the chief thing is to regulate your sanitary life. Your methods of sanitation are not of the best kind, I am sorry to confess. I know that if planters will take proper measures to teach you sanitation, they will be doing their duty to themselves, to you and to humanity. That disease comes from polluting the water and using that water for all sorts of purposes. If you will only understand and learn the elementary lessons in sanitation and if you do not pollute the water which you drink by washing or dirtying it, you will never get hookworm. I thank you again for your address and generous purse.

ADVICE TO STUDENTS *

It has indeed given me great pleasure to be able to visit this College.

You have reminded me of the happy days I spent in South Africa. Those were days when my life was almost wholly cast in the midst of my Mussalman countrymen and it was early in 1893 that I found myself in the company of some of the finest Mussalmans it has been my good fortune to meet, as also to influence. It therefore does not surprise me that you have invited me to meet you in this hall.

Moulana Shaukat Ali when he returned from Ceylon gave

* Speech at the Zahira College, Colombo on 22-11-27.

me what he said was a message from the Mussalmans of Ceylon to hasten to Ceylon as soon as possible. But the work in which both he and I were engaged made it impossible for me to come here at that time.

Those of you who are in the habit of reading Indian newspapers will know that just before I embarked for Colombo I had the pleasure of meeting the Professors and boys of the Jamia College at Delhi. I have not got the time to give you a set speech, because there are other appointments waiting for me, but I would summarise the speech I gave to the boys in Delhi.

All the education that you are receiving in this Great College will be reduced to nothing if it is not built on the foundation of a pure character.

As I was reading your magazines I could not help admiring the zeal with which the work was done here and the marvellous progress that has been made in a few years. But as I was reading the report that was read before the Governor on the occasion of the foundation laying ceremony, I could not help feeling how nice it would be if we could raise a foundation of good character so that stones on stones might be raised thereon and we might look back with joy and pride upon that edifice. But character cannot be built with mortar and stone. It cannot be built by other hands than your own. The Principal and the Professors cannot give you character from the pages of books. Character building comes from their very lives and really speaking, it must come from within yourselves.

As I was studying Christianity, Hinduism and other great faiths of the world, I saw that there was a fundamental unity moving amidst the endless variety that we see in all religions viz. Truth and Innocence. You must take the word 'Innocence' literally that is to mean non-killing and non-violence, and if you boys will take your stand defiantly always on Truth and

Innocence, you will feel that you have built on solid foundation.

I am grateful for the generous purse you have presented to me. It is meant for finding work for the starving millions of India. These consist of Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians. Therefore you have, by giving me this donation, established a link between these starving millions and yourselves, and in doing so you have done a thing which is pleasing to God. It will be a very feeble link if you do not know the purpose for which this is going to be used. These monies are utilised for finding work among men and women for the production of cloth like that you find on my person. But all this money will be useless if you cannot find the people to wear khadi so manufactured.

It is possible now for us to satisfy every taste and fashion. If you will forge a lasting and continuing link with the masses of India you will henceforth clothe yourselves in khadi.

MESSAGE TO CEYLON CONGRESS *

I thank you for the words that you have spoken about myself, and I thank you also for the pleasant reminder that you have given me of the ancient times when the connection between India and Ceylon was established. I do not propose however to take up your time by giving my own views upon what that connection means to India, means to you, and shall I say to the world.

But I will say this: that in my opinion the teaching of Gautama Buddha was not a new religion. In so far as I have been able to study those lofty teachings, I have come to the conclusion—and that conclusion I arrived long before now—

* Speech in reply to the welcome given by the President of the Ceylon National Congress—22-11-27.

that Gautama was one of the greatest of Hindu reformers, and that he left upon the people of his own time and upon the future generations an indelible impress of that reformation. But it would be wrong on my part to take up your time and my own, limited as it is, to consider that very fascinating subject. I therefore come to mundane matters relating to the Congress.

In India the Congress is a word to conjure with. It is an association with an unbroken record of over 40 years. And it enjoys to-day a reputation which no other political association in India enjoys, and that is in spite of the many ups and downs which the Congress in common with all worldly institutions and associations has gone through. I therefore take it for granted that in adopting this name you are also, as far as may be, and is necessary, following the traditions of the parent body if I may call the National Congress of India by that name. And on that assumption I venture this afternoon to place before you my views of what a Congress should be, or how the National Congress in India has been able to build up its reputation.

I know that, after all, my connection with the Congress in India does not stretch over a period longer than 10 years—or I may now say, more accurately speaking, 12 years. But as you are aware that 12 years' association is so close, and I have been so much identified with the Congress that probably what I may say might be taken with some degree of authority. But in one way my association with the parent body is nearly 30 years old now.

It was in South Africa in the year 1893 when I went there that I dreamt about the Congress. I knew something about its activities, though I had never attended a single one of the annual sessions of that great institution. Just like you, as a youngster, I took my proper share in founding an association called the Natal Indian Congress after the fashion of the Indian National Congress, making such changes as were necessary to

suit the local conditions. I shall therefore be able to give you the results of my experience of public life in connection with such institutions dating back from 1893. And what I learnt even so early as 1894 was that any such association, to be really serviceable, to deserve the name of being called 'national,' requires a fair measure—I was going to say a great measure—of self-sacrifice on the part of the principal workers. I have no hesitation in confessing to you, that that ideal I found to be very difficult to put into practice even in that little community, because we were after all a very small body of men and women in Natal, which is the smallest province of South Africa, where we had a population of nearly 60 thousand Indians of whom the vast majority had no vote in the deliberations of the Congress.

The Congress however was a representative institution and fully representative of things that interested the people, because it constituted itself the trustee of the welfare of those men. But I must not linger over the history of that institution.

Even in that small body we found bickerings and a desire more for power than for service, a desire more for self-aggrandisement than for self-effacement, and I have found during my 12 years' association with the parent body also, that there is a continual desire for self-seeking and self-aggrandisement; and for you as for us who are still striving to find our feet, who have still to make good the claims for self-expression and self-government, self-sacrifice, self-effacement, and self-suppression are really absolutely necessary and indispensable for our existence and for our progress.

MEANING OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

I do not profess to have studied your politics during the brief stay that I have made here, I do not know the internal working of this organisation, I do not know how strong it is, and

how popular it is. I only hope it is strong and is popular. I hope you are free from the blemishes that I have just mentioned. It is I know, a pleasurable pastime (and I have indulged in it sufficiently as you know), to strive against the powers that be, and to wrestle with the Government of the day, especially when that Government happens to be a foreign Government and a Government under which we rightly feel we have not that scope which we should have, and which we desire, for expansion and fullest self-expression.

I have also come to the conclusion that self-expression and self-government are not things which may be either taken from us by anybody or which can be given us by anybody. It is quite true that if those who happen to hold our destinies, or seem to hold our destinies in their hands, are favourably disposed, are sympathetic, and understand our aspirations, no doubt it is then easier for us to expand. But after all self-government depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds. Indeed, self-government which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and to sustain it is not worth the name. I have therefore endeavoured to show both in word and in deed, that political self-government—that is self-government for a large number of men and women,—is no better than individual self-government, and therefore it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required for individual self-government or self-rule, and so as you know also, I have striven in India to place this ideal before the people in season and out of season, very often much to the disgust of those who are politically minded merely.

I belong to that body of political thought which was dominated by Gokhale. I have called him my political Guru: not that everything that he said or did I accepted or accept today but just because the moving force of his life (as I who came in

closest touch with him came to understand) was his intense desire to 'spiritualise politics.' This was his own expression in the preamble to the prospectus of the Servants of India Society, of which he was the founder and the first president. He makes the deliberate statement that he founded that Society in order to introduce spirituality into politics. He had studied the politics not only around him in his own country but had been a close and careful student of history. He had studied the politics of all the countries of the world and having been keenly disappointed to see a complete divorce between politics and spirituality, he endeavoured to the best of his ability, and not without some success—I was almost going to say not without considerable success—to introduce that element into politics. And so it was that he adopted the name of the Servants of India for his Society, which is now serving India in a variety of ways.

I do not know whether what I am saying commends itself to you or not, but if I am to show my gratitude for all the kindness that you have lavishly showered upon me during my brief visit to this beautiful country, if I am to show it in truth, I can only tell you what I feel and not what will probably please you or tickle you. You know that this particular thing—truth—is an integral part of our Congress creed. And we have therefore in the creed the attainment of Swaraj by legitimate and non-violent means.

You will find that I have not been tired of insisting upon truth at any cost, and non-violence at any cost. Given these two conditions in my humble opinion, you can hurl defiance at the mightiest power on earth—and still come away not only yourselves unscathed but you will leave your 'so-called adversary also uninjured and unhurt. For the time being he may misunderstand the non-violent blows that you deal, he may misrepresent you also, but you don't need to consult his feelings

or his opinions so long as you are fulfilling these two absolute conditions. Then it is well with you, and you, can march forward with greater speed than otherwise. The way may appear to be long, but if you take my experience extending over a period of 30 years uninterruptedly, without exception, I give you my assurance that it is the shortest cut to success. I have known no shorter road. I know that it very often requires great faith and immense patience, but if this one thing is fixed on our minds, then there is no other way open to a politician, if he is to serve not himself, but the whole nation. If once that determination is made, then comes faith and with that faith comes also patience, because you know that there is no better or shorter road.

I am afraid as we are in India, so are you cut up into groups and communities. I read casually only to-day something in praise of communalism. In India also we have this blight—we call it a blight we don't praise it. Even those who believe in communalism say frankly that it is a necessary evil to be got rid of at the earliest possible moment.

In India we have to deal with 300 million people. But you have to deal with such a small mass of men and women that it is a matter for pain and surprise for me to find a defence—an energetic defence— of this communalism. But I know that it is totally opposed to nationalism. And you want, as you must want, Swaraj. It is not the birthright of one country only; Swaraj is the birthright of all countries.—I feel constrained to say, the birthright even of the savage as of the most civilized man,— how much more of people who have got a culture second to none in the world, a people who have got all that Nature can give you, have got resources in men and money and in natural gifts, who have everything that goes to make you a powerful nation on this globe of ours, yet at the present moment you seem to be far away from it.

I don't suppose that any of you flatters himself or herself with the belief that you have at the present moment anything like what I should consider self-government. And that self-government you will not have—I was going to say you cannot have—unless you speak with the voice of one nation and not with the voice of Christians, Musalmans, Buddhists, Hindus, Europeans, Sinhalese, Tamils and Malays. I can't understand that.

As you, sir, said in your remarks that you represent all races and religions, I congratulate you upon that, and if you are really capable of vindicating that claim, all honour to you, and not only the Congress but you then deserve to be copied by us. We an older institution are not able to vindicate that claim. We are striving; we are groping in the dark; we are trying to suppress provincialism; we are trying to suppress racialism; we are trying to suppress religionism, if I may coin a word; we are trying to express nationalism in its fullest form but I am ashamed to confess to you that we are still far from it. But it is given to you to outstrip us and set us an example. It is easy for you, much easier for you than for us, but a condition indispensable for that is, that some of you at least will have to give your whole time to this and not only your whole time but your whole selves and you will have to suppress yourselves.

As Gokhale said, politics had degenerated into a sort of game for leisure hours, whereas he desired that for some at least politics should be a wholetime occupation, it should engross the attention of some of the ablest men of the country. It is only when truth, fearlessness and non-violence are dominant factors that a person can think it worth his while to devote himself unselfishly and exclusively to the service of the nation.

I hope that in your Congress you have such a body of men and women, because woman must play her part side by side with man.

As I said in India, our one limb is paralysed. Women have

got to come up to the level of man. As I remarked to the ladies at a meeting to-day, they may not copy man in all the wildness of his nature, but they must come to the level of man in all that is best in him. Then in this Island you will have a beautiful blend, then you will be worthy of what nature has so profusely showered on you.

As I travelled from Kandy to Colombo this morning, I asked myself what was the Congress going to do in order to save Ceylon, whom God had blessed with enough natural intoxication, from the intoxication of that fiery liquid. I make a humble suggestion to you.

If the Congress is to be fully national, it cannot leave this fundamental social question. In this temperate climate, where no artificial stimulant is necessary, it is a shame that a substantial part of your income should be derived from liquor. You may not know what is happening to the labourers whose trustees you are, whose will is only once expressed when they cast their votes in your favour. I saw thousands upon thousands of them at Hatton. I have lost all sense of smell, but a friend told me that some of them were stinking with liquor. They had gone mad over the fact that one of their own was going in their midst, and had broken the bounds of restraint.

Well, I know what you will say. You will say it was the result of excess and that it is not had to drink in moderation. I tell you, I have found so many making that claim and ultimately proving dismal failures. I have come from cities of South Africa where I have seen Africans, Europeans, Indians rolling in gutters under the influence of drink, I have seen proctors, advocates and barristers rolling in gutters and then the policemen taking them away in order to hide their shame. I have seen captains mad with drink leaving their cabin to the chief officer, or defiling the cabin where they were supposed to keep guard over the safety of their passengers.

Claiming, as you do, allegiance to India and endorsing, as you do, your connection with the story of Ramayana, you should be satisfied with nothing but Rama Raj which includes Swaraj. When the evil stalks from corner to corner of this enchanting fairy land, you must take up the question in right earnest and save the nation from ruin.

Then there is the other thing, untouchability. You consider the Rodiyas as untouchables and their women are not allowed to cover their upper parts.

It is high time for the Congress to take up the question of the Rodiyas, make them their own and enrol them as volunteers in their work. Democracy is an impossible thing until the power is shared by all, but let not democracy degenerate into mobocracy. Even a parish, a labourer, who makes it possible for you to earn your living, will have his share in self-government. But you will have to touch their lives, go to them, see their hovels where they live packed like sardines. It is up to you to look after this part of humanity. It is possible for you to make their lives or mar their lives.

The Indian National Congress deals with both of these questions. They are living planks in our programme. I urge upon you, if you want to make your Congress truly national and truly representative of the poorest and meanest people of Ceylon, you will add these items to your programme, if you will add these items to your programme, if you have not already added them, and introduce a full measure of spirituality into your politics, then everything else will follow; self-government which is your birthright will drop in your hand like a fully ripe fruit from a laden tree.

May this message produce its due effect and penetrate your hearts.

CONTINUE YOUR TRADITION.*

You have apologised for your inability to present me with a proper address. Your address is written on your hearts which you have laid bare before me.

A strange relationship binds me to the Parsis. The affection they have showered on me, a Hindu, wherever I have come in contact with them is something inexplicable and impregnable.

Wherever I have gone Parsis have not failed to find me out. When scarcely any one knew me, when the burden of Mahatmaship had not yet been imposed on me, a Parsi befriended me and made me his own. I refer to the late Parsi Rustomji of South African fame.

When the South African Europeans mobbed and lynched me on my landing at Durban in 1896 Parsi Rustomji harboured me and my family at grave risk to his person and property. The mob threatened to burn his house, but nothing daunted Rustomji gave us shelter under his roof. Ever since throughout his lifelong friendship with me he helped me and my movements and in 1921 he was the biggest donation to the Tilak Swaraj Fund from an Indian abroad.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ratan Tata sent me a cheque for Rs. 25,000 when I most needed it during the Satyagraha in South Africa. And Dadabhai Nauroji. How can I describe my debt to him? He took me to his bosom when I was an unknown and unbefriended youth in England, and today his granddaughters are a tower of strength to me in my Khadi work.

I ask you to continue the tradition of your fore-fathers, I ask you not to forget their simplicity and their frugal ways by aping the showy fashion of the West. Your community

* Reply to the Parsis Address in Colombo on 22-11-27.

has been known throughout the world for its charity, and luxury loving ease and extravagance go ill together with charity. I am glad to find that you here have retained some of your simplicity and your Indian ways. You are known for your business capacity and your people have made fortunes wherever they have gone. But remember that it is not their riches but their large-hearted charity that made them famous.

May God help you to keep up that tradition unbroken.

AT THE TAMIL UNION*

I am deeply grateful to you for the address that you have given me, and also for the purse for my mission.

I know that everywhere I have gone in this fair island, Tamil friends have surrounded me with overwhelming kindness and given me of their best for the cause which has brought me here. It therefore gives me no surprise that you, the members of this union, decided to give me a separate purse on your own behalf but I know this also that you are well able to pay what you have paid, and it is possible for you, if you understood the full significance of my message, to pay even much more than you have done.†

APPLICATION OF FUNDS

You, Sir, have conferred on me a favour by asking me to tell this meeting how the funds, that I am now collecting are being utilised and what I expect from the distribution of these funds.

There is in India an association called The All-India Spinners' Association. It has got its own constitution and its affairs

*Speech delivered at the Tamil Union, Colombo on 22-11-27.

† Sir P. Remanathan who presided at the meeting.

are administered by a council of nine, of which I am the President for the first five years of its existence. One of the millionaire merchants of India is the Treasurer of this Association. His name is Seth Jammalal Bajaj. At the present moment he acts also on my behalf as Chairman of the Council. Its Secretary is a moneyed man's son named Sanker Lal Banker. The other members of the council are equally well-known and known also for their self-sacrifice. This council operates through its branches all over India. All accounts are periodically audited by Chartered Accountants.

Through this Agency over 1500 villages all over India are being served to-day, and in these villages at least 50,000* spinners who are Hindus, Mussalmans and in some cases, even Christians and others, are being given work through the spinning wheel. Whereas before the advent of the spinning wheel, they had no work whatsoever to do for four months in the year, now since the advent of the spinning wheel, they get anything between one and two annas per day whilst they are working the wheel. Of the funds the largest amount is spent in Tamil Nadu, because the largest number of spinners are to be found in those Districts where there is almost chronic famine. Often women walk several miles to receive cotton or splicers and to deliver yarn and receive the money earned.

Besides these spinners several thousand weavers have been reclaimed, as also dhobies, whose special function is to wash such khadi, and dyers, printers, and others.

Of this distribution over this vast area 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad nearly 1,600 workers of the clerical class are employed, earning anything between 20 to 30 or even 40 rupees per month. There are some who get even as much as Rs. 75 or even Rs. 250 per month, but these are very few. On the top of these, there is an army of honorary workers who

* The latest figure are 2000 and 75400 respectively.



get nothing whatsoever but who give their work for the love of this service. All the provincial offices and sub-provincial offices are also under supervision and are required to keep regular accounts which have to be periodically audited.

Through this agency over 20 lakhs rupees worth of khaddar was manufactured and sold last year. This work is capable of indefinite extensions, provided we get men first and money next. Experience extending now over 5 or 6 years has shown us that if we get sufficient monetary assistance from people, if we get willing customers and if we get a number of qualified workers, it is merely a question of time when we should be able to serve all the 700000 villages in India. I have therefore not hesitated to call it the largest co-operative effort in the world.

Satisfactory though the results that I have described to you are they are by no means brilliant or at all enough for the work or the end that I have in view, but it merely awaits conversion of all those who feel for India like yourselves. It may flatter my pride, but I know that it is not a satisfactory state of affairs so long as I have got to travel about in order to convert people to the creed, as it were, of khadi and to induce them to part with their superfluous cash. If you took this simple work of collecting funds and of finding customers for khadi from off my shoulder I assure you that I could utilise my talent as an expert spinner for organising these villages and giving you the best and the cheapest khadi.

I know that you cannot be all spinning experts in a moment but you can all become khadi experts in the sense of becoming khadi buyers and donors and collectors of money. I am painfully aware that the country is making an uneconomical use of my abilities by compelling me to wander about from place to place in search of money and in search of custom for khadi.

I speak thus heart to heart to you for the simple reason that during my tour in Tamil Nadu from which I have come

here and from which you are drawn I have been so overwhelmed with kindness and generosity specially in Chettinad that you have created in me a passion for more.

You are, I understand, a sporting club and it is a good thing. But I want you to become sportsmen also of the higher order. I want you to become sportsmanlike enough to share your riches with those who are famishing in India, not by flinging a handful of rice at them, but by finding work in the manner that I am doing and paying them for the work.

I would like you also to be sportsman like enough to share your abilities and your capacity for service with those who are labourers in this Island. That is a social service which requires the abilities of many young men whom I see in front of me. I must not take up your time in order to relate my experiences of thousands of labourers I saw between Badulla and Hatton. On the one hand, I was glad to see them and on the other, it showed me how much there was for you, youngmen, to do on behalf of these labourers who are slowing away but do not know how to live a proper pure life.

You have heard my message. If there are any who have not yet paid or not paid enough, please send your donation on to me and if you will establish a living tie between these poor millions and yourselves, you will follow up your donation by making a resolve henceforth not to buy any cloth which is not khadi.

I thank you once more for your generosity.

AT GALLE*

" Mr. Chairman and friends, I am deeply grateful to you for the addresses and the collections presented to me just now.

Ever since my landing on the hospitable shores of this

* Speech delivered at the public meeting in Galle on 13.11.37.

beautiful Island of yours. I have been the recipient of great blessings and not the least among them is the benediction just recited by a number of boys and girls. A few minutes ago I received an address from your Municipal Council too and to the best of my ability I propose to give a combined reply, but I know you will thank me if I be as brief as possible as I don't wish you to be in the sun.

I have nothing different to say to Municipal Councillors from what I have to tell you, the citizens of this town.

I propose to repeat the hope I have been repeating day after day since I arrived in this Island.

I hope that you will do your utmost to rid yourselves the curse of drink and caste distinctions from this Island. Gauthama Buddha, whose life was one of continuous renunciation, has preached that his followers should not foul their mouth and poison their body by the use of liquor. Islam denounced drink in unmistakable terms. So far as I have seen of Christianity there is no warrant in the Christian Doctrine for the use of liquor and I can give you my personal testimony as a Hindu that my religion considers it as a sin to take liquor.

Even in this Island you have imported from your Motherland the bane of Communalism, but I hope that in our life of work for God and humanity we shall work shoulder to shoulder, as children of one common soil for the good of your country. Side by side with the sublime teachings of the Enlightened One, you have imported from India caste distinctions. Your adoption of the teachings of Buddha will remain incomplete, so long as you observe these distinctions. The spirit of democracy, that now prevades the world demands that one should not be considered superior to another. All are sons and daughters of one divine essence.

Lastly may I expect you to give a finishing touch to your donations and manifestations of regard to me by following the

example of the Tirsnagama Women's Association, who while giving me a reception at Hikkaduwa, intimated to me that they were going to organise a campaign to popularise Khaddar among ladies.

It gives me great joy to see that Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Christians have united to help me to ameliorate the condition of the famishing millions of India. I pray to God that even as you have worked in unison on this occasion that you may work in unison for the good of your common Motherland.

AT MAHINDA COLLEGE *

It has given me the greatest pleasure to be able to be present at this very pleasant function. You have paid me indeed a very great compliment and conferred on me a great honour by allowing me to witness your proceedings and making the acquaintance of so many boys.

I hope that this institution will progressively expand, as, I have no doubts, it deserves. I have come to know enough of this beautiful Island and its people to understand that there are Buddhists enough in this country, not merely to support one such institution, but many such institutions. I hope, therefore, that this institution will never have to pine for want of material support, but having known something of the educational institutions both in South Africa and India, let me tell you that scholastic education is not merely brick and mortar. It is true boys and true girls who build such institutions from day to day. I know some huge architecturally perfect buildings going under the name of scholastic institutions, but they are nothing but whitened sepulchres. Conversely, I know also some institutions

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the *prize* Distribution in Mahinda College at Galle on 24-11-27

which have to struggle from day to day for their material existence, but which because of this very want, are spiritually making advance from day to day. One of the greatest teachers that mankind has ever seen and one whom you have enthroned as the only Royal Monarch in your hearts delivered his living message not from a man-made building, but under the shadow of a magnificent tree. May I also venture to suggest that the aim of a great institution like this should be to impart such instruction and in such ways that it may be open to *any* boy or girl in Ceylon.

I notice already that, as in India, so in this country, you are making education daily more and more expensive so as to be beyond the reach of the poorest children. Let us all beware of making that serious blunder and incurring the deserved reproach of posterity. To that end let me put the greatest stress upon the desirability of giving these boys instruction from A to Z through the Sinhalese language. I am certain that the children of the nation that receive instruction in a tongue other than their own commit suicide. It robs them of their birth-right. A foreign medium means an undue strain upon the youngsters, it robs them of all originality. It stunts their growth and isolates them from their home. I regard therefore such a thing as a national tragedy of first importance, and I would like also to suggest that since I have known Sanskrit in India as the mother language, and since you have received all religious instruction from the teachings of one who was himself an Indian amongst Indians and who had derived his inspiration from Sanskrit writings that it would be but right on your part to introduce Sanskrit as one of the languages that should be diligently studied. I should expect an institution of this kind to supply the whole of the Buddhist community in Ceylon with text books written in Sinhalese and giving all the best from the treasures of old.

I hope that you will not consider that I have placed before you an unattainable ideal. Instances occur to me from history where teachers have made herculean efforts in order to restore the dignity of the mother-tongue and to restore the dignity of the old treasures which were about to be forgotten.

I am glad indeed that you are giving due attention to athletics and I congratulate you upon acquitting yourselves with distinction in games. I do not know whether you had any indigenous games or not. I should, however, be exceedingly surprised and even painfully surprised, if I were told that before cricket and football descended upon your sacred soil, your boys were devoid of all games. If you have national games, I would urge upon you that yours is an institution that should lead in reviving old games. I know that we have in India many noble indigenous games just as interesting and exciting as cricket or football, also as much attended with risks as football is, but with the added advantage that they are inexpensive, because the cost is practically next to nothing.

I am no indiscriminate superstitious worshipper of all that goes under the name of 'ancient'. I never hesitated to endeavour to demolish all that is evil or immoral, no matter how ancient it may be, but with that reservation. I must confess to you that I am an adorer of ancient institutions and it hurts me to think that a people in their rush for everything modern despise all their ancient traditions and ignore them in their lives.

We of the East very often hastily consider that all that our ancestors laid down for us was nothing but a bundle of superstitions, but my own experience, extending now over a fairly long period of the inestimable treasures of the East has led me to the conclusion that, whilst there may be much that was superstitious, there is infinitely more which is not only not superstitious, but if we understand it correctly and reduce it to

practice, gives life and ennobles one. Let us not therefore be blinded by the hypnotic dazzle of the West.

Again I wish to utter a word of caution against your believing that I am an indiscriminate despiser of everything that comes from the West. There are many things which I have myself assimilated from the West. There is a very great and effective Sanskrit word for that particular faculty which enables a man always to distinguish between what is desirable and what is undesirable, what is right and what is wrong, that word is known as "Viveka". Translated into English, the nearest approach is discrimination. I do hope that you will incorporate this word into Pali and Sinhalese.

There is one thing more which I would like to say in connection with your syllabus. I had hoped that I should see some mention made of handicrafts, and if you are not seriously teaching the boys under your care some handicrafts, I would urge you, if it is not too late, to introduce the necessary handicrafts known to this Island. Surely, all the boys who go out from this institution will not expect or will not desire to be clerks or employees of the Government. If they would add to the national strength, they must learn with great skill all the indigenous crafts, and as cultural training and as the symbol of identification with the poorest among the poor, I know nothing so ennobling as hand spinning. Simple as it is, it is easily learnt. When you combine with handspinning the idea that you are learning it not for your own individual self, but for the poorest among the nation, it becomes an ennobling sacrament. There must be added to this sacrament some occupation, some handicraft which a boy may consider will enable him to earn his living in after life.

You have rightly found place for religious instruction. I have experimented with quite a number of boys in order to understand how best to impart religious instruction and whilst

I found that book instruction was somewhat of an end, by itself it was useless. Religious instruction, I discovered, was imparted by teachers living the religion themselves. I have found that boys imbibe more from the teachers' own lives than they do from the books that they read to them, or the lectures that they deliver to them with their lips. I have discovered to my great joy that boys and girls have unconsciously a faculty of penetration whereby they read the thoughts of their teachers. Woe to the teacher who teaches one thing with his lips, and carries another in his breast.

Now, just one or two sentences to boys only and I have done.

As father of, you might say, many boys and girls, you might almost say of thousands of boys and girls, I want to tell you, boys, that after all you hold your destiny in your own hands. I do not care what you learn or what you do not learn in your school, if you will observe two conditions. One condition is that you must be fearlessly truthful against the heaviest odds under every circumstance imaginable. A truthful boy, a brave boy will never think of hurting even a fly. He will defend all the weak boys in his own school and help, whether inside school or outside the school, all those who need his help. A boy who does not observe personal purity of mind and body and action is a boy who should be driven out of any school. A chivalrous boy would always keep his mind pure, his eyes straight and his hands unpoliated. You do not need to go to any school to learn these fundamental maxims of life, and if you will have this triple character with you, you will build on a solid foundation.

May then true Ahimsa and purity be your shield for ever in your life. May God help you to realise all your noble ambition. I thank you once more for inviting me to take part in this function.

PLEA FOR BUDDHISTIC REVIVAL*

At the outset Gandhiji pleaded for toleration. He did not claim to be a scholar in any sense of the term. His first introduction to any religious study was through a single book, viz. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, which fascinated and engrossed him. Ever since, the spirit of Buddha had haunted him, so much so that he had been accused of being a Buddhist in disguise. And as he had said on a previous occasion he accepted the accusation as a compliment though he knew that if he made any such claim it would be summarily rejected by orthodox Buddhists. As one however who had imbibed the spirit of Buddhism he would reassert in all humility, but unhesitatingly, if in a different language, what he said on the previous occasion.

"There are some conditions," he said, "laid down in Hinduism for a proper prayerful study of religions. They are of a universal character. Remember also that Gautama was a Hindu of Hindus. He was saturated with the spirit of Hinduism, with the Vedic spirit, he was born and bred up in those exhilarating surroundings,—exhilarating, for the spirit,—and so far as I am aware, he never rejected Hinduism, or the message of the Vedas. What he did was therefore to introduce a living reformation in the petrified faith that surrounded him.

"I venture to suggest to you that *your study of Buddhism will be incomplete unless you study the original sources from which the Master derived his inspiration*, that is, unless you study Sanskrit and the Sanskrit scriptures. But your duty, if you are to understand the spirit of the Buddha, and not the letter of Buddhism, does not end there. That study has those conditions which I am about to describe to you. Those conditions are that a man or a woman who approaches a study of religion has first of all

* Speech at the Buddhists Young Men's Association.

to observe what are called the five *yamas*. They are the five rules of self-restraint and I will repeat them before you. Firstly, *Brâhmacarya*, celibacy; the second is *Satya*, truth; the third is *Ahimsa*, absolute innocence, not even hurting a fly: the next condition is *Asteya*, non-stealing, not merely not stealing in the ordinary sense in which the word is understood, but if you appropriate or even cast your greedy eyes on anything that is not your own, it becomes stealing. Lastly, *Aparigraha*—a man, who wants to possess worldly riches or other things, won't be fit really to understand the spirit of the Buddha. These are the indispensable conditions. There are other conditions, but I am going into these, because these are the fundamental ones, and Gautama before he attained his knowledge had conformed to all these rules, and conformed, as few of his contemporaries had ever done, to the spirit of those rules. I humbly suggest to you that you will not understand the spirit of the Buddha unless you have also yourselves conformed to these rules and then prayerfully tried to ascertain what the Master meant. It makes no difference that you know of him through all the books that have been written, but even these very books, I make bold to assure you, you will understand and you will interpret with a new light, immediately you have gone, first of all, through these preliminary observances.

Look what many critics of Islam have done—how they have torn the very book, that millions of Musalmans swear by, to pieces and held up the teachings of Islam to scorn. They were not dishonest men who wrote this criticism, they were honest men, they were not men who were not trying to search the truth, but they did not know the conditions that they had to fulfil before they could make any religious study.

Again look at what the critics of Hinduism have done. I read many of those criticisms, trying to enter into the spirit of the critics but came to the conclusion that they did not know

the A. B. C. of Hinduism and that they were grossly misinterpreting Hinduism.

Take Christianity itself. Many Hindus have misinterpreted Christianity. They approach the Bible, the Old Testament and the New Testament in a carping spirit, with preconceived notions. But why talk of the Hindus? Have I not read books written by Englishmen who, pretending to consider themselves atheists, have turned the Bible upside down and put all the fiery writings into the hands of innocent men and women and thereby done grave injury to the simple people who read them?

I have laid these points before the young men of this association, because I am anxious that *you should be the pioneers of presenting Ceylon, and through Ceylon the world, with a real Buddhist revival, that you should be the pioneers in presenting a living faith to the world, and not the dead bones of a traditional faith which the world will not grasp.*

The priests, whom I have seen by deputy said they could not argue but that they could only say what the Master taught. It is all right, but to-day the spirit of enquiry is abroad. We have got to deal with that spirit. The world is trying to seek the truth, and thirsting for peace in the midst of this terrible strife. There is also the desire for knowing the truth, but as I have ventured to suggest to you, those, who made a scientific study of religion and those who gave their lives for arriving at the truth and those with whose bones the snows of the Himalayas are whitened, have left these treasures not merely for 300 millions of India, but they have left these treasures for every one who cares to understand them, and they have said.

We cannot deliver the truth to you. It is incapable of being delivered through writings, it is incapable of being delivered with the lips, it is capable of being delivered only through life. It transcends reason. But it is not past experience. So they said, 'We tell you that such and such is the fact, but you

will have to test it for yourselves. You will apply your reason, we do not want you to deaden your reason, but you yourselves, even as we, will come to the conclusion that reason which God has given is after all a limited thing, and that which is a limited thing will not be able to reach the limitless. Therefore, go through these preliminary conditions, even as when you want to study geometry or algebra, you have to go through preliminary processes, however trying and tiresome. Observe them and then you will find that what we tell you with our own experience will be also yours.

I want to take you through only one illustration as to how the teaching of Buddha is now not being observed. I have deferred this part of my talk up to almost the very last moment except that I hinted at it in my speech at the Vidyodaya College.

You believe that Gautama taught the world to treat even the lowest creatures as equal to himself. He held the life of even the crawling things of the earth to be as precious as his own. It is an arrogant assumption to say that human beings are lords and masters of the lower creation. On the contrary, being endowed with greater things in life, they are trustees of the lower animal kingdom. And the great sage lived that truth in his own life. I read as a mere youngster the passage in the *Light of Asia* describing how the Master took the lamb on his shoulders in face of the arrogant and ignorant Brahmins who thought that by offering the blood of these innocent lambs they were pleasing God, and he dared them to sacrifice a single one of them. His very presence softened the stony hearts of the Brahmins. They looked up to the Master, they threw away their deadly knives and every one of those animals was saved.

Was this message given to the world in order to falsify it, as it is being falsified here? I feel that you who are the repositories of this great faith are not true to the spirit of the

Master's teachings so long as you do not regard all animal creation as sacred, and you cannot do so, so long as you do not abstain from meat and delude yourselves into the belief that you are not guilty of the crime of that slaughter because some one else killed the animals for you. You entrench yourselves behind the wall of traditions. You say that the Master never prohibited meat-eating. I do not think so. If you would approach the teachings of the Master in the spirit indicated by me, and rub in the spirit of tradition, you would have a different vision and a different meaning. You will find that when the Master said, 'I do not prohibit you from meat-eating,' he was preaching to a people who were in Christian parlance hard of heart. It was because he wanted to make allowance for their weakness that he allowed them to eat it, and not because he did not know the logic of his own teaching. If animals could not be sacrificed to the gods above, how could they be sacrificed to the epicure in us? When he prohibited sacrifice he knew what he was saying. Did he not know that the animals were sacrificed to be ultimately eaten? Why do they sacrifice thousands of sheep and goats to the Goddess Kali in Calcutta, be it said to their discredit and the discredit of Hinduism in spite of having received this message from the Hindu of Hindus—Gautama? Do they throw the carcasses away in the Hooghly? No, they eat every bit of the meat with the greatest delight, thinking that it has been sanctified because of the presentation to Kali. So the Buddha said, if you want to do any sacrifice, sacrifice yourself, your lust, all your material ambition, all worldly ambition. That will be an ennobling sacrifice.

May the spirit of the Buddha brood over this meeting and enable you to measure and assimilate the meaning of the words that I have spoken to you "

LIVE AS SUGAR IN MILK *

I thank you for all these numerous addresses and equally numerous purses

I see that as the time for my leaving Ceylon is drawing near, your hearts are extending and with your hearts, the frames of your addresses are also expanding. But you the Reddier friends and others who really should have known me better, might also have understood that if you gave me big framed addresses, you would also have to find me a place in which to keep these addresses in my Ashram at Saharmati. If you, out of your generosity, offer to give me a few thousand rupees ear-marked for the purpose of building such a house in which all your great and big addresses might be accommodated, I would have been obliged to say to you,—if you have so much money to spare in order to enable me to build a house for these things,—"Give me all this money and it will provide more food for the poor starving sisters in this world." You should also have known that for years past I have declined to accept any costly gifts for my own personal use. As you at least should be aware, I have not hesitated at the very meetings where these addresses have been presented to sell them at auction without laying myself open to the charge of discourtesy. But in this beautiful island where I might be mistaken for a stranger, I have out of delicate consideration for the feelings of the Sinhalese refrained from offering their addresses for auction. But here I know that you cannot possibly misunderstand me. Therefore I propose with your permission, which I anticipate to convert them into money which will swell the amount of your purses and will go to feed so many hungry mouths. I regard your addresses really as a temptation for me to do this

* Speech delivered at the Reddier Sangam Colombo on 25-11-37

thing, and therefore I shall not take up more of your time or my time by making any elaborate speech.

I would leave one or two thoughts with you before I leave Colombo. Since you are earning your bread in this beautiful Island, I would ask you to live as sugar lives in milk. Even a cup of milk which is full up to the brim does not overflow when sugar is gently added to it, the sugar accommodating itself in the milk and enriches its taste, in the same way I would like you to live in this Island so as not to become interlopers and so as to enrich the life of the people in whose midst you may be living.

Take care that none of the vices we have in India are brought with you in this land in order to poison the life. Let us not bring with us to these shores the curse of untouchability. In the Kingdom of Great God there cannot be any superiority and inferiority. Let us make this world therefore the Kingdom of God instead of making it the kingdom of the devil, as sometimes it appears to become. Let our lives be absolutely pure, our eyes straight, our hands unpolluted and since you have so generously given me all these gifts, may I not ask you to make all your cloth purchases in khadi.

Friends, I would beseech you to join the great struggle against the curse of drink that is going on in this Island. Not only will you refrain from drinking yourselves, but help the movement and the communities themselves to deliver them and establish complete prohibition in this land.

I thank you once more for all the kindness that you have showered on me which I shall never forget.

FAREWELL *

Mr. Chairman and friends:—I thank you for the words that you have spoken about me and your good wishes on your own behalf and on behalf of the citizens of Colombo. I thank you also for this generous purse. Good as the purse is, as it is announced here, I know and you ought to know that it is not the only purse that the citizens of Colombo have gladly given to me. Throughout my stay in Colombo little by little various associations and individuals have not only given me in public but have also been coming to my residence and giving me their own purses. I count all these handsome donations also as part of this purse.

In one way my visit to Ceylon draws to a close to-day though technically speaking I will be leaving your hospitable shores on the evening of the 29th from Jaffna. Somehow or other I feel that I am going to a different place in going to Jaffna. I am carrying away with me very pleasant recollections of your extraordinarily beautiful climate and equally pleasant recollections of the people of Ceylon. I assure you that I am leaving Colombo not without a heavy heart and if I could at all have managed it, I would certainly have stayed here longer. But I have in front of me a tour in Orissa, one of the most, or rather the most, afflicted parts of India. It is now suffering from a visitation of very heavy floods. I dare not therefore postpone that visit.

From H. E. the Governor down to the pettiest official, from the great merchant class and other capitalists down to the poorest labourer I have experienced nothing but the warmest kindness and you, Sir, have truly stated that all the people without distinction of caste, colour or creed have united in showering their affection unstintingly upon me and so far as the object

* Farewell speech in Colombo (25-11-27)

of my mission was concerned you have certainly realised fully the expectations that were raised by you.

I assure you that it would not require much pressure to bring me out again to Ceylon and as you have put it, for a leisurely stay if God spares that time for me and spares me for the purpose. But whether I am able to return to this fair island again or not you may be sure that my spirit will be always with you and I shall be watching your career with a great deal of personal interest.

When I decided to visit your country, I had imposed upon myself a strenuous limit that I would not express myself upon your political problems nor do I desire at the present moment to do so. But I know that an important 'Commission is just now enquiring into your political condition. So far as time has permitted it, I have been endeavouring to follow its proceedings and I may be permitted to hope that its proceedings and its findings may be so wise and so good as to be an unmixed blessing to this one of the fairest spots on the earth.

Without dwelling upon the political questions I may be also permitted to express the hope that even as you have united in offering this welcome to a humble individual like me, you will unite for realising your political ambition, sink all your differences, think not in water-tight compartments as Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, Mussalmans and what not, but think as one people of this great land and realize the highest of your political ambition. Personally, I have never been able to understand why a numerical minority should ever consider that it will not have its claim properly examined and given to it, if it is not separately represented. It has always seemed to me that an attitude of that character betrays want of national consciousness.

I have this morning in addressing my own countrymen given expression to the view which I wish to repeat again that it is the duty of those who have made Ceylon the land of their

adoption and where they make more than their livelihood, to subordinate their own interest to the general interest of the indigenous population, the Sinhalese. But I know that I must not go deeper into this subject.

I would like now to devote a sentence or two to the subject of which I have been ceaselessly speaking at all meetings viz., the question of caste in connection with its concentrated evil untouchability.

Everybody with whom I have discussed this subject has assured me that there is no warrant whatsoever for caste distinctions, let alone untouchability in Buddhism and yet, strange as it may appear, even among the Buddhists of this country, you have water-tight compartments, you have superiority and inferiority even bordering on untouchability as in the case of the Rodiyas who, I was glad to be told this morning, were now no more than 600. I know that if India may take pride in having sent you Mahinda and the message of Buddha to this land, it has also to accept the humiliation of having sent you the curse of caste distinctions. How I wish you could take more and more of the spirit of the Buddha if it is still to be found in India, and do away with the curse that you have inherited from that great land.

Nor is there the slightest warrant so far as I have been able to study Buddhism and conferred with the leaders of public opinion here, for the drink evil in your midst. It has delighted me to find that you have the right of local option in your midst and that you are taking advantage of that right, but I know from painful experience that this blighting curse is not one to be trifled with nor does it admit of any patience. I would therefore respectfully urge you to hasten the pace and rid this country of this great evil which is sapping the vitality as also the morality of at least the labouring population. I do hope that you are not going to let the mistake of giving favoured

treatment to foreign liquors. I have known them to produce the same mischief that indigenous liquors do. So far as I have been able to observe conditions and discuss this question with many medical friends with experience of temperance question, I have no doubt whatsoever that we who live in the temperate zone have no excuse for indulging in this untemperate habit.

I would now devote a sentence or two to the message of the spinning wheel, in so far as it may be applicable to you. I know, and I am happy to know, that you in this land are strangers to the gnawing pauperism that we have in India and which starves millions of people from day to day. The spinning wheel therefore has perhaps no economic importance for you but I have no doubt it has a great cultural value for this fair land. Its living message of simplicity is applicable to all lands and you will admit that if your boys and girls and even grown up men and women devoted an hour every day to self-spinning and if you become self-reliant and self-contained regarding your clothing requirements it would do not only no harm to you but would add dignity and self-confidence to this nation.

I have been watching not without considerable anxiety the craze for fashion which I see has seized your young men and women belonging to the higher classes. Little do they know how by becoming slaves to this hypnotic dazzle from the West they are isolating themselves from the poor of the country who can never aspire after such fashion. I cannot help thinking that it would be a great national catastrophe, a great tragedy, if you were to barter away your simplicity for this tinsel splendour.

But whether you appreciate this cultural side of the spinning wheel or not, you have from many a platform voluntarily declared your allegiance to India by affectionately calling her the motherland. You have by your generous parses given tangible

evidence of that allegiance. May I appeal to you to forge this link stronger and make it a living thing by finding in your wardrobe ample room for khaddar which will be produced as a result of your donations.

I have no power in me to make any the slightest return for the lavish kindness that you have showered upon me, but I have no doubt that the dumb and starving millions on whose behalf you have opened your purses will certainly bless you for the help that you have rendered to them, and as a self-appointed humble representative of those millions I can pray to the Almighty that He may bless you and endow you the people of this fair Island with all the blessings that you may deserve. I also thank the volunteers and the members of the Reception Committee for all the kindnesses shown to me and my companions during our stay here.

JAFFNA PUBLIC MEETING *

I am deeply obliged to you for all these addresses and various purses.

I appreciate the spirit with which you have refrained from insisting on reading all your addresses, but the Reception Committee had courteously and considerably provided me with copies of all the addresses in advance. I have carefully read all the addresses before coming to this meeting and one of them very correctly remarked that it was the young men of Jaffna who brought me to Ceylon.

In having come to Ceylon and having enjoyed the lavish hospitality of the Ceylonese, I am able to tell you that I have

* Speech delivered at the public meeting in Jaffna on the 24th November 27.

nothing but the pleasantest recollections of my visit to your fair Island.

Having come to Jaffna, I do not feel that I am in Ceylon, but I feel that I am in a bit of India. Neither your faces nor your language are foreign to me. Though I cannot identify every one of you by your features I know that I have met many of you in India itself.

So I suppose that was why you considered that you need not be satisfied with merely extending your lavish hospitality to me but that you might also exact some work from me. Whilst I was in the South and Central parts of Ceylon, I was not over-whelmed, with conundrums sent to me by correspondents, as I have been over-whelmed even from Colombo with correspondence from Jaffna presenting me with all kinds of conundrums.

I do not mention this to complain about it, but I mention this in order to tell you that I appreciate the motive that lies behind all this correspondence. It is, I know, a token of your confidence in my ability to assist you in arriving at a solution of some of your problems. It is also a demonstration of the friendship that I enjoy, because it is a special privilege of a friend, not merely to extend his hospitality, but to take his friend into his confidence.

You will, I know, forgive me if I do not straightway present you with a solution of the questions that have been propounded by the correspondents in their letters, but hearing in mind all that correspondence, I propose to imbibe from the atmosphere around me during the four days I am in your midst as much as I can of the inwardness of the many questions that have been presented to me. If I did otherwise, I feel sure that I should be unjust to you and unjust myself for having arrived at hasty decisions on questions on which I am not sufficiently enlightened.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

I congratulate you upon your village communities. I have gone through the paper that was very kindly prepared for my edification on the progress and working of the several village organisations in your midst. I agree with the writers of that note that the successful working of these village organisations is undoubtedly a key to the attainment of final Swaraj. Let me tell you from my own experience that a successful village organisation does not depend upon good legislation, but it depends upon good men to work it. There will have to be a number of young men and even old men taking a deep and personal interest in their villages just as much as they do in their own families. After all, the truest test of nationalism consists in a person thinking not only of half a dozen men of his own family or of a hundred men of his own clan, but considering as his very own the interest of that group which he calls his nation.

From the book that was sent to me whilst I was in Colombo and the literature that I have since received, I have learnt enough of your activities to know that you have got all the material that will go to make for very successful village organisation. You are a small well-built organisation, containing people speaking the same language and possessing apparently very well managed educational institutions. Apparently, you have not yet lost a love for all that was noble and good in ancient civilisation. You have not yet evidently become giddy with the onrush of splendour from the West. It is therefore quite easy for you to become the architects of your own fortune.

It has given me the greatest joy to discover that you are nearly on the point of becoming perfectly dry. Your closing of the pestilential taverns and liquor dens is a great step in the right direction. You deserve the heartiest congratulations of not only the people of this place, not only the people of Ceylon,

but of the motherland. It gives me additional joy to have your promise that you are determined to see that in the very near future you will have attained total prohibition, but I have discovered that you have internal difficulties in your way.

A correspondent has sent me a communication enclosing a pamphlet which is evidently designed to counteract the activities of those who are working for total prohibition. That pamphlet I must confess, is ably written, and on the face of it seems to claim to my painful surprise the support of some religious divines. In his eagerness to be witty and smart, the author of the pamphlet has not, I am sorry to say, hesitated to wound the susceptibilities of those whose mission he has set about opposing. He does not hesitate to laugh at the very artistic plantain leaf on which rice and curds are beautifully and simply served, nor does he hesitate to laugh at the simple life of those who are satisfied with a mere dhoti to cover themselves and call them half nude. In spite of my attempt to be fair and just to him, I have not been able to discover the slightest connection between the serious subject of prohibition and his light-hearted laugh at the simplicity of his own countrymen, if the author of the pamphlet is an Indian.

But whether you have difficulties internal or external I hope that you will persist in your effort to secure total prohibition.

As I always believe in giving the critics their due and in learning from them what is worth learning. I would like to make two suggestions which have been derived from this pamphlet. The first thing is to avoid the slightest shadow of compulsion or untruth. No reform worth the name has yet been achieved by compulsion, for whilst compulsion may lead to seeming success, it gives rise to so many other evils which are worse than the original evil itself. But I must not be misunderstood. I do not regard legislation declaring total prohibi-

tion as in any shape or form compulsion. When there is honestly and clearly expressed public opinion in favour of total prohibition, it is not only the right of the people but it is the sacred duty of the people to declare that total prohibition by legislation and take all effective steps to enforce that legislation.

Of instances of untruth cited by the author of this pamphlet are examples, as he suggests, of people taking part in prohibition meetings, themselves being given to the drink habit. If there are any such hypocritical people who are working this prohibition campaign, I have no doubt that the movement is doomed to fail. In a cause so eminently just, noble and humane I hope that you will take special precautions to rid yourselves of hypocrites.

The second suggestion which I shall place before you is that having obtained legislation you may not, you dare not sit still.

The writer of that pamphlet insinuates that prohibition in America has been a failure. I happen to know better from Americans themselves. Difficult, almost impossible, as prohibition for a big country like America may appear to us, it is not a failure, but it is gradually succeeding. Compared to the difficulties that the brave reformers in America have to face, you have absolutely no difficulty to face in this land, but I would like you to take a leaf out of the book of those great reformers. They are not only not sleeping over the legislation which they have obtained after an incessant struggle stretching over a long period, but they are doing great, gigantic constructive work. For when the drink evil takes possession of a man, it is the most difficult thing to wean him. Americans are therefore devising all kinds of means to deal with this class of people.

With the drunkard, the drink craze is a disease, and you

will have to take him in hand, as you will an ailing brother or sister of yours who may be diseased. In the place of taverns you will have to give them refreshment rooms, and all kinds of innocent recreations in order to keep the drunkards busy at something in which they may be interested. If you, who have got all the facilities for achieving this reform are entirely successful, you will set a noble example to all India.

Lastly, you will not be impatient or angry with the opponent who may be working against you. I do not know whether the same condition prevails in Jaffna as it prevails in India and other parts of the world, but I do know that in India, in England, in America, the anti-prohibitionists have not only on their side able unprincipled writers to help them but they have also brewer's money.

But you will follow the prescription that I have ventured to place before our own country which you call the mother country, viz. of truth and non-violence. you will disarm all these clever writers in spite of the money at their backs.

Now, I come to the depressed or rather the suppressed classes. I was delighted to receive two addresses from them. I must confess to you that I was not prepared to find this evil existing in your midst to any extent at all. I had thought that you left this evil in the mother country and that in this Island you had turned over a new leaf. Living in a country over which the spirit of the Buddha is brooding, I had felt you would be free from this taint of untouchability. After all Gautama was a Hindu. He was no more than one of the greatest among Hindu reformers. Let no Hindu then be ashamed of learning from him the secret of human love. Let us realise that it is a sin to consider a single human being as inferior to ourselves or untouchable. If you believe in an all-wise, and all-loving God, as you must believe, you will immediately fling

the doors of your temples open to receive the suppressed brethren.

To the suppressed brethren I would like to say one thing. I do not know how you stand over the drink question. I know that many of the suppressed brethren in India are given to the drink habit. If there are any amongst you who are given to it I hope you will give it up and if there are any who are given to eating carrion or beef, they would in order to be true to the Hindu faith give these up.

I have copious correspondence before me about a little storm in a tea cup, as I call the differences that have arisen between Christians and Hindus. This correspondence has given me a painful shock. I have not yet been able to understand the cause of these differences. I therefore do not propose to say much upon them. I would like to be told before I leave Jaffna that you have yourselves settled all your differences. Surely, you are after all numerically a small enough community to be able to handle these little differences in a satisfactory manner. So far as I have been able to understand from the correspondence, there is really very little reason even for a split between the two, but I shall hope to have to say more on a future occasion on this point. I can only here say that I invite everybody who is interested in this question to write to me freely, briefly and intelligently. It will give me very great pleasure and joy to be of any service to you in this matter.

Lastly, since you have been so generous in giving me your purses, and I know that many more purses are still to come I beseech you to continue your love for the motherland and your sympathy for the starving millions of India by finding a place in your ward robe for khadi. It will be a living bond between yourselves and the famishing millions. I know that our women are greatest offenders in this respect, and I individually appeal to them to moderate their taste for fine and silken sarees and be-

satisfied with what their furnishing sisters can produce for them. Then and then only will they be somewhat representative of Sita whose sacred feet hallowed this land as the legend has it. I give them my assurance that they will not look any the less handsome, because of their khadi saree.

I would like to give them a warning too that I expect a lot of jewellery from them before I have left these shores.

I must not forget one thing. You have overloaded me with heavy things. I thought that you who claim close kinship and intimacy with me knew that if you gave me heavily framed addresses, they would be returned to you and you would be made to pay for them. You have not only spent upon heavy frames, but you have had your addresses illuminated. Unless you had all these things done with a mental reservation that you will be called upon to pay high price for these addresses, you have deprived the furnishing sisters of so many rupees.

JAFFNA STUDENTS' CONGRESS*.

I thank you for the beautiful address that you have presented to me this evening.

You have taken upon yourselves and very rightly, the credit of bringing me to this fair Island, but you must remember also that those who take credit for anything have also to take discredit if any mishap occurs.

It is very difficult for me this evening to give you a message for the simple reason that I do not know your Congress sufficiently, nor do I know sufficiently the composition of my audience, but your worthy Chairman has informed me of the

* Gandhi addressed as follows the Jaffna Student's Congress on the evening of November 26th, 1917.

objects of your Congress. I shall try to give you some thoughts that occur to me on some of these objects.

If I understood him rightly, your first object is to revive ancient culture. You have then to understand what that ancient culture is and it must be necessarily culture which all students, whether they be Hindus, Christians, Buddhists or of any other faith, would be interested in reviving, because I take it that by ancient culture you do not want to confine yourselves purely to Hindu students.

I take it that this Students' Congress includes all students, Hindus, Christians, Moslems and Buddhists. Though to-day it has on its rolls no Muslim student or Buddhist student, it does not much matter for my argument, for the simple reason that your ultimate object is attainment of Swaraj, not merely for the Hindus and Christians of Jaffna, but for all the inhabitants of this Island of which Jaffna is but a part. What I have said with reference to the inclusion of students belonging to these religions must hold good. That being so, we hark back to the question, what ancient culture it is we want to revive. It must, therefore, be such as to be common to all these elements and such as to be acceptable to all these elements. Therefore, whilst that culture will undoubtedly be predominantly Hindu culture, it can never be exclusively Hindu. The reason why I say that it must be predominantly Hindu is because you who are seeking to revive ancient culture, are predominantly Hindu, and are all the while thinking of that country which you rightly and proudly delight to call your motherland.

In Hindu culture I venture to submit Buddhistic culture is necessarily included for the simple reason that Buddha himself was an Indian not only an Indian, but a Hindu amongst Hindus. I have never seen anything in the life of Gautama to warrant the belief that he renounced Hinduism and adopted a new faith. My task becomes easy when I consider also that Jesus himself was

an Asiatic, and therefore it becomes a question really to consider what Asiatic or ancient Asiatic culture is. For that matter then, Mahomed was also an Asiatic.

Since you can only wish to revive all that is noble, and all that is permanent in ancient culture your revival, necessarily must not be antagonistic to any of these faiths. The question then is to find out the common factor, the greatest common measure belonging to all these great faiths. And thus you will come according to my own estimate of things noble and great to this very simple factor, viz, that you want to be truthful and non-violent, for truth and non-violence are common to all these great faiths.

You cannot possibly wish to revive many of the customs that you and I might have even forgotten, that may have at one time formed part of Hindunism.

I recall one great thought that the late Justice Ranade expressed when he was speaking of the revival of ancient culture and he told his audience that it would be difficult for any single person in the audience to say exactly what ancient culture was and when that culture ceased to be ancient and began to be modern. He also said that a prudent man would not swear by anything, because it was ancient, but he told the audience that any culture, ancient or modern, must be submitted to the test of reason and experience.

I am obliged to utter this warning to this Congress of students who are to be the makers of the destinies of this land, because of so many reactionary forces gathering round us not only here, but throughout the world. I see from my own experience in India that many who are professing to revive ancient culture do not hesitate under the name of that revival to revive old superstitions and prejudices.

Ancient tradition and ancient lore have been dragged almost out of the tomb to justify the hideous doctrine of untouchability

A similar attempt, some of you may know, is now being made to justify the institution of *Devadasis*.

You will not therefore consider that I have given you a laboured statement in warning you against being misled into wrong doing under the name of revival of ancient culture. Perhaps you will understand the significance of this warning coming as it does from a man who is himself not only a lover of ancient culture but has been endeavouring to reproduce in his own life, to the best of his ability, all that is noble, that is permanent in ancient culture.

In trying to explore the hidden treasures of ancient culture, I have come upon this inestimable boon that all that is permanent in ancient Hindu culture is also to be found in the teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Mahomed and Zoraster. So I have come to this workable arrangement for myself. If I find anything in Hinduism which is ancient but repugnant to my Christian brother or my Mussalman brother, I immediately begin to fidget and doubt the ancientness of that claim. So I came by a process of examination to this irresistible conclusion that there was nothing so very ancient in this world as these two good old things—truth and non-violence. And working along these lines of truth and non-violence, I also discovered that I must not attempt to revive ancient practices if they were inconsistent with, call it if you will, modern life as it must be lived. Ancient practices may have been perfectly good and perhaps absolutely necessary at the time when those practices were adopted, but they might be entirely out of date with modern needs and still not be contrary to truth or non-violence.

Then you can see how safe the road becomes in front of you and me when we summarily and mercilessly reject untouchability, Devadasi institution, drunkenness, sacrifice of animals in the very name of God whom we call Compassionate, All-merciful, Forgiving. We can unhesitatingly and summarily

reject all these things, because they do not appeal to our moral sense. So much with reference to the negative side of it, but there is a positive side to it which is just as important as the negative.

In putting before you the positive side let me draw for you one very necessary corollary to the doctrine of non-violence. I put it before my very dear friends, the reformers, a very small body of staunch workers in Ceylon. The corollary or the deduction is this: that if we are to be non-violent we must then not wish for anything on this earth which the meanest or the lowest of human beings cannot have. If that is a sound proposition—and I claim that it is a direct corollary from the doctrine of non-violence, then if you accept it, then it follows that we may not barter away our ancient simplicity for anything on this earth. Now, you will perhaps understand my determined opposition to the modern rush, the hypnotic dazzle that seems almost to overcome us and overtake us; and that is coming to us with such violent force from the West.

I have taken great pains in my writings as also in my speeches to distinguish between the modern methods adopted in the West, the multiplicity of wants and material comforts, and the essential teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. So, in the opening sentences of my speech I threw out the hint of what was to come when I told you that after all Jesus was an Asiatic, Mahomed was an Asiatic, but drawing that sharp distinction between the teachings and message of Jesus and what is to-day going on in America, in England and other parts of the West, I have been able to live at peace with thousands upon thousands of my Christian friends in South Africa and now, because the circle is growing ever larger throughout the world.

So you Hindus and Buddhists here—if there is even a handful of Buddhists—if you will be true to your ancient culture,

you will refuse to have anything whatsoever to do with this hypnotic daze, even though it may come to you in the so-called Christian garb.

If you have an immovable faith in yourselves, if you will also cultivate inexhaustible patience, you will find that the christian friends even though they may come to you with the Western dazls behind them, will shed all that dazle and be converted to the doctrine of simplicity which alone can satisfy the test of the corollary that I have ventured to draw before this audience.

If you have closely followed my reasoning, you will at once understand the message, the imperishable message of the spinning wheel. It is because I see in the spinning wheel the hand of God working ; it is because I see in the spinning wheel the satisfaction of the needs of the meanest of human beings, that in season and out of season, I think about it, work at it, pray about it and speak about it. If there is any other thing which can bring you nearer to the famishing people of the earth, (let alone India for the time being) that can put you at once on a level with the scavenger, I will withdraw the spinning wheel and hug that other thing in a moment. Now you will perhaps also understand why I go about from door to door shamelessly and ceaselessly with the begging bowl and beg of every one to put something into it if they will do so with a willing heart.

I have now overstayed my time, I must not exhaust your patience and I must now therefore leave you to dot the is and cross the ts of the speech that I have given you. I have to talk to the student world about several other things, because I have the honour of enjoying their confidence, but to-night I must not go any farther with my remarks.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for all that you have done and are doing and if you will act in accordance with

the paper that some of you sent to me, when I was in Colombo, you will certainly have done a great thing.

A GLORIFIED EDITION OF INDIA *

Ever since I have come to Lanka the conviction has been growing upon me that I am not in Lanka but in India glorified. A glorified edition of India Lanka certainly is from a scenic point of view. Though I was prepared for the scenery in Lanka, the scenery I have actually witnessed has surpassed all my expectations and so I could not help saying at a recent meeting that Ceylon seemed to be a fragrant beautiful pearl dropped from the nasal ring of India. If the people of Lanka are really, as they should be, inheritors of the culture of India, they also should represent in their lives a glorious edition of mother India.

After all was not Gautama Buddha one of the greatest of Hindu reformers? And why should not the people of Lanka who have inherited and adopted the teachings of the great Master do better than the children of the motherland? Alas! today the source from which the strength of Lanka was derived in the days of yore seems almost to have dried up. We of India seem at the present moment to have fallen on evil days. We are ourselves struggling for our very existence, so much so that according to English historians at least one-tenth of the population of India is living in a state of perpetual starvation.

It is in order to remove the sting of this growing, grinding pauperism that I have been ceaselessly wandering from place to place, exciting the sympathy of minded people on behalf of those men and women who do not know what a full meal can be. And it has been a matter of the greatest consolation,

* Speech delivered at the Jaffna Indian's meeting on 27.11.37.

indeed, a sense that sustains me in spite of darkness surrounding us on all sides, that wherever I go I receive a ready response from our countrymen.

It causes me, therefore, no surprise that you have brought me here to meet you and given me your tangible sympathy. But you do not need to be told by me that the sympathy that you have given me in the shape of money is by no means enough. I can only take it as a token of your desire to render still more help, and therefore I must repeat for the thousandth time what I have been saying to every audience, that you will not have done your elementary duty by these famishing brothers and sisters of ours unless you follow up your donations by a fixed determination never more to make your cloth purchases in anything but Khadi.

And the sisters who are also to be found in this hall, must really help and respond to the dumb appeal of the famishing millions. Neither they nor the men may contemptuously tell me that Khadi is too dear, that Khadi is not fine enough that it does not satisfy their taste. I have not yet heard a single mother to complain of the want of beauty of her children nor have I ever heard a mother complain that her children were a burden upon her purse. If you really feel for these famishing millions, if you really believe that they are famishing and that they are your own blood-brothers and blood-sisters, how can you complain of the price or quality of Khadi? What right have you to think of fashion or of prices when you find that there are millions of people hungry for food and can be fed by you if only you will wear Khadi which is manufactured by their sacred but shaking hands.

Will you not take a leaf out of the book of Englishmen and Germans who taxed themselves, suffered untold privations and suffered all kinds of difficulties, including death, under circumstances too terrible to relate, and all for what they

believed to be the honour of their country? How much more then should you deprive yourselves of your manufactured tastes and notions about fashionable dress and pay a little higher price for Khadi when it is not merely the honour of your sisters which is at stake but when it is their very existence which is in danger.

I wish therefore that it was possible for you to besiege Sjt. Rajagopalachariar with your orders for Khadi and even for fine embroidered sarrees if you must have fashionable sarrees. But I must pass on to another subject.

Whenever I have gone to countries outside India and even to the different provinces in India, I have advised the people from other parts who have settled in those regions to subordinate their interests to the interests of the land to which they have migrated. Whether you are Hindus or Mussalmans or Parsis no matter to which province you belong, I feel it to be your bounden duty to live amongst the people of the land where you go, not as thorns in their sides, but like sugar in milk. You must be in the midst of such people as trustees of your own culture, and you should make common cause with those people alike in their joys as well as their sorrows.

DUTY OF CEYLON HINDUS*

This is the last of a series of many meetings, whose number even I cannot now remember, that I have been addressing today. Precious as all of them have been, this is to me the most precious, because you have convened a meeting of Hindus specially to be addressed by me. This I take to mean

*Gandhi's speech at a meeting of the Hindus of Jaffna on 27.11.37.

that I must speak to you Hindus as a Hindu. And it gives me the greatest pleasure to have been invited to do so.

As you know, though my claim has not been accepted by those who call themselves orthodox Hindus I persist in calling myself an orthodox Hindu. But by making that claim I, a votary of Truth, must not mislead you in any way whatsoever. If orthodox Hinduism consists in dining or not dining with this man or that man, and touching this man and not touching that man, or in quarrelling with Mussalmans and Christians, then I am certainly not an orthodox Hindu. But if orthodox Hinduism can mean an incessant search after what Hinduism possibly can be, if orthodox Hinduism can mean an incessant striving to live Hinduism to the best of one's lights, then I do claim to be an orthodox Hindu. I am also an orthodox Hindu in the sense in which the author of the *Mahabharata*, the great Vyasa, would have it. He has said somewhere in the *Mahabharata* to this effect : Put Truth in one scale and all sacrifices whatever in the other ; that scale which contains Truth will outweigh the one that contains all the sacrifices put together not excluding *Rajanya* and *Ashwamedha* Yajna. And if the *Mahabharata* may be accepted as the fifth Veda, then I can claim to be an orthodox Hindu, because every moment of the twenty-four hours of my life I am endeavouring to follow truth counting no cost as too great.

Having thus registered my claim in the presence of this audience, I now wish to tell you as an orthodox Hindu what in my humble opinion your duty is in Jaffna, and in Ceylon.

First of all I want to speak to you about your duty towards the predominant population in this Island. And I wish to suggest to you that they are your co-religionists. They will, if they choose to, repudiate the claim. For they will say that Buddhism is not Hinduism and they will be partly right. Many Hindus certainly repudiate the claim of Buddhism to be part

and parcel of Hinduism. On the contrary they delight in saying that they successfully drove Buddhism out of India. But I tell you that they did nothing of the kind. Buddha himself was a Hindu. He endeavoured to reform Hinduism. And he succeeded in his attempt to a very great extent and what Hinduism did at that time was to assimilate and absorb all that was good and best in the teachings of the Buddha. And on that account I venture to say that Hinduism became broadened, and having assimilated the best of Buddhism, it is true that Hinduism drove out from India what might be termed the excrescences that had gathered round the teachings of Gautama. The way in which you can demonstrate this to the Buddhists of Ceylon is by living the broadened Hinduism in their midst. The one thing that the Buddha showed India was that God was not a God who can be appeased by sacrificing innocent animals. On the contrary, he held that those who sacrificed animals in the hope of pleasing God were guilty of a double sin. So if you will be true to Hinduism, you will take care that you will not defile a single temple of yours by indulging in animal sacrifice. I am prepared to declare against the whole of Hindu India that it is wrong, sinful, and criminal to sacrifice a single animal for the purpose of gaining any end whatsoever, or for the purpose of propitiating God.

The second thing that Gautama taught was that all that caste means today—as it meant in his time also—was wholly wrong. That is to say, he abolished every distinction of superiority and inferiority that was even in his time eating into the vitals of Hinduism. But he did not abolish *varna-dharma*. *Varna-dharma* is not caste. As I have said in so many speeches in South India, and as I have written fairly exhaustively on *varna-dharma* in *Young India*, I hold that there is nothing in common between caste and *varna*. Whilst *varna* gives life, caste kills it, and untouchability is the hatefulest

expression of caste. You will therefore banish untouchability from your midst. I make bold to say that there is no warrant whatsoever in Hinduism for untouchability as it is practised today. If therefore you want to live your Hinduism in its purity in the midst of Buddhist countrymen, you will take care that you will not consider a single human being as an untouchable. Unfortunately the Buddhists in Ceylon have themselves borrowed this curse from Hindus. They who should never have had this institution of caste have caste in their midst. For heaven's sake forget that some are high but others are low, remember that you are all Hindus—brothers in arms.

I have a letter from a Jaffna Hindu telling me that there are some temples in this place where on certain occasions you have dances by women of ill fame. If that information is correct, then let me tell you that you are converting temples of God into dens of prostitution. A temple, to be a house of worship, to be a temple of God, has got to conform to certain well-defined limitations. A prostitute has as much right to go to a house of worship as a saint. But she exercises that right when she enters the temple to purify herself. When the trustees of a temple admit a prostitute under cover of religion or under cover of embellishing the worship of God, then they convert a house of God into one of prostitution. And if anybody no matter how high he may be comes to you and seeks to justify the admission of women of ill fame into your temples for dancing or any such purpose, reject him and agree to the proposal that I have made to you. If you want to be good Hindus, if you want to worship God, and if you are wise, you will fling the doors of all your temples open to the so-called untouchables. God makes no distinction between his worshippers. He accepts the worship of these untouchables just as well and as much as that of the so-called touchables, provided it comes from the bottom of the heart.

There are still certain things that demand your attention. You have to live at the present moment in a world which has Christians and Mussalmans, great communities owning great faiths. In Jaffna you have a very small Mussalman population hardly two or three per cent. The Christian population is 10 per cent. But you have to live your life in the midst of these whether they are two per cent, or twenty per cent. And if I know Hinduism aright, Hinduism is nothing if it is not tolerant and generous to every other faith. Since they are also as much inhabitants of this peninsula and this Island as you, it is your duty to regard them as your brothers. Unless you do so, you will never evolve the truly national spirit that is necessary, and therefore you will not evolve the necessary Hindu and humanitarian spirit.

You have a right to control the education of your own children, and I am glad that you have got your own board of education. I would like you to strengthen that board in the right spirit as much as you can, but that should mean no jar whatsoever with the rival institutions of the Christian missionaries. If you have got an shly manned staff of educationists and provide the necessary facilities for the Hindu children, naturally all the Hindu children will come to your institutions. I can see no reason whatsoever for the mutual jealousies in matters of education of which I have heard something. I was delighted to find that only up to recent times, Hindus, Christians, and Mussalmans were living in absolute friendship. A jar has been created only recently as between the Christians and yourselves. Seeing that you are in a vast majority, it is up to you to make advances and settle all your disputes. And if you will get rid of the wretched caste-spirit which has crept into Hinduism, you will find that all the difficulties will disappear.

Remember that since you are in a vast majority, the

responsibility rests on your shoulders to make Jaffna, and through Jaffna, Ceylon also, perfectly dry. Hinduism does not permit you to drink. If the board of education will do its duty, you will encourage Sanskrit study in your schools. I regard the education of any Hindu child as incomplete unless he has some knowledge of Sanskrit. So far as I have been able to see we have in Hinduism no book so compact and so acceptable all round as the Bhagavad Gita. If you will therefore saturate your children and yourselves with the spirit of Hinduism, you will endeavour to understand the spirit of the teachings of the Gita. You should also cultivate a common knowledge of the Mahabharata and Ramayana.

Lastly I know no solution of the many difficulties that face the whole of the human family except the two things that I am saying everywhere. Speak the truth and remain non-violent also at any cost. I know as certainly as I know that I am sitting in front of you and speaking to you, that if I could but persuade you to understand the spirit of these two things and act up to them, every one of our difficulties would disappear like straws before wind, and God would descend from His Great White Throne and live in your midst and He would say 'You Hindus have done well.'

WITH STUDENTS IN JAFFNA *

Object lesson in charity.—If you had been looking forward to meeting me under this roof, I can say that I was no less looking forward to meeting you. Though I receive, and receive with thankfulness, money from millionaires, it is a source of much greater pleasure to me to receive small gifts no matter how

*Speech at St John's College 29-11-27.

small they may be, from boys and girls who are still making their lives. It gives me greater pleasure for two reasons. One is, the gift, springs from innocent boys and girls, fructifies much more than gifts of those who may be considered worldly wise men. The second reason is that gifts such as yours give me a keener sense of responsibility than perhaps I should otherwise have.

You may know that each rupee that is to be found in this purse will go to find work for 16 semi-starving women in the remote villages of India, and give them one anna per day for the work that they may do. Remember that they and their children do not get anything like two full meals per day and that is what I can tell you from my own experience of hundreds of Indian villages. Your gift, therefore, is really an object lesson in true charity. What can be better or nobler than that from your youth whilst you are shouldering no responsibility, you become accustomed to thinking not merely of yourselves, but of those who are much poorer and much more unfortunately placed than you are.

It is undoubtedly a great thing that in your school there are no distinctions and no one is considered to be an untouchable. What you have done in giving me this generous purse is really following along the lines that you are going for these children and these women on whose behalf you have given this purse are more unfortunately placed than even the so-called untouchables I have not the power to make any return for your kindness and your generosity. I can only pray to God that He may bless you for all the good things that you may do in life, for, I know, that mere mental training is nothing, if it is not accompanied by a true training of the heart, and may your hearts extend in the manner that your minds may.

I thank you once more.

THE PLACE OF JESUS *

I am deeply grateful to you for the generous purse that you have given me on behalf of the semi-starving millions of India.

You, Sir, sent me due notice yesterday of the very important question that you have repeated this morning viz. the place of Christ among the great teachers of the world. I have many engagements between now and 10-30; therefore, and also for other reasons into which I do not want to enter, I would fain have avoided this question. But on the principle that has guided my life that I must take things as they come to me, unless I find it utterly impossible for me to cope with them, I propose to devote the very few minutes that I have at my disposal to answering that question.

I say in one sentence that for many many years I have regarded Jesus of Nazareth as one amongst the mighty teachers that the world has had, and I say this in all humility. I claim humility for this expression for the simple reason that this is exactly what I feel. Of course Christians claim a higher place for Jesus of Nazareth than as a Non-Christian and as a Hindu I have been able to feel. I purposely use the word 'feel' instead of 'give,' because I consider that neither I, nor anybody else can possibly arrogate to himself the claim of giving place to a great man. The great teachers of mankind have had the places not given to them, but the place has belonged to them as a matter of right, as a matter of service that they have rendered, but it is given to the lowest and humblest amongst us to feel certain things about certain people. The relation between great teachers and ourselves is somewhat after the style of relation between a husband and wife. It would be a most terrible thing, a tragic thing, if I was to argue out intellectually for myself what place I was to give to my wife in my heart. It is not in

*Speech at Jaffna Central College (22-11-27.)

my giving, but she takes the place that belongs to her as a matter of right in my heart. It is a matter purely for feeling. Then I can say the Jesus occupies in my heart the place of one of the great teachers who have made a considerable influence on my life. Leave the Christians alone for the present. I shall say to the 75 per cent Hindus receiving instruction in this college that your lives will be incomplete unless you reverently study the teaching of Jesus. I have come to the conclusion, in my own experience, that those, who no matter to what faith they belong, reverently study the teaching of other faiths, broaden their own instead of narrowing their hearts. Personally, I do not regard any of the great religions of the world as false. All have served in enriching mankind and are now even serving their purpose. A liberal education to all should include, as I have put it, a reverent study of other faiths, but I do not want to labour this point, nor have I the time to do so.

There is one thing which, as I am speaking to you, occurs to me, which came to me in my early studies of the Bible. It seized me immediately I read the passage "Make this World, the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and everything will be added unto." I tell you that if you will understand, appreciate and act up to the spirit of this passage, you won't even need to know what place Jesus or any other teacher occupies in your heart. If you will do the proper scavenger's work, clean and purify your hearts and get them ready, you will find that all these mighty teachers will take their places without invitation from us. That to my mind, is the basis of all sound education. Culture of the mind must be subservient to the culture of the heart. May God help you to become pure!

AT THE UDUVEL GIRLS' COLLEGE

It has given me very great pleasure indeed to meet you this morning.

I do not at all appreciate the idea of your little gifts which have come right from the bottom of your hearts having been merged in the general purse, but I am going to put the best construction possible upon the fact of your purse having been merged in the general purse; you being more modest than boys, do not want me to know that you had given anything at all, but having met thousands or tens of thousands of girls throughout India, it is difficult for girls nowadays to hide from me any good things that they may do.

Now, there are some girls who do not mind even telling me the bad things that they do. Let me hope that of all these girls before me, there is not one single girl who does a bad thing. Not having the time to cross-examine you, I am not going to weary you with questions, but if there are any girls in our midst who do bad things I would fain let them know that if that is the case their education is useless.

Your parents do not send you to school to become dolls, on the contrary you are expected to become Sisters of Mercy. Do not make the mistake of thinking that only those may be called Sisters of Mercy who wear a particular dress. She becomes a Sister of Mercy immediately she thinks less of herself and more of those who are poorer and more unfortunate than herself, and you have done the work of Sisters of Mercy in giving your mite to the purse that has been presented to me, because that purse has been presented for those who are unfortunately poorer than yourselves.

To give a little bit of money is easy enough to do a little thing one's self is more difficult. If you really feel for the people for whom you are giving money, you must go a step further and wear khadi that these people manufacture. If, when khadi is brought before you you say "Khadi is a bit coarse, we cannot wear it," then I know you have not the spirit of self-sacrifice in you.

It is such a very nice thing that here there is no distinction between high class and low class, touchables and untouchables and if your hearts are also working in that direction, and you do not consider yourselves superior to some other girls, it is a very good thing indeed.

May God bless you !

RAMANATHAN GIRL'S COLLEGE

It has indeed given me great joy to be able to come here this morning as if to put a finishing touch to the whole round of visits to different scholastic institutions in Jaffna.

The exquisite taste and simplicity with which, the whole of this ceremony has been arranged this morning, I assure you, has not escaped my observation. I appreciate also the generous purse of Rs. 1,111 which too unlike most purses is given in a khadi bag. To crown all, Lady Ramanathan has placed in my hands a kind telegram from Sir P. Ramanathan who himself is unable to attend this function.

I should have always regretted it if I had not been able to visit this institution, the monument of Sir Ramanathan's generosity and thoughtfulness. Lady Ramanathan has very considerably furnished me with an advance copy of your address together with the report of this institution and two copies of your magazine.

Your promise in your address that you are going to observe this day as an annual function and devote it to collections for khadi work has touched me to the core. I know that this is no idle promise on your part, but that you are going to fulfil that promise religiously. If the famishing millions, on whose behalf I am touring, could possibly understand this determination on the part of their sisters, I know it would gladden their hearts, but you will be pained to be informed by me that these dumb millions in whose behalf you have given me this purse—and so



Ramanathan College for (Girls) Chunnakam, Ceylon.

many purses have been given in Ceylon—would not even understand such things, if I attempted to tell them. No description that I can give you of their miserable life can possibly give you a proper perspective of what that position means.

This immediately brings me to the question—what are you to do for these and such other people? It is easy enough to suggest a little more simplicity, a little more hardness in life, but that would be merely playing with the question. Thoughts and thoughts like these brought me to the spinning wheel. I said to myself, as I say to you now, that if you could but establish a living link between those famishing millions and yourselves, there is some hope for you, for them and for the world.

Religious instruction you have, and very properly in this institution. You have got also a beautiful temple. I see from your time-table that you begin the day by offering worship, all of which is good and elevating, but it may easily amount to a beautiful ceremonial and nothing else, if that worship is not translated day after day into some practical work. So, I say, in order to follow out that act of worship, take up the spinning wheel, sit at it for half an hour and think of these millions that I have described to you and say in the name of God, "I spin for the sake of them." If you do it with your heart, with the knowledge that you are the humbler and the richer for that real act of devotion, if you will dress not for show, but for covering your limbs, you will certainly not have any hesitation in wearing khadi and establish that bond between yourselves and the millions.

This is not all that I want to say to the girls of this institution.

If you will be deserving of the care and attention that Sir Ramanathan has bestowed upon you and that is being bestowed on you by Lady Ramanathan and the staff working under her up

care, you will have to do many more things. I saw in your magazines mention made with some degree of pardonable pride of what some of the old school girls had been doing. I saw notices after this style. So and so married so and so—4 or 5 notices. There is, I know, nothing wrong in a girl who has come of age, about 25 or even 22 years old, in getting married. But I miss in these notices a single mention of a girl who had dedicated herself to service only. So, I propose to tell you what I told the girls of H. H. the Maharajah's College for girls in Bangalore; that we get a poor return for the great efforts that are being made by educationists and by lavish charities, if you all become mere dolls and disappear from life, as soon as you are discharged from such institutions.

A vast majority of girls disappear from public life as soon as they are discharged from schools and colleges. You of this institution have no such business. You have the example of Miss Emery and the example of others who have been, Superintending, and who have been, if I am not speaking incorrectly maidens.

Every girl, every Indian girl, is not born to marry. I can show many girls who are to-day dedicating themselves to service instead of serving one man. It is high time that Hindu girls produce or reproduce an edition, and if possible a glorified edition of Parvati and Sita.

You claim to be Saivites. You know what Parvati did. She did not spend money for a husband, nor would she allow herself to be bought, and she to-day adorns the Hindu firmament by being classed with one of the Seven Satis—not because of the degree is an educational institution that she received, but because of her unheard of Tapasya (penance.)

Here, I understand that there is the hateful system of dowry, whereby it becomes most difficult for young women to get suitable matches. The grown up girls—some of you are

grown up—are expected to resist all such temptations. If you will resist these evil customs, you will some of you have to begin by remaining maidens either for life, or at least for a number of years. Then, when it is time for you to marry, and you feel that you must have a partner in life, you will not be in thirst of one who has money, or fame, or beauty of person, but you will be in search of one—even as Parvati was—who has got all the matchless qualities which go to make good character. You know how Naradjee described Siva to Parvati—a mere pauper smeared with ashes, no handsomeness about him and a Brahmachari, and Parvati said, ‘yes, he will be my husband.’ You won’t have several editions of Siva unless some of you will be content to offer *tapasya* not for thousands of years, as Parvati did. We, frail human beings cannot afford to do it, but you can do so at least during your life-time.

If you will accept these conditions, you will refuse to disappear into the kingdom of dolls, but will aspire to be Satis like Parvati, Damayanti, Sita and Savitri. Then and not till then, in my humble opinion, will you have deserved an institution of this character.

May God fire you with this ambition, and if you are inspired, may He help you to realise this ambition.

AT THE JAFFNA COLLEGE

It has given me the greatest pleasure to visit so many educational institutions here. Amongst not the least is this the oldest educational institution in this Peninsula. Moreover I am given to understand that many old boys of this institution are to day distinguished servants of the country. Lastly, I had the pleasure of meeting your Vice-Principal in Bangalore and the two Secretaries of the Reception Committee are also old boys of this school.

It always gladdens me to see the smiling faces of boys and girls.

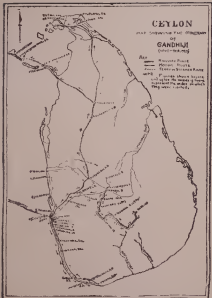
I know also that the work that I have the privilege of doing is to-day being done by so many grown-up boys who have given their all to the service of the motherland. Your purse therefore is very precious to me. I know that all the monies—and by no means a small sum that I have received from boys and girls—will bear greater fruit than the monies received from old and wise men. Your money comes with the stamp of innocence upon it, and it goes also to millions or some of the millions of men and women who are innocent, not deliberately perhaps, but because they cannot be otherwise.

I should like you to take a further step and consolidate the bond that you have established between these starving millions and yourselves by adopting the Khadi that will be manufactured out of these monies. It will be a perpetual object-lesson for you in charity to be able to think first thing each day when you put on your khadi that you are wearing it for the sake of the millions of paupers in India.

I have no doubt that your teachers repeatedly tell you that all this mental and literary training that you receive will be of no avail to you unless it is broad based on truth and love. Truth will make you brave and fearless men, able to give a good account of yourselves, wherever you go. Love will make life bearable for you, because love has a special quality of attracting abundance of love in return.

May God help you day after day to develop these qualities within yourselves.





PART III: APPENDIX

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Mr. Billimoria, Rs. 25.00; Mr. K. S. Narayana Aiyar, Rs. 25.00; Mr. A. E. DeSilva, Rs. 200.00; Mr. H. W. Periera, Rs. 100.00; Mr. Velayutham Pillai, Rs. 51.00; Miss Bandaranayake and others, Rs. 110.00; other miscellaneous collections, Rs. 365.85; Further collections general, Rs. 285.00; Total, Colombo, Rs. 40,195.43.

Kurunagala: Chettians Rs. 1,021.00; General, Rs. 1,500.00; Puttalam and Kalpitiya Clerks, Rs. 35.00; Kandigama and Helligola, Rs. 112.00.

Negombo: Rs. 1,812.00; Kochukadawn, Rs. 432.00; Paligoda Notional League, Rs. 30.72

Catlaw: Rs. 1,530.82; Nainamadama, Rs. 128.06.

Matale: Maruthuwakula Sangham, Rs. 55.00; Buddhist School, Rs. 25.00; General, Rs. 1,093.20; Mr. Ponniah, Rs. 150.00; School foundation, Rs. 251.41; Total, Rs. 1,574.61.

Kandy: Dharmaraja College, Rs. 111.00; Shri Rahula School etc., Rs. 91.00; General, Rs. 4,500.00; Indian Youths' Sangham, Rs. 71.16; Maruthuwakula Sangham, Rs. 141.00; Indian Association, Rs. 1,187.50; Mr. P. S. Deradasa Pillai, Rs. 10.00; Miscellaneous, Rs. 38.50; Total (Kandy) Rs. 6,150.16.

Pandarawela, Rs. 601.63; *Diyatalawa* Rs. 103.00; *Haputala*, Rs. 351.

Batalla: General, Rs. 4,000.00; *Lunagala*, Y. M. C. A., Rs. 215.00; Meeting collections, Rs. 286.37; Miscellaneous, Rs. 35.60; Total, Rs. 4,530.97.

Dikoya, Rs. 135.00; *Talawakale*, Rs. 315.00; *Nannuraya*, Rs. 150.00; *Wellimada*, Rs. 215.25; *Dikavela*, Rs. 500.00.

Nuwara Eliya: General, Rs. 4,097.15; Meeting collections, Rs. 555.31; Total Rs. 4,652.46.

Hatton: Carfax Labourers etc., Rs. 100.00; Castlereagh Labourers, Rs. 135.00; Kanganis' Association general purse, Rs. 2,500.00; Bazaar, Rs. 558.00; Miscellaneous, Rs. 210.00; Total Rs. 3,503.00.

Prigatana, Rs. 194.26; Wattavela Rs. 330.50

Navalapitiya: General, Rs. 1,322.39½; Y.M.M.A., Rs. 39.61;

Miscellaneous, Rs. 77.90; Total Rs. 1,439.90½.

Kadugancholai, Rs. 45.00.

Gampola: General, Rs. 175.00; School, Rs. 51.00; Cooks, Rs. 41.00; Maruthuvakula Sangam, Rs. 41.00; R. Letchmanan Chettiar, Rs. 250.00; Miscellaneous Rs. 16.34; Total Rs. 2,149.34.

Tekkala Mahajana Sabha, Rs. 364.00; Kadugannawa, Rs. 864.14.

Kegala: General, Rs. 762.40; Auction, Rs. 30.00; Meeting collections' Rs. 110.17; Total Rs. 902.57.

Attanagalla, Rs. 210.00; Miscellaneous from Kandy to Colombo, Rs. 102.68½.

Ambalangoda: Tamils, Rs. 265.85; Miscellaneous, Rs. 14.73; Total Rs. 280.58.

Balpitiva, Rs. 50.00; Dadunduwu, Rs. 55.65; Tirangama, Rs. 129.21; Telawala School, Rs. 11.30.

Moratuwa, Rs. 588.90; Kalatura, Rs. 1,695.85; Horanna, Rs. 472.93; Panadura, Rs. 1810.00.

Galle: Udugama Kanganis, Rs. 200.00; Tamilians, Rs. 58.00; Mahajana Sabha, Rs. 180.45; Chettiares, Rs. 501.00; Kanakapillasa, Rs. 351.00; Dramatic performance, Rs. 200.00; Mahinda College, Rs. 465.00; Auction, Rs. 20.00; Miscellaneous Rs. 16.00; Further collections general, Rs. 40.10; Total Rs. 2,040.55.

Matara: General, Rs. 899.45; Chauffeurs' Union, Rs. 100.00; School children, Rs. 10.000; Maruthuwakula Sangam, Rs. 60.45; Miscellaneous, Rs. 30.00; Individual gifts: Mrs. Prasad, Rs. Rs. 50.00; Mr. N. Gunasekara, Rs. 50.00; Mr. J. B. Cardoso, Rs. 25.00; Mr. Sundaram Pillai, Rs. 25.00; Hon. Mr. Abeyasekhara, Rs. 500.00; Total Rs. 1,839.90.

Godagama, Rs. 150.00; Akmimana, Rs. 250.00; Ambalawatta, Rs. 21.50; London Ceylonese Students by T.

M. O. Rs. 53.00; another by M. O. Rs. 6.00; Ganemulla, Rs. 200.54.

Tricomalee, Rs. 392.00; Auction, Rs. 10.00; Total Rs. 402.00.

Palai, Rs. 20.51; Nathandiya Estate, Rs. 45.50.

Total for mofussil excluding Colombo and Jaffna; Rs. 46,529.54.

Jaffna: General, Rs. 1,957.10; Depressed Classes Service League, Rs. 180.00; Village Committees, Rs. 709.75; Meeting Collections, Rs. 32.49; Parameshwara College, Rs. 536.60; Manipari Hindu College, Rs. 501.00; Malayan subscribers through *Hindu Organ*, Rs. 852.50; Chunnakam Rs. 651.46; Auction, Rs. 25.00.

Hindu College, Rs. 707.00; Kandarodai School, Rs. 223.59; Indians in Jaffna, Rs. 1,301.25; Vishvakarma Co-operative Society, Rs. 115.45; Chunnakam depressed class school foundation, Rs. 10.00; Indians' meeting, Rs. 46.06; Anandhapura individual, Rs. 30.00; Chavalacheri, Rs. 213.50, Koppai, Rs. 144.00; Tondamanuru, Rs. 400.00; Viyamagatunur temple, Rs. 90.81.

Valvettiturai, Rs. 470.25; Auction Rs. 6.00.

Pt. Pedro, Rs. 1,014.49; Through Secretary, Jaffna Urban Council, Rs. 52.42; Chivateru, Rs. 259.57; Jaffna labourers, Rs. 594.98; Meeting, Rs. 48.95½; Chemma Street, Rs. 107.00; St. John's College, Rs. 258.80; Central College, Rs. 276.00; Ramanathan Girls' College, Rs. 1,111.08; Maikani English School, Rs. 101.00; Tellipalai, Rs. 617.20; Chulipuram and Chenkanal, Rs. 309.00; Victoria College, Rs. 280.00; Sithankarai School, Rs. 105.00; Vaddukkodai, Rs. 35.00; Jaffna College, Rs. 600.00; Karainagar, Rs. 538.40; Jaffna Railway Station collections and through Lady Ramanathan, Rs. 129.60; Morlay and Kolapuram, Rs. 280.40; Islands Kayts, Rs. 650.03; Pandiaruvar English School, Rs. 313.2; Hospital matron and

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