

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Speeches and Addresses

Vol - 2



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Vol. 7

Part 2



Edited by

AVINASH SAPRE



HIGHER EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
2017

**Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad
Speeches And Addresses : Part 2**
Edited by
Avinash Sapre

First Edition : 2017

Copies : 5000

Publisher

Secretary,
Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad
Source Material Publication
Committee,
115, M. Gandhinagar,
Aurangabad - 431 005

For

©

Principal Secretary,
Higher Education
Government of Maharashtra,
Mantralaya,
Mumbai - 400 032

Cover Design :

Chandramohan Kulkarni

Printing Assistance :

Controller,
Maharashtra State Bureau of
Textbook Production and
Curriculum Research, Pune - 4

Printer :

Printwell International Pvt. Ltd.,
G-12, M.I.D.C.,
Chikalthana, Aurangabad.

For Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad
Source Material Publication
Committee, Higher Education,
Govt. of Maharashtra, Mumbai - 32

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Books available at :

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Phone - (022) 23632693, 23630695, 23631148, 23634049.
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१८ ऑगस्ट २०१७

BEST WISHES

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda, whose regime spanned over six decades, was a benevolent ruler who worked for the welfare of his people. In the pre-independence days, he experimented with modern democratic principles of governance. Because he believed that governing a State was a science, and the ruler had to be discerning and wise, he studied the science of governance the world over. The State of Baroda saw innumerable initiatives introduced and implemented successfully by him.

Today, all over the world, there are several measures that have been taken, and training imparted, at all the levels, with regards to good governance. We, too, in our country, have been doing it. On this backdrop, it is deeply satisfying for me that the State Government of Maharashtra has published, extensively, volumes of material on the Maharaja's admirable governance in his State of Baroda.

The literature will introduce to the world this iconic ruler, who was much ahead of his times and had made the wellbeing of his people his goal in life. These writings would also be inspirational to all those who believe in excellence in their respective fields of work. My hearty congratulations to Publication Committee and related all and hearty greetings for publication of volumes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Vidyasagar Rao'.

(C. Vidyasagar Rao)
Governor, Maharashtra

Devendra Fadnavis

Chief Minister
Maharashtra



Mantralaya
Mumbai 400 032
10 July, 2017

BEST WISHES

It is, indeed, a matter of great satisfaction that a work of several volumes, dedicated to Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad, who inculcated the principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood in both his own administration as also in civic life, is being brought out by the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Source Material Publication Committee, State Government of Maharashtra.

While creating a model, benevolent, welfare state, Maharaja Sayajirao also made sincere efforts to bring social reforms into practice. Measures undertaken, like free and compulsory primary education, agricultural reforms, water management, clean drinking water, drought-relief measures, knowledge sources made available in vernacular languages, creation of a reading culture, education opportunities for the tribal population, an ideal legal system, empowerment of local bodies for the decentralisation of power, an encouragement to arts and culture etc, reflect the excellence of his personality.

These works will serve as effective guides to the content dedicated to his administrative, social and cultural endeavours, his speeches, correspondence, diaries, official statements and ordinances, historical expositions, series of publications and administrative reports, and will most certainly be of help to the students of history, administration and political science.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Devendra Fadnavis".

(Devendra Fadnavis)



Vinod Tawde
Minister
School Education, Sports and
Youth Welfare, Higher and
Technical Education, Marathi Bhasha,
Cultural Affairs, Minorities Development and
Wakf



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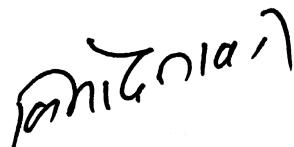
Date : 03 JUL 2017

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The State of Baroda, in the history of pre-independence India, came to be known as a “laboratory of modern democracy”. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad, who hailed from a simple farmer’s family, went on to become the ruler of a state. In his 64-year-old reign he implemented a democratic rule instead of the feudal setup that was prevalent till then. He was the first ruler to make primary education compulsory, and passed progressive laws like eradication of caste discrimination and untouchability and a law in favour of widow remarriage. His rule was based upon progressive, liberal, modern principles. In order to bring about development, he laid emphasis on infrastructural growth and a network of railways and roads, formation of co-operative banks and industries, construction of nalabunding and farm ponds for sustainable and effective water management for agriculture, the use of modern equipment for farming, education and training in agriculture for the children of farmers, a library in every town, state-of-the-art technical education, training of healthcare workers, gymnasia for women, specialised training in diet & nutrition etc. These initiatives laid down the foundation of a modern living. Maharaja Gaekwad undertook ambitious projects in the fields of literature, arts, history, research, archeology, and translations of books on science. His contribution to the progressive social movement and the development of knowledge in Maharashtra is significant. He is remembered for being a pillar of strength and encouragement to iconic figures like Mahatma Phule, Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, Vithal

Ramji Shinde, Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil, Justice Ranade, Lokmanya Tilak and the revolutionaries working for the independence movement.

The legacy of this farsighted ruler would be inspirational even on the journey to the future. That is why the State Government of Maharashtra has undertaken the project of the compilation and publication of his speeches, letters, important documents pertaining to law and administration, his other writings and papers evaluating his work. His life and times are not only inspirational to the newer generations but his work can serve as a guide to those involved in the administration of the state, researchers and management experts, lawyers as also economists who can benefit greatly from the documents related to his experience as a ruler as also his experiments with modern democracy. It is keeping in mind these facts that the State Government of Maharashtra has undertaken this initiative.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "विनोद तावडे" (Vinod Tawde) in Devanagari script.

(Vinod Tawde)



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२३ ऑगस्ट २०१७

BEST WISHES

The decision of the State Government of Maharashtra, to publish the biographical resources for research on Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda, honours the remarkable work that he carried out during his reign.

As the head of the State of Baroda between 1875-1939, the remarkable qualities of this ruler and the way they touched every aspect of governance, have come into limelight with this initiative. The work that he undertook for the welfare of his people will serve as a beacon to the new generations.

After being trained by Dewan T. Madhava Rao in the administration of the State, Sayajirao started on the implementation of initiatives for the economic development in his State in 1881. He also stressed reforms in the legal system, the resurrection of the Gram Panchayats, and compulsory and free primary education to improve the levels of literacy in his State.

His work, in the field of education, gave a new direction and new hope to the people. Because he was of the view that needy students on scholarships should not remain restricted merely to bookish knowledge, and, instead, should also give a scope to the creativity within themselves, he set up the Kala Bhavan, which is an excellent example of his foresight and progressive thinking.

His contribution to the field of social reforms was significant. He brought an end to the purdah system, the practice of selling of girls, and child marriages. He also brought

about progressive legislations for women's welfare and passed laws regarding their right to ancestral property. He set up 18 schools for the children of the oppressed classes, thereby destroying the social walls between people of different castes. The Maharaja also had the honour to have awarded a scholarship to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

A ruler who, in that era, also supported the formation of creative and elegant social amenities, respected those who were a part of the freedom struggle, and undertook reforms to help agriculture thrive, may come across as unique in today's technology-driven days.

The introduction to the life and work of this multifaceted personality, through the publication of the biographical resources for research, is indeed a laudable effort. I extend the best of my wishes to this initiative with the hope that it will serve as a guiding light to the youth of today.



(Ravindra Dattaram Waikar)

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THE SPEECHES OF MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD : A CACHE OF WORD JEWELS

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda hitherto remains a mostly hidden golden page in the history of India. His 64-years-long reign brings forth astounding facts. It is a very significant development that the State Government of Maharashtra has taken up the responsibility of reaching the writings of this ruler, completely devoted to the cause of the people, to the Indian society. The first sparkling jewel from this treasure-trove is a two-volume publication to be brought out in Marathi. We also brought out two more volumes of his speeches in English.

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad experimented with the principles of modern democracy about 125 years back in the state of Baroda. Because he believed that running a state was a science and the ruler had to be knowledgeable enough for it, he studied minutely the forms of governance in different countries of the world and brought into practice many notable reforms for effective governance in his own state. A lot of initiatives, experiments and training in good governance are being undertaken the worldover today. On this backdrop, the information that comes through Sayajirao's speeches, given more than a century ago, is most certainly worthy of contemplation and deliberation. It is also worthy of emulation and would serve as a beacon of light for those working towards good governance.

Every person manifests themselves through different means. Two main effective ways are speaking and writing. When you speak, you reach out to a lot of people. When you write, you connect with yourself and bring forth your thoughts and emotions through the medium of language. A speech is an open connection where the speaker gets the opportunity to reach the audience in front of him and, because the reaction to the speech from the audience listening to it starts immediately, being able to give an effective speech is considered one of the greatest arts in the world. The Sanskrit idiom, which says "Vaktodashasahasreshu", (An orator is born among ten thousand - one who can convey his ideas effectively

to hold the audience captive) describes this fact. More than describing Sayajirao Gaekwad as a first class orator, it would be more appropriate to call him a person who spoke his heart out. Because he had the people's wellbeing on his mind, every speech of his brings forth his concern and efforts towards improving his people's lives. As a ruler with a long-term vision, his speeches also reflect the innumerable programs and projects undertaken, which gives them immense historical and social value.

Gopal, who was born on March 11, 1863 at Kavlana in Nasik unexpectedly became the ruler of Baroda in 1875. After being educated in primary education and then trained in administration, he took over as the king at the age of 18 in 1881. This young ruler, who was fortunate to have got excellent teachers and guides in administration, and who was also inherently bright, sincere, unafeared of hard work and devoted to the cause of the people, realised that education was the magic wand to bring about a change for the better. He made friends with books, learnt languages like English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati. His curiosity and the tendency to go to the root of the issue made him an able ruler of his state. His travels abroad expanded his vision.

As the ruler of Baroda, Sayajirao had to make speeches. Initially, he would learn the speeches written out by his teacher. As he practiced hard on them, especially in order to master speaking without referring to the written notes, the orator in him started taking shape. In this journey, he studied the topic well, made his own notes, contemplated over them, and then presented them in front of the people with complete preparation.

From 1875-1938, Sayajirao spoke at hundreds of public events and special occasions. If the occasions were especially significant, he would make prior notes. His assistants noted them down. Because he travelled extensively, both in the country and outside, most of his speeches were in English. The orator in him blossomed even further. His speeches were all-inclusive, his thoughts as clear as his diction, his words effective, and since he walked the talk, his speeches got more and more persuasive and powerful. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad soon came to be known as a cultured, educated,

well-mannered, nationalistic king devoted to the welfare of his society, not only within the country but also outside.

To speak is a matter of responsibility. It's important to plan, prepare in advance and work on it. Sayajirao studiously did his work every single time before his speech. He would discuss the issue that he was to speak on with an expert in the field, comprehend it better by encouraging others to give their inputs and if something did not strike a chord with him, he would debate with the experts till he was satisfied and his doubts assuaged.

According to Maharaja Sayajirao's biographer, Daji Nagesh Apte, these speeches, spanning over 64 years, are akin to an intellectual institution. They are so remarkable that they do not seem like the thoughts of one man; instead they come across as words of several experts on several issues. That is why they are expansive, varied and have a long-term value. The speeches were translated into Marathi by Prof. S V Deshpande, D N Purandare, G V Ganpule and M S Apte. A well-known literary figure of the time, C V Joshi, polished them.

The first volume of the Maharaja's select 41 speeches was published in 1936 by the then popular publisher Savlaram Yande. Daji Nagesh Apte, who wrote a three-volume biography of the Maharaja, gave a well-researched foreword. Because Maharaja Sayajirao was an excellent judge and patron of the right people from all places within the country and outside, from different castes and communities, possessing different skillsets, he would invite them to Baroda and encourage them to give their best in their individual fields. Yande was a man full of energy and passion for literature and publishing and wanted to do good work in book publication and journalism. Maharaja Sayajirao stood by him. In the very next year, in 1937, Yande published the second volume carrying 108 speeches by the Maharaja. In 1938, the third volume containing 83 speeches was published by Y G Joshi in Pune. There are 232 speeches in the three volumes. Maharaja Sayajirao had a very disciplined approach towards everything and here the speeches were always pre-written and those that were not written had notes made on them by the Maharaja's assistants. Because this work was done so meticulously, it became possible to get the Maharaja's

speeches. Other than these, in 1933, during the diamond jubilee of his reign, there were several speeches that he had made. Since they would make a separate book, they have not been included here.

These speeches are like a political go-to texts on governance written by a far-sighted ruler. They are a methodical penning down of his thoughts on society, politics, industry, finance, religion, morality, science, healthcare, education, literature, philosophy and history. This kind of a wide canvas seems improbable for an individual and the Maharaja's expertise in these subjects is astonishing. This makes the speeches comprehensive, diverse and far-reaching.

Live an ethical life, be an ideal citizen and, along with that, be a good 'Sadhak' who pursues his goal of accomplishment. It is this Sadhak who can persevere in attaining the goal of people's welfare and hence become a good citizen, administrator and assistant. When your work is accompanied by faith, it gives immense happiness. If you light a lamp of knowledge to ward off the darkness of ignorance, dangers, difficulties and pain can be pushed away. The pursuit of human wellbeing remains the underlying theme of all of Maharaja Sayajirao's Speeches. His words reflect a fierce nationalism, a respect for the ancient culture, his intense desire for social reforms, his aspiration to educate the people, his wish to enrich indigenous literature, his lifelong courage to stand up against the foreign power of the time, his exceptional scholarship and his generous patronage and support to the arts and artists of various hues.

Several rulers of different provinces had made themselves subservient to the British in the pre-independence era. However, it was only Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad who believed himself to be a sovereign ruler. He ruled his state by being decisive, far thinking, and by his bold experimentation with modern democracy. The Maharaja supported the revolutionaries who fought the British. In today's foggy times, the speeches of this king, who was pro-people and pursued knowledge for the sake of society, would stand as a beacon of hope and guidance. Dr Ramesh Warkhede, a member of the committee, has been helping out with this work for the past eight years. He has edited these speeches and written a reflective foreword for it. His work is a very big support to this project.

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad created a benchmark of excellence in the governance of his state. Throughout his life he was driven by the thought of the welfare of his people. Working for them was, for him, almost like attaining spiritual liberation. He was a generous patron of arts and culture and a rock-solid support to all those who needed to be helped. His writings, as also the writings of others related to him, are our national treasure. The State Government of Maharashtra believes that preserving, presenting, and enhancing this treasure, by sharing it with the people, is a task of national and cultural significance. This mammoth project has become a reality only with the support of Minister of Education, Honourable Shri Vinod Tawde, Additional Chief Secretary, Shri Sitaram Kunte, Joint Secretary, Shri Siddharth Kharat, Director, Higher Education, Dr Dhanaraj Mane, Director, State Bureau of Textbook Production & Curriculum Research, Director Dr Sunil Magar, Controller, Shri Vivek Gosavi, all the Government officials involved, as also members of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Source Material Publication Committee and all the editors and translators of the content. It is because of the involvement of all these people that the work of publishing 25 volumes on Maharaja Gaekwad, simultaneously, has been possible in such little time. I am glad that the administration has given me an opportunity to play a little role in this major initiative. This work will be inspirational to all those who work towards the welfare of the people of the state, the administrative officials who carry out their responsibilities with efficiency, and the people of this country.

Date : 27th August, 2017

* *The day of Second World Religious Conference, Chicago, 1933.*

* *Maharaja Sayajirao was President of same Conference.*

- Baba Bhand
Member Secretary,
Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad
Source Material Publication
Committee, Aurangabad.

INTRODUCTION

His Highness SAYAJIRAO III, the ruling Maharaja of the State of Baroda, was born on the 17th of March 1862. The preceding Maharaja, Malharrao, a younger brother of the Maharaja Khanderao, had succeeded the latter in 1870, but for his general misrule was deposed by the British Government in 1875. On the 27th of May in the same year, the Maharani Jamnabai, consort of Khanderao, adopted the boy Gopalrao as her husband's son and heir, and he was installed on the *gadi* with the name of Sayajirao III. Though coming from a line in direct descent from Prataprao, the brother of Damajirao who reigned from 1732 to 1768, his family had not received the promised share in the conquests of Damajirao whom Prataprao had assisted in a foray in Khandesh. For many years the family had been in the main forgotten, and His Highness' early years were spent in an obscure village of Khandesh, in honourable though comparatively poor circumstances.

That the choice of Gopalrao was well considered and could not have been haphazard the history of his reign amply shows. A shrewdness and tenacity of character, qualities typical of the greatest of the Maratha leaders, must have been evident in his early years in the conditions of his simple country life. Being only thirteen years old at his accession, for the next six years he gave himself up to systematic physical and mental training. The habits then formed have left their impression throughout his life. He lets nothing debar him from his daily exercise, in later years chiefly riding, and whenever he can free his mind from affairs of State he pursues some intellectual interest such as the reading and discussion of philosophy and the study of Sanskrit.

The inheritance to which His Highness had succeeded was obviously one of great possibilities, but of which the actualities were far from happy. In place of a progressive State policy for the advance and welfare of the subjects, disorder prevailed. The conditions could not be better described than in the words

of Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai in the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, vol. I, pp. 605- 6:

The path was encumbered by difficulties of every kind and description. Corruption and abuse of power had held sway too long and too successfully to suffer ejection without a bitter struggle, and vested interests only too naturally looked on the new order with jealousy and hatred. During the rule of the deposed Maharaja, extravagantly lavish gifts had been showered on his *mandli*, his friends and dependents, out of public funds; and the Dewan's determination to compel them to disgorge what they regarded as their lawfully acquired property, acquired in accordance with the ethics of their time and environment, was stoutly resisted. It was but a repetition of an oft-told story.

From the Sirdars came complaints which had to be heard and as far as possible redressed. The allowances of this large military class had sometimes not been paid: payment had to be made. Sometimes allowances to which no claim could be substantiated had been paid for years; payment had to be stopped after laborious examination of the claims put forward. From the citizens of Baroda and from private individuals all over the State came allegations of unjustifiable confiscation of property, all of which had to be Scrutinised. In far too many cases it was found that the allegations were true and restitution had to be made. The bankers presented involved statements regarding sums due to them from the State, sums amounting to many lakhs of rupees. These statements, involving presentation of intricate accounts, had to be examined, and the demands settled. Jewellers in great numbers came forward to swear that jewels had been bought by the last Maharaja and had not been paid for; or that precious stones had been sent to him for inspection and had never been returned.

It was first necessary to restore order in the administration and finances of the State, and in his early years His Highness was fortunate in having the eminent statesman, Sir T. Madhavrao,* to aid in this task. Again in Mr. Govindbhai's words:

An adequate machinery for the administration of justice was to be established. The country was to be provided with a police force commensurate with its size and with the density and character of the population to be protected. Necessary and useful public works were to be taken in hand. Popular education was to be given; and medical agencies were to be called into being. Where the burden of taxation was found to be excessive it was to be reduced and taxes were to be

* *Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, born in 1828, a Maratha by race, after a period of academic life in Madras became Dewan of Travancore where he stayed for fourteen years. Later he held the office of Dewan of Indore until the British Government chose him in 1875 to occupy a similar position in the Baroda State. His courage and persistence, combined with far-sighted statesmanship, did much to remedy the evils caused by the former misrule, making possible the constructive progressive policy embarked upon by His Highness.*

readjusted where necessary or to be abolished where objectionable. Economy was to be enforced in expenditure, extravagance to be discouraged, corruption and malversation to be exterminated. Especially it was to be the aim to ensure that expenditure should be kept below the level of the receipts of revenue, so that accumulated surpluses might be available for the establishment of an adequate reserve. The executive was to be strengthened to such a pitch that Government might be coextensive with the country and its population, and might be a constantly present power.

By the time His Highness was invested with full powers, in 1881, order had been restored, and instead of the apparently almost inevitable bankruptcy of his State just previous to his accession, a reserve of one and a half crores of rupees had been built up. From that time to this, the State has not Only maintained its financial stability, but led by the enthusiasm and foresight of His Highness has been a pioneer of reform and progress along almost all paths of human welfare. As giving evidence of the changed condition of Baroda, even as early as 1886, a speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, has been included in this volume in its proper chronological context.

The time had not come, and has hardly yet come, for a popularly elected representative Government exactly on the lines of those of the West. For such forms of government a much higher actual level of education and knowledge amongst the masses of the people was and is necessary. The circumstances have called for a form of autocracy, and the State has been fortunate in obtaining a ruler, enlightened and benevolent.

His Highness has been a great lover of books, but keenly aware of the importance of the spread of knowledge amongst his subjects, gave his large personal library to form the substantial basis for a State Library organisation which for many years has had no equal in India. This is mentioned only to give a truer appreciation of the Maharaja's still greater interest in men and things. There never was a ruler who was more interested in meeting and studying new personalities, enquiring into their work, asking their opinions and estimating their worth. There never was a ruler more receptive of good ideas from those he met, and rarely one who has to such an extent the Indian power of memory and retentiveness. His

interest in men and his power of discernment have enabled him to appoint to the highest positions in his State, men who have been sincere counsellors and capable administrators. In choosing his chief ministers he has shown that detachment from party and sectarian prejudice which he has declared to be so deplorable. At one time he appointed a Bengali as his Dewan, at another an Englishman, a Gujarati, a Marathi, a Parsi, a Muslim, recognising merit wherever found.

His Highness' interest in men and things has also been a main cause of his love of travel. His visits to Europe, America, and Japan have provided him with numerous opportunities of comparison and study. He has contrasted the conditions in India with those elsewhere, and he has enquired minutely into the success or otherwise of movements which appeared to make for progress. And with regard to those obviously good, the question has always suggested itself to his mind: How can something similar be introduced into my own State, adapted to its conditions and needs? But it was not long before he realised how difficult is the step from the adoption of progressive ideas to their efficient translation into practice. The rank and file of his officers, whose loyal wish to co-operate with His Highness deserves to be recorded, have nevertheless far too often lacked the insight into the real significance of his plans and even more often the training and knowledge for their proper execution. To meet this His Highness has sent a succession of men for training abroad.

The Maharaja has felt even more profoundly the need for an intelligent understanding of his aims and methods by his subjects in general, as well as for their active co-operation. Towards this end his pioneer work in providing free primary education, strengthened by being made compulsory, has contributed much, in addition to what it has otherwise done for the personal welfare of the people. But in the prevailing circumstances His Highness has perceived that such education is not enough for this purpose. He has desired to take his subjects more into his confidence and to inspire their loyal co-operation in a way that only personal contact can. It is thus that from the earliest years of his reign, the Maharaja has availed himself of many opportunities to address his subjects on a variety of matters affecting their welfare.

It is to be regretted that no complete record of the Maharaja's Speeches and Addresses has been preserved. Those which are printed here extend over about fifty years, from shortly after his accession to the time of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of his reign. They represent ideas on a wide range of subjects, all of the greatest moment for the future not merely of the State of Baroda but also of India as a whole.

To do full justice to the Speeches it is necessary to know something of the personality of the man. A little below medium height and moderately robust in build, His Highness has that erectness which comes from the effects of regular physical exercise allied with a consciousness of personal power. In delivering his Speeches, as in his daily conversation, he manifests a natural dignity conforming with the eminence of his position. His public utterances are made with an easy grace as his personal intercourse with the humblest or the highest is courteous and friendly. His voice is clear but never raised, and reveals at all times remarkable equanimity and utmost sincerity. His personality has inspired a respect and affection among his officers, his subjects, and many others in India, Europe, and America, only equalled by the stimulus to activity given by the ideas he has inculcated both in his Speeches and in his private conversation.

In spite of the pomp and circumstance of his surroundings as the ruler of one of the most important of Indian States, His Highness has maintained an essential simplicity, verging in some directions on abstemiousness. Though desiring that his efforts for the good of his subjects shall be recognised, he has not sought popularity. He has always shown the strength of his convictions and abided by them whatever the popular view. Nevertheless in administration he has exercised the tact necessary to bring his subjects step by step towards an ideal for the whole of which they may reveal themselves as unprepared, as, for example, was the case with regard to the legal age for marriage. His personal example in matters of domestic life and social intercourse has done more in Baroda and among his brother-rulers and educated Indians generally than even the convictions on these matters which have found expression repeatedly in his public utterances.

A man of deep feeling, there is nothing of the weakly sentimental in his nature. In the loss of three of his sons he has suffered much, but never has he been known to allow such events to divert him from his duties and responsibilities. In spite of repeated disappointments at the manner in which cherished ideas have failed, owing to ineptness, inefficiency or intrigue on the part of persons concerned in putting them into practice, he has never given up his lofty and broad idealism.

Those who have been admitted to the honour of personal friendship with His Highness are aware of his sense of humour, and of his appreciation of those who can provide him with the relaxation which humour brings to those burdened with great and continued responsibilities. His speech at the Sayaji Vihar Club on the 17th of December 1914 reveals his sense of humour in contemplating some of the circumstances of his early European travels. But it is evident to all who know him well that seriousness and earnestness overwhelmingly predominate in his character. His mind is ever active and it may be safely said that the subjects of his reflection are with rare exceptions matters of the welfare of his State. This is the case whether within the State itself or thousands of miles from it. As an illustration of this continuous mental activity may be recorded how even on board ship he has been known to keep under his pillow at night a book for jotting down notes of his thoughts often leading to important orders being issued the following day.

The Speeches and Addresses collected here reveal the great breadth of the Maharaja's ideas and sympathies. It can well be imagined that at an earlier time many must have regarded him as championing on Occidental mode of life as opposed to an Oriental one. It is more correct to say that he has stood and stands for a modern civilisation against the deadening effects and the evils of mediaeval and ancient traditions and customs based upon erroneous conceptions of life and the world. He is far too critical to believe that patriotism is inseparably bound up with the acceptance of particular traditional views and adherence to specific customs appertaining to matters of personal hygiene, of housing, clothing, food, marriage, or social intercourse. For him, true

patriotism consists in the endeavour to obtain the highest type of life for the greatest possible number of one's fellow-countrymen. The extent of his freedom of thought and action might be regarded as remarkable in any man; it is and has been doubly so in an Indian born more than sixty years ago amongst a people rightly proud of their historic culture but not notably discriminating as to the relative worth of its constituents.

In his general attitude and in his predominant opinions, His Highness Sayajirao III is a modern Humanist. Throughout the following pages it will be seen that he has an ideal of a healthy and full human life. His Humanism is, however, free from those common faults of so many Humanisms—the taint of individualism and the assumption that the highest culture is of necessity only for a privileged class. The cultured life, as he conceives it, is not a luxury for the few, but a necessity for the many: it is a social ideal in which all should share so far as they may be educated to enjoy it. Yet the Humanist ideal is not simply a life to enjoy; it is also an active existence in which all, from peasant to prince, are called to take their part and perform their specific functions with due regard to their particular responsibilities. The Maharaja's attitude is thus not only idealistic: it is at the same time intensely practical as these Speeches and the fifty years of his administration of a State of more than 2,000,000 people amply show. During these years a very large number of forces economic and other have, it may be said, been making India "modern". The Maharaja of Baroda has been not merely allied with these tendencies: he has been one of their leading pioneers. It has often enough been said, with a large amount of truth: What Baroda does to-day, India does to-morrow". His Highness' utterances have been regarded far beyond his own dominions as an expression of the ideals of progressive Indians during the last half century and an indication of the lines along which progress may be achieved.

In his Speeches and Addresses we have an insistence on those things which make for physical sanity. There is the importance attached in his practical policy as in his words to the supply of pure water. He has urged time after time the need for the diffusion of knowledge of proper sanitation and

the provision of a public service for its requirements. Not merely physical well-being, but all cultural advance depends in large measure on economic progress. For this reason he has never lost an opportunity of calling upon Indians to awaken themselves to the needs of industries and commerce if India is to take its rightful place in the modern world. By the starting of industries, by assisting in the establishment of banks, and by the development of railways he has put into practice in his own State the policy he has advocated.

The welfare of the people of India generally, both physical and mental, has suffered much from pernicious customs associated with false sentiments and ideas. Against these His Highness has carried on a continuous propaganda and an active warfare. Of these the chief may be said to be child marriage and caste, especially in its worst features as manifested in the treatment of the so-called "untouchables". These are evils rooted in age-long customs which have fortified themselves with pseudo-scientific and pseudo-religious sanctions. There is still much to be done to achieve complete emancipation, but that so eminent a personality as His Highness has raised his voice so frequently and given his support so definitely for freedom has been a leading factor in the advance so far made. There are other practices which he has similarly opposed, such as *purdah* and the prevention of widow-remarriage.

Yet above all else, whether we notice the occasions or the contents of most of these Speeches and Addresses, it is evident, as it is in a survey of his actual administration, that it is education which has been the fundamental motive of His Highness' reign. From the commencement he grasped the vital truth that a people without the rudiments of education could not understand or take an intelligent part in, let alone appreciate at their true worth, the various aspects of his progressive policy. In these volumes it will be seen how persistently and consistently he has urged this need of his entire people, of both sexes and for all classes. He looks chiefly to education not simply for progress in social conditions but also for industrial, commercial, and economic advance generally. He has urged his countrymen time after

time to seek knowledge wherever it may be found, in past or present, in East or West.

It is not simply for the attainment of physical welfare, decency, comfort, and luxury, that education is advocated. One who has given time and thought to the study of philosophy, who has called together scholars to help in the revival of the study of the ancient Sanskrit literature of India, knows that culture is something more profound and more sublime than such externals. This view of culture is never forgotten whatever the particular subject of the moment and it comes to frequent expression in the Maharaja's utterances. In many practical achievements of his reign which do not receive any mention in these two volumes this attitude is apparent, as, for example, in what he has done for art in the beautiful picture gallery and for scientific interest and intellectual curiosity in the well-equipped museum, which he has established in Baroda. But more than all it is seen in the place he accords to personal character as being of more consequence than and independent of the particular position, high or low, rich or poor, which the individual may occupy in the community. He is himself a man of astonishing insight into personal character. Of charitable sentiment, he is convinced that many forms of charity traditional in India have done much to undermine the moral fibre of large sections of the community. Teaching self-help, he has rarely been appealed to in vain for support on behalf of deserving causes.

It will perhaps be said by those who know him best, that the Maharaja is restless. It is true. It is the fault of his virtues: the weakness of his strength. It is a characteristic of the spirit of the age which has seen petrol and electricity hasten a thousand fold the external movements of mankind; it is a characteristic of the spirit of the age in which from the printing press there come many times a day ephemeral records of the continuous stream of events. For the subjects of his State, it is fortunate that the Maharaja has not followed a long tradition in accordance with which many of the greatest men in the history of India have renounced so-called worldly affairs in order to seek personal peace and rest in a contemplation of the ultimate Reality. His Highness shares the restlessness

of the West; his critical mind will not allow him to acquiesce in the practices and tenets of religion as traditionally presented. There is, however, as his keen sense of duty itself indicates, much which reveals that he is a deeply religious man. And it is this which makes him feel that great though the values of modern Humanism are, they are not in themselves completely satisfying. Were he not at heart fundamentally religious, he might have found full satisfaction in his work and in the enjoyments which his wealth can command. His religious feeling admitted, it may be that, as many of the noblest minds of to-day in East and West, he has not yet attained to a modern way of expressing to himself what religion truly implies. Mere tradition can satisfy him here as little as on any side of life, and occupied so continuously with the practical affairs of State, he has perchance not yet arrived at the peace which an acceptable view of religion often brings. That is a personal sacrifice he has made in the performance of the onerous duties of his position. Nevertheless, His Highness is still mentally fresh and active, and it is not impossible that he may yet express, for himself and his people, ideas On this fundamental subject as inspiring as those which on so many other things he presents to us in the pages that follow.

-Alban Gregory Widgery

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MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD

On the 29th of April 1918 a War Conference was held at Delhi at which His Highness made the following Speech, giving expression to that loyalty to the Empire and to the Allied Cause which throughout the War had been so conspicuous in his actions and in his material support.



YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We have all heard with profound respect the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I have now to request you to convey, on behalf of all my brother princes and the people of India, an assurance of our unswerving loyalty and abiding attachment to His Majesty's person and throne, in this hour of the empire's need.

His Majesty's stirring message has not fallen on deaf ears; his clarion call will evoke a sense of duty in all hearts throughout this land. His Majesty has generously appealed to our sense of patriotic unity and I am confident that the results of this conference will demonstrate that trust will beget trust; that India, feeling the identity of her interests with the rest of the empire, will leave no stone unturned to play her role in a manner befitting her proud position as a partner in the greatest empire history has ever chronicled.

With intimate mutual knowledge, common aims and objects, and a concentration of identical purpose, our resources, which we have all placed at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will assuredly be strengthened a thousandfold, and we can look forward to the ultimate end of this great war, with cheerful confidence and supreme faith in the final victory of right over might.

I have now great pleasure in moving the first resolution entrusted to me:

That this Conference authorises and requests His Excellency the Viceroy to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor an expression of India's dutiful and loyal response to his gracious message and an assurance of her determination to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the empire is passing.



On the cessation of hostilities and the announcement of peace His Highness in the spirit of profound thankfulness gave generously for the celebration of Victory by all classes of his people. At a Banquet which formed part of the victory festivities on the 29th of November 1918 the Maharaja proposed the Toast to the health of the King-Emperor in the following impressive utterance:



MR RUSSELL,* LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is now my privilege to ask you to join me in honouring the Toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Over four years ago, after years of stealthy intrigue and determined preparation, the enemies of His Majesty, in boastful arrogance of spirit, with conviction of a speedy triumph, forced war upon him who, with his peoples and Governments throughout the world, sought only a lasting peace amongst the nations. Now in the fulness of time God has given his arms a completeness of victory which we are met to-night to celebrate; for through that victory the whole world has escaped from a danger the extent of which it must be left to the historian of the future to measure. We are too close to it adequately to do it for ourselves. His Majesty the King-Emperor, in his message to the princes and peoples of India, has been graciously pleased to refer to the fact that in the fight against tyranny and wrong, now so gloriously terminated, the ancient historic peoples of India, who had learned to trust England's flag, hastened to discharge their debt of loyalty to the crown.

I request you, Mr Rmell, as Resident at my Court, to convey to His Majesty my most sincere and respectful congratulations together with those of my State and my House on the signal

* Sir Charles Lennox Russell, British Resident at Baroda, March 1918-April 1919.

victory achieved by his forces, fighting side by side with those of his great allies, over the common enemy. We have shared with the peoples of the empire the anxieties of many a dark hour during the past four years; we are glad that to-night it is vouchsafed to us to share in the celebration of our common victory over a common foe. I pray that this unity of spirit, thus strongly Set in firm foundations, may ever endure to the perpetual benefit of the peoples and Governments of this mighty empire. The old landmarks have been largely swept away in the turmoil and confusion that have overtaken our enemies; we enter now on a period of rebuilding and reconstruction during which problems of the greatest difficulty will without doubt confront all the statesmen of the world.

In our rejoicing in the hour of victory surely we should above all entreat Providence that special gifts of wisdom may be bestowed on the officers and advisers of His Majesty and of all Governments, in order that the fruits of victory may be gathered and enjoyed to the full. The princes and peoples of India have been consistent in their loyalty and devotion to the person and throne of His Majesty in the years that are gone; they will ever remain so in future. Gladly will we share in whatever Providence may have in store for the mighty empire of which His Majesty is the Sovereign, of which we in India are proud to declare that we are a part. Mighty and wonderful have been the achievements of the past; even more glorious, I am persuaded, will be those of the peaceful future.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I pray you to join me in drinking to the long life, health and prosperity of His Majesty the King Emperor and of his House. God save the King- Emperor.



At a Banquet on New Year's Day 1919 the Maharaja proposed the Toast to the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor.



MR RUSSELL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—On this New Year's night it gives me peculiar pleasure to meet you, and to have the opportunity of wishing you all happiness in 1919. I wish for you all the good fortune that you could possibly wish for yourselves.

There is no need, on this New Year's night, that I should use lengthy phrases in recommending to you the Toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

From the depths of our hearts, in profound sincerity, each one of us wishes for His majesty and for his House, a New Year of all possible happiness and prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen—His Majesty the King-Emperor.



His Highness made the following short Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Nandod Hospital on the 20th of February 1919.



YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN, — The history of medicine reaches back to the remotest antiquity where it loses itself in myth and fable. The foundation of the medical art in India was coincident with the establishment of its earliest civilisation and the spread of its earliest religion.

At first the sick were tended in the precincts of the temple. The most ancient Hindu traditions attribute the gift of medical knowledge to direct divine inspiration. The *Rig-Veda* says: "O King Varuna, a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine".

The next stage of social development brought the building of hospitals within the scope of practical politics. In testimony of this we have the famous edict of Asoka which says: "Everywhere the heaven-beloved Raja Piyadasis double system of medical aid is established; both medical aid for men and animals together with medicaments of all sorts which are suitable for both".

After those great days of Buddhist civilisation, Gentlemen, We dropped behind the other nations of the world until a few decades ago when again the flame of charity and public benevolence, which was only dormant and not dead, revived within us. I see before us a future bright with hopes of social, moral and intellectual progress.

The good ruler, Gentlemen, looks with equal care to the physical welfare of his people as to the mental. You are fortunate in that you had a good ruler in the past, who started the noble idea of building a modern hospital for your benefit, and more fortunate still in having in your beloved Maharaja a young and progressive ruler who spares neither pains nor money in his endeavours to help his people and to live up to the ideal of the great Asoka which all Indians should ever have before them.

Gentlemen, I feel it an honour to open this hospital which will be a permanent token of the love that your ruler bears you all.



His Excellency Lord Chelmsford paid a visit to Baroda for a few days in March 1919, and on the 24th a Banquet was given in his honour in the Durbar Hall of the Laxmi Vilas Palace. Proposing the Toast to the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor, His Highness said:



YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It is now my proud privilege to ask you to join me in honouring the Toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The princes and peoples of India have, in the past years of war, shown to the world in no uncertain manner that their loyalty to the person and throne of His Majesty stands fast in storm and stress, and is built on the surest of foundations.

As it has been, so will it be, whatever may betide. Unitedly, with a sincerity which mere words cannot express, we pray that His Majesty may have long life and completeness of happiness, secure in the possession of the love of his peoples throughout the world, surely guarded by devoted fleets and armies, and, with his unceasing labours for the good of his empire, rewarded by its constant and increasing prosperity.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen—His Majesty the King-Emperor.



Afterwards His Highness rose to propose the second Toast of the evening, to the health of his eminent guest.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I rise now to perform the most pleasant duty of proposing the health of my illustrious guest, His Excellency the Viceroy.

It is a very real pleasure to me that His Excellency has been able to find time—I am sure we all wish that it had been longer—to visit me here in my capital, and, Your Excellency, I beg you to be sure that in saying this, I am using the language, not of mere formal courtesy, but of true sincerity.

I have a lively memory of many pleasant hours spent in Your Excellency's hospitable home, and I rejoice in having this opportunity of receiving you as my honoured guest.

Her Highness and I feel a sense of genuine regret that Her Excellency is not with us to-day, but the fact that she is enjoying a well-earned rest and change, after so many trying years of work, reconciles us to her absence. We hope that Her Excellency will return greatly benefited by the change, and that we may have an opportunity of welcoming her here in the future.

Now that the war, in which the indissoluble nature of the ties which link the States of India to the British Empire has been so strikingly manifested, has ended in such signal success, we are confronted by political and social problems, the unravelment of which will present many difficulties, and

will call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship. It is indeed fortunate that, at this juncture, India should have at the helm one who has made a life-long study of such questions, and, in particular, of the great problem of education—than which there is none nearer to my heart, and none—if I am permitted to express the opinion—more important to the present and future welfare of India. By education, I mean the adequate training of the masses as well as of the classes. I mean not merely the flooding of the land with schoolmasters, but rather the evolution of a system of instruction which will bring out the vast good which is in the people, and shall strengthen them bodily, mentally and spiritually. Other important problems before us are the expansion industrial effort and the establishment of a suitable and widespread system of local self-government. These too are subjects of which Your Excellency has made a special study, and I look with confidence to a future when Year Excellency's wisdom, experience, patience and foresight will pilot the Indian ship of State safely through all difficulties to the calm waters of social, political and material progress.

I must not detain you longer. I trust that you, Your Excellency, will always have kindly feelings towards Baroda; and I assure you that I, on my part, my House and my State, will ever do all that is in our power to maintain the friendly relations which have existed between Your Excellency's Government and ourselves from immemorial times.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the long life, health and prosperity of His Excellency the Viceroy.



On the 24th of March His Excellency Lord Chelmsford laid the Foundation Stone of the State Railway Workshops, His Highness on the occasion formally requesting him to do so in the following terms:



YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — The report just read by my Dewan gives the history of railway enterprise in the State. In view of the sympathetic and liberal attitude of the Government of India towards the railway enterprise in Indian States, I hope that in future there will be yet further extension of railway lines connecting isolated parts of my State. The working agency has been pressing my State to provide a workshop to facilitate the repairs of the rolling-stock used on the State litters. Having decided upon the erection of workshops to meet this long-felt need, I have availed myself of this opportunity of your Excellency's presence among us to-day to request Your Excellency to lay the foundation stone of an institution which I trust may prove of great benefit to the State and may add to its industrial and economic prosperity.



His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales graciously accepted the Maharaja's invitation to visit him in his capital city on the occasion of His Royal Highness' tour in India. At a Banquet held on the 23rd of November 1921 in honour of his royal guest, His Highness proposed the Toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and afterwards that of His Royal Highness.



YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It is now my very pleasant duty to ask you to join me in honouring the Toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

In India, loyalty to the sovereign is at once a zealously guarded tradition and a religious precept, and among the princes of India and the people of their States, loyalty to the person and throne of His Majesty is a deep-rooted instinct. My State has been a faithful ally of the crown since the days when my ancestor ratified his first engagement with the British representatives. Whatever developments may now arise from the Indian Reforms inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught last year, no change can ever come in the feelings with which we regard the crown and the British connection. We remember with gratitude King George's heartening message of hope to all who live in this great continent.

Rejoicing that it has fallen to our lot to share the fortunes of the mighty empire over which His Majesty rules, and glorying in the triumph with which it has pleased the God of Battles to crown His Majesty's arms, we pray with fervour that long life, health and prosperity may be vouch-safed to His Majesty.

Your Royal Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen—His Majesty the King-Emperor.



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On the same day to join in drinking health of honoured guest, His Royal Highness the Prince of Walse.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I rise now to invite you to join me in drinking the health of my honoured guest, whose presence here to-night fills us all with such immense pleasure, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Forty-five years ago, His Royal Highness' august grandfather, King Edward of happy memory, did me the honour of visiting me here in Baroda when he came to India as Prince of Wales. It is but natural, therefore, that the fact that I am the first of the princes of India to have the privilege of entertaining His Royal Highness in this his first visit to the empire of India is to me personally a matter of intense pride and gratification.

His Royal Highness, in all his many-sided activities both in peace and in war, has shown that he is the happy possessor of gifts which are as priceless as they are royal. The great self-governing dominions have acclaimed him as an ambassador of the Empire; those who fought with him in the great war have hailed him as a true comrade the sick, the suffering and the poor know well with what sympathy and loving-kindness he has striven on their behalf. His Majesty the King-Emperor, in a memorable speech delivered in London on his return from his visit to India as Prince of Wales, emphasised the enormous value of sympathy and insight to the ruler. We in India rejoice in the knowledge that, whatever may be the problems of the future which His Royal Highness

may be called upon to deal with, he has proved that he possesses the wisdom, human sympathy and insight so necessary to their adequate solution.

The alliance of my State with the crown is now a hundred years old, and I am proud to acknowledge the courtesy and fairness with which, through that long period, the British Government has treated Baroda. Naturally there have been occasional differences as to the interpretation of our various engagements, but these differences have mostly been removed by patient and friendly discussion. There are still some important matters outstanding, but if the communications of the Government of India which we have received in the last year or two and for which we are grateful, are an indication of what we may expect in the future, I have no doubt that our point of view will be most sympathetically considered.

We are proud indeed that Your Royal Highness was able to accept my invitation to visit me here in my capital. The fortunes of my State and my House have from the beginning been so closely linked with the British Empire, that I need scarcely assure Your Royal Highness of the sincerity of the pleasure with which I regard your presence here this evening. I trust that Your Royal Highness will experience both here and throughout your tour, an ever-increasing happiness, and that peace and prosperity may ever crown your days.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I pray you to join in drinking the long life, health and prosperity of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.



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*In response to the Toast which His Royal Highness proposed the health of the
Maharaja, His Highness replied:*



YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I have to thank you, Your Royal Highness, for the extremely gracious terms in which you have proposed my health, and you Ladies and Gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have responded. I thank you all very much.



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In the year 1923 the Maharaja suffered a severe loss in the sudden death of his second son, Prince jayasinhrao, who was travelling in Europe at the time. To His Highness' grief on this occasion there was added much further anxiety and trouble through a widespread rumour that the deceased was His Highness himself. Relieved and overjoyed to learn that this was not the truth, his subjects looked forward to His Highness' return to Baroda, anxious to assure him of their sympathy in his sorrow and their joy in his own safety. A number of Addresses were presented to His Highness in personal esteem and in appreciation of the great benefits which his benevolent and progressive rule had conferred upon his people. On the 26th of November 1923 His Highness was pleased to receive representatives of different associations and communities, and he replied to their Addresses in terms characteristic alike of his deep feeling and of the breadth of his ideals untainted by any petty selfishness.



GENTLEMEN, — While thanking you for the Addresses which you have presented on my arrival from Europe, I would like to express the thoughts they have aroused in me. The warm receptions accorded to me in Bombay and here by my subjects have touched me deeply, and in expressing my deep sense of heartfelt gratitude, I should say that they exceeded my expectations. I have no words to thank you adequately. I would only say that they have been exceptionally kind and warm.

It is not possible to answer in detail or even generally the different issues raised in the various Addresses; but I shall endeavour to touch upon some of the points briefly. As to the domestic occurrence, I can say little. I can only say that the very kind and sympathetic participation of my beloved subjects has helped to lessen my grief. I thank you heartily for your sympathy. As to myself, you referred to the false rumours which the newspapers reported. This was not the first time that such false rumours have been circulated in connection with me. At the time of the Delhi Durbar such rumours were

spread, but we hope they were not intentional and by no means vindictive.

You have referred to my past achievements. I would only say that they have been merely indications of the paths along which progress in any community ought to proceed, and on which intelligent and cultured leaders should advance with steady efforts. This is not the first time that I address you. I know your wishes and your aspirations. I have already sympathetically tried to engender noble ideals in all your laudable activities. In my actions I have always liberally tried to help you forward. It is the sole endeavour of my life to see that my subjects advance on the right lines, and I shall always try to see that your reasonable aspirations are satisfied.

We have to move forward with the times, and our progress will be slow if we have not cultivated the virtue of fearlessness and the courage of our convictions. You should always remember that progress does not mean mere imitation. It should be solid and substantial advance. You should not be led away by mere appearances. You have to study your own environment, and place before yourselves an ideal as to what you have to achieve. You must patiently and intelligently decide upon your direction of progress and proceed steadily. Institutions of other countries, if transplanted to our own, may be unsuitable and out of place; we have to study the social conditions of our community very carefully and determine the methods by which we should move forward. The social conditions of our community are different from those prevailing in Europe. We are divided into various castes and sub-castes and scattered over a vast country. These differentiations of caste, creeds and communities make the problem of the uplift of our society very complicated. To achieve real advance we have to proceed very cautiously. Our ideals may be noble, yet if we approach them by faulty methods, we shall achieve nothing.

In political as in social matters, progress means heavy responsibilities for the Government as well as for the governed. by the gradual development of schemes and lasts for the welfare of my subjects I have always tried to cultivate in them the virtues of self-reliance, independence and the

courage of their convictions. The success of our endeavours will mainly depend on the hearty co-operation and good judgment of my subjects and my officers. The prosperity of a community or a State depends on the complete concordance of the ruler, the officials and the subjects. Every citizen and right-minded person should bear this in mind. It is the duty of citizens to bring the true state of affairs before the ruler, and request him to make reforms and changes in Government; but it is always necessary to bear in min that the changes sought shall be reasonable and practicable.

For the amelioration of my subjects I have proceeded liberally and steadily in social as well as political matters, and it is for my subjects to give a fitting response to my efforts. Much can be done by people to do away with the distinction of high and low, to do away with party factions and with the partisan spirit. In India large communities (as many as seven crores) of human beings rank low in the social scale and are regarded as untouchable. Our progress is no progress at all. if we refuse to extend the feeling of equality and brotherhood on some lines to the Antyajas and backward communities. We have to bring into play our courage of conviction, our sense of justice and feeling of brotherhood, and in our private life break these shackles of superstition and form. Men like Gandhi and his followers have done and said much in this connection. If the people have failed to follow Gandhi's wise counsels in this direction, they have only themselves to blame. It is for them to act up to these teachings and boldly bring about a feeling of equality and brotherhood in the community and solve one of its severest problems. As to the evil of drink, I quite agree with your views; but as practical people we must think of the difficulties and financial loss to the community in the first place by its prohibition, and so we must proceed slowly but surely.

The uplift of the Hindu, I should say Indian, community is a pressing problem of the present day. I sympathise with the ideals of the movement, and I am glad to find that sincere efforts are being made in this direction; but I feel that the problem of nationalisation can never be solved till these artificial distinctions and these vested interests are done

away with. I have great admiration for the institutions of the Hindus; but we should study them properly and modify them in the light of present-day conditions.

You have referred to my trips to Europe; but this great war has revolutionised the social and political conditions in Europe and brought about an upheaval there. To appreciate these conditions, one must study them on the spot. If we do not march with the times, we shall lag behind fifty or sixty years: other countries are moving fast and we cannot afford to stand still. But I would again say that mere imitation will not avail. We must study our own conditions and find out practical and sensible solutions to cope with them.

Newspapers play an important part in modern life; their power and their responsibilities are vast; but while they discharge useful services, they also work much mischief. By false information, personal attacks, malignant criticism and partisan warfares they demoralise the community. You have to be always careful to bear in mind that they represent not the views of the community as a whole or the public at large, but personal views of the individuals concerned. We should not be led away by them, but must always exercise our own understanding and judgment and form independently our own convictions. You must form your views thoroughly considering your own conditions, I mean conditions of your country and community. You must form your views boldly and fearlessly and act upon them.

I am getting old: I have reached the age of sixty. The tasks of my officers and my subjects are therefore hard and their responsibilities grave. You will find me perhaps more cautious; but I shall always try to give the benefit of my experience to the State and to see that the same liberal policy which has characterised my past will be continued. I shall endeavour to see that you get due encouragement and assistance from all departments of the State. My officers should always sympathetically help my subjects in their advance, but I should impress it on my subjects that their demands for progress should be legitimate and practicable. You are welcome to draw my attention to defects and deficiencies, but you should always suggest practical corrections. You must always suggest

a policy which is workable under the economic and other conditions prevailing in the State. You must appreciate the difficulties of the Government and suggest proper methods of progress. I have full faith in your sense of proportion, discrimination and practicability.

Gentlemen, I again thank you for your unbounded affection, your loyalty and your good wishes towards me and for the royal family's health and long life.



On the 26th of December 1923 the Staff and Students of the Baroda College invited the Maharaja to the College and quested his gracious acceptance of an Address of welcome, conveying an expression of their loyalty and respect and an appreciation of His Highness benevolent activities in the cause of education. Accepting the Address His Highness said:



MR CLARKE, STAFF AND STUDENTS OF THE BARODA COLLEGE,— I am profoundly touched by the kindness which has prompted you, members of the staff of the Baroda College, and students past and present, to give me this Address of welcome. You all know well that throughout my reign education has been the object of my constant care and attention. As you have said in your Address, the laying of the foundation atone of the building in which we have met today was one of the first public acts of my life. During the forty-five years which have passed since that auspicious occasion my interest in the college has never wavered. I have watched the work done here, I have measured its results; and though it would be too much to expect a college only forty-five years old to have done much more than emerge from infancy, I am glad to say, Gentlemen, that I am as profoundly satisfied with the progress achieved, as I am convinced that there is much more to be done in the future.

Those of you who have travelled abroad, and have visited those ancient seats of learning at Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Berlin or Vienna, will agree with me that the first and most lasting impression received there is concerned with the centuries during which they have grown. In their quadrangles, lawns are growing which were first laid down 400 or 500 years ago; and the heavy rafters and beams of their ancient halls have witnessed the coming and the passing of many

generations. From them one learns patience; one feels that achievement is not to be measured in terms of years. It is profoundly true that we must refuse to be satisfied with what we have achieved; it is equally true that in all our comings and goings, we must press steadily forward, hoping for ourselves and for posterity better things in the future.

It is perhaps natural that I should be led this evening to dream of the future, to be reminiscent of the past. Very near this spot in the coolness of an evening in January 1879, I look in my hand the tools of the mason and declared the foundation stone of the Baroda College to be well and truly laid. I was then but a boy of sixteen, full of the joy of life at its dawn free from any cares other than those which naturally attack the schoolboy. Before me were the young students of that day; and I remember how deeply I sympathised with them and their aspirations, how sincerely I resolved that I would do what I could to help them. By my side was my Dewan and faithful friend, Sir Madhavrao, whose task it was to make smooth for my young feet the paths along which it has pleased Providence that they should tread. He was a striking figure with his statesman-like face, his measured gait, his flowing Angarkhan, his Madrasi Dhotar, with crimson Brahmin shoes, Moghlai turban, and in his ears and on his little finger diamond rings, a thorough courtier and a typical man of the world of his time. There too was my kind friend Mr Melvill, the Agent to the Governor-General, full of a kindly and generous desire to help, his whole soul set on but one ambition, the performance of his duty. Of Mr Melvill and Sir Madhavrao one could not but be struck by the combination of ripe years and matured experience: each had won fame, each was determined to add to his laurels. I remember well also Mr Tait, the square-shouldered York-shireman, fixed of purpose, thoroughly conscientious, who piloted this ship of learning out of dock into the high seas on which she now floats. Mr Tait, who died only last year, was the first Principal. Throughout his connection with the State, and even indeed after his retirement, Mr Tait was to me a valued friend. Supporting me also was my tutor, Mr Elliot of the Indian Civil Service, to whose watchful care and intelligent guidance I owe so much.

Mr Elliot was always courteous and smiling, always had a friendly glint in his eye as he watched my performances and joined in my games. Both Mr Tait and Mr Elliot were then young active men on the threshold of their careers, determined to leave the impress of their resolute characters on the work entrusted to them.

These are but a few of those figures which in spirit look this evening upon us as we are gathered here nearly half a century later. The friends of my youth, the “old familiar faces”, crowd close around me as I remember that evening of long ago, in the spring-time of my life, and think that I am now sixty years old with so much of life behind me.

Gentlemen, in my mind's eye I have two pictures, the first, a dusty plain, with here and there signs of the presence of the builder. Lines of excavations marking the foundations upon which were to rest the walls of the Baroda College. There are dotted about heaps of dust, mortar, bricks, and the like. The second is that which greeted my eyes as I drove up to the college this evening. Ordered paths and drives, a mighty pile surmounted by a wonderful dome, in a word a building complete and finished. In between the inception of this building and this present occasion there stretch forty-five years of work, of effort, of I hope achievement. From your gates, as you have reminded me, over a thousand graduates have passed into the world bearing upon them the stamp here given, giving out to all a message which they have themselves received here. I remember Mr G. R. Nimbalkar, who afterwards presided over the Survey, Settlement, Alienation and Revenue Departments, and also Mr R. H. Gokhale, a student of the Baroda College who adorned the bench of the local High Court; Mr Dhirajlal Dahyubhai Nanavati of the Indian Civil Service; Mr Vinak Mehta also of the same service and brother to my friend and Dewan Sir Manubhai Mr Kantawala of the Ceylon Civil Service; and his brother Mr Matuhhai Kantawala, a pillar of strength to local self government and mill-manager; these and a host of others have been numbered amongst the *alumni* of the Baroda College. And besides these “there be of them who have left no memorial; who are become as though they had never been

born". In the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge it is their pious practice annually to hold a religious service in commemoration of the founders and benefactors-to whom gratitude is owed. The service opens with the words "Let us now praise famous men". I would advise you to consider the advisability of making it an annual custom thus to assemble in your hall, to praise those famous men who have been closely connected with you in your development: not forgetting those many others to whom fame was denied, who yet, within their spheres, did valiantly.

You will perhaps feel that on this occasion, then I am standing in this place to return thanks for the honour you have done me, I should avoid the didactic, should refrain from giving advice. But, Gentlemen, my interest in our college is so great, and my opportunities of addressing you so few, that I may be pardoned if in a very few words I express my opinion as to the present and the future of the college in relation to the life of the State. My ideal is to have in the college a central point whence shall radiate streams of vitalising thought and inspiration to the remotest part of my dominions. In these lecture rooms there are being, and I trust will ever be, imparted lessons in the art of living a useful life, an art which surely includes all others. Such lessons will influence first of all the development of character, and other civic virtues of the people. They will emphasise the importance of sympathetic understanding of our own peoples, nay, of all peoples; they will impart Science which should be our handmaid in the upbuilding of our nationality they will aim at the bringing of Philosophy to a harmony with practical life; they will teach our young men and women to become valuable citizens, home-makers, nation-builders.

I have referred to the contrasting pictures, the laying of the foundation stone nearly forty-five years ago, and this present occasion. The infant college of those days has grown up to an energetic youth, promising in the fulness of time to become a fully grown man as the morning ushers in the day; and it is gratifying to observe that this early promise has been so far fulfilled. I am delighted to have this opportunity of coming into close contact with you, members of the staff past

students, and you young men and women of the present. Principal Clarke has for the last twenty-three years been at the helm of the Baroda College, and its fortunes could not have been left in safer hands. Himself a devoted student of English literature and history, an adept in the schoolmen's subtle art, he has ever endeavoured to inculcate the right spirit in the minds of his pupils and has achieved eminent success in moulding their characters. In Professors' Burrow, Arte and others, the Principal has secured trusted lieutenants of sterling merit. The college may well be congratulated on the splendid staff of teachers attracted to its chairs.

It is not possible for me in these few words, in the limited time at my disposal, to say to you all that I should wish, on this occasion which profoundly touches me. To visit an institution of which I laid the foundation stone when I was but a youth, to revisit it when I have reached my present age, this cannot but touch chords within me which vibrate powerfully. I have had as my ambition the achievement of so much; in common with all others who have hoped much, I have had sad disappointments; but I am thankful that I still preserve and I hope I ever shall, my youthful optimism and courage.

Gentlemen, again I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the kind Address which you have given me. For your sympathy I need not say that I am sincerely grateful. In the calamities which are the common lot of humanity, one is sustained by such sympathy as you have expressed for me; I shall watch with continuous and affectionate interest the progress made by this college towards the fulfilment of its mission, the improvement of the conditions of the lives of my people, the supply of trained men for their service, and the constant exertion of a healthy influence on their spiritual and moral welfare.



From the first years of his reign His Highness has had a broad-minded interest in all that affects India and its peoples, and especially their educational advance. At the inception of the idea of the Hindu University of Benares he at once manifested his sympathy and promised his support. Throughout its life his interest has never lessened and he has repeatedly come to its aid with donations for its buildings and for its other needs. As Chancellor of the University His Highness delivered the Address at the Convocation on the 19th of January 1924.



MR VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It is to me a very real privilege to address you as Chancellor of this our Hindu University of Benares. In inviting me to preside over Convocation you have done me an honour which I sincerely appreciate, for which I am most grateful.

It is but fitting that, occupying my present position as your Chancellor, I should voice my deep regret that by the death of the great Gujarati Brahman we have been deprived of your first Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sunder Lal, and so of the aid and advice of one who was whole-heartedly devoted to our welfare, who was the most staunch of friends and the wisest of guides. Nor should I omit to record my delight in being afforded this opportunity of again meeting my friend Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. In him we have a guiding spirit who is possessed by a youthful energy which never grows old, to whose courage, tenacity of purpose, and imagination, we owe much more than we can ever repay. This university is indeed fortunate in the possession of wise counsellors for the present and future, bitterly though it has to regret the Nestor who has passed from us to the beyond.

The act which established this learned Foundation declares that it shall be a teaching and residential university; and that while it will always be open to all classes, castes, and creeds, it will make special provision for religious instruction

and examination in the Hindu religion. I am especially glad to emphasise the ideals conveyed by the words “teaching and residential”, for they represent a return to ancient custom and practice. In the seventh century before Christ, in the famous university of Taxila, princes, Brahmins, and pupils of all classes from the length and breadth of this ancient land sat at the feet of their gurus to acquire all kinds of knowledge. Jivaka, an orphan from the capital of Magadha, went to Taxila and there became proficient in medicine and surgery; so much so that he returned to Magadha as royal physician to the king Bimbisara. Four hundred years later, in the reign of the great Asoka there was a residential university of Pataliputra, the modern Patna; and long after, in the seventh century of the Christian era, the well-known Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, was attracted to the famous university of Nalanda and there received instruction in the sacred books of Buddhism and Brahmanism. In those ancient days our universities were residential, and students of all classes and creeds were admitted and encouraged to study the Hindu religion. Later, from the eighth century, that is, from the Puranic period, there came a change which, I cannot but feel, has had results detrimental to our culture and to our realisations of nationality. There were, during this last period, universities at Navadvipa in Bengal and here in Benares; but in both admission was confined to Brahmins, students of any other caste being sternly excluded. Surely such exclusion of the great majority, in favour of a privileged few, goes far to explain our decadence in modern times.

Let us be careful to avoid the error of confining our learning to any particular class; let us throw wide open the doors of this university as did our predecessors at Taxila and Nalanda. Let all freely come in to drink of the waters of our learning without stint. Then surely we should be able to make the magnificent gesture of brotherhood, embracing all the Hindu world with affectionate enthusiasm, welcoming every genuine effort to obtain more and more light and learning from our ancient and sacred scriptures.

We Hindus have good reason to pride ourselves on our glorious past. Is it not a fact that, while most of Europe was

yet groping in the gloom of barbarism, our forefathers had achieved a flourishing civilisation? The *Vedas*, the *Brahmans*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Sutras* describe a condition of society in which there existed law, order and culture; in which wise statesmen attempted to give successful effect to the benevolent orders of rulers bent upon the good of their subjects; in which poets and philosophers gave of their best for the aesthetic and intellectual advancement of enlightened courts. Mighty were the empires of ancient Hinduism—and great was their fall! While we boast of our glorious past, let us remember that there must have been in it the seeds of our decline to our present inglorious position.

I believe emphatically that it is very wrong for us Hindus to follow blindly those who continually din into our ears the perfections of our past; who attribute our present weakness to our failure to live up to our past. Let us be frank, looking facts squarely in the face, sternly refusing to be blinded by any sentimental appeals. If this ancient civilisation of ours led us to a weakness which prevented us from successfully defending our country against invasion and capture, then there was in it something far from perfect. Let Hinduism arise from contemplation of past glories to a vigorous and practical determination to cope with the difficulties of the present. By all means let us be enthusiastic students of the past, determined to wring from it all its secrets; but with equal, if not greater enthusiasm let us prepare for the future. It is my ambition for our university that it shall become a fount of inspiration as regards both past and future.

I earnestly trust this university will take care to avoid that most terrible of errors, the narrowness of thought which in the end stifles thought and individuality. In my travels I have come into contact with the magnificent Buddhistic culture of Japan and China. Learning that the great religion had originated in India and that for centuries it had spread throughout our motherland, I found it difficult to explain to myself why we in the country of its origin knew so little about it. Buddhism went from India to be a vitalising force in far-distant lands; yet we Indians know practically nothing of it. I have since striven to encourage a study of Buddhistic culture

in my State. The university of Bombay, in which culture struggles to make her voice heard in the midst of the roar of machinery and the clamour of commerce, has included in its curriculum Pali, the language of most of the extant literature of southern Buddhism. Throughout Gujarat and the Deccan there is a significant and steadily increasing interest in Buddhist thought. In the Jain Library of Patan, an ancient city in the north of my dominions, two most important books of Mahayana Buddhism have recently been discovered, and are now being prepared for publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. My Library Department has fortunately been able to persuade our learned Pro-Vice-Chancellor to edit one of them. I trust that the Hindu University, in order that its studies in Hinduism may be complete, will include in its curriculum research work in Buddhist and Jain cultures, and will adopt indeed a sympathetic attitude of enquiry towards all Cultures.

As the Hindu University has declared as one of its chief motives, devotion to the Hindu religion, it will be careful to give to the priests of the future an education which will fit them to be a real help to society. We need, and we must by all means have, learned *purohits* and pious priests. What are priests worth to us, or to anyone, who chant the *Vedas* ignorant of the transcendent truths contained therein? Before they can minister to our innermost needs they must have taken up the duties of their sacred office from inclination rather than by reason of their birth; they must know the scriptures and their real meaning; and they must have an understanding of the world in which they and we live, its realities and difficulties. They must study other religions, in order that they may know and sympathise with the efforts which all are making to find an answer to that most fundamental of all questions: What is truth? And, in order that superstition may be defeated, they must have a good general knowledge, including at least the elements of Science.

A well-known classification of the universities of the world groups them according to the mission fulfilled by them, be it the advancement of truth, the development of character, the making of the perfect man through the harmonious cultivation

of his personality, his good taste, or his efficient training for his vocation in life. It is good that our university aims at combining all these ideals; and that, while here we very properly lay great stress on the spiritual, we have not neglected the useful and practical. One of the greatest of the world's teachers has urged us to recognise the fact that the useful is to be identified with the Good and the True. "Culture is only the passion for sweetness and light", and it is possessed by all who work honestly, who study diligently, be they priests or peasants, poets or engineers, historians or chemists.

I am very glad to know that this university provides side by side with the humanities, faculties of mechanical and electrical engineering; and that you are constantly endeavouring to improve the facilities which you possess for the imparting of scientific and technical training. We have vast resources in the soil, and indeed under it, in the minds of our country; and we need as many thoroughly trained men as we can obtain to assist us in utilising these rare and rich possessions for the good of our country, and for the furtherance of the happiness of our immense population. Faced as we are by keen competition from all over the world, it is high time that we resolved to make the fullest possible use of Nature's gifts to us.

We must face the world like men, proud of our ancient heritage. Too long has the epithet "meek" seemed appropriate to us Hindus; too long have we put into practice that which others preach, the turning of the other cheek to the smiter. The merely meek man may inspire love; he certainly cannot command respect. Aristotle preached the golden mean, and we should be well advised to learn from him that, while selfishness, ferocity and pride are very wrong, excessive timidity, meekness and the refusal to make the best use of the aids and comforts which civilisation offers, are equally so. Let us as Hindus boast ourselves of our ancient past, at least to this extent: that we are determined to be men, even as our far-distant ancestors who lived when Chandragupta, Asoka or Vilitramaditya reigned , were men. In the words of

the famous Lincoln, "With malice towards none; with charity for all—let us strive on".

The purpose of all education is to fit men to play their parts on the stage of the World with efficiency; and indeed if they have no parts to play, the efficiency with which their education has endowed them is likely to become atrophied. On the Indian stage our young men will be called upon to play parts of a far greater importance than were permitted to their fathers; more and more, as that day which has now dawned grows towards maturity, their parts Will be those of leadership, not merely those of insignificance and inferiority. As they realise this, naturally enough a wave of excitement passes through their hearts. But in days of change, of social and political enfranchisement, we especially need in our universities to study to build up in our young men a character which will enable them to cultivate restraint in word and deed. For there can be no rights, no privileges, no genuine freedom, without corresponding duties, obligations, and self-restraint. I trust that you, members of this great university, will ever in your lives and conversation show that your influence and effort are on the side of order; that you know as a truth which cannot be denied, that practical service is far more patriotic than mere eloquence, however glib the tongue; that you appreciate the fact that freedom, if allowed to degenerate into licence, is worse than the most rigorous tyranny.

Fate compels us, whether we like it or not, to play our part in the struggles of the nations; and we must, as men, use all our energies and powers if we would survive the cataclysms which rage beyond the seas and beyond the mountain pass .To say that we are living in a period of transition is so true to-day that it cannot too often be insisted upon. We are wandering between two worlds; one dead, the other powerless to be born". I appeal to you young men, future citizens, to follow those leaders who aim at practical achievement.

It is a real pleasure to me to know that our university does not close her doors to women. Especially here in northern India, where the seclusion of females is so strict a custom, the fact that a few have been found seeking and receiving admission to our lecture rooms is a most welcome sign of a rapidly approaching change. It is almost incredible that

Hindus, who in ancient days prided themselves on Gargi and Maitreyi, regarded with reverent admiration Jain and Buddhist nuns, who did much for the literature and general culture of the country, could yet, in a degenerate time, so far forget as to utter curse upon curse against any woman attempting to study the Hindu religion.

To a yet more marked extent there is another very large section of our people appealing to our intelligence to free them from disabilities to which a hard custom has condemned them—the Sudras and Atisudras. It is impossible for us to justify our treatment of these unhappy millions. I am glad to know that the Hindu Maha Sabha has undertaken a solution of this pressing problem; and I beg of you, members of this enlightened university, as you value our good repute amongst the learned of the world, to put no bar in the way of any Hindu of good character and high motive who desires here to learn our ancient ritual and our holy scriptures. Neither sex nor caste should be a hindrance to the acquirement of Hindu culture.

Yet another matter which I desire to place before you for consideration is concerned with foreign travel. It is, I think, most important that we should encourage our people to travel abroad, to make themselves acquainted with other lands, other races, other cultures. Why have we acquired the dislike to travel over the seas? It is a comparatively recent growth in our opinions. Our ancestors, the Indian traders, the Buddhist missionaries and teachers, travelled far and wide spreading our ancient Culture throughout Asia. We had, so far from remembering their achievements with pride, forgotten them so completely that, but for the efforts of European archaeologists and orientalists, we should know nothing about them. This mediaeval attempt of ours to keep ourselves in dignified seclusion has cost us more than we shall ever know. The proverbial toad in the well had not its vision more confined than have those who refuse to contemplate the pulsing life of the countries overseas. Intercourse with the great trading nations is necessary to us for the extension of our resources, for the enlargement of our horizon, and for the recovery of that initiative which we are said to have lost. Let us go abroad again to recover it. Some will reply that there are many

Indians of a world-wide reputation for their great gifts in all branches of intellectual achievement who have never visited the lands beyond the seas, whose knowledge of other countries is and has been based on their reading, or on information derived at secondhand from others. I cordially agree. But I am convinced that, had they added to their great natural talents the breadth of mind and elasticity of imagination which must result from travel, from personal experience and observation of the manners and customs of other nations, they must have increased enormously their powers for good.

Finally I ask, what place in the whole of India could serve so well as a fountain of inspiration to a Hindu University as Benares? Here it was, in the Deer Park, that the Divine Buddha preached the first sermon on the law of Righteousness, and from this spot the mighty religion of Buddhism spread far and wide. To Kasi came the mighty Sankara, and triumphantly preached his transcendent doctrine of acosmic Maya. To Kasi still come pilgrims, from all parts of India, from Tibet, China, Japan, Siam, Burma and Ceylon, to seek purification and redemption. The neighbourhood of Kasi is still rich with a chaos of ruins amidst which the wandering pilgrim is sure at everystep to stumble against recollections hallowed by age, "to hear tongues in trees, sermons in stones, and books in the running brooks". Kasi echoes and re-echoes our ancient glories. She has withstood the march of centuries upon centuries; still she survives, and Hinduism with her. I pray that this eternal city may be rich again with a new Jnana-vapi, the spring whence shall rise a constantly flowing stream of culture for the infinite refreshment of our people. May the Almighty preserve this Visva Vidyalaya under the shelter of His powerful wing, secure against all the changes and chances of the passing years. And may

*The world's great age begin anew,
The golden years return.*



The British Indian Union and the Northbrook Society gave a Lunch in honour of Lord Reading at the Hotel Cecil, London, on the 25th of June 1925. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having paid a tribute to Lord Reading, His Highness rose and said:*



YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with infinite pleasure and some diffidence, that I rise to support Your Royal Highness' cordial welcome to Lord Reading. The pleasure arises from my deep admiration for Lord Reading's achievements. The diffidence from the consciousness of my own inability to praise him adequately.

Were I on my native soil, I should feel that I had actually behind me the whole-hearted approval of many millions of my fellow-Indians in singing his praises. Here, at least, I know that I have the most enthusiastic support of those of my countrymen present to-day.

In a small way, I myself have some little experience of government. I can therefore the more readily express my admiration of the strenuous application of His Excellency. His task has been, inevitably, of the utmost difficulty. He has sacrificed himself, without stint, in the performance of his exalted duties. His clear-sighted judgment and his unswerving patience have guided the ship of State clear of dangers which would have overwhelmed a smaller man.

His moderation has gained our sincere admiration. He has, indeed, tempered justice with mercy.

* Lord Reading, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1921-1926.

I cannot leave the subject of the excellences of Lord Reading without paying the warmest tribute to those of Lady Reading. As the Viceroy's consort, as a hostess, we give her highest praise. As the unselfish helpmeet of a strenuous worker, she wins our warmest admiration.

I cannot close without expressing my deep sense of the greathonour that has been done me by Your Royal Highness in permitting me thus to add my tribute to Lord Reading to that given him by Your Royal Highness.



**TO THE MEMORY AND PRAISE
OF FAMOUS MEN**

*An Address delivered by His Highness on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the **Kirti Mandir**, or Temple of Fame, on Friday the 15th of January 1926 in connection with the Celebration of the Golden Jubilee of his Reign.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — There is no greater power, there is no more enduring force among men, than the influence of prominent personalities. Even though their names be forgotten, the effects of great men pass on from mind to mind in the ever-flowing stream of humanity. This influence of human character is untouched by the ravages of physical decay. There is no honour too great that we can show to those who have led and guided us to happiness and peace. Above all, we would keep them in remembrance. Their memorials should inspire us to still higher ideals.

So mankind has thought in all ages. To-day, in assembling here to establish a *Kirti Mandir*, a Temple of Fame, or a Hall of Remembrance, we are joining with the best sentiments of all the great-souled peoples of the world. Whether we pass from China, with its historic tablets to the memory of its great men, to Egypt with its Pyramids and Rock Tombs, or from Central America with its vast monumental ruins to the temples and mausoleums of our own beloved India; or still again, from the Pantheon of Ancient Rome to the Pantheon of Modern France, or the Westminster Abbey of England, we find memorials to the saints, prophets, poets, philanthropists, philosophers and kings, and to many other distinguished lenders of the race. During the last few years there have been memorials without number to the heroes of war. Let us

remember with the poet that Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.

We are privileged to join in noble appreciation of noble men. Let us, therefore, do homage to those illustrious souls of all times and of all places who have helped to promote the welfare of mankind.

It is, however, our special duty to recognise our personal debt to those of our own State who have in particular contributed to its progress. You, my loyal subjects, at this time, when I join with you in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of my reign, will allow me to think first of those who, in their day and generation, ruled and guided the destinies of this State. We can know only a fraction of the good they did, for it has always been a characteristic of the dignity and reserve of the best of Indian rulers to perform acts of charity and good-will without ostentation. As all men, they had their limitations, nevertheless they were men of power, of force of character, of energy. We in our times have built on the foundation of their achievements. It is, therefore, in instituting memorial of the past rulers of this State and devoted members of their families that I ask you first to join with me. In private duty bound, I would raise here a *Chatri* in their honour, in which the purpose of *Sraddha* may be realised in lasting sequence.

And let us try now and in the future to realise that *Sraddha* is not meant to be a mere empty form of obsolete and antiquated rites. It may and should be given a significance which will enable it to express and cultivate some of the noblest feelings of mankind. It may and should enshrine the best of filial love, of reverence for virtue, and be an inspiration to faithfulness to one's kith and kin. In it we are to be raised above passing conflicts and oppositions. It is sad to find that trivial strife has often in the past led to such neglect that, of some memorials, at the present time hardly one stone remains upon another. In the *Kirti Mandir* we are now to establish, we must give all their due place, acting as we can well believe, in accordance with what was truly their own best sentiment.

After fifty years of sincere care for the progress and well-being of my people, I like to remind myself that this reverence

for my ancestors has existed since my earliest youth. This Hall of Remembrance will be the fulfilment of a long-felt desire to found an enduring memorial. I recall how long years ago, almost as a child, I was impressed by the old Indian paintings of my forefathers, as, time after time, I looked at them through the long hot days in the basement of the Motibagh Palace. In later years, to ensure a continued record, I had these photographed. Still later, these photographs were enlarged, and in the course if time bronze busts were made and studies in relief. Thus, through my life, my respect for my predecessors has continued, and continues. I have endeavoured to learn from their achievements. I have endeavoured to learn from their failures. I hope that this building will embody an expression of a true sentiment, which it will promote in the hearts and minds of all those who visit it.

In all ages the ruler has looked for counsel and aid, and he has been able to achieve his noblest aims through the devoted and meritorious activities of his subjects. The long past of the history of mankind has been marked by great knowledge, in the arts, in political administration, in agriculture, in industry and in commerce, the main advances have been made by men whose memory is an everlasting inspiration to our activity. Civilised mankind is becoming so interdependent that we see now, in a way our forefathers did not see, that our welfare depends on the merits of men of all times and climes. But greatly as we must all regret it, to make a memorial here to all of the greatest names in human history is impossible. Our aim is a more modest one. It also lies nearer to our personal affections. Our aim is to keep ever fresh the remembrance of the distinguished persons and benefactors of our State.

It is not part of the present task to enumerate any of those whom we may expect to be included in this *Kirti Mandir*. Some names must already be impressed upon the minds of those who take a living interest in our history. There are others whose memory has faded, whose achievements and character may be brought to clearer vision and their fame established. Many others there must be whose names are forgotten for ever. There can be no doubt that the tomb to the unknown warrior, in all countries in which it has been established,

has been a memorial which has appealed strongly to public sentiment. We may ask whether we ought not also to place a monument to those glorious dead whose names are forgotten, who by their lives and work strove meritoriously for the benefits of the times of peace.

Intent as we are upon honouring the great, the time is appropriate to ask in what true greatness consists. Difficult as it is to answer that question fully, it is fortunately possible to enumerate some of the essential features of those who are truly great. Greatness is fundamentally of character. Sincerity and unselfishness, far-seeing wisdom and untiring energy are its never-failing qualities. With these the great man stands unbroken and undaunted in face of physical misfortunes. To him, health and wealth are twin opportunities to unceasing service. To him, sickness and poverty are twin occasions to invincible courage. Greatness knows no caste. Seen vaguely in the child, it reaches full expression in the adult. It is as impressive in woman as in man. Well has the Sanskrit adage put it, that "Merit alone is adorable in the great and not their age or sex".

Almost all religions have their special days in each year when they commemorate the great ones who have departed from this life. So also, as year follows year, it should become a definite practice to hold an appropriate assembly in the *Kirti Mandir* we are founding. For here we shall gather the memorials of all our great men and women. In their impressiveness, thus brought together, their remembrance will give a social significance to the ceremonies performed. We need not decide for the present the form these gatherings should take. But perhaps it would be appropriate, as each year comes round, to have as part of the proceedings a Golden Jubilee Memorial Lecture upon some great personality.

Surroundings such as these we have here, and the inspiration of the thought of those commemorated, should be conducive to rest and to the rejuvenation of the weary in body and in mind. In order, therefore, that this benefit may be attained, it is our hope in the course of time to include a *Dharamsala* within our foundation.

The recognition of the benefactions received from those now dead should make us more appreciative of the virtues of those now living. Let us do honour and homage also to the living whose character and conduct arouse our admiration and gratitude. Let us honour moral excellence of deed and of personal character, independent of all consideration of social status and worldly circumstances I have already established an Order for the recognition of literary, artistic, and scientific merit.

Loyal subjects, this foundation is the beginning of an institution the purpose of which can reach satisfactory fulfilment only with the utmost care and the most sympathetic co-operation. It is appropriate that we should dedicate ourselves to its service. To us there can be no words more fitting for this, than those enshrined for centuries in the heart and mind of every great religious Hindu, the *Gayatri Mantra*:

“We contemplate the refulgence of the Sun, the God of Light:
May He guide our intellects.”

Let us join, therefore, in the sentiments so admirably expressed many centuries ago by the Hebrew writer of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*:

*Let us now praise famous men,
And our fathers that begat us.
The Lord hath wrought great glory by them
Through his great power from the beginning.
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,
Men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding,
And declaring prophecies:
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their knowledge of learning meet for the people,
Wise and eloquent in their instructions:
Such as found out musical tunes,
And recited verses in writing:
Rich men furnished with ability,
Living peaceably in their habitations:
All these were honoured in their generations,
And were the glory of their times.
There be of them, that have left a name behind them,
That their praises might be reported.
And some there be, which have no memorial;
Who are perished, as though they had never been;*

*And are become as though they had never been born;
And their children after them.
But these were merciful men,
Whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.
With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance,
And their children are within the covenant.
Their seed standeth fast,
And their children for their sakes.
Their seed shall remain for ever,
And their glory shall not be blotted out.
Their bodies are buried in peace;
But their name liveth for evermore.
The people will tell of their wisdom,
And the congregation will shew forth their praise.*

His Highness then proceeded to the site of the foundation stone and took part in appropriate religious rites. Finally he said: I declare this stone well and truly laid, for the establishment of a Chhatri and a *Kirti Mandir*, to the Memory of my Ancestors and to the Remembrance and the Praise of the Famous and the Worthy.

MAY PEACE REST FOR EVER ON THIS PLACE.



As an act of Charity in connection with the celebration of the Golden jubilee of his Reign, the Maharaja also established a Home for aged Poor. At the Opening Ceremony on the 10th of March 1926 he delivered the following Address on

THE SPIRIT AWE THE PRACTICE OF TRUE CHARITY



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — Besides the great and distinguished who guide the destinies of society, and the vast masses who in varying grades form its main body, there has always been a class of poor, dependent almost entirely upon others for their maintenance. Through physical deformity or mental defect from time of birth; through lack of intelligence and moral worth; through enervating illness or through failure after failure in the work they have adopted, or again through progressive degeneratipn through continued failure to obtain employment; through degeneration at times of plague and famine; from old age and from a number of other causes, these persons, not always through their own fault, have become permanent members of the class of the destitute. These persons constitute a real problem for the consideration of those who are anxious for a healthy community. They tend to lower the moral tone of society if they are allowed to wander about as they wish, and as carriers of disease they are often a serious menace to the health of others. These persons arouse our feelings of sympathy.

For the springs of charitable feelings are found deep down in human nature. They lie at the heart of our personality and of our social life. The father and the mother show their natural feelings for their offspring, who for many years are solely dependent upon them for the supply of their needs. The

sentiment of sympathy and charitable feeling also found early scope for expression in the wider circle of the tribal community. This was emphasised by the sanction of religion, when the members of the tribe assembled together in worship and joined in a sacred meal together, or participated in the food offered to the deities. In this way charitable feelings were intensified and the range of their action increased. Religious ceremonies have influenced charitable feelings in the family and the community. The domestic ceremonies have led to a feeling amongst members of the family that they are part of one whole and must act together for their common good. Public ceremonies have often in the past and still should lead the members of the community to seek the good of each in the good of all. But these charities have had and mostly have definite limitations. They are sometimes bound to particular localities and to particular religious communities. There is thus still opportunity for some further advance. The sentiment of charity may express itself beyond such limitations and become national and universal. Even though that may be a distant ideal we may at least try to avoid sectarianism in our private charity and in our charitable institutions.

There have been some who have represented Hindu *Dharma* as purely individualistic and unsocial, as though the concern of each should and can only be the salvation of his own soul. The actual fact, whatever may be said as to the individualism of the doctrine of *Karma*, is that the Hindu *Sastras* are full of exhortations to charity. In the stories of the great king Vikramaditya, and in the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, there are famous examples of charity and frequent insistence on it as part of the duty of pious Hindus. So in the *Mahabharata* we read: "No man is equal to him in merit who satisfies the hunger of a person that is emaciated, possessed of learning, destitute of means of support, and weakened by misery. One should always, O, Son of Kunti, dispel by every means in one's power, the distress of righteous persons observant of vows and acts, who though destitute of sons and spouses and plunged into misery, yet do not solicit others for any kind of assistance".

Even in that passage it is clear that begging was disapproved: it is not those who solicit alms who are the most in need or the most deserving. To beg is to involve a loss of self-respect. Similarly one is warned against the abuse of hospitality. A man is entitled to respect, says the *Mahabharata*, when he eats in his own house the food earned by his own efforts. "One taketh another's food when that other inspireth love. One may also take another's food when one is in distress". The taking of gifts, we are told, speedily extinguishes the energy of the supreme self which is in man, that is, it tends to make him lose the power of self-dependence.

Nevertheless, there are many occasions when acts of charity should be done and should be accepted. It is essential that their motive should be good. "It is easy to fight in battle", says the *Mahabharata* again, "but not to make a gift without pride or vanity". So also in the *Upanishads* we are told: "Give with faith. Give not without faith. Give in plenty. Give with bashfulness. Give with fear. Give with sympathy. This is the command. This is the teaching". The *Bhagavad Gita* calls upon us to exercise charity from a true devotion of the heart to the service of others, but to guide our actions with intelligence and wisdom. In this way charity becomes an adornment to the simple and the great. As the wise Bhartrihari puts it: "It is charity which beautifies the arm, and not the bracelet".

The Buddhist teachers and rulers who exerted so powerful and influence on the moral life of India also devoted themselves to cultivating the spirit of charity both by precept and by example. From the oldest Patil writings it appears that the Buddhists distributed cooked rice and clothes to the poor and travellers. The Buddhist kings founded *Dandsalas* in their capitals. But the most impressive evidence. of the importance placed upon the spirit of charity and upon charitable acts amongst Buddhists is to be found in the *Jataka*, the stories which were related as though Concerned with the previous lives of the Buddha. Thus there is the immortal story of the hare who wished to feed a Brahmin, but had nothing with which to do this, no rice, no sesame, no salt, and no money. Yet undiverted from his purpose he said: "I will roast myself in the fire; pray eat my body, and be content".

Therewith he leapt into the blazing fire "even as a swan does into a pond of lotuses". The fire could do no harm to so noble a creature. For the Brahmin was a deity in disguise, come to test the benevolence of the *Bodhisattva*. And it is told that as a never-dying symbol of this act of charity the god drew upon the moon the figure of the noble hare.

"If you enjoy to any extent the power of wealth", says a Parsi scripture, "use it in charity". The heart and con-science of the generous man are warm, and such a heart has the light of the holy fire. The generous man is exalted among men. "Men get the greatest happiness through helping one another to the best of their power. But it is vain to show charity to the unworthy, and to do it without real sympathy. Woe to him, Spitama Zarathustra, who gives aims when his soul is not joyful over almsgiving; for in alms lies in all the corporeal world the decision for good thoughts and good words and good deeds".

The duty of almsgiving is insisted on in the *Quran*, but it is made clear that this is to be with discrimination. "Alms are only for the poor and needy, for the officials over them, for those whose hearts incline to righteousness, for ransoming captives and those in debt, for the wayfarer, and for the promotion of the way of Allah". From the spoils of war it was ordered that part should be devoted to orphans, the needy, and the relief of travellers. Alms are to be given to the poor who cannot go about to attend to their own necessities. The care of the poor was to be a definite charge upon the proceeds of the tax, *Zaqat*, which all Muslim families were supposed to pay.

Thought for the welfare of all his subjects has always been part of the ideal conception of the Indian ruler. He is to represent the embodiment of charity. So it was symbolically and poetically expressed that the king took his meal at twelve o'clock, by which time all his subjects would have been fed. That is a picturesque way of expressing the solicitude of the monarch for the welfare of his people. It used to be said that "Baroda is a *Dharma Raj*". When that expression was first definitely used, it must have meant that in this Raj the ideas and rules of orthodox Hindu *Dharma* were observed. We

know now that much depends upon the manner in which we interpret *Dharma*. We are aware that the old interpretations cannot be accepted entirely at the present day. We find also that while we can accept the ideals of charity Which *Dharma* has always taught, we must adopt different methods from those of the past in trying to realise them. All through my reign I have pondered on the difficult problems which are raised in this connection. Inspired with genuine sympathy and with an ardent desire to perform acts of charity, I have sought for the methods which will in no way undermine self-respect and self-reliance among my subjects. I have realised that to get good results charitable feelings must be guided by sound intelligence and by careful consideration of the best methods. To the best of my judgment and, to my greatest power, I have endeavoured, and endeavour to justify still in its best sense this saying that "Baroda is a *Dharma Raj*".

It is then in the highest degree essential that the sentiment of charity shall be preserved and strengthened. But the charity which has been promoted by religion has all too often been spasmodic and individualistic. It has lacked the character of continuity and has thus produced little lasting good. It has relieved momentary suffering and want, but it has not set the individual on the way to recovery of health and of self-respect. In some instances it has tended to weaken self-reliance, and has led families to neglect their duties to their weaker members. Thus, while retaining the feelings which prompt to acts of benevolence, we are called upon to consider by what methods we should proceed. We have to draw a distinction between unorganised and organised charity.

There was a time when in Baroda the charities of the State were dispensed almost without any discrimination. They were, in consequence, in many ways abused. Persons came from outside the State and imposed themselves upon the State. Yet our resources are after all severely limited: however large our sympathies, we are compelled to think first of the needy among our own people. There is real importance in the Western proverb that "Charity should begin at home". But there were other reasons why we had to modify our methods. It was evident that in many cases the opportunity of obtaining

charity led some to shirk their moral responsibilities. There were similar abuses in other charities, such as the *Gyarmi Karkhana* for the Muslims and the *Kedareshwar Khichdi* for Brahmins. Not only were some able-bodied persons in receipt of charity from these institutions thus led to laziness, but it was found that some actually sold in the bazaar the food which had been given them for their families. To prevent the undermining of self-respect and self-reliance in this way, we had to revise our methods and limit these charities.

The changes were not due to any loss of charitable feeling. They were due to a fervent desire that kindness should not be a cause of acts seriously weakening the moral character of persons already evidently not strong. We have sought other ways. Funds have in later years devoted to the costs of an orphanage, to the provision of boarding houses where *Kali Paraj* boys and girls are lodged, clothed, fed and taught. Similarly we have made institutions in different Pranths for the encouragement of the development of the so-called depressed classes. Dispensaries have been established, and aid given for the improvement of the conditions of maternity among the poor. Maintenance scholarships and free higher education have been provided for the most deserving of those boys whose parents were unable to meet the expenses of such education. In this way our methods of charity may help rather than hinder the physical betterment of our people and the training of men of character and learning for the service of the State. It must not be forgotten that these things being specially meant for the needy are a distinct part of our present methods of charity.

In the past it has always been insisted upon by the East, and especially by India, as against the West, that family sentiment is so strong and the idea of the family so wide, that no family however poor would willingly allow any of its members to be destitute. It is essential to family dignity, pride, and self-respect, to look after the aged, the infirm, the diseased and the unfortunate of its members. That is an attitude which must be preserved. The State must encourage the view that this is not merely a privilege but an inalienable duty. All morally healthy subjects of the State will agree with

the insistence of this as a duty upon the few who neglect it. The State ought not, and will not, accept responsibility for any who have relatives or friends to assume charge of them. Whether it will be possible for the State to give any assistance to very poor and destitute families who have homes must come up for later consideration. It is conceivable that an efficient committee would be able to formulate a plan for such assistance so that it might not be abused, should it be possible at some future time to provide funds for it.

The problems of poverty are extremely grave in India Even where there is a margin of income over expenditure there is rarely that attitude of thrift and provision which is so common in the West, leading to saving for times of misfortune and want. The general problem of poverty is not one which can be suitably met by any kind of State relief or monetary assistance. That would only result in a further loss of endeavour and effort. This is a situation which can be changed only by progress in our economic organisation. This can be changed only by the use of more modern methods and by more energetic work by all concerned.

In establishing this Poor House, we have in mind only the extreme cases of destitution amongst the aged. We mean those unable to earn their own living who have no relatives or friends to care for them. Unless the State or some body of Local Government makes some provision for these, they must be left miserably dependent upon the uncertainties of unorganised charity. This Poor House must be regarded as to some extent an experimental attempt to try to meet the chief needs of the limited area of Baroda city. In course of time, if the method meets with the success hoped for, the range of its scope may be extended by increase in the accommodation. We may also consider at a later date the establishment of at least one Poor House in each of the four Pranths of the State. But it must be seen first how far the present policy is on the right lines.

Gentlemen, that ancient writer with whose thoughts we closed our reflections upon the occasion of the foundation of our Kirti Mandir has also an impressive exhortation for us in the present connection. This Jew thus counsels us:

*My son, defraud not the poor of his living,
And make not the needy eyes to wait long.
Make not a hungry soul sorrowful;
Neither provoke a man in his distress.
Add not more trouble to a heart that is vexed;
And defer not to give to him that is in need.
Reject not the supplication of the afflicted;
Neither turn away thy face from a poor man.
Turn not away thine eye from the needy,
And give him none occasion of to curse thee:
For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul,
His prayer shall be heard of Him that made him.
Get thyself the love of the people,
And how thy head to a great man.
Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor,
And give him a friendly answer with meekness.
Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor;
And be not faint-hearted when thou sittest in judgment;
Be as a father unto the fatherless,
And instead of a husband unto the mother:
So shalt thou be as the son of the Most High,
And He shall love thee more than thy mother doth.*



At a Banquet on Christmas Day 1926, the Maharaja proposed a Toast to the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor:



MR KEALY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to propose the health of his Majesty the King-Emperor.

His Majesty's benign sway spreads its influence for good throughout the entire civilised world. May the New Year bring him and his House increased happiness and prosperity.

His Majesty the King-Emperor.



The Toast having been responded to, His Highness then proposed a Toast to the health of his distinguished Christmas guests:



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It is now my peculiar privilege and pleasure to propose the health of my guests. To you Sir John Thompson,* who are no stranger to Baroda, I extend a cordial welcome, and it also gives me sincere pleasure to greet Lady Thompson and your daughter.

I am indeed glad to have with us to-night my old and valued friend the Resident, Mr Kealy, whose services, I was happy to note, have been rightly appreciated in other quarters also by the honour recently conferred on him by the King-Emperor. The charming presence of Mrs Kealy, too, affords me great gratification.

I am honoured also by the presence of Sir Philip Hartog†, whose work on the Calcutta University Commission, on the Public Services Commission, and as Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University is well known.

Further, I welcome the opportunity of offering of my hospitality to my learned friend, the Honourable Mr Justice Madgaokar, and to Mr Neilson who, as Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust, has done so much to bring the Port of Bombay to its present state of efficiency.

* Sir John Thompson, Political Secretary to the Government of India.

† Sir Philip J. Hartog, member of the Indian Public Services Commission, sometime Vice-Chancellor of Decca University.

And lastly, though

*Into each life some rain must fall,
Some days be dark and dreary,*

I trust that the coming New Year will bring to all of you a full meed of happiness and prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of—My Guests.



On the 1st of January 1927 His Highness awarded to Shrimant Raj-Putra Pratapsinhrao Raje Gaekwad, his grandson, the Diamond Medal of the Exalted Order of Vikramaditya. At a Durbar in the Laxmi Vilas Palace at which the honour was conferred His Highness addressed the assembly of members of his House, Sirdars and Officers of the State.



In his short address, His Highness explained why it was that unlike other times he began the ceremony with a speech. He observed that one of the duties of the prince is to be the head of society, and as such to recognise the rank, work, and merit of those amongst his subjects who stand above the rest. Such recognition is necessary to stimulate effort on the part of those who are capable of achieving great things. It is one of the most pleasant duties of a prince, and His Highness assured those present that it gives him great pleasure to recognise the good work and merits of his subjects.



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At the Indian Philosophical Congress. Bombay. 19th December 1927.



GENTLEMEN, — I have to thank you for the cordial reception you have given me. When I received the invitation of your committee to give the inaugural address of your Congress, I felt, as I still feel, that this honour and this task should rightly fall upon some one eminent in the world of scholarship. But, having throughout my adult life taken such opportunities as have offered themselves to acquaint myself with the rudiments of philosophy, I thought that on this occasion you might be willing to forgo a technical discourse, and to consider the philosophical reflections of one whose main duties have been closely associated with social administration and social advance.

Further reflection made me welcome such an occasion to draw your attention, and that of thinking Indians generally, to some urgent demands of the life of our race and of our time. It has all too frequently been said: Philosophy bakes no bread. It has all too frequently been charged against philosophers that their reflections are remote from the facts of ordinary life, and have little or no bearing upon it. I wish to challenge such a view. I maintain that philosophy, rightly understood, may have very important bearings on practical social advance. I maintain that philosophy, rightly understood, is a vital and fundamental factor in social progress. And, Gentlemen, speaking from this chair, I trust that I may be

voicing your convictions also concerning the significance of philosophy. Our deliberations should not simply be intellectually interesting: they should be of value to our fellow-men beyond this small circle; they should have genuine practical importance.

The history of philosophy, in the East as in the West, contains many examples of its influence on the development of civilization. Sometimes it is suggested that that was when philosophy had not the severely technical character which it claims to-day. But, surely, the increased care, the greater regard to method, the unidiomatic spirit, with which philosophy is now studied, should make it more, not less valuable for human life. Many great philosophers in the past brought philosophical reflection to the solution of practical problems, and thinkers to-day are called upon to consider such problems in the light of philosophy. But before indicating the directions in which philosophy ought to have an influence on social progress in India, at the present time, I would call your attention to some preliminary Considerations.

Let us turn our attention to the study of philosophy in Indian Universities as it is, and as it might be. What has been the nature of the requirements during the last forty or fifty years for students who have wished to qualify for a degree in philosophy? Is it not true that in the past, and even now, more often than not a student might obtain a degree in philosophy without showing any knowledge of the philosophy which has originated and developed in his own country and among his own people? Is there any other civilized country with a philosophical heritage in which such condition exists? We all know the cause of this condition in India. Our Universities were for long dominated by Europeans, who, drawing up courses of study, kept to the philosophy of the West which was the only philosophy most of them knew anything about. We need not suppose that they deliberately aimed at the substitution of Western systems for the systems of India. It is probable that even the idea of Indian philosophy did not occur to most of them when they were occupied in drafting University requirements on lines parallel with those of Britain. Gentlemen, if we are to get a proper understanding of our historical tradition and of the underlying principles of

our civilization, this state of affairs must be definitely changed. Some of our Universities are introducing changes in the right direction, and I hope and believe that this Philosophical Congress represents also a movement towards remedying this defect.

Two main reasons have been urged for the limitations of the study for philosophical degrees in India chiefly or entirely to Western philosophy. They merit a brief reference to Indian philosophical thought - Vedantic, Jaina and Buddhistic - are in Sanskrit, Pali, or some of Prakrit. It is then maintained that few students in the Universities have that sound knowledge of these languages necessary for a definite understanding. It is through English that the Indian student is German, French, and Greek, of which language he usually knows nothing. His general intellectual environment and tradition ought to enable the Indian student to acquire, even through English, a more intimate understanding and knowledge of Indian thought than of the West. In view of the linguistic difficulties and the differences among Sanskrit scholars as to the interpretation of Indian philosophical classics, it may be better for most students to use translations by efficient scholars than to trust to the sort of elementary knowledge of Sanskrit they may personally acquire. Those who can qualify themselves linguistically should study the original texts and interpret them for their less well-equipped fellows.

There is another reason why attention is directed to Western thought and away from that of India. It is claimed that the study of Western systems gives a more thorough philosophical training. Western thought is essentially critical, systematic, logical; it is marked by the rigour of its method, by its effort for accuracy and clearness. Thought it may not always reach the standard demanded by Descartes, the father of Modern Philosophy in the West: "Define all terms and prove all propositions" - it aims at absolute freedom of thought and the utmost clarity of expression. There is no need for me to bring forward evidence of the great achievements of Western thinkers inspired by these aims. Contrasted with them, it is undeniable that the thought of the East manifests much dogmatism, is very largely lacking in system, and often

Indianite in method. Unfortunately, to the want of sound logical sequence of ideas must be added all too frequent obscurity of expression. Sometimes it even seems as though such obscurity was cultivated in order to produce a greater impression of mystery.

Yet criticisms of this kind by no means justify the neglect of Indian Philosophy. They do not prove that the ideas contained in it are of little or no value. There are good grounds for maintaining that both in its ideas and in its methods Indian philosophy contains much that is of genuine worth. These criticisms indicate the need for its study rather than justify its neglect. What is really required is that Indian students shall train their minds in accordance with the high standard of accuracy and logical precision found in the West, and study and systematise those contents of Indian classical literature which are worth preserving. In short, we should aim at a combination of Western clarity and logic with Eastern comprehensiveness and profundity.

This aim leads to important considerations of detail as to the study of philosophy in India. Here it is possible to indicate main directions of these. In the first place in our Universities and among educated people generally there should be definite attention to the history of Indian philosophy. It is a happy sign of the beginning of a movement in this direction that within recent years a few important books on this subject have been published. I need only mention the History of Indian Philosophy by Dr. Das Gupta, eminent for its broad sweep, and the systematic study of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy by Dr. Barua.

The history of Indian philosophical thought is not only interesting in itself. The vigour of its best periods in the past should provide us with an inspiring lesson in opposition to the torpid acquiescence in tradition which has characterized our intellectual life for centuries. The Vedas, though they contain the beginning of Indian philosophical reflection, were, after all, mainly compilations for use in religious worship. In the Aranyakas there is a slight step toward; in them philosophical reflections are gathered together with some freedom from the symbolism and ritual that dulled thought in the times both of the Vedas and the Brahmanas. This

movement towards independence and freedom of thought involves a great and important principle, which has striven for recognition at various times in our history, and is in great need of recognition and expression to-day.

The transition to the Upanishads was a truly remarkable advance in this direction. They reveal an independence in the raising of problems and a freedom in the search for solutions which can be paralleled only in the early philosophy of Greece. The Upanishads may not have so direct a practical bearing as the writings of Plato and Aristotle, with their interest in the life of man as an individual and a social being; nonetheless they have more than a theoretical interest. They include a variety of views. With an appreciation of the fundamental problems of existence, they discuss questions concerning man and his duty, the world of nature, and God. What is chiefly important for us to notice here is the fact that dogmatism of later orthodox type is absent. The appeal is to the intelligence of man, not to the authority of sacred texts. Time is too short for us to linger on the contents of these genuine efforts of our early thinkers. They have long awaited exposition by an Indian inspired by the Indian spirit, equipped with a knowledge of Sanskrit, and a mind disciplined by Western methods of research. I believe we may welcome in the Upanishads what we have so long awaited.

Nevertheless, as Prof. Ranade's work amply reveals, the Upanishads thinkers had not yet learnt to think very systematically. They jump from facts to symbols, from the rational consideration of ideas to poetic interpretations of religious rites. But more systematic thought, inspired no doubt by the intellectual freedom of the Upanishads, began to spring up in many directions. Some of these movements associated themselves with particular religious cults which may have been of older standing. We see, for example, the rise to greater clearness of view of the more theistic tendencies which may be grouped as Vaishnavism. Then, it might have championed a philosophic movement which tended to purify life from much of its brutality. Vigorously opposed to the destruction of life too often associated with religious rites, maintaining that by his own inner personal effort the individual must strive for the attainment of the ideal. From its opposition to Bramhanical

ceremonialism and social oppression, and from its criticisms in general may be learnt of the conditions of India at the time over a great part of India, striving to free the life of men from mistaken endeavors and false hopes. Intellect, which had manifested its freedom in the Upanishads, had tended to become its own idol; it seemed to set up powerless and futile abstractions and to distract attention from the pressing of suffering and evil. With much intellectual insight and psychological knowledge, Buddhism sought to turn the attention of men from metaphysical abstractions to ethical realities. It opposed useless rituals, irrational self-torture, and the cruelty of animal sacrifices. It undermined the idea of caste. Buddhism not only placed ethics in the forefront as opposed to intellectualism and ceremonialism; it also inspired a great and marvellous artistic activity. But it was swamped and in part obscured by surrounding cults. Its monastic tendency led to a divorce from ordinary social activities, with the consequence of rapid decay in the face of widespread and repeated invasions.

It is not possible for me here to describe the important intellectual analysis and speculation in the philosophical system of Samkhya. Both it and the practical system of Yoga had marked effects on Jainism and Buddhism, and their influence on Indian life and thought has continued to our own times. The Yoga system is a series of practical means to the attainment of the highest knowledge. Its later forms have degenerated and become mixed with superstition, associated with claims to supernatural powers — claims usually assumed in order to impress the ignorant. Here there seems a great need of purging, of purification by renewed philosophical criticism. What the Yoga system may have to teach us as to the preparation for the attainment of true philosophic insight needs to be dissociated from the fantastic and the magical.

Advance in intellectual systematization had led to the compilation of a sort of epitome of Upanishads teaching in the so-called Brahma-sutras ascribed to Vyasa and Badarayana. Much other material, systematic and unsystematic, often of an ethical kind, eventually became grouped together in the epics, especially the Mahabharata. One line of thought reached a definitive statement in the

philosophy of Sankaracharya, especially in his commentaries on the Brahma-sutras and the Bhagavadgita. Other varying expressions took shape in the works of Ramanujacharya and Madhavacharya. I venture to believe that there was much that was reactionary in the work of Sankara. Be that as it may, this at least seems true, that the philosophy associated with his name has become a form of Indian scholasticism which still continues. Since the time of Sankaracharya and that of his great opponents, philosophy in India has rarely been able to free itself from the limitations of a merely deductive method. This characteristics of the Indian mental life of the past—and incidentally of much of our mental life today- merits closer consideration and exemplification.

It is not here a question of the methods adopted by the great leaders of Indian philosophical and religious thought. They used methods of independent investigation, to a large extent introspective, and always with a large amount of unfettered reflection. Not so their disciples and successors. They have accepted teaching from the guru, and more often than not have treated it dogmatically. Their own reflection has been a form of deductive inference of what they supposed the received teaching to imply. In later times the Indian systems of philosophy have thus been elaborated with an increasing divorce from real problems, from the world of facts, and from the demands of social advance. To express the situation briefly: Indian philosophy is still scholastic; it has not yet had its Descartes or its Bacon.

The movements which have arisen in later centuries have been of various kinds, revolts from mere formalism, intellectual and religious, and from caste-prejudices and oppression. They have rarely if ever risen to eminence with regard to their philosophical productivity; they can hardly be said to have directed themselves to philosophical reflection. The vast masses of the population of India, including to a very large extent the so-called intellectuals, have continued in a condition of intellectual inertia.

There have been influences in work in later thought in India which it is well we should recognize. For example, the influence of Islam has been felt in movements such as the rise of Sikhism and of the Kabir-Panth, emphasising a

monotheistic attitude. On the other hand it is probable that Hindu thought has tended to strengthen mystic strains in Islam. Both Islam and Christianity had a large share in leading to the type of thought found in the Brahmo Samaj. These are merely suggestive examples of the different forces at work moulding our intellectual life.

The student of philosophy in India definitely requires to make an adequate study of the philosophy of the West. While he may not embark upon it with the object of systematic comparison of East and West, as is suggested by M. Masson-Oursel in his Comparative Philosophy, the main steps of the history of philosophy should be compared. If that is done, I think we shall see ample justification for our view that strictly Indian philosophy still remains in the same sort of position as Western scholasticism. If that is so, then we have much to learn from those later stages of Western thought which have enabled it to escape from scholastic formalism and stagnation. We have to learn the nature of its critical, analytical, and inductive methods and to train ourselves to apply them.

The study of later Western philosophy will reveal to us to how great an extent it has used inductive methods. This constitutes a distinct contrast with the essentially deductive character of prevailing Indian philosophical thought. As a consequence of this inductive method—according to which facts are studied in search for any principles which may describe them or their relations—philosophy in the West calls for attention to that wide and varied knowledge which is systematized in the science. Indian philosophical thinkers, instead of occupying themselves merely with the interpretation of ancient satras, need to embark upon study of these natural sciences as a part of their instruction and training.

What we have to look for, therefore, in the study of philosophy in India to-day is knowledge of both Indian and Western philosophy and science, some understanding of their methods and some ability to apply them. From such two-sided education we should hope for genuine philosophical advance. There are different ways in which this may be promoted. On the basis of such training Indian scholars may restate the problems of philosophy, and en-deavour to solve them in modern terms. This has one disadvantage: apparently it does

not preserve a continuity of Indian philosophical thought. It cannot have that close association with life in India which is so much needed. A more satisfactory way for Indians on Indian soil is to investigate the real meaning and value of those ideas in India's philosophic past which still form the intellectual heritage of Indians in general.

Gentlemen, this is the call which I would make to-day to those assembled in this Congress, and to the great multitude of students scattered among the teeming masses of India: standing in line with Indian tradition, with Indian sentiments in your hearts, with the love of India in the present and an ardent desire for its future, with a knowledge of its past, on this basis with all the acumen and logical precision that you may learn from the West investigate philosophically the problems of your own culture and civilization, and the problems of wider humanity as related to the conditions to which we in this generation live in India.

Let us turn for a short time to that important side of philosophical reflection which concerns itself with morality. Within recent years several books have been published on the ethics of India, mainly historical. A systematic critical and constructive study is still awaited. I shall not occupy your time with detailed replies to the contentions that Indian philosophy gives no basis for ethics, or that Indian ethics logically gives no place for genuine social morality. Every educated Indian knows that there is a moral *dharma*, that there is a *niti-sastra*.^{*} Every educated Indian knows that in traditional Indian systems of thought there are important ideas relating to moral life, such as those of *pravrati* and *nivrtti*,[†] the *asramas*,[‡] and the various paths to *moksha*.[§] Every educated Indian knows that the end or ideal of human life, *purushartha*, includes what is discussed in *artha-sastra*, in *kama-sastra*. In *artha-sastra* social and political organization with its rights and duties receives due consideration. *Dharma-sastra* includes both moral and religious requirements. *Kama-sastra* is concerned not simply with sex, as is too often

* *I.e. a way of life and a code of Ethics.*

† *Action and Inaction.*

‡ *The four stages into which Hinduism divides man's life.*

§ *Salvation from transmigration: realisation of the supreme : deliverance.*

imagined by irresponsible youth, but with human life in a wide sense, especially that which finds satisfaction in the Arts.

In the consideration of the moral life philosophy is concerned with what is intimately related with social advance; here the influence of philosophy on practical life should be real. An Indian philosopher should ask: What is the true meaning of these ideas of Indian ethics? Upon what does their authority depend? These questions must inevitably lead to others: Are these ideas at present misunderstood and misrepresented, with bad effects on social life? If so, in what manner ought they to be interpreted and expressed in order to promote social advance? By all means let us learn what earlier philosophical thinkers have said, but before all let us cultivate a genuine philosophic attitude towards these ideas, and not be satisfied with mere dogmatic repetition.

To what conclusions must we come, for example, if with a truly philosophical independence and acumen, if with sound logic, we examine the ideas associated with varna- srama? The ways in which the Indian doctrine of the division of social activities has been and still is interpreted, the prejudices and false sentiments which have gathered around it, have been the greatest obstacle to social advance for centuries. Widespread enlightenment from genuine philosophical reflection on this subject would bring a liberation, a freedom to Indian social life which today is in fetters. Is there a more important task at the present time than to free men's minds from the false ideas which bind them body and soul? Whose duty is it to guide those striving for liberation, if it is not essentially that of the philosophers of our day and generation? You have here a task which, in my opinion, is of far greater importance, of far greater social significance, than the majority of those upon which most of you are actually engaged.

Gentlemen, let us keep in mind the important truth, that mere negation has little force in face of error. A false interpretation is most effectively overcome by the statement and defence of a correct one. I think we must admit that it is incredible that the principle of social groups should have been so widely accepted for so long, if there were not something true and valuable in it. The belief that social groups have

their source in God* contains the truth that some are by nature, that is in part by their original endowments, fit to perform certain functions in society, while others are fit to perform other functions. If one wishes one may call this an aspect of the divine organization of life. It is an entire misinterpretation and misrepresentation to maintain that the place a person is to take in society is to be decided once for all by the circumstances of birth. To say that there is a division of labour among the members of a society is a reasonable statement of a fact and a necessity, but to say that this must conform with physiological and ethnological divisions is to expound a quite unjustifiable dogma. Such an arbitrary and artificial method is detrimental to society and a hindrance to social advance, which requires that a man should do that work, perform that function, for which he is most fit. It may be true that owing to conditions of heredity and environment the members of a family through successive generations acquire a fitness for the same social function. That, however, is no justification for the establishment of artificial barriers; the fitness of each generation must be tested and proved for itself. I will not attempt to point out here the multifarious ways in which group privileges have been artificially bolstered up. To the critical eye of philosophical reflection all these must eventually reveal their irrationality and their want of any satisfactory basis. In the performance of this task of social liberation, philosophy has the assistance of changing economic conditions. On grounds of philosophical reflection and in view of economic forces, artificial communal distinctions can be broken down for the general social advantage. Philosophical reflection may lead us to the view that government might be most efficiently carried on by representation of the various interests and activities of the people, rather than by communal representation.

Even when we pass to some of the wider ethical ideas of Indian thought, we had a great need for independent philosophical consideration. Think, for example, of the various

* *The Purusha Sukta Hymn of the Rigveda is recited daily at Vaishnava Altars: From the head of Primeval Man God made Brahmins, from his chest Kshatriyas, from his things Vaishyas and from his feet Shudras.*

ways in which the doctrines concerning the paths to moksha—redemption or enlightenment—are interpreted. It should be seen that this is not a matter simply of one's own individual development but is also bound up with social advance. There seem to be at least three ways in which the doctrine of *karma-marga** may be interpreted, with different social effects. It is for philosophy to estimate the rationality of these interpretations and to evaluate their effects. By *karma-marga* one might understand the way to achievement through the ritual acts of religion. That view has all too often led to mere formal practice of religious rites, to self-satisfaction therein, and consequent neglect of an active and intelligent participation in social duties. Again, *karma-marga* is sometimes represented as adherence to the functions and duties of our particular caste, as prescribed in traditionally accepted *sastras*.† The alliance of this view with one in which *karma-marga* is also given an implication of political nationalism has become well known through the work of a prominent political leader who died only a few years ago. As distinct from these two interpretations philosophy may be able to develop a view according to which activity devoted to every good social and individual end is both part of duty and a means of attainment of equanimity of mind. Such a conception of *karma-marga* would lead to a strenuous life conforming with social advance in all directions of human culture.

Jnana-marga‡ may be interpreted with an orthodox limitation, as the way of knowledge of the scriptures, or more profoundly as the way of a mystical vision of God. Whatever philosophy may have to say to this and it will beware of superficial rejection—it must in our day raise the question as to the importance of that form of knowledge which we have come to call "modern science." If we reflect on the alleviation of human misery, on the promotion of human health and joy in living, which we owe already to modern science, we shall see at once how important it is that *jnanna-marga* shall include this, that in short it should be so interpreted as to refer to knowledge in its fullest sense.

* *Karma* means action : *marga* means way.

† Scriptures.

‡ *Jnana* means intuitive enlightenment.

Even the doctrine of the path at devotion, *bhakti-marga*^{*}, is capable of a narrower and of a wider interpretation. It may be represented as a purely individualistic ecstasy of the soul in relation to, or it may be made the form of an enthusiasm of, universal love, which, adopted as an ideal, may help in overcoming those antagonisms between different communities which are the greatest hindrance to social progress.

If we think of the root meaning of the term *yoga*, to join, unite, we may suggest that for complete realization we must unite all the paths. There must be many-sided activity, inspired by love and enthusiasm, and guided by knowledge; activity, devotion, knowledge are all at all times necessary in their right proportion. So, again, the individual should duly perform the requirements of the different asramas. If a man is fully to perform his duty as a householder he must find that he has much to do for the general social welfare. The hermit and the ascetic tend to become merely egoistic, neglecting those social activities essential to social progress. Our existence in this world implies that the affairs of this world deserve adequate attention.

One aim of philosophy is to seek for comprehensiveness and consistency. An examination of Indian ethical ideas from this point of view should help us to eradicate misconception hindering social advance. I think, for example, of the different ways in which, with a modern philosophical attitude, we might work out the implications of the doctrines of the *gunas*[†]. On the one hand we might treat these as representing moods and dispositions, contrasting the joy of selfless, sattvik, action with the tamasic pain and gloom associated with selfishness. Or we may look at these in another way, and ask: Is not the condition of society, permeated with and moulded on unreasonable ideas of caste, lacking in rational organization? Is it not essentially chaotic from the point of view of what is required for social advance? In short, is it not fundamentally tamasic? May we not find in a political order imposed upon India - an order which as being order is so far beneficial-something of the rajasak? Can we escape from admission of

* *Bhakti* means personal devotion to God.

† Constituent parts, qualities.

the amount of selfishness with which it is too often associated? Order value, and should be fully appreciated. But true social advance concerned with the ideas which are to be attained, and these should be free from any taint of exploitation whether of individual by individual, caste by caste, or idea of the sattwik, philosophically interpreted, a fundamental principle of social advance?

What I have so far said, Gentlemen, is by way of suggestion and illustration. I would show that Indian thought has ideas of its own which have grown up among us and have a living hold upon us. It is through these ideas that one most easily and most intimately comes into touch with Indian social life. It is these ideas, therefore, which call for consideration by Indian thinkers of to-day. You have to train yourselves to be disciplined though with the methods of the East and the West, and you have to interpret these ideas in a modern philosophic spirit. I need hardly remind a gathering such as this, that yoga as equanimity of mind is fundamentally different from an attitude of indifference with which it is too often confused. I need hardly remind you that if the doctrine of asramas were fully appreciated and the duties of each social function and period of life sincerely undertaken, the people of India would not suffer that intolerable drag upon its social advance which exists in its vast army of so-called ascetics. I need hardly remind you that if the principle of true charity were carefully and widely expounded, that indiscriminate charity—upon which these beggars depend—would largely cease.

In the West in our generation psychology has made vast strides, and is becoming a subject of study absorbing almost all the attention of those devoted to it. In India I imagine that for long psychology will have to be but one of that group of subjects which our Professors of Philosophy are called upon to study and to teach. I mention it here, because I believe that in our ancient literature we have a wealth of observation on the springs of conduct. Much of this is spasmodic and disconnected and not apparently arrived at by experimental methods such as are common to-day in the West. But it seems more than probable that they have been arrived at by long-practiced methods of concentrated introspection which in this field may be of a greater value than the mechanical means

the West strives to apply. The field of psychology is already in the West, and for some time has been a battle ground between introspective and externally experimental methods. The latter tend there to attract the greater support. But do not allow yourselves to be unduly influenced by what is done or thought in the West, just because it is Western. And to others it is also necessary to say : Do not cling to anything simply because it is Eastern. In the present connection however, I do think that it is worth while urging you to study the Indian tradition, which in regard to the psychological is introspective. The Indian mind may be peculiarly adept at this type of investigation, and by it may make genuine contributions to knowledge. I am glad that Dr. S.K. Maitra in his book on the Ethics of the Hindus has given much space to the discussions of this kind should eventually do much to correct the socially harmful impression which still lingers in some quarters, that the so-called law of karma is a form of fatalism and of pessimism. Social advance depends on the ever present conviction that man has the capacity to mould social life to greater conformity with our ideals, and upon a rational belief in the triumph of the good.

What, however, is the good? What are or should be our ideals? These are the equations which I know you must at some time have asked yourselves, and which your students time and again ask you. These are questions which also in one form or another present themselves to all. These, indeed, may be said to express the fundamental problem. And at once may be maintained by some, as it has often been maintained, that the solution proposed and the attitude adopted by the West is quite different from that taught by the East. If we may say so, in general terms, it is suggested that the ideal of the Western philosopher is a luxurious study, a stable income of no mean proportions, and perchance also access to elaborately equipped laboratories for investigation into the constitution and qualities of matter. And the ideal Indian philosopher is by contrast mistakenly conceived as a recluse living in the forest as free as possible from physical distractions and social enjoyments, contemplating the ineffable Spirit, with purely individualistic aim. Paying no attention to a due proportion to individual and social claims,

such a one asks what philosophy, occupied with this ideal of divine contemplation, has to do with social advance. Here, Gentlemen, in this question as to the nature of the “good”, we have the question of questions. What answer or answers can we give. we whose task and privilege it is to find and to teach to others the nature of the ideal at which we should aim?

Let us divest ourselves of the idea, not infrequently spread abroad in India, that Western philosophy is fundamentally materialistic. The reality of the spiritual nature of man is recognised in manifold ways and is constantly asserting itself. The supposed differences between Indian and Western philosophy are ultimately not so great as they at first appear, but they are often misunderstood. It is for you, Gentlemen, many of whom have had the advantages of a study of Western philosophy and combined with this a contact with Indian ideals, in this land of ours, it is for you to study this subject and to guide public opinion. The time that is available for me here is too short to enter into detail, but I would like to indicate my own way of meeting this apparent opposition for ideals.

In the end, Gentlemen, this problem resolves itself into a consideration on the one hand of the facts and things of the actual world in which we live, and on the other of that world of ideas which constitutes for us a realm of ideals with which we would like this world of things to conform, or in which we feel more satisfied and at peace. Now, I ask: What has Indian philosophy said concerning this world of things? Has it not said that it is maya, illusion? It is a world of appearances, a world of finites as distinguished from the infinity of the ultimately real. Does this involve that there is a short path to the real and the infinite, from jivatman to *paramatmaan**; by the negation of this world of appearances? Is that a truly philosophical interpretation of the Indian standpoint? I venture to think that it is not. The ultimate is not described simply by *neti*, *neti*†, but, in addition, by the twofold implication of the saying: *Tat tvam asi*‡. The ultimately real does not shut out

* From mortal to Immortal.

† Not thus, not thus - It is ineffable.

‡ Thou art It - It is realisable.

any of its appearances, but it must not be thought of as solely any one of them. Ought we not to seek the philosophical significance of that other term, *lila*?§ Ought we not to try to see in the richness of the details of this world varied expressions of the joy of existence? It is thus that I would treat this problem. I would say that there is no short path to reality by the neglect of the things of this world. But I would say that in intellectual research, in the various forms of art, in the diversity of social relationship, in fact in all that we may call culture and civilisation man is coming into a wider and more comprehensive contact with reality, with the ideal, through these different forms of expression of itself.

Social advance, in its widest sense, therefore, as I look upon it, is essentially bound up with the broadening and deepening of our spiritual life. Some of the tasks that are involved are irksome tasks of technical knowledge and manual labour, which call for great patience and great effort. With these the philosopher does not often concern himself. But the philosopher ought never to forget that upon him rests the task of making men conscious that these things are worth doing for the ideal which thereby may be achieved. The whole development of civilisation and culture is not materialistic, it is an increasing triumph of the spirit of man following the ideal in conquest over the physical and the conditions of nature of primitive man. The philosopher should endeavour so to grasp and to express ever new aspects of the ideal in order that men engaged in the practical affairs of social advance may be rightly guided.

It is true that religion has indeed been and is more constantly present to the Indian mind than to that of the West. This is in large measure due to the Indian's neglect of practical affairs, to his want of continued and varied activity. If, however, we have to try to rectify this attitude of the people of India, it does not mean that we should be justified in neglecting to study the religious side of Indian life. Philosophy should have a purifying influence here as in other spheres. Further, if we may learn from the practical wisdom of the

§ *Play or sport of God in His universe.*

West, we may be able to repay our debt by contributions to the religious advance of mankind.

In conclusion, while thanking you again for your kind invitation and for your patient attention, I would say how inadequate I feel my scattered remarks to be to the vast problems and tasks which the study of philosophy and its relation to social advance opens up. I have wished to impress upon you the great need of the freedom of philosophical reflection in the social life of India in our generation. I have wished to impress upon you that your position and duty in society involve something more than to pursue what is intellectually interesting. You must be its enlightened guides to prosperity and happiness. Bearing this in mind I cannot leave this subject without reference to the need of original works on philosophical and practical subjects in our Indian vernaculars. The vernacular literature which is being produced is in the main open to the criticism that it does not conform with the best modern scholarship. Translations of classical Sanskrit works, and popular expositions by insufficiently educated men, are not what we most need. This task of producing original works in the vernaculars of India is one for genuine scholars, well equipped with knowledge and skill, with an education which combines the best of East and West. Gentlemen, until the fruits of your intellectual efforts are given for the nourishment of the great masses of our fellow-men, until their lives are permeated with the light that you more than others are expected to bring, your philosophy can have little effort upon social advance.



At a Durbar held in recognition of services rendered at the time of Flood Relief in Baroda, 9th April 1928.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I have asked you all to be present here to-day at this public recognition of the service of those who during the floods of July last laid aside all thoughts of their own safety and ease, and attempted to save the lives and property of others. Their spirit of self-sacrifice is beyond all praise; but it gives me much pleasure to express my appreciation of it.

While in Europe, Her Highness and I heard with deep distress of the loss of life and property caused by the floods. The first news of the disaster came suddenly, and in a highly exaggerated form. You can well imagine our feelings when we were informed that the whole of the city had been wiped out; and that the toll levied by the flood in its first onrush was nearly a thousand lives. The lull that followed this overwhelming news, the suspense, when there was no definite news for nearly a week, was even more distressing than the first news of the occurrence. The first cable with authentic news which came from Baroda, while informing us that things were not so bad as had been depicted, still told us of lives lost and property destroyed on an unprecedented scale. As soon as I received this, I cabled to the Minister and Council my desire that relief measures should be organised speedily and in the most sympathetic spirit. I am glad to say that my wishes have been carried out in a liberal manner.

This is not the occasion to go into the details of the measures adopted for the immediate relief of the sufferers, and for the reconstruction of the damaged areas. That work is now nearing its end. It has been an immense task. But the indomitable courage and the spirit of helpfulness displayed by the people in the areas affected, together with close co-operation between official and non-official agencies, have successfully accomplished it. I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the good work of all the agencies that have been working in this cause. I have specially learnt with pleasure and pride that my people from the Navsari and the Amceli districts have contributed most generously for the relief of districts in the other two districts. This is an outward manifestation of the spirit that binds us all together, of the bonds of common citizenship of the State. I must also thank the various bodies outside the State—especially in Bombay—who helped my people with money and workers during the difficult days that followed the floods.

Dire as this calamity was, great though the loss, it has shown the resourcefulness, courage and the quiet heroism of the people of the State; it has demonstrated that there is a bond of sympathy among all its peoples; and it has shown that all of us—official and non-official—to whatever caste or creed we belong, can, by joint action, achieve great and quick results.

Let us dwell on one important lesson, the truth of which has been emphasised by the floods. The prosperity of the State rests on that of the rural population. It has been my lifelong endeavor to promote this. The organisation of the agricultural department to teach ryots improved methods of agriculture, of the co-operative department to finance their needs, and, above all, of a system of free and compulsory education calculated to open their minds and make them receptive of new ideas, were all measures which had this aim in view. Further, I have introduced legislation against certain evils of our system which tend to sap the vitality of the race. But all these measures will bear full fruit and produce a community, intelligent, economically strong and self-reliant only if the more enlightened will work among the people and spread

sound ideas among them. The American philosopher, William James, has lately raised the question of a moral equivalent for war in days of peace. The floods have brought into prominence such moral values. What are their equivalents in normal times? The virtues I have already mentioned, which enabled us to achieve such good results, are equally necessary in our everyday life. Our social and other weaknesses are even a greater menace to the life and well-being of the people than such natural calamities; and it is as necessary to save men and women from their consequences as it was to save them from being carried away or isolated during the floods. My advice, therefore, to the young men and women who worked in a spirit of selflessness in the days of the floods, is that they continue to display those qualities.

I will now ask the Dewan Saheb to announce the names of the recipients of awards. A committee under the presidency of my son, Prince Dhairyashil Rao, chose the persons to be honoured in this matter. The committee was sensible —as I am—that recognition or mention of the services of all those who worked in the cause of humanity was not possible. Many acts of bravery and self-sacrifice have remained unnoticed and unreported. All equally deserve praise for the spirit they displayed, and equal merit attaches to those whose work has not come to public notice. We do not forget “the unknown warriors” of peace as of war.



At a Children's Gathering at Navsari. 29th December 1928.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — from the report just made by the Vidyadhikari,* steady progress in education seems to have been maintained in the Navsari district. Though the forest tribes constitute one-fourth of its population, the district stands third in the order of literacy in the four districts of the State. This is mainly due to the presence of the enterprising Parsis, Bohras and Anavils. But the problem of bringing the backward forest tribes within the fold of literacy still remains, and I wish the department to attack it in the best way possible.

In one of my early speeches I remember to have said that we could not do better than educate all our people. This is absolutely necessary for the realisation of my ambition for the future of my people. It was with this object in view that I made primary education free and compulsory more than twenty years ago. Though the scheme has had a measure of success, it cannot be said that it has yet been fully successful. The results are naturally most satisfactory in the urban area, but it is in the rural areas that success is most to be desired. Communities engaged in trade and learned professions will take advantage of schools whether education is compulsory or not. But backward communities like the Kolis, Bhils,

* *Commissioner of Education.*

Vagharris, and Dublas, would hardly have got even the present small percentage of literates among them had it not been for compulsory education.

In 1926 I ordered a special inquiry to be made into the causes hindering the spread of primary education. The chief reasons were, first, lack of interest and zeal on the part of the people and of local bodies in enforcing the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act; and second, the apathy and indifference of illiterate parents of the agricultural and labouring classes, who prefer to pay fines rather than send children to school. Such a state of things cannot continue if real success in primary education is to be achieved. No Government can spread primary education by the constant application of the special power provided by the compulsory Act. Unless municipalities, district boards and taluka and village *panchyats** seriously take up the subject and enforce the provisions of the Act, the progress of primary education is delayed.

The Kaliaparaj population of your district lives in such small and scattered villages in the jungle area that it is impossible to provide all of them with schools, or to enforce the Primary Education Act in that area. I am glad to learn from the Vidyadhikari that these poor and backward people are gradually coming to realise the need of education for their children, and schools for small groups of villages are being opened where they are likely to be utilised. More than thirty years ago we started special schools with free boarding houses for the Kaliaparaj people at Sougadh, Vyara and Mahuva; and it is the duty of those of the community who are educated to create in their people a desire for education so that all of them may benefit by what is being done by Government.

Primary schools, the base of the edifice of education, ought to be strengthened as much as possible. It is here that all the people of the State, rich and poor, are required to receive that education which the State deems essential for their welfare, and has therefore made compulsory. To starve elementary education and to fatten secondary and university education would frustrate the very object of making

* Council of five.

elementary education compulsory. It is for this reason that three-fourths of the money spent on education is devoted to primary schools.

It has been said that because of the routine way in which most of the village occupations are carried on, little literacy is demanded, and what little has been learnt is soon forgotten. Fortunately for us, this is less to be feared in our State, as owing to our network of libraries a habit of reading has developed in villages. In addition to the more formal libraries, boxes of books are sent round, and poster are pasted for reading in villages.

There are many other problems relating to education on which I should like to speak. But that must be reserved for some other occasion.

I am pleased to see so many children gathered together. Their songs, garbhas and dialogues were excellent, and must have taken several days' preparation. I thank them and their teachers for the entertainment they have provided. The more of such co-operative play we can have the better for us all. The right use of leisure is one very important aim of education.



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At the Opening of the Navsari Waterworks, 29th December 1928.



MR PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NAVSARI MUNICIPALITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It was in 1921 that I laid the foundation stone of the waterworks for your town. I am glad to find that, in spite of difficulties and delays in the execution of the work, it has at last been finished. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I have come here to open the waterworks, so that the inhabitants of your beautiful town may have the blessings of copious supplies of pure water, for which they have long been waiting.

As you know, water is an essential constituent of all animal organisms and is found in varying proportions in every organ of the body. It would therefore seem hardly necessary to remind any intelligent person of the importance of drinking pure water. Water that looks clear to the naked eye and is not offensive to the taste often contains dangerous germs or minerals in solution. For your present supply you have a few good wells, like the one near Lunsikui, outside the town, but most of the wells within the town are brackish. These wells get contaminated by the washings or makings from cesspools and privies; they are often a source of epidemics. In many of our towns and villages, the cesspools and privy vaults feed the wells, and when ordinary hygienic precautions are so glaringly and culpably neglected the wells feed the graveyard.

It is because of my firm conviction that a copious supply of good and pure water is necessary for the health and happiness of my people that I have inaugurated a scheme of waterworks in the State. In order to encourage municipalities and panchayats to come forward with contributions to such important works of public utility, rules were first framed in 1912 under which one-fourth of the cost was given free provided that the municipalities or panchayats concerned contributed the rest. In case they had no funds to contribute their quota at once, it was arranged to give them a loan repayable by easy installments in thirty years. The limit of one-fourth of the cost as State help was subsequently raised to one-half in 1920. The rules were further liberalised in 1925, and now Government undertakes to give from one-fourth to three-fourths of the total cost according to local circumstances, while the period of repayment of loans is extended to fifty years.

Advantage is gradually being taken of this policy, and by this time, in addition to the capital city of Baroda, where waterworks costing nearly 55 lakhs were provided free about forty years ago, we have waterworks provided from Government gifts and loans at Patan, Mehsana, Sojitra, Bhadran, Sinore, Sankheda and Kathor; and two are under production at Visnagar and Variav. In a few places with a poor population and had climate such as Songadh and Vyara, waterworks have been built solely at Government cost, on condition that the panchayat pays for the working, and establishes a depreciation fund for changing the outfit when necessary.

Smaller villages have not been neglected. For them special rules were framed in 1916, under which a village which collects one-fourth of the needful expenditure can have the rest from the mahal and district panchayat and the Government as a free gift. About twelve villages, including Kholvad in your district, have already taken advantage of these rules, and provided themselves with small but efficient waterworks. Other villages will, it is hoped, follow their example and in time there will be many villages with waterworks of their own.

In many places good drinking water is available in the bowels of the earth; all that is necessary is to bore and for this ample provision is made and full facilities are given. Many villages in the Chanasma taluka of the Kadi district were formerly among those which suffered most from deficient water, but boring operations have within the last few years given them a copious supply of good water, from artesian or sub-artesian tube wells.

But waterworks alone, without a proper system of drainage, would prove a curse instead of a blessing. The inauguration of a water-supply necessitates up-to-date drainage works, which must be provided either along with or immediately after the waterworks. These drainage works are also very costly, and therefore we give free gifts and loans for their construction on the same liberal scale for the waterworks. Your drainage-scheme is ready, and I am glad to know that it will be carried out without delay.

Yours is one of the oldest municipalities in the State, and in recognition of the good work that it is reported to be doing, I have given it the privilege of having an elected non-official president. But though elected non-official presidents may be good guides and advisers, they cannot be expected to look after executive work. It is essential that the municipality with an elected non-official president should have a chief officer of suitable status for executive and supervisory work. But you do not seem to have engaged one yet. I must therefore ask you to appoint a chief officer without further delay, as with the waterworks and drainage, the work of collection of rates and taxes will increase beyond the capacity of your present staff. In your address you have made a request that your electorate be increased. The question will be carefully considered when it comes before me through the proper channel.

India with its pachayats has been the parent of modern municipalities. So far as their civic administration was concerned, ancient Indian cities were surprisingly modern. That well-known authority on ancient India, Prof. Mukerjea of the University of Lucknow, speaking of Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryan Empire, says that it had a municipal

council of thirty members with six standing committees of five members each, charged with the duties of looking after industrial arts, entertaining foreigners, maintaining records of births and deaths, superintending trade and commerce, inspecting all manufactured articles of food sold in the market, and collecting rates and taxes. Such municipal regulations obtaining in India three centuries before Christ show a most modern conception of civic needs and well-being, and compare favourably with present day administration. But as in other matters, so in this, ancient ideals have been lost sight of, and it behoves us now, with our modern education, to see that they are not only revived but modernised.

You have already provided your town with electric light, and the waterworks to be opened to-day will add another amenity for happy and healthy life. Cities in America and Europe go further, and supply transport, baths, libraries, museums, art galleries, public theatres, cinemas, wash-houses, playgrounds for children and adults, milk for babies and many other things of the kind. It would be utopian to expect you at this stage of your finances to provide your town with any of these. But there is one thing which imperatively demands your attention, and I would like to say a few words about it.

The primary need of a town or city is sanitation. Cities are inevitably far more crowded than rural areas, and this very fact demands the organisation of special measures of sanitation. The city government may plan these measures, but no city government can carry out measures of public utility effectively unless individual householders actively and religiously co-operate with the corporation in the execution of these plans. This co-operation to be effective must be voluntary; and to make it voluntary every householder must be made to realise and remember, by intensive propaganda work, that his freedom from preventable diseases and epidemics depends upon how he acts. "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is not merely a high moral injunction or spiritual appeal. It is also the foundation of all social and civic service. I am glad to learn that you have in your town a sanitary association, founded twenty years ago by a public-spirited lady of that go-

ahead Tata family, which was working on these lines.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have detained you long, and have no wish to detain you longer. It gives me sincere pleasure and real joy to open your waterworks; and in opening this valve I hope that these waterworks may ever remain efficient and effective, and add to your health, happiness and prosperity.



On unveiling the marble bust of the late Mr. R.D. Tata. Navsari, 29th December 1928.



The late Mr. R.D. Tata was a friend of mine. It was at his suggestion and with his help that I started a chair for French in Baroda College. Though residing in Bombay, he always cared for the well-being of his fellow-citizens of Navsari, and, from time to time, gave liberal donations to foster education in his native town. It is in the fitness of things that his many friends and admirers have contributed towards the beautiful bust which you have asked me to unveil. I have great pleasure in doing so, and I hope that it may always remain as a memorial of his good name, a tribute of your esteem and regard for him, and an image for admiration and honour by the students of this school, which is named after his father.



At a Banquet to celebrate the wedding of Prince Pratapsinh, 5th January 1929.



(i) The health of H.M. the King-Emperor

I rise to propose the toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

In proposing this toast, it is not possible to dispel from our minds the acute suspense and anxiety which we, in the the wedding of Prince Pratapsinh, common with the rest of the Empire, are experiencing to-day on account of His Majesty's protracted illness. It is, however, a consolation to all of us here, and, indeed, to the whole of the Empire, that the malady is being successfully combated, and that we may well hope that His Majesty will soon be on the high road to recovery.

On an occasion like this, connected with an auspicious event in my own house, it is but natural that my thoughts should dwell on the long-standing and intimate ties of allegiance and of personal loyalty, regard and esteem which link my family and myself with the throne and the person of His Majesty. His Majesty symbolises the unity of purpose and aim of all the separate political entities in his far-flung dominions. There are, in the British Commonwealth, many varieties of constitution, many stages of development, and many differences of immediate outlook and purpose, but behind and above every such difference there is the close-knit common endeavour, and the hope of a common and glorious future. It is my fervent hope, as it is of everyone who

has the welfare of the Empire at heart, that this association should grow from strength to strength, so that the various component parts may evolve to the highest stage possible for each without jeopardising the ideal underlying the Empire of which he is the emblem and epitome.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I drink to the health of His Majesty and the prosperity of his Empire. May he soon be fully restored to health!

(ii) Reply of His Highness to the Toast proposed by Col. Burke, the Resident at Baroda.

I need not say how sincerely grateful I am to Col. Burke, for the very kind manner in which you have proposed my health, and to all of you for the cordiality with which you have received the toast. I thank you most warmly.

It is now my pleasure and privilege to propose the health of my guests.

It affords me much gratification on this day of rejoicing to be surrounded by so many old and distinguished friends, many of whom have come here at much personal inconvenience, and have thus given ample proof, if proof were needed, of their warm personal regard for me.

To Col. Burke, I extend a most cordial welcome. To me, he is not only the accredited agent of the Government of India, but also a valued personal friend.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has been kind enough to send me his congratulations and good wishes on this occasion, and it is a privilege to welcome his representative, Mr. Martin. The pleasure I feel in his presence here today is increased by the fact that he is an old friend of mine, and that Mrs. Martin has also come to take part in the festivities.

To His Highness the Maharaj-Rana of Jhalawar, I cannot adequately express my feelings of gratitude. An ideal ruler and a nobleman of wide culture, he has honoured me with his friendship for many years, and I am deeply touched by his undertaking the long journey to Baroda, in spite of poor health, to share in my joy on this auspicious occasion. I thank him most sincerely and wish him long life and happiness.

His Highness the Raja Saheb of Baria is another friend whom it is a pleasure to welcome, and we are also very glad to have with us to-night the Raja Saheb of Sawamwadi.

To all of you, Ladies and Gentlemen, who have so readily responded to my invitation and come here to-night, to accord my most hearty welcome and I wish all of you a happy and prosperous new year.



On Opening the Baroda Musical Conference, 10th March 1929.



When I came to the Durbar Hall this morning, I had no idea that I should be called upon to deliver a speech; but the praise which various speakers to-day have given me for the little I have done for the revival of music and other fine arts in my State demands a few words in reply.

Let me first disillusion you. I know little of music. I have made no systematic or scientific study of the subject, and I am no musician. Yet, I can and do appreciate its beauties, and it gives me great delight. When I am bed-ridden, I send for experts of the department of music to sing and play to me—at a little distance. "Distance lends enchantment to the ear": and music is more attractive when it comes from an unseen source. I have often forgotten pain and trouble when completely under the spell of slow and sweet music.

The Rulers of Baroda have a fame of their own for the encouragement given to music; but when I ascended the throne, it seemed to me that the support given to music by Government had better be definite and systematic. Therefore, I founded a Music School in Baroda, and opened music classes in different places.

If you want to measure the value of the culture of a country, look to its fine arts. Music, painting, architecture are an index of a nation's civilisation; and it is my firm belief that the soul of a nation gets light and life from them.

Music makes life sweet and beautiful. It has the power of melting hearts as well as of inspiring heroism. To encourage this useful art and to make my people love music, I have started schools in my State, and through them I have provided for its spread by training competent teachers and providing the instruments needed. But I must tell you that there has not been an adequate response to my scheme, though I do not enter into the details of the question why people have not taken due advantage of such measures, perhaps the teachers appointed there were not as honest, competent and conscientious as I wanted them to be. There is no need to suspect their motives, but our experts have a notorious trait. They guard their knowledge so jealously that they will not teach even their own pupils all that they know. This difficulty seems to be found everywhere; but the taste of the people is also partly responsible. Want of conscientiousness on one side and indifference on the other these two evils have combined to prevent our young people from taking full advantage of their opportunity.

Whenever I return from Europe, I notice that my people do not enjoy life to the full. The pleasures and amenities of life which Nature gives to every individual equally and freely are denied to our people. It may be correct to say that for that the physical conditions of our country and the economic and industrial poverty of the people are partly responsible: but we should not forget that mental recreations caused by arts like music enable us to do our other work much better. Music is one of the recreations. I, therefore, appeal to you all to acquire knowledge of and to develop a taste for music, so that if it does not make you richer in worldly goods it will at least enable you to pass your leisure in delight and pleasure. With that object in view I have provided means of recreation and refreshment. My efforts may not have been crowned with success; but I am optimistic, and I believe that disappointment is often followed by the joy of success.

The Music School on the bank of the Sursagar Tank has been in existence for a number of years, and, Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe, with the help of the association which you to-day call into existence, you will be able to train public

opinion, to create confidence, and will teach us all to appreciate the divine delight of music. I now declare this Conference open, and hope that its field of activity may be widened from day to day, and its aims may have their realisation. Music that is truly Indian is a noble heritage which we must not lose through neglect. It is intimately bound up with painting, and with the deepest sentiments of our people.



*At the Jubilee Celebrations of the Granth-Prakashak Mandali, Bomay,
January 1930.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, - All will admire the contribution of 150 books to Marathi literature made during the last thirty-five years by the Granth-Prakashak Mandali. I am glad of the opportunity of publicly recognising some of its authors this evening.

I need not say how much interest I take in the spread of reading. My humble efforts in this direction have continued for the past forty years, during which I have often expressed myself on the subject. Spread of knowledge is the chief means to the uplift of a nation; and there are three ways—schools, libraries, and lectures. Free compulsory primary education has been in force in Baroda for the last twenty years: most of our towns and villages are equipped with libraries: many a learned man is invited to deliver lectures; but all these efforts are wasted in the absence of good books in the vernaculars. The work of popular education cannot succeed unless there are good books on useful subjects readable by all.

It is a matter of delight to me that the need of imparting education through the mother-tongue is being universally felt; but the inadequacy of books on all subjects is evident. It is difficult to teach all subjects through the vernaculars; in the case of scientific subjects, it is impossible without good textbooks. So it is up to the professors and experts to write such books, or to translate freely and lucidly books in their special

fields, and so free us from dependence on a foreign tongue. The translator must not only be an adept in the subject; he must have real interest in it, and must know how to make it clear and interesting. Translations made to order are clumsy and useless: what we need is vigorous and spontaneous working by masters of their subject.

We cannot help translating scientific works from foreign languages; but the tendency to translate must be guided and even checked, or original authorship will give place to hack translations of foreign books. We must not be content with mere translation, but must try to produce original literature of a high order of merit, befitting our own high culture.

You are probably aware that my endeavours in this matter began long ago. In 1912 I set aside a sum of two lacks of rupees for the spread of vernacular literature, the scheme being to publish good books upon important topics. I am sorry that this scheme has not met with more success. I do not think that the one-sided efforts of the State will be crowned with success without the co-operation of authors themselves. Our poverty prevents authors of the first rank being rewarded according to their deserts; but the best works of literature were not produced for the love of filthy lucre. Need I emphasize that self-sacrifice has an infinite value in this field? Men of genius do not live by bread alone.

We can be sure, however, that there is a lack of organisation of authors, publishers and printers in this country, and little can be accomplished without organisation. Works written by poor authors remain unprinted for want of money: the publishers languish for lack of good authors: the printer finds it necessary to print only small editions owing to lack of a public for good books; books have to be sold at a high price, and this effects the sales. It seems to me that a clear survey of the circumstances, and due organisation of all these workers, would save much money and labour.

The multiplicity of languages in our country too gives rise to many hindrances to the spread of literature. A universal scientific vocabulary is highly desirable in compiling scientific literature: writers in different languages must interchange words, not confine their vocabulary to one language.

Yet this is a makeshift arrangement: it is essential that the nation should have one common language to develop the feeling of nationality and unity, and to overcome those barriers.

Our country badly needs books on the science of teaching. In Europe and America such works are to be counted by thousands; and hundreds of periodicals discuss the problems of education. Education being the foundation of civilisation, it is strange that our learned men and teachers have failed to supply more books of this class. Similarly, a supply of literature for children is most urgently needed. If subjects taught in the schools were taught with the help of more attractive books, the children would be more interested in learning. Teachers too are glad to receive illustrated and charming books of general knowledge. Compare what is available to the children of Europe and America with what is available to young India!

It has been a great pleasure to me to note the service rendered to the Marathi language by the Mandali, and especially by Mr. Yande. I am very glad of the opportunity you gave me this evening to honour these learned authors. May I express the desire that your work of publishing books in Marathi may be more successful! In no provincial spirit we must yet cultivate our main vernaculars, as well as develop a common tongue. Each will help the others: for Hindi - the obvious lingua franca - is closely related to Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and other vernaculars which like it have a rich literature in certain field, and await a new one in the special fields I have enumerated.



At a Banquet to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Irwin, 21st January, 1930.



YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— In proposing the toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I am moved to express our sense of thankfulness that he has now been restored to health after his long critical illness. May he long be spared to enjoy the love of his subjects, whose welfare he has so deeply at heart.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, - I now rise to offer you the toast of the evening - the health of our illustrious guest, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin.

It is now more than forty years since I first had the pleasure of welcoming the representative of the Queen-Empress to my capital, and during those forty years Baroda has steadily upheld its alliance with, and has not swerved from its loyalty to the Crown. During my long life I have witnessed many things - so many that I should weary you if I began to enumerate them. I have seen the struggle of the South African War, and I have shared in the anxieties of the Empire at those great crises. I have seen India advancing along the road of self-government, and have rejoiced at the opportunity given to her to prove herself in the art of administration.

Here too in Baroda the fifty years of my rule have brought great changes. In my educational efforts, in the organisation of my State, in my measures for economic development, in my endeavours to achieve social improvement, I can fairly claim

to have been guided during these fifty years solely by the desire for the prosperity of my people. To-day I am still working towards the same end. I am searching out new avenues of progress which have been revealed to us by modern science and modern thought, while at the same time trying to perfect enterprises already begun, and to profit by the lesson of experience. If I have not fully succeeded in all to which I have put my hand, I console myself with the thought that tradition and prejudice lie deep, that human nature is weak, and that no Ruler however unlimited his power, can 'fashion' everything "ever to the heart's desire."

We are once more on the edge of a crisis, and I pray God to give a right judgment to all those who have the destinies of India in their keeping. I am specially glad to acknowledge that, under Your Excellency's wise guidance, the importance of the Indian States in receiving fuller recognition than it has ever before received, and that their voice will be heard at the Conference which Your Excellency has called. All my life long, I have striven to uphold the dignity of the States, and their future has been my deep and abiding concern. We are proud of our ancient privileges, we are proud of our century-old alliance with the British Crown, and we earnestly hope that, whatever be the fate of India, those privileges and those friendly relations will in no wise be disturbed or altered. I would say, if I may venture to speak my mind, that the points which, in the new order of things to be, we hold as especially vital to our welfare are these : first, the need for the complete autonomy of the States in internal affairs; second, the strict observance of our treaties both in the letter and in the spirit; third, the establishment of an independent court of arbitration to which both sides can appeal as of right, the devising of some means whereby the States enjoy their rightful place, and that only so will British India and the States advance together in quietness and confidence towards their appointed goal.

There is a stirring among the women of India to take their natural place by the side of the men. I do not speak here of political aspirations or of that wider emancipation of womankind which modern Europe is still witnessing. I am thinking rather of the more homely questions of motherhood, of female education,

of relief to the sick and suffering. It is a movement especially dear to Her Highness the Maharani, and it is an added source of pleasure to her and to me that we are privileged to entertain as our guest one who has shown herself so sympathetic in all that specially belongs to her sex as Her Excellency the Lady Irwin. The torch has been handed on to her by eminent predecessors and worthy she is being of it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I sit down, let me express on behalf of all present our deep thankfulness that the dastardly attempt directed against the life or the Viceroy failed; we all hope that his life may long be spared to us and to the Commonwealth.



At a Durbar to invest Messrs Vaidya and Yande, 13th February 1930.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — You have recently listened to a series of interesting lectures, including that of Mr. C.V. Vaidya. My objet in addressing you now it to express publicity my appreciation of the service rendered by Mr. Vaidya in the field of historical research. He has, as you know, published a monumental work on the history of medieval India, and he is at present engaged in studying important questions relating to land-marks in the Vedic period on which there are differences of opinion among scholars. In the year 1925, I instituted a scheme for recognising merit in literature, science and art, by the award of cash prizes and medals to eminent persons in those fields, and in 1928, our distinguished countryman, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who is now in our midst, much to my gratification, permitted me to associate him with this scheme. This year, it gives me sincere pleasure to sanction under the scheme the award of a prize to Mr. Vaidya together with an annuity payable during a period of three years. I hope that this will assist him to place before the world the results of the many-sided researches on which he is at present engaged. I also take this opportunity of investing him with the star of the Order which I founded last year, to mark my appreciation of eminence in letters.

I have also invited to-day to this place another gentleman to whose services in the cause of Marathi literature I should

like to bear testimony. Only the other day I presided over the Jubilee celebrations of the Granth-Prakashak Mandali with which I have been connected since its foundation in the year 1895. The object of this association is to enrich Marathi literature by publishing works of merit. In this, Mr. Damodar Savlaram Yande, who is a well-known publisher, has rendered valuable services.

In fact, had it not been for his public spirit and enterprise, many works expressive of the best elements of Marathi thought which are read to-day with admiration and profit by the Marathi-speaking world would not now be available with their special message to a widening cicle of readers.

We welcome here to-day then both an author and a publisher who have achieved distinction. How inestimably richer is the world to-day by the association of these two branches of the literary art! It is a subject which has ever been close to my heart.

For many years it has been my policy and constant endeavour to promote the intellectual advancement of my people.

In 1912, I appointed a Committee whose function is to select, with the aid of recognised experts, representative works in English and other languages, and to have them translated and published in the vernacular by persons of experience and repute. Suitable financial provision was made by the State, and, while appreciating the results hitherto achieved, I am hopeful that means my be devised in the near future whereby the object which I have in view may be further advanced; we must aim at a still higher standard of efficiency and expedition in the work of translation and publication.

In conclusion, I have pleasure in marking my appreciation of Mr Yande's services in the interest of Marathi literature by investing him with a medal of the Order to which I have already related.

I wish Mr Vaidya and Mr Yande many more years of useful activity in their respective spheres.



At the Opening of the Pratapsinh Lake, 8th March, 1930.



The pleasant ceremony which I have to perform to-day in opening the lake which I have named "Pratapsinh" after the Yuvaraj* marks the achievement of the latest, though not, I hope, the last of the public works which I have undertaken for the good of Baroda.

We owe the completion of this reservoir to Mr Gurtu, whose skill, especially in hydraulic engineering, has been very useful, and whom I am sorry to lose. A word of Praise is due to Mr. Sathe, the Waterworks Engineer, and his staff, and also to the contractors, the Tata Construction Company.

The object of this important work is to supplement the Ajwa works, known to you all as the Sayaji-Sarowar.

It was realised as early as 1884 by the designer of the Ajwa works, Mr. Jagannath Sadashiv, that owing to the nature of the country (or, in more technical language, the run-off of the catchment) the supply in the Ajwa lake might, and probably would, fall short in case of successive years of drought. As you have heard from Mr. Gurtu, an important and expensive affair of this kind can only be undertaken after the most careful inquiry, and upon expert opinion. The consequence was that it was not until 1926 that a scheme was finally approved, the result of which you see before you. The experience of last season, when the rains failed early, he

* Heir apparent; a grandson of His Highness.

already proved the value of this supplementary tanks which kept the supply in the main lake practically up to its full level, and thus removed all anxiety for the coming hot weather.

When, now nearly forty years ago, I promised the people of Baroda City a supply of pure water, I said that I counter this above all the public works contemplated. It was my cherished desire to give my people abundance of pure water, and improved sanitation. I hope I fulfilled the promises I then made : if it is not so, be assured that the spirit has been and still is willing, though sometimes capacity may lag behind desire.

As it has been my ideal to bring at least a rudimentary education to the doors of every village, so it has also been my ideal that every village should be supplied with good water, which is the first requisite of health. The State has contributed largely towards this ideal. Between them the State and the Local Boards bear half the cost, the people contributing the rest, on the right principle that they should learn to help themselves. The task is a vast one; and it has not ben made any easier by caste-custom. I have never willingly offended the scruples of any man. I have sought to keep alive such of our traditions as are worth keeping, but by persuasion, by precept, and by example I have tried to lead the people to abandon some of those externals which are outworn; and it is my earnest hope that soon we shall find the caste lion drinking from the same pool as the out-caste lamb, to the great advantage of all. People do not realise that when, to satisfy caste-prejudice, you have to duplicate wells in practically every village, the expense to the State is enormous. I am confident that the good sense of my people will sooner or later remove this blot upon the fair name of Baroda.

We have moreover had to contend, not merely with the multitude of villages but with natural difficulties. In parts of the Raj the water lies deep: in other parts we have found it nearer the surface, but it has not been fit to drink. But we have had much solid success to put against these partial failures. Year by year we are adding to the wells in the villages and in some of them pumping plants have benn installed. Nor have we shirked the more expensive operation of boring. If in

places we have been disappointed, in other our efforts have been rewarded by a continuous supply of excellent water, and that where water was a long-felt want.

Last, but by no means least, the first great effort to supply Baroda City with good drinking water has been followed by many minor waterworks in the Raj. We have now such works in thirteen towns, of descriptions varying from the elaborate system of Patan to the comparatively modest equipment of Songadh. It was only in December 1928 that I had the satisfaction of opening the new works at Navsari, and shortly before that of laying the foundation-stone of similar works still to be realised in Visnagar. Kathiwar is a difficult problem, and the water which is not necessary to the Port of Okha seemed to be beyond our reach. But unwearying efforts will, we trust, result in at least a mitigation of the difficulty.

I do not speak to you in any spirit of boasting. I frankly confess that we have not done all that we should like to have done: we have sometimes been baffled in our attempts. It has sometimes been remarked of us Indians that we are prone to great enthusiasm which, like a blazing fire, burn themselves out and die away. But in a great enterprise of this kind spasmodic effort can never achieve much: it is only by understanding clearly what we want to do, and only by preservence in doing it that we can hope to win any success.

In embarking upon a policy of irrigation we were perhaps too easily led astray by this amiable quality of enthusiasm. In those earlier years we had not sufficiently realised that there is a great deal more than the mere provision of water for land which is needed. Even in British India I do not think that the close connection of the departments of State in this matter had been fully grasped. The scientific study of agriculture, the nature and composition of the soil to be watered, the effect of forest upon the rainfall, the kind of crops which the ryots grow and their willingness to change those crops for others-these things and others were too lightly considered, or were not considered at all. It was common experience that when water was provided, it was eagerly accepted, and it was thought that Baroda would be no exception. This hope unhappily has not been fulfilled. We did not fully grasp the

difficulties of irrigation in a flat country, and on unsuitable soils; we were not alive to the obstacles that arise from a divided jurisdiction in the case of river-supplies; our machinery was defective, and whatever the reason, sufficient care was not shown either in executing the work, in consulting the wishes of the ryots, or in conferring with other departments concerned. We have spent about fifty-five lakhs on irrigation, and we have to admit that some at least of this large sum has been thrown away. The two major works in Baroda and Navsari contribute the lion's share (I might almost add the lioness' too) to the total irrigation of the Raj, and the revenue, which is the index of popularity, is less than the cost of maintenance. The Wadhmana project was begun as a relief work, and, as I pointed out at the time, in the stress of famine and in the need for ministering to the immediate wants of the people, are unprepared for so great a calamity as famine. We in Baroda are always in danger of being caught unprepared by famine, and works hastily improvised to meet the immediate need are sure to be wasteful. Prudence demands that we be forearmed against such a disaster. In this case it may be that the land immediately commanded is not well suited to irrigation. But recent inquiries have shown that with a larger storage of water we may be able to command a much larger area, and inquiries are being made as to the response we may expect from the people.

Similar inquiries in Navsari have shown that the Dosuwada system is capable of great expansion. Irrigated rice which is so common in the great river-system of India - in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Madras - is in the Raj a special feature of Navsari. The ryots have taken kindly to it, and the first difficulty of overcoming prejudice and conservatism has been conquered. The expansion of these larger systems requires very careful inquiry, and I need hardly remind you that these cost money, and that when all has been said and done, it is not an easy matter to set apart the large sums necessary for such works.

The future of irrigation is then not without promise, and we may learn from our failures if we go the right way about it. Preservance, thoughtful deliberation, patience and, above all, the will to succeed, coupled with careful and conscientious execution, will carry us through. Water is a good servant but

a bad master. If you use it well, it will serve you well; but if you abuse it, it will take its revenge in a hundred unexpected ways.

You see, I do not disguise our disappointments, neither do I impute blame. The engineers of those times worked according to their lights, and to the best of their ability. That their work has not been as successful as could be wished is very largely due, as I have said, to the want of that knowledge which has become our later heritage. Let us not look back, but forward, and profit by our experience in shaping a realistic policy and in utilising to the best advantage such works as are worth preserving, and encouraging the wise use of the water.

We have made a beginning. We are investigating the vital problem of the drainage of fields, and have taken in hand the restoration of certain promising tanks. But if my efforts at surface irrigation have not received their expected reward, in the very important branch of wells, I can claim more substantial results. Attracted as I was by the thought of giving water to the ryots, it was not difficult for me to realise that a vital part of such a policy was the encouragement of wells and the general use of subsoil water. I have steadily pursued this policy. I have always lent a willing ear to the demand of the people for advance of over thirty-three lakhs, over 2000 old wells have been repaired with nearly three lakhs of such advances, and the more modern appliances of oil-engines, pumps and tractors have been financed to the extent of about two lakhs. Figures are dull reading and dull hearing, and I would not try your patience with any more of them; but these few speak for themselves and are, I think you will allow, testimony to the efforts that have been made to make use of our valuable subsoil resources.

The Public Works Department was originally a very small department. It is now one of the great spending departments, and its activities have grown beyond recognition. The germ of the department was to be found in the Imarat Karkhana of my predecessors. But you will hardly believe me when I tell you that when Sir T. Madhav Rao was Dewan, the establishment cost the paltry sum of 70,000 rupees a year. During the first ten years of my rule the cost of the establishment was under a lakh and a half. But the works

grew and multiplied and, as time went on, it became necessary to recognise the department. I took this matter in hand and the birth of the department, as we now know it, may be said to have dated from the year 1890. The steady evolution of the department has proceeded on orderly lines until it has become one of the largest and most important branches of the State system.

Prominent among its activities has been the building program of the last fifty years, and in the building policy which I have consistently followed, I have been guided by two main principles. Wherever a new institution has come into being it must be housed; but that evident necessity can be met in one of two ways. You can confine yourself strictly to practical needs and fill your city with barracks and water houses with so many rooms and a roof over all. But that is not the way the world's great builders have taken. I have always tried to combine use with beauty, and while providing for the wants of the particular institution to make of its dwelling-place an adornment to the city. The grandeur of ancient Rome is reflected in the great buildings that are left to us; and the grandeur of the medieval Rome in the splendid Church of St Peter. The soul of Paris speaks to you through the glory of her many noble buildings. Squalid towns make squalid men, and I should have done my people a great injustice if I had not borne in mind the justly claim-to be an artistic people. Hindu Princes and Muslim rulers alike have adorned the country with works of art according to their true genius, and their creations are not less admirable than the famous masterpieces of Europe. And so it has been my endeavour to have a city of which you can be proud, a city that can rouse your patriotism. Nor is it in buildings alone that I have worked to this end. In the lay-out of the city, in the widening of its streets, in the gardens of Laxmi-Vilas and Makarpura, in the Public Park and in other play-grounds, in being or to be, I have kept this double object in view-their material use as contributions to health, and their aesthetic value as contribution to culture.

There are, of course, great public works in which aesthetic ideas can have little or no place. All the world over ports and docks are unlovely things. They reflect no spiritual genius

but the material prosperity of a people; they are the symbol of present progress and the earnest of future well-being. It is on this expectation that I built the Port of Okha, and in the short span of time that has passed since I declared it open in 1926 it has developed on very encouraging lines. There is every reason to hope that it has a bright future before it.

Railways were one of my earliest enthusiasms. In a country like Gujerat, where the making of roads is exceptionally difficult, and where for the same reasons the cost of maintenance must always be high if the roads are not to degenerate into inferior cart-tracks, I have always held that railways are to be preferred so long as the life of the country allow them, so long as the cost is not prohibitive and so long as the return is likely to justify the large outlay. In 1875 the State owned one timid little line of nineteen miles. We have now 705 miles serving practically every part of the Raj-expect the east of Navsari and the isolated taluka of Kodinar. The cost has been great. We have invested in our railways a capital of over 4 1/2 crores, but the cost has not deterred us. Over four million people use the railway every year, and the tonnage of goods carried is upwards of six lakhs. Railways, they say, are commercial concerns, but subject to the limitations which I have already mentioned. Their value cannot be measured solely by the profits they earn. They are for the convenience of trade and of the people, and they have a cultural value which cannot easily be defined. For, in every civilised country contact plays a large part in the development and advancement of the people. Free access brings a free interchange of ideas, and as we learn much from foreign travel, so we can and do learn much by travel at home. Primitive tribes will remain primitive so long as they are like frogs in a wall, shut out from all contact with the greater world.

Do not, however, suppose that while pursuing a policy of railways building I am blind to the need for roads. Where railways exist roads are wanted to feed them, and I am glad that my Minister is undertaking and pushing forward the building of about 400 miles of such feeder-roads. Roads too are required for the development of the forest, and a scheme to this end,

suggested by Mr. Stanley Rice*, will, I hope, shortly be put into operation.

I have thus lightly sketched the progress of public works in their main branches during the last fifty years. We have had failures and we have had successes; I am satisfied that the success outweigh the failures. Much remains to be done. We have schools to build, irrigation sources to repair and to expand, drainage systems to begin or to complete, waterworks to multiply. Let us go on as we have begun. It is for me to control the policy; it is for my officers to advise and to execute; it is for the public, whom I have always taken into my confidence by publicly inviting criticism and suggestion, to do their share by telling us where the difficulties lie. In thus publishing my schemes it is my desire to obtain helpful suggestions which may lead my Government to modify or even to abandon - their plans. Purely destructive criticism is of little value, but a healthy public opinion will always command attention. In this spirit of hope and co-operation we shall accomplish much.

And now in declaring these works open, I am handing them into the keeping of the Yuvaraj, Pratapsinh, who has for some time past been learning the details of administration and will, I trust, soon be able to take a larger part in public affairs. It is my earnest desire that my people of Baroda City should not only have a supply of good water, but that in flood and drought they should rest secure in the knowledge that no great harm will come to them on the one hand, and that on the other hand they will have water in abundance. To this end I have put my hand to the enterprise, and I fervently hope that it will prove a blessing not only to this generation, but to all generations to come.



* Author of the two-volume *Biography of His Highness*.

On "Co-operation", before the State Officials, 28th March 1930.



GENTLEMEN,- You are aware that I am always glad to come into personal contact with you, individually as well as collectively, so that you may know my views and I yours on some aspects of the larger principles, which we have, in our respective spheres of action, to put, into operation in the governance of the State. On the present occasion, I shall briefly address you on the value of Co-operation as a cohesive, consolidating and creative force.

The term Co-operation simply signifies mutual effort to attain the common good. Its implications may be summed in the words "each for all, and all for each". The underlying purpose of the multifarious activities, which the Huzur Central Office typifies, and which are set in motion throughout the State on a basis of co-ordinated co-operation, is the good of my people, The pithy metaphor of an Oriental poet compares a ruler to a tree and his subjects to its roots. Unless the roots are watered and nourished, the shade and fruit, for which a tree is most valued, will cease to exist. Taken separately these two vital parts of a living organism cannot function, whereas in co-operation, the highest purpose of their co-ordinated existence is achieved.

The evolution of human civilisation is the gradual growth, stage by stage, in the course of ages, of the spirit of co-operation, whether in a family, a tribe, a community, or a

nation. The most civilised and advanced nations of to-day are those that have consolidated and unified their strength by co-operation. Co-ordination and co-operation lead to that unity in which lies a people's strength. Unity of aim and purpose combined with concerted method in action are essential to great achievements. In the great war, success quickly followed the co-ordination of all military activities under the command of a single generalissimo. This principle touches almost every point in the whole range of human activities, and is as applicable to the unimportant concerns of a small group of persons as to the momentous affairs of a great nation and to international intercourse. The Great War has been developing this spirit on a vast scale. Its most striking and comprehensive manifestation is the League of Nations- a sturdy infant born only a few years ago, which is already spreading out its hands to shape the destiny of the world for the benefit of all humanity. The Kellogg Pact and the Naval Conference have in view the same beneficent object, attainable by co-operation only and not by force. In India, the Chamber of Princes, which has been co-ordinating its purposeful efforts with greater vigour, exemplifies the practical application of the co-operative spirit to the affairs of the States concerned. We are living in an age of mass production, large combinations of manufacturing, banking and other business concerns, trade-unions, associations of employers on the hand and of employees on the other, co-operative societies and other federations, all of which are founded on the same principle of united effort.

This fundamental truth applies with equal force to the component parts of our administrative machinery, with the smooth working of which each one of you is concerned. Its efficiency depends on your well co-ordinate endeavour, inspired by a genuine spirit of effective co-operation. Take a few concrete instances. Can our criminal courts function without the contributory activities of our Police Department? Can the Police Department do its work properly unless the people come forth boldly to furnish evidence and tell the truth? Would it be possible for the Judicial, the Police and the Military Departments to exist without the sinews of war, for which they have to depend on our Revenue and Financial

Departments? Is it not the work of the Agriculture Department of vital importance to our Land Revenue? Is not irrigation the life-blood of agriculture, if it is not to be wholly dependent on the monsoon? Does not the Forest Department contribute its quota to our requirements? Do not the activities of our big spending departments, namely, Public Works, Education and Railways, converge towards the development of our resources in innumerable ways, direct and indirect? The same may be said of the creative and productive efforts of our Pragati, Commerce and Industries Departments. Can all these departments or the whole machinery of Government work efficiently, unless there is improvement in the character and intelligence of the people, from whom all the servants of Government are recruited? You will find this golden chain of inter-dependence and inter-relation running through all the departments of the State. It is your privilege as well as your duty to put forth your energy and to do your best to strengthen each link of this connecting chain by purposeful co-operation.

Furthermore, co-operation must not be confined within the restricted limits of a particular department, but must essentially extend to the wider sphere of inter-departmental activity. Individual co-operation between the members of a department is obviously necessary, if such department is to render efficient service; but: the pace of progress in the State will be accelerated in proportion as copper-anon between each department and all the others is cordial and effective in due accord with what is aptly termed the team-spirit, and with due regard to the characteristics and limitations peculiar to each. Herein lies the measure of a nation's greatness.

Failure to offer such co-operation freely and whole-heartedly to the limit of his powers must be considered a grave dereliction of duty on the part of every responsible Citizen.

From a military point of view, such delinquency is rightly punishable with all the rigour of the Military Code.

In my opinion, the civilian should also suffer just punishment for neglect of duty, which, though the consequences of his fault may be less directly and immediately apparent, may yet work insidious havoc, and amount to criminal culpability.

In the sphere of education, for example, failure to adopt and pursue efficient methods of administrative procedure may so adversely affect the course of popular education as to require the lapse of a generation to remedy.

Thus, also, may public funds be squandered on unproductive objects; thus may the welfare and material progress of the masses be needlessly retarded and the effective energies of the State, so immensely capable of human service, be tragically diverted to serve inferior ends.

Such delinquency, if it be due to negligence and mental apathy, which refuses recognition of the obligation to exercise personal initiative and to accept responsibility, should be punished with the sternness which the offence undoubtedly warrants.

I would here observe that the exercise of personal initiative, the acceptance of responsibility, the instinct to co-operate and combine should be natural and spontaneous manifestations of the common sense, wherewith it is surely not unreasonable to believe that the majority of individuals are endowed. It is not by the precept of rules and regulations that such qualities can or should be summoned to action.

It is incumbent on heads of departments to realise how deplorable is the client of apathy and negligence in the performance of public duties, and to direct every effort to counteract the mentality which gives rise thereto. Modern India requires the inculcation of a sterner sense of duty and self-sacrifice, a fuller realisation of the essential need of the effective co-ordination of means to ends in the interest of the community.

Let me now take a cursory view of the reverse side of the picture I have tried to sketch in outline. We have been hearing a great deal about the efficacy of non-co-operation.

For obvious reasons, I do not wish to say a word on the political or controversial aspects of this question or on its merits and demerits, but only to make a few remarks from a purely academic standpoint. Praradoxical as it may seem, the non-co-operators have been demonstrating to us the reality of their belief in the potency of co-operation. Their leaders have kindled in them a fiery spirit of co-operation amongst themselves. Remove this cementing force and the whole

movement will collapse in a moment like a castle built on sand. This is only a further illustration of the fact that those who believe in the possibilities of non-co-operation are convinced of the efficacy of co-operation within their own circle. Conversely, the primitive and semi-civilised races have not fully realised that solidarity, resulting from mutual co-operation, lies at the root of organised society and human progress. Lack of co-operation leads to dis- organisation, dissensions, indisipline and chaos. Society breaks up into fragments, each seeking its own ends, and all are devoid of the power inherent in inter-connection. Parts of Africa and Asia furnish instances of such tribal isolation, resulting in the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The physical strength and courage of such small tribal units cannot be utilised in the higher spheres of human advancement for want of the solidifying effect of co-operation. An Eastern poet compares human beings with the limbs and organs of the same body politic, and says that if one of these is diseased or is in pain the whole physical structure suffers. The truth enshrined in this simile is that the entire fabric of society is so closely interwoven and inter-dependent that, unless all its parts act in harmony, restlessness and suffering are unavoidable.

In the whole scheme of creation you will find, if you look closely, that co-operation and co—ordination are synonymous with strength and safety. Take the animal kingdom. The wild dog, a small animal, knows the value of concerted and simultaneous action, and by encircling a tiger or a lion and tightening the noose kills the fiercest and most powerful of the larger carnivore. Some of you may have read in books on the habits of wild animals fascinating descriptions of this spectacle. It conveys to us a lesson on the incalculable power of co-operation, which you should take to heart. and give effect to its implications for the benefit of the State. The bee with its marvellous and disciplined instinct of productive co-operation teaches us another lesson of pregnant import. If you put forth your energies to imitate the example of the humble but busy bee, the honey of your labours will sweeten the relations between you and other people and enrich the

State. Those of you who are slow or slothful should specially seek this stimulus.

Nature is described as "red in tooth and claw". This is true where co-operation is displaced by tendencies of an antagonistic and selfish character. Co-operation can thrive only in an atmosphere of love, humanity and sympathy. It cannot prosper when the air is charged with wolfish instincts. I may say in passing that a pack of wolves by close co-operation intensifies its strength for gaining its object. For goodness' sake do not learn this lesson also! Otherwise my subjects will fall a prey to lupine depredations. We all know that a few wolves among the servants of the State masquerade in sheep-skins. It is your duty to me, to my people and also to yourselves to lift the skin and expose what is underneath, so that the services may be purged of this noxious element.

Let us now turn for a moment to inanimate Nature. The same eternal law of co-ordination prevails there in larger measure. For instance, its working is apparent in the inter-relation between the seasons. The rainy season, which is of vital importance to an agricultural State like Baroda, is dependent on the evaporating activity of the hot months. The vapour which is then sent up is later on precipitated in the form of rain to fertilise the soil, to revivify Nature and to clothe the earth with a green mantle. Similar phenomena regulate the manifestations of inanimate energy.

There are maxims and aphorisms in all languages illustrative of the power accruing from co-operation or union. These two words connote an association of analogous ideas and are often interchangeable. I shall quote here a Sanskrit maxim as an example: "Union of even small things accomplishes the end: Grass woven into a rope binds mad elephants."

The moral to be drawn from what I have said is that the ruler of a State, his officers and his people, whose collective aim is, the greatest good of all, must act in ordered co-operation and co-ordination each in his respective sphere. We are all a combined entity like the cupola, the body and the foundation of a systematical edifice. Each part is indispensable to the others. Your loyalty and allegiance to the

head of the State and your duty both to him and his subjects will not achieve the highest results unless you fully realise in practice the great potentialities for good of concerted and helpful action in an enthusiastic spirit.

In the spirit and by the means which I have indicated let us all in our respective degree bend our energies to the glorious work of enhancing the prosperity of the State. Thus shall we hitch our wagon to a star; thus and thus only may we aspire to the attainment of our highest ideals in Government!



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On "Etiquette", before the State officials, 7th April 1930.



This subject may appear dry and tiresome; but a little attention will show how important, interesting and intricate it is. It is clear that human society is organised on the consideration of the forms of conduct. That society has paid no little attention to etiquette can be proved from ancient works. Human life indeed is based on good manners; if they are corrupted, the whole edifice is threatened.

Man is by nature a gregarious animal. In the beginning men learnt to live in tribes. Later on, according to environment, clans, families, castes and similar groups were established. The poet Pope has briefly described this process in the lines:

*But as he framed the whole, the whole to bless,
On mutual wants built mutual happiness,
So from the first, eternal order ran,
And creature linked to creature, man to man.*

With the growth of mankind, each society claimed for itself a particular portion of land, and those portions began to be called countries. Each nation was obliged to set down regulations as to the conduct of its members in their mutual dealings, or in their relations with their ruler. This work of compiling rules and regulations on matters moral, social and political has gone on in every country and in every age.

The sanction of authority is often useful in introducing new customs. This sanction is threefold-social, religious, and political. A practice against sanction is penalised by one of these three ruling powers. The penalty inflicted by the ruling social power means loss of respect, and contempt, or boycott. The religious authority inflicts punishments such as excommunication. The punishments inflicted by the political power are well known to all. Breaches of etiquette are punished by society in these ways, and, high-class etiquette cannot exist unless society, as a whole, has definite ideas of it. In short, the rise and the existence of social conduct depends mainly on convention and convenience.

The culture of a country or a society hinges upon conventions of behaviour. Society consists of many families, and the family of many persons. Culture has its source in the family, and it depends on the conduct of the members of a society. Society is like a machine, and the families and members are its parts. Just as lubrication helps the smooth working of a machine, manners help the machinery of society to work smoothly.

There is no theoretical distinction between morality and good manners. Conventional conduct is a component part of morality; the rules of morals cover those of manners. The fundamental rules of morality are codified, and are applicable to all times and places. Manners are, to some extent, the form of morals: "Manners are the shadows of virtue." They naturally differ according to time and place, and therefore they cannot be finally codified. With change of time, climate and surroundings there is corresponding change in rules of etiquette. -" Every stage of life has its own set of manners that is suited to it and becomes it. Each is beautiful in its season", says Bishop Herd. Our Hindu Dharma recognised this long since in its relative duties, and its four stages.

Good manners means polite conduct in keeping with morality. All should behave with politeness, kindness and due regard for people occupying different stations in life. This is a basic principle of social organisation.

Perhaps a little consideration of the evolution of etiquette will be interesting. Mankind has evolved by slow steps from a

savage condition to civilisation. In the savage condition, the field of human intercourse being limited and uniform, manners were not much considered. Yet even in those times, good manners mattered when juniors had to deal with seniors, and the tribal chief exacted homage. Such seeds have now grown into etiquette.

When the savage started on the path of civilisation, families formed themselves into tribes, governed by their chiefs. With the rise of tribal government, rules were formed and manners became more elaborate.

In this way, goad manners evolve; and we find them carried to perfection in great empires of wealth and learning. In India, conventional conduct was developed into a science under the Mauryas, our first Emperors. The height of this science was reached during the reigns of Chandragupta (fourth century A.D.), Vikramaditya (fifth century A.D.) and Harshawardhana (seventh century A.D.). In the poems and plays of Kalidas are depicted the customs and manners of the times of Vikramaditya, and in the Kadambari of Bana those of the time of Harsha. Here we have the courtly ways of a high civilisation.

The developed forms of etiquette are largely affected by contemporary currents of religious thought. On the other hand, manners observed at a king's court affect religious institutions. The reproach sung by the pupils of Kanya at Dushyanta, when he renounced Shakuntala, is a breach of etiquette. But the king puts up with it for fear of religion. The rules of conduct of the Buddhist assembly seem to be an imitation of rules prevalent at the court: they are at once simpler and formal: here as elsewhere religion and politics have acted and reacted.

With the coming of the Muslims into India, our etiquette was moulded by Mugal manners, especially in matters of State; but our religious institutions kept the torch of our Hindu etiquette burning; the Indian family system went on and Rajput kings continued the ancient tradition.

Since the beginning of English education and English rules, we are gradually losing our traditional manners and are apishly imitating European manners, with the result that

foreigners are getting the impression that ours is a savage and rude society. Many Indians have lost their old manners without gaining those of the West.

The old proverb, “Manner makyth man”, means that conduct moulds character; good manners are the foundation of good character. The chief constituents of manners—gentleness, humility, reverence, kindness—become a part of our nature as we practise them.

The poet Mukteshwar thus describes a man who deserves the respect of all:

He speaks humbly to all; to none does he show crookedness; he alone wins the respect of all. He acts and does not boast; he gives credit to others; the crown of success he wins without seeking; talking if the master bids him; telling what is asked of him; not going uninvited; these are ways of winning favour. lie who conceals his knowledge, and does not label men ignorant; and in whose mouth there is a sweet tongue; he is a favourite with the world.

This extract gives a good idea of good manners, and shows how much they were valued in olden times. Undoubtedly, good manners are precious ornaments, without which man would be like a brute. What a noble character is the gentleman of the Hebrew Psalms—sitting not in the seat of the scornful, taking no usury, keeping his mind pure, seeking to do justice and to walk humbly with God and man.

There are as many codes of etiquette as there are relationships in society and family. The formalities of intercourse between master and servant, or between king and subjects, are different from the formalities observed in public institutions, courts of justice, others and social gatherings. Quite different are the formalities of intercourse in the family. It is not necessary to repeat with what humility, reverence, respect and loyalty the servant must behave to his lord, and how the lord must requite the servant with kindness, courtesy, mercy, and toleration. Real and lasting relationships between master and servant are not possible where such manners and goodwill are not observed.

It goes without saying that subjects as well as officers must treat their king with humility, loyalty, and a sense of duty,

and that good manners must form part of this attitude: This aspect of etiquette is all-important; the prosperity, prestige and well-being of the State depend upon it. Court etiquette is essential, and every One must be careful in its observance. The following lines from Mukteshwar illuminate this point:

One who does not tell a lie, is not coveteus or impure, and has control over the senses, he is a favourite of the king. If the king commands him to do something rash, he refrains from obeying, but acts with a knowledge of his master's true nature. Whoso lags behind at the harem, but takes the lead in the field of battle, he is a favourite of the king. Day and night he is alert in the affairs entrusted to him, casting indolence and sleep. He does not lend his car to scandal against his king; his tongue does not censure the king, and he honours those whom the king honours; such a man is a favourite of the king.

Sometimes the king in his private capacity allows liberty of speech, or jokes with his officers and servants. Some people take advantage of this. Their conduct is clearly rude, and reprehensible...

It is advisable not to give publicity to matters referred to by the king in private, From the point of view of manners as well as of wisdom. Mukteshwar under the title "Signs of folly" has held up such conduct to ridicule:

Whoso goes to the palace uninvited, whoso tells without being asked, whoso pretends to be a relative of the king—he is a fool. Whoso knows not good from bad, whoso listens not to the words of the wise, whoso bubbles much and long, he should be known as a fool. Whoso spreads scandal in the palace, whom ruin of others rejoices, who is flattered by his own praise, he should be known as a fool. Where two are in council whoso overheats their speech, and demands precedence over his seniors, know him to he a very perfect fool.

Some people are very popular, while others are very unpopular. This is as much the result of their manners as of their general conduct. Humility, gentility and tolerance secure friendship and popularity; while self exaltation, pride, rudeness and vulgarity secure unpopularity and contempt. Many persons have prejudiced the public mind merely by their

absence of humility and gentility, and have thus made their life fruitless.

Good manners are more often responsible for a man's success in life than all the other virtues possessed by him. For a man gathers friends by his manners. The more modest the man, the more beloved he is and the more successful. In modern days of publicity and advertisement, no man can succeed in business unless he is possessed of modesty, good manners, and a knowledge of etiquette. Once an aged merchant was asked how he had acquired so much wealth and favour. He replied that there was only one virtue in him, which had made him what he was, and it was modesty. The statesman on whose shoulders are international affairs cannot accomplish his task without good manners. Individual happiness, popularity, prosperity and many other considerations depend upon them, and they can be acquired by modesty, kindness and similar virtues. Truly it is said, "Modesty is the ornament of all Virtues".

There is a general understanding in the world that we Hindus are naturally courteous. Every one of us must try to live up to this tradition. But centuries of slavery have affected our mentality, and it is reflected in our manners. Courtesy does not require of us that we should renounce virtues like frankness and plain speaking. What is required of us is that we should convey our opinion to others with modesty and humility, never concealing the truth, but using words not offensive to others. "Speak the truth in love." Discussion of any problem requires frankness. But under the cover of courtesy we have learnt to tell lies and indulge in flattery. We must cast away this vice, which has nothing to do with true manners; it is a fruit of servitude, and a bitter fruit.

Politeness must begin at home or in the family, as is clear from the maxim, "The father is a god". If this maxim were observed and followed from childhood up, men would become courteous. The advice given by Kanva to Shakuntala, "Cherish thine elders; and towards thy Co-wives cherish feelings of sweet friendship. Be not angry with thy husband, even if he offends", is a sample of courtesy in Gupta times.

But the best test of good manners is one's behaviour towards subordinates and servants. It is not a sign of gentle- manliness on the part of a man in authority to be exacting and harsh, or to demand flattery and subservience. Many persons in authority are inclined to take offence with subordinates who fail in sycophancy and make them suffer for their sturdy self-respect. A man in authority should discourage base flattery, not by harsh words, but by gentle remonstrance. Therein lies the geniality and magnanimity of the ruler. As this behaviour is an index to his true greatness and power, he should not carry his desire to be praised beyond the limits of sanity and reason. True greatness lies in treating the humblest servant with courtesy. Observe the precepts of morality in the treatment of servants, and arrange their work so as to avoid delay and waste.

A truly courteous man follows the maxim, "Honour those who deserve honour", By honouring a man who deserves honour, a man himself becomes honourable. The proverb, "Kind words awaken kind echoes", is true. If you address a man in a polite manner, he will not reply impolitely. It is plain that one who expects polite and respectful treatment must give similar treatment to others. The substance of manners is conveyed in the saying, "Do unto others as you would be done by". This is an old rule in many lands.

The seed of modern etiquette in Europe was sown during feudal times. The semi-barbarous peoples of France, Germany and England began to be civilised by minstrels who sang of the exploits of Charlemagne and King Arthur and their knights, and' the spirit of chivalry was born. The zenith of this civilisation was reached during the time of great monarchs. The court-manners of France were most refined at the time of Louis XIV, and they did not perish with the French Revolution. The French are still often a courteous people.

The distinction and beauty of European etiquette is due then to chivalry. Men and women meet at all social functions, and have always done so. In such mixed gatherings, chivalry is indispensable. So it was in ancient India. A glance at the ancient books of the Aryans will convince the reader that mixed

gatherings were not prohibited, and that narrow views about women had not spread among us. Manu says, "The deities are delighted when women are honoured; but chivalry was not made a religious practice among us, and restrictions were tightened on account of the sad experience of mixed societies. In India, the generous treatment of women was abandoned on account of the frequent invasions of foreigners with lower standards of culture. The education of women has made mixed gatherings inevitable; and we shall have to mould new rules of courtesy according to our social environment. We need not blindly follow European customs in this matter; an imitation of the West based upon only superficial acquaintance is beset with risks. Some are of opinion that the intercourse of European men and women is not in keeping with propriety. We must see that we do not ape the excesses committed by Europeans.

I have shown that etiquette helps the organisation and evolution of society. Etiquette is a means to individual happiness and success. Manners are a secret of human life and its chief ornament. They are a reflection of the culture of any society, and the foundation of its stability. A society which has no manners is without culture and without stability.

This string of thought, which I have woven during my forced leisure, may contain some errors; this, I hope, you will generously pardon. We can all agree that a country is tested by the manners of its people; the court of a monarch is tested by the behaviour of the companions and the officers of the king. It lies in your hands to keep up the reputation of your country, and of the court; of your ruler.



At the Opening of the Round Table Conference, London, 12th November 1930.



MR ultimatum—On this momentous occasion in the history of India and the Empire it is my privilege to address to you a few words on behalf of the Indian States' Delegation, here assembled to take part in the Conference which His Majesty the King-Emperor has to-day been graciously pleased to open.

We are deeply beholden to His Majesty; I beg you, Mr Prime Minister, to convey to him our sentiments of loyalty to his throne and person.

These historic precincts have witnessed many conferences fraught with great import; but I doubt if ever before they have been the scene of such a one as this, when the issues at stake involve the prosperity and contentment not only of India's millions but of the whole British Empire.

By the realisation in generous measure of the aspirations of the princes and the peoples of India, and by that alone, can fulfilment be given to the noble words of Victoria, The Great Queen, as expressed in her famous proclamation, on becoming Empress of India:

*In their prosperity will be our strength;
In their contentment our security;
In their gratitude our best reward.*

May we all labour whole-heartedly, with mutual trust and good-will, for the attainment of so great an end!



At a Reception given by the East India Association, London, 15th November 1930.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It is my pleasant duty on this occasion, when we are assembled here as the guests of this eminent Association, to say a few words on behalf of the States' Delegation, expressing our deep appreciation of the lavish hospitality extended to us, and our sincere thanks to my old friend, Lord Lamington, and the Council.

It has been my good fortune to be connected with the East India Association and the Northbrook Society for a great many years; and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of their unremitting efforts to promote mutual understanding between leaders in British and Indian society.

Much of what has been accomplished been regard to reforms in India whether political, economic or social, has derived encouragement from this Association.

I am sure you will not expect me to refer at any great length to the problems which confront the Round Table Conference. I will confine myself, with your leave, to one or two observations.

The delegates chosen to take part in the Conference have come from every part of India; they represent in all their external variety, her manners and customs, her races and dialects.

Yet I am tempted to ask "Are we not all citizens of our motherland, fashioned and moulded by the same forces of Nature, united by the desires and aspirations or our common nationality?" I am convinced that we are all equally united in our determination to reach an agreement which will serve the best interests of India as a whole. This I believe to be a sure guarantee of the ultimate success of the Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy, with the concurrence of the present Government of Britain, has pronounced Dominion Status to be a natural issue of the constitutional progress of India. I consider that such a policy marks a high degree of statesmanship.

In what does the safety and the greatness of the British Empire lie? Surely in this, that the peoples who constitute it are allowed freedom to develop according to their individual genius, while they share in the ideals and the material advantages which are inherent in their common citizenship. Owing to the vast extent of the far-flung dominions of this great Empire, it must necessarily be thus. This freedom to develop is the urgent need of India, and her earnest desire.

The British Raj has done much, but how much more remains to be done! The whole fabric of India, political and economic, moral and social, calls for reconstruction on a basis which shall be true to her ancient traditions, and foster a manly spirit in her peoples, and a greater sense of national solidarity.

Let all classes lagging behind in the race of progress be given temporarily greater facilities to overtake such as are ahead of them, but not so as to cause any permanent cleavage in the body politic.

Great is the contribution which the Indian people can still offer to the world's thought, great is the part which they can play on the stage of Empire.

Give them freedom for so great a role; and that they may realise their aspirations, give them freedom to shape their destinies in accordance with the genius of their race, and in co-operation with the butt panda of the West.

In a word, let India now at long but find her soul, and take the place which is not only her privilege but her due as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We Indians are a fifth part of the whole human race.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are confronted by issues pregnant with fate. The future of India and the Empire is at stake. Let us go forward in a spirit of mutual trust and collaboration, conscious of the greatness of the task imposed upon us. So, I believe, shall the aspirations of India find fulfilment – the sooner the better – and the fabric of the Empire be secured upon the great foundation of freedom and dedicated to the sublime cause of peace.



*At the conclusion of the first round Table Conference, London,
19th January 1931.*



MR PRIME MINISTER, — We are approaching the end of this Conference and the conclusion of a most momentous chapter in the history of India: and I have been asked to say a few words on this great occasion.

When our deliberations began, Federation for All-India was little more than an ideal, dim, distant and vaguely comprehended. It is now a live political issue, supported with a remarkable degree of unanimity, not only by the Princes and the States, but by British India, and by political parties in Great Britain. For myself I may say that the idea of Federation has, for very many years, seemed to me the only feasible meant of securing the unity of India. Some of the Princes will doubtless recall that in 1917 I expressed the view that the future constitution of India should be fashioned on these lines.

But ideas- even the happiest- require the opportune moment for fruition. I am content to believe that, in the present circumstances, realization of this idea is at hand.

When the results we have achieved are reviewed by the historian, I think it will be conceded that this Conference has made a notable contribution to political thought. I refer to the conception of a United India, wherein British India and the Indian States will co-operate as partners for the

welfare of India as a whole, while each unit will retain its individuality and its right to develop in accordance with its own particular genius. We shall, in other words, achieve unity without uniformity—this is a requisite of true federation.

Before the Federal Sub-committee began its work, and during the course of it: deliberations, there were many to whom the idea of federation and its implications appeared so novel as to create a feeling of dread that the States might be pledging themselves to perilous and irrevocable harm. Even now, such sceptics are to be found. It is, therefore, gratifying that His Majesty's Government has been so wise as to leave time for doubts to be resolved in greater familiarity with the subject and has refrained from the elaboration of detail at the present stage.

The constitution will be evolved in due time, when consideration has been given to the many interests concerned, when the various schools of thought have occasion to state their views. Fullest facilities should be given to develop the federal idea in all its implications.

I have spoken of unity without uniformity. It is my deliberate conviction that to strain after uniformity in the federal structure would be a mistaken policy.

There should be perfect freedom given to each unit to develop along its own peculiar lines. Healthy and friendly rivalry is as beneficial to the State as to the individual. Thus, alone hitherto have many fruitful ideas been fostered in the Indian States.

In what spirit will the Indian States enter such a Federation?

In the first place, they cherish their internal independence, and they insist on this being maintained intact; they insist also on the removal of out-of-date restrictions, which are injurious to their development. Secondly, they advocate the establishment of responsible Government at the Federal Centre, with a view to facilitating the solution of common problems, which concern British India and the Indian States alike, and the evolution of a common policy for India as a whole.

India has before it economic and other problems, the difficulty of which it is impossible to exaggerate. The success of our labours should be judged by one test- Have they resulted in producing a Government capable of facing these problems boldly, and of adopting wise measures and policies, to enable India to take her place amongst the advanced countries of the world?

Forms of Government possess undoubted importance; but they are merely a means to an end. The importance, therefore, to be attached to them must be estimated by the extent to which they conduce to the end in view- the happiness and the prosperity of the people. The Indian ryot requires for his development much individual attention. If the future Government is to be "of the people, for the people, by the people", then the provinces as at present constituted seem too large for the end in view. The machinery of Government should be simple, economical and intelligible, and there should be intimate personal contact between the people and those in authority.

One word more, and I have done. It is all important that in the new policy, which we hope to see established in India, the education of the people should be our earnest endeavour. No truly democratic system can effectively operate unless the mass of the citizens are alive to their responsibilities. Our greatest efforts should, therefore, be concentrated on the uplift of the people by this means. It is very necessary that, as Robert Lowe expressed it, we should "educate our masters", that they may be able to judge between and wrong, and avoid the excesses and errors likely to affect democracy.

I pray that all who shall have the shaping of our country's destinies may have gifts of courage, wisdom and statesmanship adequate for such a task.

Mr Prime Minister, I cannot conclude without expressing our personal debt to you, to the other members of His Majesty's Government, and generally to the British delegates, who have contributed by their cordial and whole-hearted support to the development of the new Indian constitution.

I trust that the Conservative Party will, by an announcement of their generous recognition of India's right freely to mould her own destinies, set the coping-stone on the constitutional structure.

We now await from you, Mr Prime Minister, a declaration which will satisfy the aspirations of our people in India, and put an end to the present grievances and unrest with the least possible delay.

I ask, Sir, that you will convey to Their Majesties an expression of our deep affection and loyalty.



*At a Farewell Banquet given to H.E. Lord Irwin by the Chamber of Princes,
Delhi, 3rd February 1931.*



YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,— It is an honour as well as a privilege, which I highly appreciate, to propose the health of our illustrious guests of the evening.

As the hour approaches for your departure, we bid farewell to Your Excellencies with sincere feelings of regret.

On behalf, not only of my order, but of all my countrymen, for whose welfare you have labored with such in exhaustible patience and such sympathetic understanding, I tender to Your Excellency our assurance of enduring gratitude.

On this occasion, I may refer to the very important deliberations which, in their recent happy result, have crowned Your Excellancy's labours in the cause of peace and goodwill.

To Your Excellency, and to all who, in a selfless spirit of patriotism, have helped you, our grateful thanks are tendered.

By mutual trust and confidence, by unselfish co-operation, by the exercise of the spirit of compromise amongst all classes of the people, by subordinating all sectional interests to the common weal—thus and thus alone can India attain the goal of her ambition.

The pressure of great events and world conditions have been moulding the destinies of nations. It fell to your lot to divert the forces of disruption at work in India into the fruitful channels of co-operation and cohesion.

Knowledge and experience inspired by intelligence are essential to the effective working of free institutions.

Wherever Self-Government has operated successfully, it has been because all classes of the community have valued for its own sake what has been jointly fought for and won.

In India, the diversity of race and language, religion and caste tend to obstruct mutual endeavours for common ends. This, however, is not an insuperable obstacle. The encouragement of friendly intercourse and co-operation, irrespective of class and creed, is of vital moment, and so is the education of the masses in self-reliance and "self-discipline.

Thus we may advance to the realisation of the Vision Splendid; our country united, prosperous and progressive, her institutions and government broad-based upon the contentment of the people.

Your Excellency has more than once borne eloquent testimony to the great part played by the Indian Princes at the Round Table Conference. The offer of the Indian States to join hands with British India has vitalised the conception of Federal Constitution for India, and has helped materially to bring within the realm of practical politics the forging of a new link between British and Indian India. The spirit of unity and of common aims and purposes which has thus been kindled throughout our Motherland is in itself a sure promise of her equality among the great free nations of the world.

The sagacious practical sense of the British nation quickly realised this new orientation in the Indian outlook, and led them to change their own angle of vision. The result was the cordial and harmonious co-operation of British and Indian statesmen of all shades of political thought in sketching, in broad outline, the framework of a constitution. It now remains for us in friendly co-operation to fill in the details of the scheme. Before this is done, it is for the Princes to discuss the matter freely and frankly among themselves and to decide individually or collectively in what manner they consider it to be in the interest both of themselves and of their country to exercise their option of entering the federation. Whatever action they take must spring from a clear conviction that what they do is wise and beneficial.

If we feel – as wee all do- that useful results have already been achieved, and if we look into the future in a spirit of hope, we all realise how deeply we are beholden to you.

It was due to the initiative of Your Excellency that public attention was called to the Indian States as essential Factors in the policy of India.

By your Declaration in November last year, you defined, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government, the goal of India's constitutional development, and inspired the labours of the Conference.

The large measure of success, which has been attained, is due to your broad-minded sympathy expressed with consummate tact and skill.

Your Highnesses and Gentlemen, I now ask you to drink to the health of Lord and Lady Irwin. The Viceroy has not only worthily upheld, with the help of Lady Irwin, the traditions of his great office, but has invested it with a new lustre, which will ever remain associated with his name in the history of India.



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At the Opening of the Second Round Table Conference, London, 21th September 1931.



MY LORD CHANCELLOR, — I should like to thank you for your kindly words of welcome. We are about to take up the threads where they were dropped last year. We are to attempt, if I may change, the metaphor, to build the superstructure on the foundations that were then laid, Let me assure you, My Lord, that we are all, for I feel sure that I can speak with equal confidence for my brother-delegates as for myself, ready to do our utmost to find a solution of the difficult problems which confront us, and to reach the goal which we all desire. That may not be easy: but with goodwill and with determination we shall surmount all obstacles, however formidable, and I trust that when the time comes again for parting we shall see more clearly the vision which has been the dearest dream of my life, the vision of a united and self-governing India, working together for the good and for the progress of the Indian people and of the whole Commonwealth.



At a Banquet to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, Baroda, 12th December 1932.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I rise again to perform a most pleasant duty- that of proposing the health of our illustrious guests—Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.

It is always a privilege to welcome to our midst the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India. Baroda is proud of its alliance with the Crown, which began nearly a century and a half ago; and the years that have passed, with memories of grave anxiety shared with the rest of the Empire and of common contributions to the problems of peace, have only served to strengthen these friendly relations. On this occasion, this privilege is enhanced by the knowledge that, in Lord Willingdon, I am also welcoming a personal friend of many years' standing. Lord Willingdon, I need not remind you, is alone among Viceroys in that he has been the Governor of two Provinces, and not only has he thus acquired a first-hand knowledge of the more intimate needs of the people, but he comes to the Vice-royalty with numerous friendships made during eleven years spent in India. We are fortunate that, in these difficult times, the destinies of India have been entrusted to one who has proved himself a broad-minded statesman, not only in this country, but also in other parts of the Empire.

We are now approaching the time when, as we all hope, the deliberations of two years and more will bear fruit in a

new Constitution for India. I am glad that today we are proposing to build on the wider basis and surer foundation of an All-India Federation. I believe in the idea of federation. I do not pretend to have worked out any cut-and dried scheme, complete in every detail; but, for many years, I have thought that a definite step should be taken towards the evolution of a United India, in which British India and the States, as equal partners, will work for the common good. I am fully convinced that in any such scheme the States can play a notable part; and, to enable them to do this, two things in my view are essential. In the first place, the States should have complete autonomy in all matters outside the federal sphere: and restrictions and limitations imposed on them, or on individual States, in circumstances which have now ceased to exist, should be removed when the federal arrangements are set up. Only so will States be living entities, full of vigour and of a deep sense of responsibility, and completely equipped for the manifold tasks of good Government. Secondly, in the new order of things, there should be no striving after a soul-destroying uniformity. We are often reminded that it is unsafe to generalise about India, that the North is not the South, nor the East the West, and if the mere observer needs that warning, far more weighty is it in the vastly more important domain of administration. We all want to develop naturally, each according to his tradition and according to the path of evolution on which he has set out, as the trees of the forest develop, and not as the trees which are moulded into fantastic shapes by the hand of man. This indeed has been my ideal in all I have done in my State. I hope I may say in all modesty that I have striven to develop the State according to the light that is in me, and on lines most acceptable to the genius of our people. In many fields of activity—mass education, re-orientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—the States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments; and it would be a pity to do anything which would deprive India of this wealth of political and administrative experience. While, therefore, I rejoice that

the vision of an United India is about to be realised, I cannot but feel that this realisation would be bought at too high a price if it involved the sacrifice of individuality. The scheme of federation should be so constructed that the States are left to themselves to develop along their own lines, with the necessary contact with the Federal Government to enable them to serve our common ends and interests of our unified country. I want to see India develop with the splendid diversity of her mountains, and not with the barren monotony of her deserts.

I venture to think, Your Excellency, that this ideal of unity can be the outcome only of co-operation and goodwill, not only between race and race, Government and people, but also between Government and Government, community and community. And it is my conviction that this co-operation and goodwill cannot be achieved without understanding. Perhaps that full understanding has hitherto been lacking; perhaps each party to this tremendous experiment has been blind to the point of view of others. I am not imputing blame to any particular race, section or people, but I do say that disunity can never['] create unity, and that the best way to achieve the co-operation and goodwill for which I plead is for all of us to discard suspicion and to go boldly forward in faith, having before us the sole ideal of a prosperous and contented country and eschewing those differences which tend to keep us apart.

Nor can I, in making this appeal, ignore the most serious menace to the future of India that has arisen in recent years—namely, the methods of violence which a certain misguided section has adopted in parts of our country. Everyone, I feel sure, shares my horror of these senseless outrages, which can only set back the clock of progress and sully the fair name of India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now turn from these problems to extend our cordial greetings to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, who has achieved so high a reputation for her deep and abiding interest in all that concerns the public welfare. Her presence here has added much to the charm and the pleasure of the visit. Here in Baroda, we have done and are doing all we can

by way of education, by instruction in the care of infants and otherwise—to enable woman to take her rightful place in society. This cause is as dear to Her Highness the Maharani as it is to myself. I regret very much her absence, owing to unavoidable reasons; but I have my charming and genial daughter here with me to help me to entertain Your Excellencies. Her presence at this table is a source of additional pleasure to me. Her eagerness, I am sure, is as keen as her mother's to welcome Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, to whose sympathetic guidance this movement, so full of promise for the country's future, owes much of its progress in all parts of India.



*At the Second Session of the Baroda Literary Conference,
18th December 1932.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — As you know, all my life it has been one of my greatest desires so to further the cultural development of my people, that they may not only find this world a good dwelling-place, but also, by so living in it, as to make it a fit place for their fellows. I look upon Literature as perhaps the finest method for achieving this object; and believing this, I have spared no effort to promote it. That is why I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to open this Conference.

I have no doubt that the President, in his address, will say all that need be said about the purpose of our meeting here this morning. I will, therefore, leave particular reference to the development of Marathi Literature to him. For my part, I hope, by going somewhat further afield, by an examination of Literature in general, and of the circumstances which govern its production, to suggest to you certain leading ideas, the ignorance of which can only defeat our particular object.

And first of all, I think it is necessary that we should understand what Literature means.

Tracing it to its Latin origin, Literature simply means “that which is written”. So comprehensive a meaning embraces every form of writing; it makes no distinction between Hamlet and an income-tax return; Shakespeare rubs shoulders with the office-boy. But in course of time the word became

discriminative, it acquired a specialised meaning, just because it was obvious that, though everything that was written might be Literature, some pieces of writing were better than others. Better, that is, intrinsically. This kind of writing, which was something more than a mere vehicle for conveying information, eventually assumed the distinctive title of Literature. The question naturally arises as to how this distinction came to be made; whether it was the result of arbitrary taste, or whether it has its basis in reasoned standards of criticism. There can be little doubt that taste was the determinative factor. Some particular piece of writing gave more pleasure than another, it lingered in the memory; and critical principles emerged when the pleasure was analysed. It is important to remember this, for without criticism, a sense of what is good and an understanding of the qualities which make Literature cannot develop. This chiefly concerns the reader, to whose influence upon the creative artist I shall refer later. The artist himself, the writer, may be said to exist not because, but in spite of critical principles. It is from the play, the poem, or the novel that principles of criticism are derived; the principles do not create the work of art. Homer and Aeschylus wrote the epics and plays from which Aristotle deduced his theory of tragedy; Horace derived his ideas on the art of poetry from a study of Virgil; and the principles of the English romantic drama were evolved after and not before Shakespeare wrote his plays.

I need hardly remind you that the study of a language goes hand in hand with that of its literature. It is impossible for me, in the short time at my disposal, to make more than a passing reference to this; but I do wish to impress upon you the importance of a study of words for their own sake, of their origin, their history, and their asthetic quality. Remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the words which we use as symbols of our thoughts and feelings are as elusive as the shadow cast by a butterfly, and as fascinating as the brilliant colour of its wings. It is only when that shadow has been caught; only when we have mastered the secret of them, that words, become Literature.

Let us look for a moment at the process by which this is achieved; and ask ourselves why Literature should exist; what motivates it; how it is influenced; how controlled.

The history of Literature reveals a significant fact: poetry always precedes prose. Yet we are apt to regard poetry as a much more cultured form of expression than prose, simply because, to-day, prose is the common medium. We do not talk in verse, nor write our letters in couplets. Yet poetry existed long before people could write; at a time when the records of a people, the tales of their prowess in war, their beliefs, their superstitions, lived only on the lips of the singer, who touched his harp while the warriors were feasting, and sang of their deeds, and the deeds of their forefathers. And he sang in verse because verse was easily remembered. Metre and, later, rhyme were in their origin nothing more than aids to memory. The ancient bards were as utilitarian as the modern school-teacher, who, in order to fix the number of days in each month in his pupil's memory, makes him learn

*Thirty days hath September,
April, June and November.*

This versifying becomes poetry when the genius of an artist inspires it with fuller life. Shakespeare's stories were familiar to his audience, but by his imaginative mastery over words he transformed them into something rich and strange; and in much the same way Tulsidas and Mukteshwar transformed the Mahabharata into the vernaculars*. Verse, then, can be said to have been called into existence by the necessity for remembering, even though nothing of it was written down. When it does come to be written, attention becomes concentrated not so much on what is to be written, as on how the matter is to be presented; and so we arrive at the art of poetry. In the early history of Literature we find that works on philosophy and religion are written in verse, which sometimes becomes, as in the case of Lucretius and Horace in Latin, and Dnyaneshwar in Marathi, transmuted to poetry by the genius of the writer.

* Hindi and Marathi versions of the great Sanskrit epic.

Prose is a later development, a much more sophisticated form of Literature. It seems to have arisen in England, when the Bible was translated, for the masses. Translation almost inevitably demands the use of prose, chiefly because poetry is so closely bound up with the inmost spirit of the language that it is impossible to catch that spirit in verse form in a foreign tongue. Moreover, as civilisation progresses, more and more people come to read and to write, people who are not in the strictest sense of the word literary, but merely literate, and prose is their natural means of expression. The process was very slow as long as handwriting was the only method of recording ideas. It was the printing-press, as much as the Revival of Learning, that accounted for the rapid increase in the development of literature, and of prose in particular.

For the printing-press snatched the monopoly of teaching from the priesthood, and scattered it lavishly far and wide. This was momentous. For the first time there was the possibility of a reading public. There is no need to examine the history of so various a crowd as that which we call the reading public. The process was bound to be slow; but today, because of compulsory education, every one can read, and almost every one can write. Such a situation is full of promise, and fraught with danger, for a public that can read will clamour until its appetite is satisfied, and it is the professional writer who must satisfy it. Within fifty years of England's breaking away from Rome, Shakespeare was giving his public what it wanted in the form of blood and thunder, quips and all manner of coarse jests, at the Globe Theatre. To-day the printing-presses are hard put to it to satiate the omnivorous appetite for tales of crime and its detection. Those tales are, most of them, written in such prose as can hardly be called literature. The factory, the railway train, the internal combustion engine, wireless, the cinema and all the fever and fret of modern European existence, leave the common reader little time for finer literature. Shakespeare gave his public what it wanted; were he alive to-day he would have to forsake blank-verse for prose, because the modern public would have no patience with verse. This is what the press has done. No longer is literature created by a Chaucer, who for his own delight wrote

poetry at the end of a day's hard work. The professional literary man, even though he be an artist, is tied to his public; he must give it what it wants, or perish. One moment he may be writing an article for a newspaper of which more than a million copies are sold each day; the next a biography for a select group. Here, then, is the most tremendous influence in Literature to-day, the motley crowd of men, women, and children, who tyrannise over the author. They influence him, they control him. However much he may desire to do so, he cannot go beyond their limitations because his first object must be to make himself intelligible to them, and give them pleasure.

I do not wish to imply any strict parallel between conditions in modern Europe and those in our own country. The masses of the peoples of India are hardly touched by the progress of scientific invention; and the number of readers amongst them is still far below that which I desire to see.

But the fruit will come when such a state of affairs as that I have outlined in Europe exists; and in looking forward we must take account of it, and guard against its dangers, if our literature is to be worthy of us.

So it is that Literature inevitably reflects contemporary life, its habits, manners, ideas, creeds, and superstitions. Dickens wrote for an audience whose life was modelled on that of its ruler, even in thought and sentiment, and Dickens' novels are not only a deliberate picture and record of Victorian England, but an unconscious commentary upon it, too. No author can live outside his own times. He is a product of them, and as he is sincere, his value lies just in that fact. Dickens was Victorian: Shaw is not far removed from him in point of time, yet they are poles apart. And it is not simply that they are two such different personalities; it is that they lived in different worlds.

In much the same way it is that the kind of book which is read at any given time emerges. To-day, for example, the influence of, and interest in, Science is vital and widespread. The public demands the knowledge, and books are multiplied; and it becomes possible for a professor to write a book on the latest theories in Astronomy, which is a best-seller. Not a hundred years ago Darwin wrote his *Origin of Species*, which

was received only by the intelligentsia; it shocked Victorian England; yet only a year ago one of the most popular Christmas presents among averagely educated people was a book on advanced anthropology.

Then there is the influence of civilisations upon one another, an influence which is strongest upon a literature in its infancy. This influence is infinitely varied Language, to be healthy, must be continuously growing; it is impossible to write in a dead language. And this growth is stimulated by an infusion of foreign blood. English, the most polyglot language you can find, is strong, simply because it has mixed so much with other languages. The Norman invasion mixed Anglo-Saxon with French, and so we have the language that Chaucer wrote. In the same way Hindi is stimulated by the infusion of Persian words, and the inevitable associations that come with Persian culture.

Finally, I wish to draw your attention to the conditions favourable to literary activity. It is generally found that when the national consciousness is most alive literature like all the arts flourishes. The fifty years which we call the Golden Age of English literature coincided with the resurgence of the nation under the Tudors. There was the war with Spain, the enmity with the Roman Catholic world and the realisation of nationhood consequent upon this. The same is true of Marathi Literature. From 1620 to 1820, and particularly during the reign of Shivaji, the Maratha people enjoyed their heyday. It was a period of great military achievement, of the consolidation of political power. And it was also the period of translation of the Mahabharata, which was called forth by, and which stimulated, the national consciousness. Moreover it was during these two hundred years (and more particularly the first century of them) that great developments were made in literary form; and there was a widening of the sphere with which literary men concerned themselves. Hitherto, most of the poetry had confined itself to religious philosophy. It still treated of this, but in a more comprehensive way, dealing with every aspect of national life, advocating the breaking down of caste-barriers, and thus suggesting the formation of a more united people.

At the close of this period, with the death of Madhav Rao II the court of Poona relaxed into luxury, and literature declined with the weakening of moral backbone.

From 1829 onwards, after the introduction of priming, and the consequent distribution of books in translation from Sanskrit and English, there has been a renaissance in Marathi Literature. History, Politics, Philosophy, Medicine, Law and especially the Drama flourish. Newspapers, too, there are. Indeed, Marathi Literature now enjoys all the advantages and is exposed to all the dangers of the democratization of literature.

I have spoken thus much, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you may see. how literature has been created, and how it is influenced in circumstances different from our own. The difference is often wide; but there are points of comparison. Unless we continually keep the lesson of history in mind we cannot hope to develop. Dangers there are, clearly; but they are dangers worth overcoming. In parting, I would ask you to face these dangers, to remember the lessons of the past, that you may in the future give to Marathi Literature an honourable place amongst the literature of the world.



At the Laxmi-Vilas Palace Banquet to the College students in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the College, 28th January 1933.



GENTLEMEN,— It given me very great pleasure to welcome you all to dine with me in this beautiful hall this evening. This nobly proportioned room, with its beautiful carvings and other harmonious decorations, with its lofty ceiling and its tessellated floor, makes a very suitable hall for an occasion like this. There is, perhaps, no finer room in India. I am very pleased to meet you all in it.

This hall was completed and brought into use in the year 1887. I mention this little bit of history because it was at about that time at Ahmedabad that I first broke through the rigid rules of caste. Since then I have travelled a great deal and visited most of the countries of the world. I have met many of the best people in those countries, and have studied and discussed what seemed to me good in their civilisation, social practice and Government. Ideas that I have obtained in this way I have made use of in my constant effort to improve my State, and to add to the betterment of my people.

If I had rigidly observed all the restrictions of caste, I should not have been able to do this. Some of these restrictions make travel extremely inconvenient, if not quite impossible, and impede social intercourse among peoples.

I suppose you young men read the papers and follow the discussions in them. It is good that you should do so. I hope that you think over them, and form your own opinions, guided

by the light of reason. You should not blindly adopt the views of other people. You must think for yourselves, especially in matters that concern you personally. I do not mean to imply that you should be, in any way, lacking in respect to your elders. You must, of course; show them all proper respect, but in matters regarding your own life and conduct, you should use your own reason, and decide what is right and proper for you to do.

Blind and unquestioning obedience to ancient precepts, which are supposed by some to be based on religious authority, has had the effect of keeping the people of India divided into small groups and castes, and prevented them from working together in social matters.

I am very glad to see so many of you young men dining here with me this evening. I invited you to come because I think your social education is an important part of your training for life. The more you can mix together without unnecessary restrictions, and without distinction of caste or creed, the greater will be your influence in the social reform of the country.

The cramping effect of old prejudices has made India lag behind the other nations of the world. I hope you will bring your reason to bear on these questions, that you will discard those prejudices that are unnecessary and harmful, and keep only those practices and customs that are good. In this way, you will help your country to reach and maintain its proper place among nations.

I shall watch your careers with interest, and I wish every one of you all happiness and success.



*At the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Alembic Chemical Works, Baroda,
29th January 1933.*



MR AMIN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been a great pleasure to me to be present at the time of your Silver Jubilee Celebrations. I have noted with feelings of joy and pride the progress your works have made during the past twenty-five years. The struggles and tribulations through which you, Mr Amin, have passed, have been a trial of your strength and courage. By perseverance, industry and organising capacity you have brought success to the works.

As a keen man of business you have made your name known all over India. The Alembic Chemical Works and their products have become famous throughout this land. It is a matter of no small pride to be able to compete with Western products.

Mr Amin in his own unassuming manner and with his devotion to duty has set an example to other industrialists in India. He has shown them what it is possible to achieve, in the development of Indian industries, by zeal, foresight and determination. He has set up an organisation which by invoking the aid of science to industry has become an example to others. With his usual humility he has attributed the success of the Alembic Works to the substantial encouragement and help he has received from the various departments of my Government. But let me at once frankly say that though my Government and myself were, and are, always sympathetic to honest effort, and are ever ready to

give encouragement and help, yet the major credit of the success must go to Mr Amin. The happy relations between the Ruler and his Government on the one hand, and his subjects on the other, mainly depend for good results on their mutual co-operation. With that end in view, I have always welcomed bold, honest and reasoned criticism from all, so that if there are any defects in the Administration I am always open to conviction, and ready to correct them. For example, with an eye to improving the social welfare of my subjects, I have introduced certain legislative measures. I can assure you that this legislation has been enacted by me, not because I happen to be your Ruler, but because I was convinced that it would conduce to the welfare of my subjects. I have ever tried to keep in mind the requirements of the times. It is for my subjects now to take advantage of this legislation in the spirit in which it has been framed, and assist in its enforcement. The same holds good with regard to other matters. Without co-operation of this kind from the people, even a federation of India would fail to produce the desired results. Responsibility at the centre, or elsewhere, would have little or no meaning, if the spirit of cooperation between the Government and the people is wanting.

In the West people, boldly face and withstand trial and tribulation until they achieve success. By successful industrial enterprises they make money, and they know how to enjoy it. We in India are bound down to a sort of slavery by our social customs; and it is, therefore, essential that one's views should be based and formed on reason. We should be respectful to our elders, but at the same time we should firmly and respectfully stick to our convictions. Often our unhappiness is due to our own misgivings anti mistakes. The valuable habits of work, punctuality, cleanliness, organisation, co-operation and a host of other things seem to have developed to a greater extent in the people of the West, than amongst the people of our country. Is it the difference in race or in geographical conditions that is responsible for this? What matters very greatly is the early formation of good habits. I know that, at present, education is not imparted by ideal methods. To that extent it is, perhaps, responsible for present

conditions. But we must try to remedy these defects. Hence, in all matters that directly or indirectly touch the welfare of my subjects, I have welcomed their views based on sound judgment and expressed with responsibility. It is my ardent and lifelong desire to free my subjects from the trammels and tribulations of obsolete customs and practices. And let me emphasise again that it is here that I want the co-operation of my subjects.

There is one important channel in which the labours of our agricultural population can be usefully directed in the so-called "slack season":

a) We must remember that the great majority of the working population of the country are engaged in agriculture. They are occupied for about four months of the year. For the remaining eight months of the year they have little or nothing to do. To find profitable occupation for these long months of enforced leisure is the all important problem of Indian economics. The development of additional or subsidiary industries would go a long way to solve this problem.

(b) As matters stand at present, if a bad season occurs, disaster stares them and their families in the face. All they can do is to implore Government to come to their help; and that is the very time when Government finds it most difficult to give real help; for the revenues of Government are not elastic, but depend, above all, on the prosperity of agriculture.

(c) If they had a secondary occupation to fall back upon, or if they could at these times get employment in industry, such periods of trouble might be safely tided over.

(d) We are doing our best to develop our resources, so that all our people may have a reasonable certainty of earning a safe and sure livelihood. But we are groping in the dark. I hope that all of you, experienced as you are in the ways of finance, commerce, and industry, will do what lies in your power to remove from our working-people the fear and misery of prolonged unemployment, and so add to the happiness and security of this great country.

The reference to Prof. Gajjar has touched my heart. His association with me was one of the pleasantest of its kind.

Even now I can visualize him standing before me in his simple dress, and in his charming manner explaining to me the various processes of dyeing and printing as practised and taught by the German dyer, who was invited by the State at his suggestion. To me, Gajjar is a name associated with hard work, 'untiring' zeal and indomitable will. I cherish great regard for him and for his wonderful abilities.

Once more I congratulate Mr Amin on all that he has achieved by his untiring efforts exerted in his own unassuming yet business-like manner. I am also glad to hear of the efforts made by him and his colleagues to show appreciation of the labours of the men who have wholeheartedly co-operated with him during the early times of struggle and thereafter, which have enabled him to bring the works to the pitch of efficiency and prosperity that they enjoy to-day. Let me assure you, Mr Amin, that to join in the Silver Jubilee of your works has given me very great delight.

The Alembic Chemical Works have courteously announced a sum of Rs. 15,000 to be placed at my disposal, and asked me to allow my name to be associated with the scholarship or scholarships from its income. I have great pleasure in doing so: and it is my pleasure to have the scholarships administered by the Chemistry Department of Baroda College.

In conclusion, I express the confident hope that Mr Amin and his associates will continue their work with unabated zeal, and lead the Alembic Works to still greater prosperity.



On the occasion of the Baroda City Municipal Address, 9th February 1933.



MR SUDHALKAR, MEMBERS OF THE BARODA CORPORATION, GENTLEMEN,— I am sincerely pleased to receive your address; and I thank you for the genuine warmth of your welcome. I appreciate the spirit in which you refer to your plans for improving the amenities of this city; and I would assure you that I shall follow their course with keen interest, giving you my fullest support in the amelioration of the conditions in which the poorer classes live.

I am glad that you have referred prominently to a question which is commanding the closest attention of the best minds of India at the present time, the question of untouchability. For several decades I have devoted my close attention to this problem, affecting as it does the future well-being of the whole of our social fabric. I wish I had the time to draw a picture from the history of the great civilisations of the world, so that you could see the background against which the problem we have to examine has grown. Without a knowledge of history, no adequate understanding of the problem can be attained. We must not forget that in the ancient world nations were by no means as isolated as we are apt to imagine. The history of India affords ample proof of this. Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Persia have all influenced us. But it is impossible for me to examine these influences; as, after all, history records only a few facts, and these are not always coherent.

It is a problem which must be approached in a spirit of humility, with sympathetic understanding, and with sincerity. For the obstacles which we have to overcome are not those which will yield to Bolshevik onslaught. For seven hundred years those barriers (which it is my ardent desire to break down) have been growing firmer. They are deep-rooted in custom, and have acquired a so-called religious sanction which, in the eyes of those who leave that sanction unquestioned, makes them inviolable. Tradition dies hard; and we cannot be too careful in the method we adopt to change it. But of the necessity for a radical change in the attitude of most people in India towards untouchability I am convinced; and my object in speaking to you now is so to impress upon you the vital necessity of that change, that you will co-operate wholeheartedly with me in bringing it about. For at this time in the history of our country, when we are bending all our efforts towards the realisation of responsible nationhood, we must build upon sure foundations. A house divided against itself cannot stand; and until the false distinctions between the untouchables and their fellows have been obliterated, we shall build our house in vain.

For a few moments I wish to consider what untouchability means, and how it came about that one man could be regarded by another in his own country as an out-cast from society. In the Shastras* we find sixteen kinds of untouchables enumerated, namely the washerman, the cobbler, the actor; the Veruda, or cane-worker, and the fisherman; the Medas and the Bhillas; the goldsmith, the tailor; the carpenter; the oil-presser, the charioteer, the potter; the bamboo-worker, the barber and the ironsmith. Besides these, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Mlecchas—a comprehensive term including all non-Hindus—are stigmatised. Many more details I could give you, but these will suffice for my purpose; and I wish you to consider the implications of these facts.

In the first place, you will have noticed that the kinds of untouchables which are mentioned in the Shastras fall into two classes: vocational and ethnic. Certain professions, some of them menial, others requiring a high order of skill, were considered to carry with them a social (or if you like a religious)

* *Sacred Books.*

stigma; the goldsmith had no more caste than the barber, and the cobbler was branded with the actor or the worker in iron. There seem to be no specific reasons why those who followed these vocations should be singled out from among their fellowmen as creatures unworthy to eat with them, and as men whose touch was defiling. It is easier to understand why those in the second class should be considered as beyond the pale, for they were of different race. The Yavanas and the Mlecchas were foreigners, they had their own cultures, their own religious creeds, and these were not in harmony with the culture and religion of the Hindus. It followed naturally that these aliens should be regarded as outside caste, and that the Hindu should regard them as, in a certain sense, beyond the pale of Hinduism. But all this happened a long while ago; and in the course of the centuries, the foreigner has, owing to social and political conditions, and a better understanding with the people, become assimilated with the country in which he lives. He enjoys civil rights; the law looks upon him with the same eye as it looks upon the man of high caste; yet he is cut off from the dearest right of a man—that of communion with his fellows.

Now it is a significant fact to notice that amongst those professions which were at one time regarded as beneath the notice of a high-caste Hindu, there are to-day some which are not so disdained. Many men of highest social standing follow these vocations eagerly, without any risk of being branded as untouchables. In the office, on the public-platform, indeed in any sphere where the common business of life makes it necessary, the distinctions of caste must be glazed over. The rules which govern the game of life to-day do not allow of the rigid observance of such distinctions. Yet they most unreasonably persist. I am reminded, Gentlemen, of the answer which the Jew made to the Christian who invited him to dinner: "I will buy with you", he said, "sit with you, talk with you, walk with you; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you". This may seem natural, Gentlemen; but it runs directly contrary to the true spirit of humanity, and, as I hope to show you before I have done, to the true spirit of Hinduism.

But there are other points in the origin and nature of untouchability which must be considered before a full understanding of the problem can be attained. The 'brand of untouchability scarred a man not only by reason of his profession or his race. The followers of such alien religions as Buddhism and Jainism were also included among the untouchables, and their touch made a bath of purification obligatory on the part of caste-Hindus. There is a passage in the Sanskrit scriptures which, being translated, runs- "Take a purificatory bath with garments on when touched by Buddhists, Pasupatas, Lokayatas and atheists, as also by Brahmins who indulge in heinous deeds". I want you to remember the latter part of that quotation, Gentlemen, because it has particular bearing upon the conclusions I shall draw from this examination. There were, however, some exemptions from pollution. Certain commodities necessary in daily life become pure, we are told, as soon as they have been taken from the vessel in which the untouchable brings them; nor does contact entail pollution on festive occasions, in time of public danger and distress, on a journey, or in battle. The most casual survey of these exemptions cannot fail to impress one with the fact that, whenever occasion demanded, the strict rules of caste were relaxed, simply because without that relaxation life could not go on. There is no avoiding the fact which emerges from this admission, that on every occasion when he found he could not do without the untouchable, the caste-Hindu absolved himself from those very rules which made him a caste-man. He took the line of least resistance and compromised with his beliefs. On the battlefield, when the untouchable was fighting by his side for a common cause, he was glad of him; in the market-place he would pass by on the other side, for fear lest his fellow's very shadow should defile him.

The question which naturally suggests itself is how such a system as this of caste could subsist. Doubtless you know that in its origin the caste-system, with its four divisions, was based, not upon such false prejudices as those which gave rise to the modern society of water-tight compartments, but upon principles of merit. In the Purusha Sukta there is a

parable which says, "The Brahmin is born from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaisya from the legs, the Sudra from the feet of the Primeval Male", i.e. the Brahmin is the mouthpiece, etc. This is illuminating, for it shows, figuratively, that the distinctions between one and another were those which we, in our time, base on the division of labour. A man attained to authority and respect among his fellows because of virtue that was in him. The system was elastic. Upon the recognition of merit and its due appraisal, every social system worthy of respect must rest. And in its origin the caste-system was nothing more, and certainly nothing less, than this. It was, in fact, based upon class, as well as on colour. It followed natural laws of evolution, and the fittest came to the top. Thus arose an aristocracy which depended upon its own inherent worth for power, and a man would be of high-caste or of low according to his intrinsic value. No one will quarrel with such a system, since it is that upon which any true society must depend. But as time went on, the distinctions which had arisen naturally became distorted under the influence of a human weakness which seems inevitable. No one can guarantee that because the father is worthy of authority, his son will be also. But his son will hardly recognise that. What came to his father by right of merit he will arrogate to himself by right of birth, and insist upon it if he can. I need not quote you chapter and verse to prove that. What I do wish you to notice is how false a principle it is, and that obedience to it is One of the chief causes of the growth of that social evil which I am urging you, with all my heart, to eradicate from our society. For who amongst you can fail to see that the original virtue of the caste-system has been lost because the lust for power has blinded men's eyes to human truths? When once a man, or a body of men, taste the sweet poison of power, it must go hard with them before they will loose their hold upon the cup. When all is said and done, is the caste-system, as we know it to-day, any more than an exemplification of this fact? For hundreds of years the process has been going on; tradition has warranted it; and kings have countenanced it. History shows us that under Brahmin kings, Brahmin ministers, or

weak men or women under Brahmin influence, have become powerful. The distinctions of caste have thereby become aggravated; the laws of the land have been directed to maintain the different grades of rights and privileges with the result that the caste-system has become ultimately so closely allied to political power as to depend upon it for its existence. But a system which is erected on so uncertain a basis must suffer reverse sometimes, and the caste—system, as history also proves, has so suffered. When Asoka introduced Dandasamata, or equality of punishment, and Vyavaharsamata, or equality in the eye of the law, he cut at the very roots of the caste-system; for that great king saw that such distinctions Were not only superfluous, but that they were a menace to social and political solidarity. Under the Brahmin Sungas came the inevitable reaction, which in its turn was considerably weakened under the tolerant rule of the Gupta kings. So the history of the caste-system unfolds itself, now strong, now weak, but never constant, until under the Muhammedans, and then under the English, no caste distinction has ever been recognised by the law.

Moreover, such a hypocritical idea of social relationship gave rise to practices which, in our time, have made it impossible for the caste-man to lead anything but a double-life. The belief that the Law of God commands the observance of distinctions between untouchable and caste-man is a falsification of history. Far from being according to divine law, such an observance is directly contrary to the true spirit of the Shastras. Nor is it in any way supported by reason. Instead, it is the direct outcome of the growth of superstition and ignorance, which have played havoc with the soundness of our social system. Like a canker, superstition has fed upon ignorance and corrupted the heart of man. So he has resorted to harmful practices; frankness and friendliness, qualities which are essential to the sound growth of any society, have given way to suspicion and mistrust.

The morale of the people has been sapped; and such a social tyranny has arisen as is an enormity in the eyes of the world.

We learn from history, too, that before us have realised the evil of untouchability, and attempts have been made in various

parts of India to abolish it. During the seventeenth century, Tukaram and Ramdas in the Deccan, Narsi Mehta and Mirabai in Gujrat, devoted their attention to it. When Buddhism was destroyed by the Muhammedans in the thirteenth century, and the monks and nuns had been massacred, the worshippers of Buddha found themselves in a precarious position. A large number of them became converts to Islam, because intercourse between Buddhists and Hindus, with their circumscribed vision, was impossible, since the Buddhist was, in the eye of the Hindu, untouchable. In the time of Akbar, however, Chaitanya, by a daring stroke, broke through the barrier, made the Buddhists Vaishnavas, gave them a uniform and special privileges, and so brought them within the Hindu fold. If in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries men saw the need for the abolition of these obstacles to social unity, how much more should we, who live at a time when the countries of the world are linked together by bonds which they could not have imagined?

Deprived of legal and civil privileges, yet determined to preserve their power, the Brahmins had recourse to the last refuge of the die-hard, they covered tradition with the sacrosanct cloak of religion. They forgot, or ignored, the origin of caste; they turned aside from patent merit; and they concentrated their energies upon a jealous preservation of a society which is palpably false. I do not wish to dwell too much upon the religious side of this problem, because it seems to me that it is not a religious matter, in the narrow sense of that word. Religion in its true sense is the relation between the individual and the supreme power. But when a body of men make a public stand in the name of religion, then it is time for us to take account of it. And what can be said for the maintenance of the caste-system under the name of religion? The highest caste-Hindu is surely no more a Hindu than the untouchable who professes the same beliefs. There is no religion more tolerant in its teachings, more all-embracing in its sympathies, than true Hinduism. Its truth, its beauty, are so real, simply because they are derived from, and satisfy the deepest needs of, humanity. It is a religion of humility; no man is cast out from it save by his own conduct. It is

portrayal of the growth of different stages of society. How then can we, if we sincerely believe in the truth which Hinduism teaches, make distinction between untouchable and high-caste, between Brahmin and Pariah? Who, believing, can dare to regard one man as out-cast, another as initiate? or who, save in the false and pharisaical pride of his own heart, dares to cast a stone at another, simply because he is not born a Brahmin? Gentlemen, I know that what I am saying is bold, and I mean it to be bold; I know that in asking these questions I am striking at the roots of a social system which has the sanction of centuries; but you will have missed the interpretation I have put upon the facts of history if you cannot see with me -that that sanction is false, and invalid. For we have to clear away the superstitions and the prejudices which, in the name of religion, have obscured the real nature of the problem we have set ourselves to solve. That nature is social, and all that I have said has been leading up to the realisation of that essential fact.

But before I indicate the way to correct this social evil, there is one aspect of untouchability to which I would draw your attention. It is true that we are chiefly concerned with abolishing the social disabilities under which fifty millions of our brethren suffer. These fifty millions are utterly outside the pale. But their shameless condition cannot be bettered unless we resolve at the same time to reform the caste-system itself. For within the pale there exist distinctions between man and man which are nothing less than an expression of this same idea of untouchability. There is no actual solidarity within the caste-system itself. There are circles within the major circle, and all of them are, basically, vicious. Consider for a moment the attitude of the caste-Hindu to marriage, to dining with his fellow-caste-men, and to similar elements of social intercourse. When a man refuses to allow his daughter to marry outside the cramping limits of a few families with whom, and with whom alone, he allows himself fully to associate, is he not branding a man whom she may wish to marry with the scar of untouchability? And if he will not dine with a fellow-caste-man, is he not calling him unclean? The arguments which are urged in defence of these degrees of untouchability within the caste-system itself are the same

as those which that system uses against those who are not part of it. And chief among them is tradition. Custom and habit have a strangle-hold upon society, which gasps for life in the fierceness of their grip. Pride walks stiffnecked among them. The low-caste man who passes the untouchable by in the market-place is in his turn spurned from the table of the man whose caste is higher than his. Gentlemen, this state of affairs would be laughable were it not so serious. For among the caste-men themselves are men of high character, spiritual men, men of intellect, artists, men who should be most quickly aware of the deepest truth of humanity. Yet are they bound by the traditions of their fathers. My father, they say, did not dine with your Esther, therefore I cannot dine with you; there has never been a marriage between our families, therefore I may not give my daughter in marriage to your son. These men of fine intelligence, who help us to understand the mysteries of the universe, these men can say to their reason, "thus far shalt thou go and no farther". They offer to explain the universe to us, yet, by their own conduct, deny the spirit of humanity which informs it. They attempt to justify the ways of God to man, yet, as Sir S. Radhakrishna asserted in his lecture a few days ago, they lose sight of the creature in their absorption in the Creator. The artists among them, who give us their interpretation of life simply because they are hypersensitive to the beatings of the human heart, these artists are apostate to the humanity they interpret when they obey the rules of caste. And just as we found that the caste-Hindu could conveniently forget the difference between himself and untouchable when it served his purpose to so, so do we find, on his own confession, will he compromise with his beliefs in inter-caste distinctions. The conscience which is capable of juggling with itself is not moving with the times, it is merely time- serving. Before, therefore, we can successfully help the untouchable without the pale, we must set our own house in order.

You will do nothing by hammering upon the gates of temples and demanding entry; you will be defeating your own ends if; as it were at the sword's point, you command men, whom the prejudice of centuries separates, to dine together. These

prejudices have to be overcome; but they can only be vanquished by a movement that emanates from the heart of man. The theories and the customs which have guided Hindu society for centuries have to be replaced by others more suited to the times. The whole temper of our countrymen must be remoulded if we are to succeed in effectively removing this crying evil. It is humanity we have to establish and it is in the name of humanity that I ask you to go forth with me, and our chief ally, reason.

The way to banish prejudice is by reawaking the minds of men. When the relation of the untouchable to the caste-Hindu is seen in the light of reason, it appears so impossible that we wonder how, in an age which is in many ways so enlightened, we can tolerate such an anomaly. In an age when men are, comparatively, educated; an age in which the world is linked by bonds of which our ancestors seven centuries ago could not have dreamed; an age in which the bounds of society have expanded even beyond the limits of nationality; we, in India, not only tolerate the existence of a caste-system which facts show to be effect, and incomprehensible to people outside India, but we even fight for the retention of that system which is a stumbling-block in our path to national self-consciousness. If we stand aside and watch this evil go uncorrected, we are guilty of betraying our trust. We cannot avoid that charge, unless we are ready to spend ourselves selflessly in the cause of our common humanity. The education of the people should be a potent force in the achievement of our object. But education is not enough. I need hardly remind you that the very class which for centuries has been responsible for the maintenance of these false social distinctions is that which has had the monopoly of education. It is the old story of the tyranny of the priesthood over again. All their learning, all their enlightenment, has been directed to the exclusion of the untouchables from the precious heritage of the brotherhood of man. If we warp our education to such a use, we were better without it; but if we use it as it should be used, it will lead us towards our goal. For, equipped with a right mind, you, and especially the younger amongst you, should go forth

amongst the people on that mission of social service in which their salvation lies. I have often heard it said, as an argument against the granting of social equality to the untouchable, that he is not fit to take his place in society. But so specious an argument cannot stand for one moment in the light of reason. If a man is down, is that a reason why we should not help him up? or are poverty, and the misery which poverty entails, necessarily a proof that a man has not a noble spirit? It is perfectly true that before the untouchables can fully realise equality of social position they have much to learn; but that is just where we can serve them best. No decrees establishing their social rights will be of any use to them unless we help them to take advantage of those rights. In Erewhon, Samuel Butler tells us, the people looked upon ill-health as a crime, and crime as a disease, so that they condemned a young man with pulmonary consumption to imprisonment for life, while a man who had embezzled a widow's pittance was the object of their sympathetic commiseration. That satirical shaft might be aimed with good effect at the caste-system in India; and we, if we lend our tacit consent to the social ostracism of a man whose sole crime is that he was not born a Brahmin, are guilty of his social murder. I hope I have made the nature of the problem sufficiently clear to you, and the way in which I think it must be solved. It is first and foremost a social question. The cry that is raised, that to destroy the caste-barriers is to destroy religion, is ridiculous. That cry was raised when Lord Bentinck abolished the practice of Sati; it was raised again when the age of consent was raised in British India; it always will be raised when the preserves of one particular class are raided. All religions are in effect ethical codes, they exist to direct the moral conduct of the people. The ethic of Hinduism is noble because it is a social ethic. It is not the preserve of one class, but the heritage of all who believe in its precepts. It is, moreover, a moral code the true greatness of which is admirably suited to our needs today, since it transcends modern caste differences.

The way before us is obvious, Gentlemen. Every facility must be given to the untouchables to enable them to take that

place which is due to them as men. You know that I have opened the doors of education to them. I have founded schools; and I have caused hostels to be built in which they may enjoy the society of their fellows. Scholarships have been created to enable them to take advantage of University education. I have visited their homes, and have observed for myself their way of life. It is, therefore, from the profound conviction of personal experience that I urge upon you the necessity for affording the untouchable every opportunity; so that all men may meet together freely; that their relations with one another may be frank, and honest; and that they may go hand in hand, as equals, down the path of life. I do not wish to see them down-trodden; for, as I have stressed, it is an insult to reason to spurn them simply because they are less fortunate in the circumstances of their birth than other men; it is a denial of manhood to regard them as inherently unworthy.

A nation cannot be stronger than the weakest of the people comprising it, as a chain is only as strong as the weakest of its links. If we realise this, and act upon what our reason perceives to be true, we shall achieve the flowering of the spirit of brotherhood from within. We shall have come nearer to the unity we desire, and without which we cannot exist; and we shall, as we all should strive to do, leave the world a better place for having lived in it.



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In the Durbar of the 17th March 1933, when he entered upon his 71st year.



GENTLEMEN,— I wish to speak a few words to-day, suitable to the occasion. To these you will kindly listen, and think of them with due discrimination and indulgence, like the swan, which is reported to have the power of discriminating milk from water.

To-day is my seventy-first birthday. I know that all of you have thought it, in your heart of hearts, a unique occasion in my life. That gives me great delight; but at the same time I must remind you of the words of an English poet who sings telling us that the worth and value of a life are not measured in years but by meritorious deeds. Is a short life devoted to the emancipation of mankind praise-worthy, or a prolonged life dissipated in luxuries?

I have to request you to-day to scrutinise and examine the life of your Ruler dispassionately by the criterion I have given you, remembering at the same time the weakness which flesh is heir to. You may form your opinion with skill; and if you point out my shortcomings, do not think that I shall discard your views.

Inspired by the above ideal I have come to this conclusion that, remaining away from you and loaning an opinion regarding the condition of the people on the report of others and trying to find out new methods for improving the lot of the people is a very difficult, even an impossible and futile

task. Instead of that, I understand that to be always amidst the people, to study, watch and understand their wants, sentiments and grievances— so that I can correctly and easily understand the situation—to allow the meanest and poorest of my people easy access to me to ventilate his woes, is a much better method. There were two principal reasons which actuated me to seek the maximum of personal contact with people:

- (1) A true perspective of the condition of the people through their so-called leaders is generally misleading. The picture of misery or difficulty drawn by a third party cannot be as correct as that drawn by the sufferer. Close and direct contact gives ample scope for discovering the misery; and the need of the people: but it is not possible to do so every day and in every affair.
- (2) I thus get a chance of testing men by my own standard—be they of any caste, age, religion, occupation or condition. This process leads me to discover the really good men who choose to remain in obscurity. And long experience tells me that knowledge, riches, power, wisdom and such other qualities are not given by Providence as a monopoly to any individual or class. Those who keep their eyes open easily detect such worthy souls. There is also that fear that with the real diamonds, counterfeit jewels may be smuggled in, and it is that fear which teaches me to come in direct touch with the people.

In this connection, I hope to tell you my personal views. Politicians and statesmen may carry on controversies on the question, which form of government is the best, and may write very learned books. To-day the world displays a number of different forms of Government; I do not intend to enter into their strength and weakness. Which form of Government is desirable mostly depends on local conditions. But this much is absolutely sure, that if a king has noble ideals to guide him and if he constantly studies the good of his people, an absolute monarchy will be the best form of Government; because in that case there is always a soft corner in the heart of the king for his people, whom he loves as his own offspring. If such a king seeks direct touch and contact with

the people, it is impossible to conceive of a better form of government.

After thus revealing my ideal to you, I will not hesitate to tell you that direct contact with the people has immensely benefited me. I have known and, heard much, and the store of my experience has wonderfully increased. I have been able to know the good folk of my State, and I hope I shall still know of more. I do not sit content, knowing these people, but I make their names public in this Durbar. My aims in so doing are these: Those worthy people who have stood the test will be rewarded by a good conscience, and their good name will be known. Others will try to vie with them, and so will advance the welfare of the people.

In this connection, there is a Sanskrit verse: "Long live that clever king, who like a gardener replants those that have been dug up, collects those that have blossomed, nourishes those that are young, bends those that have shot up too much, raises those that are bent, separates those that are thorny, and waters those that show signs of fading." This is the standard kept before me while framing rules for the appreciation of services rendered to the State.

In matters of appreciation, my policy is not a narrow one, confined to my officers only. Provision has already been made in the rules for recognising merits in the people too. At the same time I may tell you of another thing. It is that in assessing the value of decorations, you must give your thought to the sentiment behind it. You all know that the British Government award the Victoria Cross only to those who serve their country at great risk of their lives. Though the actual price of the metal of that decoration be very insignificant, yet soldiers prize it so covetously that life counts as nothing. I therefore pray that the decorations which I give should not be valued by their market value but by the sentiments of my heart.

I am not prepared to accept the theory that one can serve his country only by means of arms. There are many ways to serve humanity. Those great men of the world whose names have been indelibly engraved in the hearts of the people did not all belong to the military caste. Those who serve either in

administration or outside are all great men. They serve the country, they serve humanity. Those who inspired by bitterness, or enraged by fanaticism, sacrifice their lives are to my mind no true servants. I attach the greatest importance to those only who serve mankind, forgetting and sinking all differences, and while determining the worth of men I always try to consider the services of officers of all departments whom I consider conscientious; to find out those who spend their money in supplying men's primary needs; such as education and health; to note the labours of those who remove religious dissensions, and demolish evil customs, shackles, and superstitions; to discover the enterprise of leaders of commerce and industry who effect a silent revolution in the world and those who by pioneering in agriculture enrich the life of their fellows.

Nor do I forget the work done by those who try to preserve the Arts and develop them, and who devote themselves to high pursuits of the mind; and I seek to reward the genius of writers, orators, poets and other literary people whose contribution to the welfare of mankind is never insignificant.

Without further dilating upon the subject, I shall only say that I never forget- while in India or abroad- those individuals, those mighty souls, who give a large contribution of their powers, efforts and feelings, either in administrative activities or public activities of human welfare. Therefore, though to-day I claim to have seen seventy summers, I still maintain and reiterate my firm conviction that it is never too late to learn, and that there is always room for improvement for every human being. It is therefore that if I fail to find out some really good and deserving men for reasons beyond human control I have asked my officers to bring them to my notice.



*On the Presentation of Addresses by various Institutions of the City of Bombay,
18th March 1933.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — Representatives of the various institutions which have honoured me this afternoon. There are times in a man's life when the emotions that thrill his heart are so intense that it is impossible to express them in the common medium of words. Try as one may to catch these emotions, to crystallise them into speech, the inward truth of them is as elusive as a shadow. That is true of me today. On such an occasion as this my mind inevitably goes back to the other receptions which have been given to me in Bombay, from that which took place when the late King Edward came to Bombay as Prince of Wales, down to this present; and I find that the great kindness which has prompted you to invite me to receive your address, and the warm sincerity of your congratulations on this my seventieth birthday, leave and must leave me poor in thanks. So full have you filled my heart with gratitude that I can only say "I thank you"; and ask you with your imagination to piece out the imperfection of my thoughts. For that heart would be dead indeed which did not, as mine most sincerely does, go out to you for the generous affection with which you have received me.

You have very kindly referred to the efforts which I have made during my reign to improve conditions in my own State, and to further the welfare of India as a whole. I am grateful to you for your appreciation of what I have done. Such acts

have not been easy: the difficulties have been great; and the work entailed ceaseless and exacting. Such appreciation as you have given to me today means a great deal to me, for the sympathetic understanding of what one has done is always a great encouragement to further endeavour. I believe I am conscious of my own limitations, yet I can honestly say that in all my works have been inspired, not by any mean idea of self-glorification, but by a constant desire to serve my people. They are a most precious trust; and as I have been placed over them, so it has been my unswerving principle to rule them for their good.

I do not wish, nor would it be becoming in me, to trouble you with a detailed account of the achievements of my reign. But it is a very natural thing for a man on his birthday to look back upon the years through which he has lived, and to take stock of them. And now that I have reached my three score years and ten, more than fifty of which have been spent in the arduous business of government, I think, I may be pardoned if I, too, look out over the past, to find the pattern, if there be any, in it, to study its lessons, and to search its meaning. I can think of no better expression of my thanks to you than in sharing with you the thoughts which arise from such a study; because in the accumulated experience and wisdom of the years there lies, perhaps, the star which is to guide us in the future.

From my earliest years I have always held firmly the opinion that no solid achievement can be made unless those, in authority have the goodwill of the people. Without that goodwill, any laws which may be made will be in the nature of impositions. The laws may be good, but unless they are willingly obeyed by the people, much of their virtue will be lost. For a law should be regarded, not as a restriction upon individual liberty, but as an aid to the realisation of that liberty in society. When I came to my throne I saw a great gulf fixed between it and the people who should look to it for help and guidance. I seemed by my position at the head of the State to be cut off from the units that compose it. Such a position I at once saw precluded any attempts which I might wish to make to benefit my people and make Baroda a

prosperous and well-governed kingdom; it was untenable, and therefore it must be relinquished. Without the goodwill of the people I knew that I could not be successful; so that the first problem I had to solve was how to gain that goodwill, how to make it intelligent. To achieve this I studied my people intently. By travelling amongst them and meeting men of every degree, I came to know their difficulties; and with a sympathetic and loving heart I set myself to bridge the gulf that had to be crossed.

So it was that I began to formulate that educational policy which, I am happy to say, has served the purpose for which it was inaugurated. My hope lay, as it always must lie, in the younger generation. The fog of ignorance in which their fathers, and their fathers' fathers, had blindly groped, had to be dispersed before the ideals which I had set before me could be reached. For only by the light of understanding could I hope to win their sympathy, and without that sympathy I could not go on. You have mentioned in your address the important fact that, at the time of my accession, India stood at the dawn of a new era in her history. Half a century ago he would have been a prophet indeed who could have foretold what that dawn's noontide would be. But had such a prophet arisen, I think that the first condition that he would have laid down for the fulfilment of his prophecy would have been the education—in the widest sense of the word—of the people.

For what I saw many years ago to be the necessary condition of uplift in my State, time has proved to be the condition essential to the realisation of Indian nationhood. I have been enabled to do what I have done in Baroda State largely because my educational policy has made it possible for my people to understand the varied steps I have taken to improve their lot. Looking abroad, beyond the bounds of my State, beyond the bounds of India, I was able to understand the condition of my people at home. It became clear to me that no sure progress could be made until many of the social and religious customs and superstitions which impeded their path had been cleared away; and it is because many of my subjects have at least approximated to my own views on social reforms that Baroda

has become the progressive State that it is to-day. In this sense I think I am not exaggerating when I call Baroda a microcosm of India; or shall I say, of the ideal India? At least it is true to say that the reforms which I have introduced into my State are those of which the whole of India stands in most need at the present day. These are too well known to you to need specific mention. That to which I would draw your attention is the spirit in which they have been made. It is the spirit of co-operation. If I had stood alone I could have accomplished very few of those works upon which you have congratulated me to-day, and even those which I might have accomplished would have been insecure. But I have been happy in securing an ever-widening circle of educated and large-hearted men and women around me whose sympathy with my endeavours has led them to work with me for the common good. This, surely, is what India needs to-day; a willingness to sink particular differences in the cause of the general good, and a readiness to co-operate in the great work which lies before us. It seems to me to be so much the need, the 'sine qua non' of responsible government, that I believe nothing of permanent value to India can be gained until the spirit of co-operation is everywhere infused.

Those then are some of the lessons which fifty years of government have taught me. It remains for me to find a pointer for the future from the same retrospective glance. That pointer, Ladies and Gentlemen, I can give you in due word—Service. If my long reign has taught me anything it is this, that the noblest ideal a man can set himself is that of devoting himself without stint to the service of his fellows. In all that I have done I have striven constantly to keep before me that ideal. I have worked not for myself alone, nor for those who are my subjects now, but for those who will come after me. And though my efforts have inevitably been confined largely to my own State I hope that they will have been not without significance for the rest of India. Such has been my ideal, and such I hope is yours, and that of all who have the cause of responsible nationhood at heart. It is not an ideal which is easily attained; no man, perhaps, has ever succeeded in wholly reaching it; but it is, nevertheless, the noblest ideal I know.

Without it, no man is fit to take his place in society, nor worthy of the benefits which society confers upon him. I have told you that I look upon education as the foundation upon which society must be built, and education is very largely, of course, a realisation of one's own individual powers. But if that realisation is accompanied by a narrow determination to use those powers for personal ends, then it falls very far short of its inherent virtue. For selflessness and not selfishness must be a man's aim if he is to serve his fellow-men truly and faithfully. So many of these hindrances to responsible government exist simply because of this failure to look beyond the narrow scope of one's own desire to that which will be of service to all. A man who stands for the particular interests of his community against the particular interests of another, and contrary to the ultimate good of both, is no less criminally selfish than the man who, to fill his own pocket; deprives the poor of bread: You will not hesitate to condemn the latter, but you may exalt the former even to martyrdom. Therein lies the danger, the danger of all such myopic views, of selfishness masquerading as service. When I look back and see the obstacles which stood in the way of my policy of reform, and remember how many differing factors I had to take into account before I could be allowed to serve my people, it is strongly borne in upon my mind that successfully to attain to the ideal of service a man must above all things be level-headed. Doctrinaire ideas will as like as not mislead him. Though he should keep his eye upon the star of his ideal, his feet should be planted firmly upon the earth. He must see things clearly as they are, for only so will he be able ultimately to see them as he would like them to be.

That is the message I would give you for the future. Living as you do in one of the finest cities of India your opportunities for service are great, and I hope that what I have said will stimulate you to use them. It only remains for me to thank you once again for the honour you have done me this day, and for this handsome volume which, as you have caused it to be written as a memorial to me, be assured I shall cherish in happy and affectionate memory of you.



*In reply to an Address presented by the Maratha –samaj, Poona,
20th March 1933.*



SHRIMANT KHASHE SAHEB, RAO BAHADUR PATIL, AND BELOVED BROTHERS AND SISTERS, — I beg permission to speak sitting. I am so doing not on the score of being a ruler or a wealthy person, but because my health does not permit me to speak while standing.

Your address and speeches have given me a good idea of the work you are doing. It is a very useful work, and I wish that you should continue it further.

You must, however, widen your vision. You must not be like the frog in the well. You must try to come in contact with other countries. Study various institutions of advanced nations. Look to their industries; think of their work. Try to raise yourselves by imitating them. Like them, we must be united in our efforts; so only will they bring success. I feel confident that a study of foreign countries, especially with regard to their feelings of nationalism, their ways of life, and their social institutions will do us much good.

It is no use encouraging one particular caste only. Caste and country are as intimately connected as the fingers and the hand. All fingers are not of the same length or strength, yet all of them combined form a strong fist. The backward classes deserve special attention. But in this respect one must have a sense of proportion, and realise that undue help does more harm than good. Advancement should be effected

not only in one caste; it should be uniform in all castes and classes. A good commander alone does not insure success; the soldiers also whom he commands must be good; they must possess the intelligence to obey the commands given to them. In the present times, as all castes are not on an equal footing, some of them require special help. In my own State I encourage diverse castes like the Dhreds, Kolis (fishermen) and Chambhars (shoe-makers). But while so doing I take care to see that they are helped only in proportion to their need; and when this due proportion is maintained one may safely neglect as ignorance what folk say out of envy or jealousy. Just as a body cannot function well unless its different organs are sound, so also our nation cannot thrive unless its constituent castes are made strong.

We can visualise our country as she was some three centuries ago: and the position we Marathas gained in it by the sword. We must now show prowess in the fields of learning, art, and industry. I believe from what I have seen to-day that you are doing so.

Through preoccupation with various things I had forgotten that I am meeting you again after twenty-five years. I am not a stranger to Poona. I feel that I am one of you. In historical times our ancestors went out from this province to Gujrat to make their fortune, and there they stayed as permanent residents. Even now our own Valor: villages are only twenty or thirty miles from Poona. Naturally, then, we feel a sort of affection for Poona, and a feeling of brotherly love for the Poona Marathas. I belong to your district.

The Marathas have a tendency to absorb other cultures. The physical and mental constitution of these people collect Aryan as well as Dravidian tendencies. Just as the Maratha race has produced great wielders of the sword, so has it produced saints like Tukaram, social reformers like Fule, actors like Keshavrao Bhosle, kings of advanced view like Shahu Chhatrapati. The Maharashtrians have absorbed various other groups, having different customs, different vocations and different dialects. If this tendency is continued, it will add considerably to their strength as well as numbers.

Mere increase in numbers has no value. Even now our caste has greater numerical strength than any other caste- unit in

the whole of Maharashtra. But its wealth and intellect, one has to confess sadly, are in inverse proportion-to its numbers. The chief reason of this lies in the fact that the martial talents of this class have not been given opportunities to develop. When such opportunities to show their martial skill were offered to the Marathas, they have proved themselves inferior to none of the other martial races of India. But in the absence of these opportunities, our condition has become like that of a fish out of water. We must always bear in mind that a true Kshatriya (warrior) needs intellectual as well as physical strength.

Every individual tries to succeed in the struggle for life, by adjusting himself to his environment. This principle is applicable to society also. Under the influence of changing times, the Maratha, who formerly depended upon his strength, has now to depend upon his intellect. And various efforts are directed to this aim. Privileges like special schools, hostels, scholarships and others are being given to them with a view to make them successful in this struggle. It is, however, obvious that such help should be given and taken only as long as they are not self-dependent. It is just like the toy-wheel used by children; it may make them lame if it is used to excess. The Brahmin to whom begging was allowed as a means to learning has now turned the means into an end. And when we look to the deplorable condition to which they have reduced themselves, we can well be proud of ourselves, when we know that our intellectual advance is due to our own efforts.

It is likely that Indians will soon be appointed to greater numbers of military posts, and the dormant martial qualities of the Maratha race will again be kindled; it is to be hoped that their present struggle for high revenue posts will stop, and that their sphere will be greatly widened.

In ancient times education was entirely in the hands of Brahmins; it was the duty of the Kshatriyas to rule and to fight. For priestly work both learning and study were necessary. Knowledge is power, and strength does not mean merely physical strength. Strength is preserved by shrewdness and wisdom, that is by education and learning.

Physical and intellectual excellence are good, not only for a particular community, But for all. It should never be the case that bravery is the quality of the Kshatriyas alone. Martial excellence and bravery must be spread among the Brahmins as well as other castes. Do not let us emphasise hereditary and caste-excellence to the detriment of other virtues. We must realise that the good of others is our good; that the happiness of others is our happiness; that the prosperity of others is our prosperity. All should entertain brotherly feelings towards each other, and all should try to do good to their country by identifying their own woe or welfare with that of others. If an individual makes efforts, the family prospers; if the family makes them, the caste prospers; if the caste makes them, the province prospers; if the province prospers, the country prospers, It is obvious that if a family tries to raise itself without hurting other families, then the caste prospers. In the same way, if a caste tries to make progress without hampering other castes, then the province, and ultimately the country, prosper. The Marathas should have this broad vision before them, that the uplift of India is the real end, and that the uplift of their own caste is a means to that end. If this is done, it is certain that they will be able to offer to history deeds of self-sacrifice and service worthy of their great past. All my efforts are directed towards this goal. I never think about a man as a Maratha, or a Brahmin, or as Bania, or as a Deccani, or Gujrati, or Kanari, but I try to encourage the progress of all communities alike.

I am very glad to see that Mr Jagtap is managing an institution like the Shivaji Maratha High School. Mr Jagtap was a soldier in the Baroda army, and it gives me great pleasure to see that he is utilising the experience gained there to good purpose: that he is using his own knowledge for the uplift of others. I feel that people like him will be greatly helped in their work if they get experience and knowledge of systems of education in other countries. I sincerely congratulate him on his work, and hope for the ever-increasing prosperity of this institution.

Lastly I express my most sincere gratitude for the great honour which you have done me. As one of you, let me take leave of you by expressing my wishes that your Society will work for the all-round development of the Maratha community, and will set an excellent example of self-sacrifice for the future, following in the steps of our ancestors, who made great sacrifices in the service of their mother-land.



At the Reception held by various Institutions at the Tilak-Mandir, Poona, 21st March 1933.



BROTHERS AND SISTERS — As it is sunset the light is getting dim and I am not able to see you all. Your various head-dresses and apparel, however, give me the delight as of looking at a garden with many-coloured flowers. I am thankful for the honour you have done me. I am almost overcome by this display of affection on your part, and I find no adequate words to express myself. People superior to me in experience and learning have spoken before me, and I do not feel confident that I can say anything new. I am, however, trying to place before you a few thoughts of mine.

The progress of a nation requires that its people should be educated. Knowledge is a necessity of man? It instils in him a desire to question and to investigate, which leads him on the path of progress. Education, in the broadest sense, must be spread everywhere. With this end in view, I started various reforms in my State. We cannot say that the education in this country is really good. I do not propose to talk about it just now, as this is not the occasion. Progress can only be achieved by the spread of education. Co-operation is necessary to achieve any worthy end; and this readiness to co-operate will not be found in a people if they are not educated. What little I have done in the field of reform and useful public work is based upon the three principles of (1) public education, (2) the co-operation and sympathy of the public, and (3) unselfish

social service. If the administration is to succeed, the ryots must possess understanding, knowledge and efficiency in their own work. A good king alone can do nothing. The subjects also, down to the poorest, must be educated. Education weakens the forces of partiality, jealousy, and difference of opinion; and so leads to the progress of the country.

All this honour, which I receive from the Poona public to-day, I take as honour to the principles for which I stand. It is the principle that matters, and not the person. All this work has caused me some trouble, but nothing worth doing is done without it. I always hold that wealth is well spent only when it is spent in achieving good things. The work that I have done could be done only with the cooperation of my officers and subjects. I never claim that all I have done is good. I may even have been disappointed in various ways. But it would not be an exaggeration to say that my work has been largely successful in achieving the results intended. All my work, however, is of the nature of a seed. If the sprout is well nourished by the workers to come, it will bear good fruit. I hope that my successors will carry on my work after me. I have tried to educate them as far as possible; and I feel confident that they will put it to good use.

When I say that I had not time to learn even up to the fifth or sixth form, need not be taken as flattering myself ! How could I efficiently carry on the administration with so small an intellectual equipment? Even a ruler must possess the necessary fund of knowledge for his tasks. In the absence of that, one should not expect him to do his duty well. A king may well become a student, for the sake of knowledge. Of course his studies should not be merely literary: they should also embrace fields like those of general conduct in life. Similarly a broad education is necessary to strengthen both the society and the nation

The good Government of a State requires that its ruler as well as its subjects should be properly educated. However great the ambitions of a ruler may be, the power, which he transfers to his subjects, will be useless, if they are not able to recognise their responsibility, and to appreciate what they have received. They must be endowed with ability to recognise

their personal and social responsibility, and to do their duty. The ruler has to look to the grievances of all. His subjects, in their turn, must do their own duty. If the king has his own duties, the subjects also have their own: If they swerve from the path of duty, the king will find it difficult to rule. The ruler and the ruled must understand each other: the ruler should make himself acquainted with the difficulties of all his subjects, from the highest to the lowest, by mixing with them; the subjects, on the other hand, should help the ruler by co-operating with him.

More theoretical constitutions, or those which are blind imitations of Western ones, will not serve our purpose. The constitution of a country depends upon various circumstances: the condition of a country, its area, the monetary, physical, mental and intellectual condition of its inhabitants, and many such things. If a tree should grow well, its branches must be pruned; the same should be done in the case of human institutions. While effecting these pruning processes one has to face much criticism. But one has always to keep before him the people's good, disregarding the temptation of cheap popularity. It is with this view that I carry on my own administration.

There are different views of what a king should be; some of them are quite erroneous. Some, for example, feel glad if a ruler gets no sleep: they wish that he should be always awake! A king has to give great care to his health; for he has to bear a greater responsibility than others. I do not mean that a king should lead a luxurious life: but extraordinary things should not be expected of him. There is also a superstition that a king will have no old age. That this is a mistake, you can easily see for yourselves. The life of a king, like any other normal life, is subject to the changes of youth, old age and so on. If, therefore, his services are to be utilised by the subjects, they will do well to ensure a comfortable life for their king.

I feel that India is in need of federation, if she is to attain her national goal. Every national unit should willingly subject itself to a lower position for the sake of federation, looking to the general good of the country. If India has the power to

chalk out her own future, she should, I think, agree to a federal constitution. Though I am a lover of progress, I am not attracted merely by the name of progress; I stand for progress in a really sensible manner. Do not let yourself be led by a false pride; you must take the next step by knowing the fact that political constitution is the combined result of technique and art. We are good at talking; but our people cannot stand together in times of difficulty. How long can we continue in this way? Our people appear incapable of strong reform. If there is progress, it must endure; it must be well digested; our intellectual and mental powers must be strengthened for that purpose. If federation is likely to bring progress and prosperity to India, it must certainly be welcomed. It would not much matter if an individual State has to suffer for the sake of the general good. For the sake of federation, small States will have to be grouped together. I leave it to your judgment, if it is possible to establish an independent legislature and a supreme court in every small State. Yet if we accept federation blindly, it will be like playing with it. And the right to mould the future of the federation only will ensure success.



At a visit to the Huzur Paga Girl's School, Poona, 22nd March 1933.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I should like to congratulate the Dewan Bahadur on the lucid' manner in which he has traced the history of this school, explained the nature of the work which is being done here, and recounted the successes which have already been achieved. The energy and intellectual clearness which, in spite of very advanced age, you have maintained, Sir, fill me with admiration. I cannot hope to compete with you in effective speech-making; but while I was going over the school, and now while I have been listening to your speech, Several ideas have suggested themselves to me, and I should like, in a few words, to put them before you.

First of all, let me compliment the conductors of this school on the excellent work which they are doing, and assure them that what I have seen of the class-work has made a very favourable impression upon me. And secondly, I congratulate you, the pupils of this school, on your smart and healthy appearance. I would urge you ever to keep in 'mind those by whose efforts you are privileged to enjoy the advantages of education, remembering what you owe to them, whose constant care is your intellectual and physical welfare.

From the speech of the Dewan Saheb I understand that the school is making a new departure in starting extension classes, and I find myself completely in accord with the views and plans of the Council of the Maharashtra Girls' Education

Society in this respect. But there is one suggestion I would make; that in the proposed syllabus for the extension classes, the vitally important subject of childrearing be included. The Secretary of the Society has just informed me that this subject is already included, and I, therefore, willingly withdraw my criticism. My error will have served a purpose if it impresses upon you what I feel to be the great importance of proper education in the welfare of infants and children. For more than a century, Indians, with their ancient and distinct civilisation, have been living, through the will of Providence, in close contact with the people of a Western country, representing modern civilisation of the most advanced type.

Such a contact cannot but influence both the parties, and as education is so largely a matter of influences, we, in India, cannot pay too close attention to the educational problems which our contact with Western civilisation has created; The English people have their good and bad points, and so have we Indians. Whatever the proportion of good to bad may be, neither the Indian nor the Englishman can help assimilating, to a greater or less degree, the qualities, habits and manners of the other. But the part of a wise and prudent man is to adopt the desirable, and to avoid the undesirable aspects of the people associated with him. And further, in taking even the desirable features, it is most necessary to take care that they are not slavishly copied and unnaturally incorporated with one's life. It is very essential, if unfortunate consequences are to be prevented, that the mode of life and the ideas which we accept be suitably adapted to our environment, and, consequently, to the mould in which our race is cast. This is very often lost sight of, and it is, therefore, not surprising that for a long time, people brought up in native traditions have hesitated to allow to the women of India the advantages of literary education, especially when they have seen the ludicrous results of English manners and customs on the part of a few rash, unthinking individuals. However, the prejudices, which have arisen in that way, are gradually passing, and it is a matter of congratulation that Indians have at last begun to realise the advantages of giving sound education to women.

But in order that these advantages may be real, it is necessary to think out a programme of women's education that will be best suited to Indian conditions. Only in this way can we be sure that the masses will become reconciled to the idea of having educated wives. Under the old Indian system, the responsibility of managing the household, except only in the culinary duties, fell upon the head of the family. This was in addition to his proper function, namely, earning means of livelihood for his family. Domestic economy, including the physical, intellectual and moral nurture of children and the nursing of the sick, should, with great benefit to the fortune of the family, be a burden shouldered by the lady of the house. She it is who is best fitted by nature to discharge such functions. Once this important distinction between the duties of husband and wife is realised and practised, there will be a natural division of labour in the family, and each partner in the family will be doing that part of the whole work to which his or her natural aptitudes are best suited. So long as this is not the case, women will remain diffident and shy, and their natural growth will be dwarfed.

To remove this long-existing defect in the system of Indian life, it is necessary to adopt the European custom of putting the girls through a well-devised course of education. The woman it is who should be the ruler of the house; and when she has received her proper position and dignity in the household, she will not only become conscious of her own powers, but will also realise how difficult and important the work is which the men have been doing hitherto. The misgivings of some people about women's education" on the ground that an educated woman will develop a slighting attitude towards her partner in life is baseless. On the contrary, the result of proper education of our women-folk will be greater mutual respect between husband and wife.

The curriculum of the proposed extension classes, comprising, as it does, scientific instruction in those subjects calculated to help in the efficient administration of a household for women who have received literary education up to the University entrance, and even a higher standard, is that which is best calculated to further the cause of Indian

womanhood, and I sincerely appreciate the energy which has led you to formulate it. With similar ideals I founded an institution for women in my own State; and it is a matter of disappointment to me that neither the advanced classes among the Hindus nor even the Parsees looked kindly on the scheme. The institution had, therefore, to be closed, and the very able European lady who had been placed at its head sent away. I sincerely hope that this venture of the Maharashtra Girls' Education Society will have a better fate. I shall be greatly interested in its fortunes. Though my own State is geographically distant from Maharashtra, I look upon both as inter-connected parts of the Indian community as a whole, and I shall be extremely pleased to learn of the success of this new feature of the school, especially with a view to copying it in my State, and taking hints from the conduct of it in Poona.

Finally I wish you every success in the future career of your school, which has already won golden opinions from all sorts of people; I warmly thank the Council, and especially you, Mr President, for the warm reception you have given to Her Highness the Maharani, the young Princess and myself, and for giving us this opportunity of seeing the splendid work which the school is doing.



At the Presentation of an Address by the Suburban Municipality, Poona, 18th April 1933.



DR DA GAMA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I congratulate the Poona Suburban Municipality on their short and elegant address. It is beautifully worded; and I thank you for all you have said in it about me.

Dr da Gama has referred to the facilities which Christians received from the old Hindu Rulers of Poona. I may remind Dr da Gama and you; Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Christian people, who colonised here in the beginning, were originally Hindus. If we study the history of their names, their customs, and their manners, we will find that they resemble those of the Hindus. In my opinion, we, whether Hindus, Jains, Parsis, Christians or Muhammedans, are all one, and are the children of the same God. The underlying principles of different religions are the same. Backward as we are in point of education, we attach too much importance to external forms and labels, but do not - see that oneness. The chief principles of all religions are the same, though their labels are different. Is there any religion which tells you not to love your neighbour or not to lead a moral and virtuous life? The spread of religion and scientific knowledge will result in removing some of our class-prejudices and bringing home to us, the unity that underlies God's whole creation. Let us recognise this and strive for our common objective, the good of the Indian people. In my opinion, the real religion consists not so much in going

to temples or churches as in doing good to our fellow- creatures. In short, service to humanity is the true glory of any religion.

We have so many religions in India that we must ask "Which is true religion? What superstition?" All seek power for life; but some lack proportion and harmony. I wish my own people to study other religions, and take good ideas and ideals wherever they find them.

Let us get rid of excitement and passion; and, with a calm and reasonable mind, find the same middle path, avoiding extremes and, above all: avoiding bitter sectarianism. No one in his right mind will persecute a Christian for following Christ or a Buddhist for treading the Middle Path of Sakyamuni, But when people start making exclusive and extravagant claims, passion is aroused and reason fails to rule. All religions contain good and all, alas! contain some evil: and by their fruits they must be judged.



*At a Reception by the East India Association, London,
21st July 1933.*



LORD LAMINGTON, SIR SAMUEL HOARE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I must, in the first place, say how grateful I am to the East India Association for the honour it has done me in inviting me to be its chief guest this afternoon. As my old friend, Lord Lamington, has reminded you, I have been connected with the Association for over thirty years; and I have watched with much gratification the steady growth of its influence in this country and in India. If I may say so, the Association has rendered, and is rendering, valuable service to both countries. It provides a common platform on which Englishmen and Indians can meet and exchange views on important questions of the day, in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding; and through its journal and its meetings it has helped to create an instructed public opinion on Indian questions. I need not remind you that India has 330 million people with an ancient heritage. We are studying your heritage and institutions. Will you not study ours? Partnership implies mutual respect and understanding. Would that there were more such institutions both in India and England!

Secondly, I am sure I am only giving expression to your feelings when I say how sincerely we appreciate the presence of Sir Samuel Hoare with us. The Secretary of State for India has at all times a difficult task: but today, with the momentous issues involved in the framing of a new constitution for India,

the office carries with it a burden of responsibility which, I venture to say, is as arduous as any under the Crown. We recognise, in his presence, evidence of his interest in the great work which the Association is doing.

Sir Samuel Hoare's presence here possesses a deeper significance: it is an evidence of the increasing recognition of the position which the Indian States occupy in the Commonwealth. If I may be pardoned a personal note, during all my fifty-five years of public life, I have endeavoured to obtain for the Indian States their rightful place in the polity of India. And if I have fought for their rights I have never ceased to insist on their duties. Let us insist on both rights and duties. Federation without Frustration: Development without Domination: let this be our motto. A partnership of free peoples—this is the Commonwealth. To me, therefore, it is a gratification that in the constitution that is now being set up for India the fundamental principle has been recognised of an All-India Federation, in which Indian States shall have their legitimate share in the formulation and execution of policies which will affect the well-being of India as a whole. For many years I have been convinced that it is only along these lines that a proper solution can be found for India's problems, and that the edifice of a self-governing India within the Commonwealth must be built on these wider and deeper foundations.

Just after the Great War I voiced this principle, which I had long held: and I am glad that to-day the details of such a scheme are being worked out by expert committees. This principle has now found firm adherents everywhere, and I earnestly hope and pray that soon—very soon—we may see the new constitution at work which shall give it full and fitting expression. And, if I may repeat here what I have said elsewhere, I am, convinced that in this new order, Indian States, with their distinctive tradition, can play a notable part—a part which will rebound to the benefit of India and of the Commonwealth.

As in a well-governed State the individual enjoys much freedom to develop his true self, so in the Commonwealth the success will be judged by the freedom of the parts to live

and develop their true genius. India within the Commonwealth, the States within India, demand to live a full and true life and to realise their hopes and aspirations in their own way.

I shall now conclude by thanking Sir Samuel Hoare for the kind words in which he has referred to me today, and wishing him success in the great task on which he is engaged: and expressing my gratitude to the East India Association for the honour it has done me.



“Religion in a Changing World.” Opening Address at the Second World-Parliament of Religions at Chicago, 27th August 1933.



I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in calling upon me to open this great Conference.

It is, I think, a tribute to my ancient Mother India, truly a Grandmother of Religions: and I am a Great-grandfather many times so: perhaps I may address you in words which come out of a long life's experience.

This is a great time to be alive.

“Once more mankind has struck its tents: humanity is on the march”, said General Smuts two years ago; and every passing month makes the words more significant. But does mankind know whither it is going?

We are in an age of ferment and chaos- but also of transition and awakening. As Lord Irwin said to us in India, “We need a change of soul”. This is true not only in India. Science has united the world, but it is divided socially, economically and politically. Can religion accomplish its spiritual, and therefore its cultural, unification? Or, to put this in a catchword, “Man has become smarter, can he become more decent?” Can he change the furniture of his mind to suit the new world in which he finds himself? Can he rise to a new scale of values? He can weigh and analyse the farthest planet—can he organise the one he lives on?

He needs religion to inspire and to instruct him—but if religion is not to be a hindrance it must put its own house in order.

May we not say that it first needs “decoding” - that the modern man may understand it, and then “debunking”— that the modern man may respect it.

Every great religious movement starts by this transvaluation and translation into the vernacular. Buddha transformed Brahminism by emphasising the human values, and by talking as the people talked. To-day we need to redefine much. India has its superb definition of the God- head—Sat, Chit, Anand—Reality, Mind, Bliss. But these words are used in so transcendental a sense that all human values become relative. We need to insist that the Absolute expresses Himself in Time and Space, that the world we live in is real, that the mind that knows it is of the same essence as the mind that planned it—the mind of a mathematician and a poet; and still more that our bliss is His bliss, our sorrow His sorrow. God is Reality then, and Mind and Joy; and the world is His garment—His thought, His means of expressing His joy in creation. We blaspheme Him if we call it Maya, Illusion: and I assure you we are not all Sankara’s* and mystics in India. We have had our Materialists even, and many many Realists. If we have no Wool- worth Towers, we have our Gwallior Forts, and Delhi Mosques. If we do not worship the dollar, we talk much of pica. The real practical Indian mind has been perverted by over-subtlety, but our great laymen, Sakyamuni, Krishna, Gandhi, and our humble saints, Kabir, Tukaram, Tulsidas, have given us what I believe you call horse-sense, and called us back to reality, and to the human values. These are the practical idealists of India.

Our Indian Ethic, great in its recognition of the four stages in life and of a duty for each class in the community, has been stultified by the emphasis on Maya, by the selfishness of Brahmins, by the hardening of class into caste, and by the dominance of the priestly and the world-denying groups. To-day Ethics are asking religion: "What can be more real than Goodness-more saintly than Service?"

* A great Monistic teacher, Sankara has domined India for ten centuries.

The real mind of India is reasserting itself, and "Shudra" is today becoming not a term of reproach but an honourable title- and "Mahatma" implies friend of the poor: "our Great Soul" must be also "Great Heart".

Man must work for mankind in the world, not out of it? he must take his place gladly and frankly "at the festival of life", as our poet says.

"To do a man's work in an unselfish spirit is to find God", says the Gita.

It is men of such spirit that have built up "This brave New World": but through self-will:- Trishna or Tanha—we are wrecking it, as Gita and Buddha insist.

The men of science, the doctors, the engineers, the social reformers, the religious seers, these are making all things new—fellow-workers with God; but selfishness, race-hatred, narrow nationalism and greed have thrown all into chaos.

Yet a new Cosmos is emerging: God is at work. He is a democratic King, and asks our help. He recognises no hierarchy but that of service. "He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all." He is greatest who serves most.

Democracy means also the emergence of the common man, and his rights, the demand of the backward peoples for a place in the sun. And alike in East and West, tyranny and humbug are challenged, for they deny these rights.

We in Asia see that race prejudice may yet destroy the Commonwealth, that caste has been so perverted that it has brought India low. Once a matter of economic division of function, it is now a network of taboos, and varying degree of untouchability are the outcome. All Indian patriots—Brahmins and Kshatriyas leading—must roll away this reproach.

For to-day the emphasis is on personality, and caste which denies the right of every man to rise to his full stature began with a ringing affirmation that from the Great Being's own Person all the castes arose—for mutual service. This Purusha Sukta is recited daily at every Vaishnavite Altar; but poetry has stiffened into prose, and a divine sanction is found for irreligious and immoral taboos. Where the hymn says that Brahmins were the mouthpiece it has been interpreted to mean that they are the brain.

The hymn insists that Society is an organism—and as in the body, one organ is as important as another. Our present rigid caste-system (which has grown up partly as a natural growth, but largely as an unnatural one) denies this, and it must go; we too desire that any boy or girl may rise to the highest rank. "Shall the foot say to the hand, or the brain to the heart, I have no need of thee?" There is no higher or lower—all are servants. All over the world religion is being challenged by the developing ethical ideals of mankind; religion that is un-ethical is a curse, not a boon. Yet religion is needed and will survive—for man is incurably religious. If there were no God, he would invent One. He is incurably inquisitive. If there were no First Cause, he would find One.

Religion is more than such quests. It is a cry for life, a yearning for reality, a demand for loyalty. Man needs a simple, strong, sincere and serene faith. He needs a rousing call to forget self, and to triumph over sense.

Christianity calls men to crucify the lower self. But it is paralysed by the snobbery and colour-ban of Christians. It can do much if it recovers its true fundamentals—Love of a loving God, and love of men who are brothers.

We in India affirm that all creatures are one; but we have lost our sense of proportion. We spare malarial mosquitoes, and plague-bearing rats, but we bear heavily on the human family, and do harm to millions of our fellow-men. We must pray to be led back from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light, from exaggeration to balance. There is no God higher than the Truth, no Beauty without harmony.

What can true religion do? It is the pursuit of absolute values; and so it can insist that in an age of transition and chaos, certain values such as faith, hope, love; certain great principles such as partnership and self-sacrifice, abide. Religion is also the quest for reality. and life: it must get rid of shams, and the dead hand of tradition and taboo, if it is to live and to be real. Again, it must express itself simply and clearly, so that the wayfaring man and the needy masses see it as bread and not a stone: it must remember the poor and the ignorant.

Perhaps the greatest problems of our time are peace and employment. Can religion cut at the roots of war, greed, exploitation, and at the roots of poverty and unemployment? Can scientific and religious man organise this planet as a unity? Can he ration the raw materials of the world in the interests of our common humanity? If so, and only if so, can he achieve peace, and set the hungry millions to work.

Our economic and political problems are ethical and spiritual problems. For man is spirit and cannot live by bread alone. What shall he give in exchange for his soul? I quote these great sayings of Jesus, whom all religions honour: we can all unite in "The Lord's Prayer", in the "Beatitudes", and in the "Parable of the Lost Son". And each religion knows that it too has a word in season, and a contribution to the well-being of personality and of humanity at large. We in India remember our ancient and ever-renewed quest for reality and light, even when we remind ourselves that we must find it not in some vague Absolute, but in life here and now.

We remember our insistence on Ahimsa- non-injury, even as we redefine it, and realise that exploitation and frustration are themselves injury, and that the innocent is one who does good, not merely one who refrains from doing evil.

China, too, with her strong sense of human values, begins to remember the poor man, and to enlarge her idea of brotherhood: not only "all within the four seas", but all men everywhere are brothers. Mandarins and Brahmins no less than capitalists and imperialists have forgotten this human brotherhood. In it lies the solution of most of our problems. We have a common fatherhood. Nature or God has made of one blood all nations, and the religious believe that He is making the world a neighbourhood: we must realise who is our neighbour. Jesus said that he who acts like one is the real neighbour. Buddha said that he who acts nobly is the nobleman. Confucius said that the true gentleman is at home in any society. To-day we may learn from all. God is ploughing deep furrows, that the seed may make an effective growth. He is making all things new, that righteousness may flourish and war cease, and the world become one.

You are wise and far-sighted in organising this Federation of Faiths: let each put its own house in order, and let each bring out of its treasury things new and old for the healing of the nations. What better expresses the spirit we need than the saying of the Chinese Mystic twenty-five centuries ago: Activity without Assertiveness: Production without Possessiveness: Direction without Domination. This is very Christian, and we in India claim that we are by nature akin to the Christian ideal: we also acknowledge that Christ has challenged us to make our religion simpler and better.

You who call yourselves by the name of Christ may also learn from many who do not, not only from the august company of the great Teachers but from present-day leaders of the Asiatic Renaissance. Let us humbly and in the spirit of partnership combine against the common enemies—Ignorance, Selfishness and Materialism. Religions may differ, but Religion is one.

If we are servants of God's creation, we are His friends and fellow-workers. In bearing one another's burdens we become partners in His Bliss.

To Him be the Honour and Glory.



At the Opening of seventh Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda, 27th December 1933.



MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I need hardly assure you that I am much gratified at the honour you have done me in asking me to open the proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference

It gives me very great pleasure today to meet so large a body of distinguished orientalists assembled for this Conference. We, in Baroda, feel happy to find that you have chosen this city as the venue of your Conference, and hope you will enjoy yourselves, and are interested in the modest programme we are able to offer you.

I am sure our first feeling to-day is one of sadness for the loss of two of our most distinguished and veteran orientalists; I mean Sir J. J. Modi and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, who took so prominent a part in these proceedings by presiding at the fourth and fifth sessions respectively of your Conference.

To-day, I recall to memory an old incident: when I had the good fortune of opening the Baroda Session of the Sanskrit Conference, I could not conceal my disappointment at the way the learned Shastris were wasting their time in scholastic discussions, in learning and teaching the same age-old books, and harping on the same old tunes from generation to generation.

As early as 1915 I asked the Pandits and Shastris to emulate the example of Western scholars, to broaden their vision and develop the historical sense. In one word, I asked them to modernise themselves, and prove their worth as useful members of society.

I give you this account of my previous experience in order that you may realise how very pleased I feel to meet to-day so large a body of research scholars who have devoted themselves to their studies critically, in the true scientific spirit. It gives me, therefore, special satisfaction to welcome you to my capital, and to listen to your deliberations.

What progress orientalists, both in India and in Europe, had made since pioneers like Sir William Jones first made such comparative research possible, has been admirably set forth by the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji in his learned address before the Second Session of this Conference, held in Calcutta in 1922. Since then, within the last ten or eleven years further valuable work has been done. I do not feel competent to give a resume of this great and varied work done by the admirable co-operation of scholars interested in oriental learning all the world over.

But I feel happy to think that by the co-operative endeavours of this enthusiastic band of devoted workers, much of that dark veil of ignorance regarding our past history and culture has been lifted and much that was dark even ten years ago has now become clearly illumined.

Gentlemen, I am no research student myself, but I can claim to be an humble devotee of learning. I have been watching for a long time with pleasure and admiration the noble work our Indian scholars are doing in elucidating our past history and culture. In my State also, I have endeavoured to give encouragement to that branch of research work which I consider to be the most substantial and of the highest value at the present juncture—I mean, the publication of original works of oriental literature, including Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, and even Persian, in a special series called the Gaekwar's Oriental Series. May it serve as a perennial source of information and inspiration to us— descendants of those great authors of past centuries.

Since 1915, the work has been going unabated, and to-day the series has nearly seventy volumes to its credit. This I consider a very fair result, considering the immense labour involved in the study and preparation of each volume, where each line of the text has to be critically settled, and light from diverse quarters has to be skilfully focused on the work, the author, and their time and place.

I feel gratified indeed that my series of oriental publications has been deemed worthy of approbation by scholars all over the world. Through the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya in my State, I am constantly endeavouring to help the Pandits, by giving them opportunities to learn English, and by prescribing texts embodying the results of historical and cultural research, for their examinations.

It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the endeavours of modern research scholars trained in Western methods embrace the whole field of ancient Indian life. The wonderful unfolding of the life of our remote ancestors in all its various phases, social, religious, political, economic, administrative, scientific, artistic, architectural, and linguistic, right from the dawn of history, appears to my mind to be a great romance of modern scholarship. Think of the discovery, the greatest since the advent of the British in India, of Mohenjo Daro alone, where some five thousand years ago the highly civilised and cultured people of the Indus valley lived in their fine and hygienic dwellings and registered their thoughts in beautiful hieroglyphic writings and seals of consummate artistry. I hope the lecture on these discoveries will be largely attended, and I wish personally to welcome my friend the Director of Archaeology.

One might dwell long upon a theme of such profound interest, but I tear myself away from it and turn, with your permission, to some modern problems of Indian scholarship. I seldom get an opportunity of meeting such a large body of orientalists, and therefore I venture to offer certain practical suggestions, not in a spirit of criticism but as a sincere well-wisher, for your consideration.

I often wonder why the practical aspect of research is so often neglected in India. I have some idea of the amount of

concentrated effort necessary for research. And when a student finds his patient labours rewarded and sees a remote past yield up some of its secrets for the first time, he feels the joys of a discoverer; this also I can appreciate to some extent. All the same, I hope my friends will bear with me when I point out that they have duties to perform to their less intellectual and less fortunate brethren. The research scholar is as much a member of society as any other, and has his own duty as a citizen of the time and place to which he belongs.

I have always kept the interest of the masses in the forefront of my administration. I have made education compulsory in my State, so that all may obtain facilities to educate themselves and go out into the world equipped by developing their intellectual faculties to the fullest extent possible.

I have always had the greatest admiration for Sanskrit, and for the practical knowledge and spiritual wisdom stored for all time in this great literature; but I could never be satisfied with merely getting the texts of the Classics edited and published, which the masses—the men in the street—cannot utilise. In order that the masses also may share, and the gain become common property, a further labour of devoted love and scholarship is called for; the unearthed classics have to be translated into English; and into the vernaculars; and the translations should be both as scientific as the profoundest learning and as readable as the greatest skill can make them. I have had a large number of Sanskrit works translated into Marathi and Gujarati. And later on, I made an endowment of two lakhs of rupees, from the interest of which I ordered the publication of a series of vernacular books containing translations of valuable works on various subjects from other languages, including Sanskrit. This series has now more than 300 volumes to its credit. I may mention here that I shall not be satisfied until our best scholars turn their attention to their less intellectual fellowmen, and present to them the results of their researches in the vernaculars and in a form which may be readily intelligible to the masses. Nor must we neglect the urgent task of collecting and editing the folk-songs and folk-lore of the people.

This is a field of orientalism which is too much neglected: if we do not act now, much treasure will be for ever lost. The good earth will go on guarding sculpture and inscription and buried city, but the folk-ways change and the folk-songs are no longer sung. With our new ways of recording, such as gramophone records, and our new ways of popularising, Such as the radio, we may preserve and perpetuate this ancient culture. I call you to this task of preserving and of recovering our precious heritage and of making it available to the people.

Then, there are the burning social questions of the day arising out of the contact of two opposing cultures, of the West and the East. These problems have to be handled boldly, intelligently and in a true human spirit. They have all a bearing on ancient literature and civilisation, and they all have their roots in our ancient customs. The research worker here finds his greatest opportunity to render valuable service, with his superior knowledge of the ancient texts and his intimate acquaintance with the various phases of ancient thought. He can lay his finger on the period at which particular privileges and restrictions arose, and inform us about the dangers against which those customs were intended as safeguards. In other ways, too, he can employ his expert knowledge to take us behind the letter to the spirit, and so enable us to judge all the better why and what alterations are called for in our very different times and circumstances. No society can maintain its position and its vigour for long by mere conservatism. Let us cling to the old, by all means, as long as it continues to suit us; but with every great change in the circumstances, customs have also to be recast. Otherwise the more we cling to the letter the less shall we be able to maintain in us the spirit of our great ancestors. And who are better qualified to lead us in this field of our manifest duty than our great research savants, who read century after century of our long history like an open book?

In my library of the Oriental Institute, as I already told you, only seventy volumes have been published, and this, out of a library of nearly 20,000 works. At Patan, in the Mehsana District of my territories, we have no less than 13,000

manuscripts, in the world-famous Bhandars of the Jains, and most of these remain unpublished. I do not know how many hundreds of years it will take at this rate to publish even the most important works discovered in my State alone. You know well the condition of other famous libraries at Poona, Calcutta, Madras, Benares, Nepal, Oxford, London, Berlin, Paris, and other places. Hasty and premature compilations or editions without a complete survey of all available, matter are of course useless; they are even worse, since hasty generalisations and crude theories do not really further knowledge or understanding at all. Let us always cling to our own high standards.

Original research adds to our stock of facts and ideas; but every one of the new ideas it puts forth must be well digested, every one of the new facts it claims to discover must be scientifically authenticated. Mere novelty in speculation and mere boldness in assertion avail merely to start a controversial flutter here and there. I repeat, let us always cling to our high standards. And here, if I may, I wish to say a word of warning to our Universities, young as well as old: your theses the world of scholars will judge, not by their bulk, novelty or number, but solely by the qualities of ripe judgment, critical acumen and scientific method.

Thus I expect the research scholar to be also an original worker and a deep thinker of sound judgment. The number of such leaders in the advancing march of knowledge must needs be small. Besides, for many decades only such of our best qualified alumni can receive the necessary training for this exacting line as can proceed to Europe or America and spend years at the feet of great scholars. I hope, however, that with the increase in the Universities, academics and archeological departments in our own land, the need for such long periods, so far away from home, will diminish, and that we shall soon be able to train a sufficient number at home.

It is only as such increase materialises that we can expect a living interest in these subjects, so vital to our all-round progress, to spread even among our intelligentsia. How extremely limited such interest is to-day, I may be permitted to suggest by a concrete instance. In the Gaekwar's Oriental

Series, we are printing only 500 copies of each work, and of this small number 125 copies are being distributed free to libraries and distinguished orientalists. In spite of this, it takes an average period of fifteen to twenty years to dispose of the remaining stock of 375 copies. Had the sales been more encouraging, it would have given me immense pleasure to redouble the grant for the series. Does this not show that there is a sad dearth of original workers as yet? Does it not also prove that the general interest to-day even amongst our intelligentsia is as yet almost negligible? I stress this point of our backwardness to-day in the hope that it may soon become a thing of the past.

The value of translations which are both scholarly and readable I have already indicated from the point of view of statesmanship, seeking to better the condition of our masses. And from this point of view the value of good translations, with all the apparatus needed by the man in the street to place a century or an author before his mind's eye as a living entity, is certainly far in excess of the value of such second-rate theses and ill-digested excursions into our past culture as some of our Universities, I hear, are rewarding with high degrees. May I humbly suggest to these high academic authorities that they give such degrees to model edition also?

Gentlemen, I need not repeat here the oft-quoted maxim that the proper study of mankind is man. We should not only study him as he is to-day, but also in his gradual transformation from the primitive stage to the highest civilised condition, his hopes and fears, his slow ascent through various ups and downs, as in a spiral. And for this we have to take the help of Paleontology, Comparative Philology, Comparative Archeology, Ethnology, Anthropology, Comparative Religion and Mythology, and even Geology; and the final conclusions must harmonise with the results achieved in all these different branches of scientific investigation.

Though the modes of East and West are different, they are nevertheless complementary to one another, and it is of the utmost advantage to mankind that each should develop on its own characteristic lines. And if this be true, it follows also that each of the two complementary halves should study the

other. But, of course, within each of these halves, there are many varieties and stages of civilisation. Men can only understand the world in which they live when they know the development of culture in various ages and lands.

Thus while we Indians should know our own history, to be seen in proper perspective it has to be studied as part of Asiatic history, and requires at the same time some insight into the cross-fertilisation of cultures and the migrations of races both eastwards and westwards, with the consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures. It is time our Universities appreciated this aspect of modern education, and included courses in these fields in the general curriculum of schools and colleges. Existing courses can be easily enriched by lectures dealing with these aspects of Indian history, art and politics; and an additional course should be given on China and Japan. The countries of Asia must understand one another and prepare to work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations.

I do not wish further to encroach upon your valuable time; I feel I am keeping you from the sumptuous intellectual feast that is awaiting you. I only wish to remind you that the profession of research scholar is one of the hardest yet noblest callings of modern times. Materialists as we have become to-day, there are only a few men available who are intellectually so advanced as to appreciate, admire and devote themselves to this kind of work. You will, therefore, encounter many difficulties, often very serious ones; but I would ask you not to be discouraged, but to pursue your studies with optimism and determination, that you may shine as beacon-lights to guide and inspire your fellow-men.

I now declare the Conference open with the mantra our forefathers used on such occasions:

May this start conduce to well-being.



At the Makar- Sankrant Durbar, January 1934.



It is my pleasant duty today to recognise the services of one of our officers by conferring on him an order of distinction, on the eve of his retirement. As you know, it is the duty of a Prince to be able to find out the qualities of his officers; to appreciate the good qualities and to deprecate the bad ones. Thus officers are encouraged to do better work for the advancement of the State and the Maharaja.

To reward good and conscientious work is one of the privileges of a ruler and it, therefore, gives me great pleasure to confer upon Mr Newton Butt a medal of distinction.

Mr Butt has worked hard for several years in my State, and the success of the Library movement is, to a great extent, due to his zeal and efforts. I wish him long life and every happiness, and I hope he will enjoy his well-earned rest in England, where, I am told, he is going to spend his days after his retirement.



On the occasion of the Prize Distribution at Kala Bhavan, Baroda, 13th January 1934.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It gives me great pleasure to be with you here and to see in you Students of this College, in what you have achieved, and in your enthusiasm, the living signs of the good work the Institution has done. We heard the details of your progress and your ambitions have been well expressed by your Principal.

There are difficulties in expanding the limits of the Institution, which some may find narrow, and even its successful students find it not easy to secure profitable work on leaving this College armed with certificates and diplomas; but such difficulties are inevitable in all achievements, and if met with energy and patience, lead to good and lasting results. Do not feel discouraged by them. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there cannot be the fullest demand for qualified young men, and for useful work such as our Kala Bhavan turns out. When the people co-operate earnestly and intelligently, the results are bound to be more encouraging.

Once more I would emphasise here the vital value and necessity of co-operation in all things, and I trust my people are at last becoming fully alive to it, and will soon reap the rich harvest which will be their due, and which I am doing all in my power to place in their hands.

It is for the most part mutual distrust and want of co-operation that paralyse Indian industry. Habits of censorious judgment destroy trust and tolerance which are the indispensable lubricants of efficiently and smoothly working organisations for the good of all.

Healthy development of character and education in high moral standards lead naturally to loyal and fruitful co-operation.

It is in particular for Engineers-by Engineers here I am using the term in its broadest sense, including architects, mechanics, artisans and all workers in the various branches of engineering, for which most of you in this College are being trained—that collaboration is a ‘sine qua non’ to success. The very essence of your work is to collaborate intelligently, to work hand in hand together not only amongst yourselves, but with the public whom it is your function to serve. Poetic license is not of your sphere; you as the servants of humanity, whether you assist in building hospitals or roads or railways, or in running factories and industries. Let me remind you of noble words, spoken to your profession:

An Engineer must remember that he is not merely the piece-meal executor of certain tasks, but a builder and architect in the mighty and ever perfectible scheme of things of which his small individual task at any time is, or is likely to become, a corporate element.

He must not confine himself to finish what appears a perfectly correct job in his own radius of power, and rest satisfied because he has safeguarded his responsibilities however strictly defined they may appear in black and white on his rules of office, but his judgment must soar higher, and help to link his work with that of others.

He must so model and fashion it that it will link and fit and merge into the inter-connected order of things of which his own achievement is but a unit.

He must for ever strive to bring this unit, however modest, into full harmony with the rest of the Scheme.

He must have a wider horizon than the scope of his own work. Inasmuch as he is a builder, he is providing for the fixture, and while giving his attention to the present, must always look beyond.

There is no need to remind an Engineer that an immature or hasty recommendation on his part may have far-reaching effects.

When designing such small details in themselves as a locomotive piston rod or part of the truss of a bridge, he is providing for the safety of human life and helping to safeguard the working of no less a public institution than a mail train or a vital road or rail communication.

He must weigh his actions and words. They both carry material effect and he must endeavour to keep them measured on truth.

For the Engineer is by definition a Truth seeker; the laws of material cannot be cheated.

He will know how to work shoulder to shoulder and in goodwill and understanding with his fellow-engineers and with all men whose paths of duty will bring their own schemes in contact with his.

The Architect in designing a building will have an eye to alignment and site and style in keeping with the street and its other buildings.

The City Engineer in planning his streets will have Town Improvement in mind, and the Directors of cities will endeavour to develop them into corner-stones of a prosperous and healthy State.

Thus good Engineers, ‘working hand in hand, are each and all Empire Builders.

As an expression of Human activity, Engineering is the mightiest profession. The Engineer’s hand is found in every palpable achievement.

Engineers, you should be proud of this, and noblesse oblige must strive to be worthy of your noble profession.

My first aim in founding this Institute was to provide practical training for artisans, to give them all facilities for acquiring art and proficiency in the callings or vocations of their choice, so that they should on leaving this school enter the other and greater school of life itself, armed with knowledge and competence, and with the confidence and the courage born of knowledge. In all my travels I have been impressed with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of other nations.

Train up artisans first—that is the foundation. Having a base to our building, and its logical ground-floor, we can add other floors, and we then may put on a dome or a tower or anything else. Some will want a dome, some will prefer a tower. But all will agree on the foundation; the all-important thing is to decide the base and lay it down.

It is easier to decide, to find agreement, on a solid foundation on which any type of building may afterwards be developed, than to try and get agreement on the domes or type of roof or style of windows. So without wasting time on trying first to decide such details, always have a clear idea of your foundation first and lay that down. You will then discover you have made an important step forward, and that the ensuing steps will follow with greater and greater ease, each one gradually circumscribing the problem and pointing the way to the next step, so that the edifice as an intelligent whole grows naturally and takes shape harmoniously.

In all things we must begin with the proper foundation and this is a little maxim which may help you a lot in life.

So in our Kala Bhavan we have realised a school of Vocational Training. We are short in depth—by that I mean depth of our curriculum, and the standard of higher learning covered by the diploma courses compared with colleges like that, for instance, of the City of London. We know our limitations. Our depth is for the time being sufficient to suit local requirements. But if we are short in depth, we are ample in breadth, as we embrace engineers and artists covering a wide field of pursuits.

This breadth of scope gives artists and engineers a chance of working side by side-rubbing shoulders together to the benefit of both, so that merely by pleasant association and without effort, all can learn a little and appreciate the beauties and utilities of the work of the others. It is not good for any one to work and think only in the rut of his own vocation or profession, just as it is not good to associate exclusively with people of one's own caste or creed. And here we come to an important point:

Education is not synonymous with Instruction. Education implies character-building, the fostering of good manners, and the developing of wisdom, besides supplying to each the instruction and knowledge necessary to equip the student for his future sphere. And so this College is a House of Education, it has not only breadth in grouping all the several arts I have mentioned, but it has that other breadth of bringing you together, young men of all creeds and castes, united as

brothers in your common aspirations of learning, your school life, your studies and your sports.

If you are nurtured in the ideas of one caste or creed all the time, you are handicapped, and your manhood will not come to full fruition. It is by opening your mind to see and understand sympathetically the view-points, creeds and ideas of others that you develop and bloom into wise men.

With this object—that it shall be a House of Education—I have established this practical school of learning.

As I have had occasion to say once before: "Wisdom, which is the principal attainment, that is to say the essence, of good education, does not result from cramming the mind with mere dry facts. It is the balanced mind, the educated view, that perceives the relations of all things, that is reverent to what is great and disaffected by what is small". Having spoken of Wisdom as the essential fruit of education, I must now speak of Character, which it is also the function of good education to build up. Character is a trait next in importance to Wisdom only, and it is so important that no matter how much a man may have of Wisdom he will not be able to find full and useful expression of it if he lacks character: Without Character as a means of expression, the beneficent use of his wisdom will be stultified.

The prize-distribution day in college life is a Red-letter day. It marks a step forward, and focuses attention; it is a wholesome tonic that gives incentive to further steps of higher study or achievement in real practical life. We must never forget that achievement in real, practical life is the ultimate object of every one, be it the teacher who prepares the way for others, or the artisan or engineer or man of action who actually forges the well-being of his fellow-men, or the artist-painter, poet, man of letters, musician-who cultivates beauty which is as essential to the pulse of life as material well-being.

The joy of this Red-letter day is the fruit of your labours during the year: it does not spring from the virtue of the day itself, but from what a whole year of days has gradually built up: its value is not in what it has itself built up, which may be less than what was built on any other one day, but it lies in

what has been achieved by the days behind, and in the will and purpose of your mind to build up in the days to come.

This, the will and ambition to succeed in the future, whatever the past, rich or poor in results, is the most important, and it may be summarised in the shortest and perhaps the best motto of all which consists of one word, and it is "FORWARD". By being present here to-day, not only looking with satisfaction on the past and the deserved laurels you have achieved, but having in your mind this firm purpose of looking with a will towards the future, you are giving majesty to this day and making it indeed the annual Red-letter day of the Institute.

It is in this Spirit that I feel happy in being amongst you now. And in announcing that I shall endeavour to make this one of my regular engagements.



On unveiling the Statue of Dadabhai Naoroji, Navsari, 19th January 1934.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— We have met here to-day to honour the memory of one of India's greatest sons. We have met to unveil the Statue of Dadabhai Naoroji—the grand old man of Hindustan. To quote the late Mr Gokhale, “Dadabhai Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his country-men, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane. He is one of the most perfect examples of the highest types of patriotism that any country has ever produced”.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born one hundred and eight years ago of a Parsi priestly family, and, in spite of a most active and indeed strenuous life, attained the ripe age of ninety-two years. He had the misfortune to lose his father at the age of four years, but the loss of one parent was compensated by the love and devotion of his mother, who, with the aid of her brother, managed to give him the best education then available at the Elphinstone Institution, now known as the Elphinstone College, where he was sent to study, young Naoroji carried off most of the prizes and exhibitions open to him. He subsequently remained in his college, first as assistant in mathematics, and afterwards as full professor. He was in fact the first Indian to attain to such a post in this

country. This appointment was always declared by him to be the most prized of all his honours. "Reading", he said, "is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me Dadabhai Professor to this day." During his stay in Bombay until 1855, Mr Naoroji was active in support of many causes, including the establishment of a girl's school in the face of the fierce opposition of the orthodox and in organising and improving the status of educational and social institutions such as the Literary and Scientific Society, the Widows' Re-marriage Association, the Framji Cavasji Institute, the Parsi Gymkhana and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Even these efforts did not complete the tale of his enthusiastic activities. In 1851 he started the Rast Goftar ("Truth-Teller") as the organ of the advanced and progressive party in order to further religious, social and educational reforms. By this time Mr Dadabhai Naoroji tells us "the thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits there from came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me, and must devote myself to their service". The young reformer found further scope for his patriotic labours when he was sent to London as representative partner of the Bombay firm of Cama & Co. Thus commenced his series of activities in England, where he felt it his mission to educate the British people in the affairs of India. With this end in view he started the London India Society, and associated himself with the East Indian Association, and was appointed Professor of Gujarati at University College, London. Unfortunately Mr Naoroji's firm came to grief, but such was the reputation which he had acquired that his creditors had full trust in his capability and integrity, and engaged him to help them in winding up the firm. He managed to overcome his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869. He was in England again in 1873, and gave evidence before the Fawcett Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance. His views as to the causes of India's financial distresses met with hot opposition from Indian financial experts, but were subsequently accepted in the main by the Government of India in the person of Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer). During the unrestful days of Maharaja Malhar Rao, Mr Naoroji was asked

to take the post of Dewan of Baroda, and found the task most difficult; but his views were vindicated by the British Government, and many of the reforms he advocated were afterwards carried into effect by Sir T. Madhav Rao, his successor as Dewan. In 1885 he took an active part in the establishment of the First Indian National Congress, which was held in Bombay under the Presidency of the late W. C. Banerjee. Next year found him in England contesting the Parliamentary seat of Holborn. Although he failed on this occasion, he was by no means daunted, and on his return to India he was elected President of the Second Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1886. In 1892 the electors of Central Finsbury sent him to Parliament as their representative. The success of the first Indian to a Parliamentary scat caused great enthusiasm in India, and in 1893 he was again elected President of the Indian National Congress, and yet a third time in 1906. Bombay University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. in 1916, and the following year this devoted patriot and reformer passed away at the ripe age of ninety-two, deeply regretted by all. In various works, pamphlets, and speeches, such as "Poverty and un-British Rule in India", and in the evidence he submitted to numerous committees and commissions he ably discussed the main cause of the poverty of India, and helped in a large measure to ameliorate the condition of the country to which he was so devoted.

Mr Naoroji, as you are well aware, was a member of the Zoroastrian community, a community, small indeed in actual numbers, in fact counting less than 110,000 throughout all India, but influential by reason of their wealth, education and munificence out of all proportion to their actual numbers. When we consider that the Parsis count amongst their number such great names as Dadabhai Naoroji, J. N. Tata, Sir Dinsa Wachha, Sir P. Mehta, Sir J. Jeebhoy, Sir J. N. Petit, Sir C. Jahangir, and numerous other worthy citizens, we realise that many of the Zoroastrians have employed the wealth which they have acquired by trade and commerce in beneficial schemes not only for their own community but for all India.

In this my loyal and prosperous city of Navsari, a stronghold

of the Zoroastrian religion, I am happy to note that the Baroda Raj possesses no fewer than 7000 Zoroastrians, and I have had the opportunity of employing many of them in various capacities in my administration.

In many respects the Zoroastrians remind us of another small community, the Huguenots who were so cruelly persecuted by the French kings, and fled to foreign countries rather than embrace Catholicism. In England especially they were warmly received by the judicious Queen Elizabeth, and under her protection they flourished, and introduced several new industries, such as paper-making, silk and woollen industries, pottery and the like.

Why, I ask, do we erect statues and other memorials to great benefactors and inventors? Is it to confer any benefit on those whom we thus seek to honour? Many of them have already passed away. No! These memorials are for our benefit, for our own example Abraham Lincoln ably expressed these views in his historic speech on the battle-field of Gettysburg, when consecrating the graves of those who fell to uphold the cause of freedom:

In a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living or dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or to detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a birth freedom, and that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

This, my friends, was spoken over the battlefield during the cruel and destructive Civil War. But

*Peace hath her Victories
No less renowned than war,*

and the patriot whose statue we unveil today was, in the providence of God, empowered to struggle for his country with peaceful arms—the weapons of argument and of effective reason and persuasion.



On the occasion of the Golden jubilee of the Girls' School of The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Bombay, 26th February 1934.



(I)

I congratulate you all on a great achievement. You have been pioneers of education for nearly a century : it is a noble record, and memories of such men as Dadabhai Naoroji will be a continual encouragement to us all to go forward with confidence and faith in this great task. I have just unveiled a statue in my State of this great patriot.

Ours is an intricate and difficult task. But it is, above all, a spiritual task. The women's movement is an important part of the great title of democracy, which began to flow in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but which had its beginnings far back in history. When Plato wrote of the soul and its ideal development, and Jesus Spoke of man's priceless possession of personality, and Paul made his great declaration that in Christ was neither male nor female: when our own ancestors conceived of God as Mother as well as Father, and symbolised this as Ardha-Narishwar (अर्ध नारीश्वर), then the seeds of this movement were sown.

But the inertia of humanity is immense, and great ideals have to await the right moment for their realisation. The notion of society based on servitude gave place very slowly to that of society based upon individual freedom; man had to wait for the slow growth of technology before slavery could be

abolished, and woman must be partly set free from the all-absorbing duties of the house before she can fully develop her culture. The spiritual ideal has to await the material means for its realisation. Then “the word is made flesh”.

We stand at such a dramatic moment in history, when “all things are becoming new”. The great and the homely are inextricably bound up. To give but one example: India needs labour-saving devices in order that women shall not be drudges. How costly is our simplicity—hours of patient work go to the making of a meal! We do not want this to be neglected, but meantime we may venture to say what kind of wives and daughters we desire. We do not quite want to side with the Kaiser in his dictum—kinder, Kuche, kirche—children, cooking, church—in limiting the sphere of woman. Yet we do want to avoid the “blue-stocking” and the “flapper”. These are two unpleasing extremes, which modern movements have produced. We want on the other hand to advance beyond the meek submissive Sita-ideal*, and to find intellectual and spiritual partners as wives and mothers. What nobler ideal is there than this of the Raghuvamsha?

गृहिणी सचिवः सखीमिथः।
प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविदौ॥

(Thou wert my wife, thou my chancellor, thou art my companion in solitude, my beloved pupil in the fine arts.)

Our old Shastras insist that women are always mothers, wives and daughters. They usually are! And we in India believe also that our old books are right in insisting that God or Nature made men and women different, and set limits to the functions of each.

Modern education cannot safely ignore the facts of Nature. As Huxley wittily said, “What was settled by the protozoa cannot be changed by act of parliament”. Physiology and Psychology both insist on a different curriculum for girls and boys. Sociology adds its words of warning. As our Indian poet says, “Man is one wheel of the chariot—woman the other, if the car of life is to move smoothly to the goal of happiness”. Men and women are by nature complementary: each is an

* *The faithful wife of Rama in the Ramayana.*

end, not a means: recognising this, let not nurture conflict with nature.

You probably find that subjects requiring imaginative and intuitive perception appeal to girls—languages, music, literature, art and domestic science. And it is these which we men believe to be necessary for women.

To make an efficient and cultured home—what nobler ideal can a girl have and promote! To be a companion to husband and children, or to make a school which is also a home—this is the natural sphere for women.

॥गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनं कान्तारादतिरिच्यते॥

(A home without a housewife is worse than a forest.)

In politics and in various forms of social service too, there is ample room for women's gifts of imagination, tact, and sympathy: nor are the rigorous requirements of the medical and nursing professions beyond the strength of many women. Yet the strain is very great; and the physiological facts of puberty and adolescence must be very carefully studied in the pre-professional stages of education for these high callings.

Till the age of twenty, when the nervous system is likely to be stable, education should be general and not specialised, and before this age, cramming or intense study should be avoided. I am confident that your teachers have such facts in mind. But have you, young ladies? Girls often work harder than boys. They should not. Beware of over-work: in girls it is a sin: in all of us it is a mistake.

Nor should sports be overdone. Nature did not mean you to become Amazons. I doubt if even hockey, as English girls play it, is an ideal game for you. But you know more of these things than I. What I wish to say is this—study the problem for yourselves. Evolve your own ideal curriculum, and base your findings on scientific knowledge and observation. India needs the right kind of feminism. She should profit by the mistakes as well as the achievements of the West and of Japan.

Let her never forget the words of Manu—

॥ यथ नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते स्मन्ते तव देवता: ॥

(The Gods rejoice when women are respected.)

And respect means esteem and intelligent understanding.

I need not urge you to be in all things worthy of respect - “growing in grace, and in favour with God and man”.

(II)

I come now to the second part of my address, “What is the modern spirit?” There is much confused thinking here. Some are more concerned with license than with liberty. Many are more interested in novelty than in truth.

But, behind these extravagances, there is a passion for reality. We are sick of shams and of hypocrisy. We desire to lay bare the Truth, however unsightly it may be. We demand freedom from the dead hand of the past. External authority must give place to inner compulsion.

A second hall-mark of the modern spirit is its quest for partnership. In the home first; but also in the school, the business and the state, men and women are finding that nothing else will work. This means democracy. And if you girls learn here the passion for Truth and the spirit of Partnership, you will be well fitted for the great as well as for the little tasks of life. In its “long littleness” we mortals must achieve greatness, and put on immortality—doing its small duties in a great spirit. That is to live splendidly—and what is education for, if not to teach us this?

And lastly, if this is an age of probing and of partnership, it is also an age that calls for pioneers and prophets.

Some of you are called to new tasks and new ventures such as nursery schools, prenatal care of mothers, new and scientific study of children; some to the prophetic task of re-interpretation and reform. India needs, above all else, the ministry of noble women in these new fields.

To make the world a better and a nobler place- this is what we are here for. And India needs a Jane Addams in every slum, a Pandita Ramabai in every district, a Florence Nightingale in every hospital, a Margaret Macmillan in a thousand schools, besides skilled and intelligent mothers and wives in scores of millions of homes.

A school such as this is a true temple of the spirit. May I remind you of the noble words addressed to Saraswati?

अपूर्वः कीपि कोशोयं विद्यते तव भारति ।
अयती बुद्धिमायाति ज्ञयमायाति संचयात् ॥

(Oh Goddess of Learning, what a marvellous treasury hast thou! Spend, and it becometh full. Hoard, and lo! it is empty.)



*On the occasion of unveiling a Statue of Shivaji, Baroda,
8th March 1934.*



Amidst the dust of controversy stands the figure of the rugged Shivaji. We honour him to-day, blinded by neither the chauvinism which makes him a very God—an incarnation of Shiva—nor by the prejudice which calls him “mountain rat” and “traitor”. When called “wild monkey”, he replied, “I am, if you like, Hanuman”. That is a good image of his devotion and courage.*

He was a patriot of Maharashtra, and must be seen in his setting of time and place.

Son of a rugged and a poor land, he is no bad foil to the wealth and pomp of the Moghul Court: child of our western Indian renaissance, he played his part in the popular movement for freedom and self-expression. This was a wave of religious nationalism, which passed through many parts of India, and was perhaps strongest in the west. Its twin stars were the love of Home and devotion to Dharma.

The Marathas have always been a sturdy and homely people, rooted in the soil, loving their own hearths and doing things in their own way; and in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they produced men of letters like Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas, who were also men of the people, and were inspired by religion which was real

* *Hanuman, King of the Apes, is the faithful lieutenant of Rama in the Ramayana.*

and virile; and in the person of Shivaji, they had as leadet a patriot and a skilled general, who, against terrific odds, welded them into a nation.

Leading a peasant army of Spartan simplicity and endurance, he defied not only the western kingdoms, but the Great Moghul himself; and on this occasion, I may compare him, not unfitly, with the late King Albert, whom we all mourn. You will remember the famous cartoon of 1914, in which he is being taunted by the Kaiser, who points to the desolated fields of Flanders, saying, "You see I have taken it all from you", "Yes," replies the King, "but not my soul." So Shivaji fought for the soul of Maharashtra against the fanatic who sat in the august seat of Akbar, and against the oppression of his people. It was a spiritual as well as a nationalist revolt.

We may recognise without fear of contradiction that the policy of Aurangzib in reversing the tolerant attitude of his House was one of the Seven Blunders of history. It led, as such fanaticism must, to disunion and weakness. And Shivaji was the soul of Hindu India in revolt. He showed that the venerable tree of Hinduism was not dead, and that the spirit of the old feudal society was not easily to yield to oppression.

He showed that men of a local and servile group could be morally great, and that the Ruler even in turbulent times can be just, strict even to an erring son, chaste in his private life, magnanimous to his associates, devoutly religious yet tolerant and benevolent to his people, and whenever he had time, careful for the rights of farmers and peasants. Even the Portuguese historians of the day praise him for this, and it is clear that in the intervals of fighting he organised a State. Considering his circumstances, we can see how much he towered above his con-temporaries and followers.

Personal magnetism goes a long way in calling out devoted service, and this he had; but he could build no enduring structure, and he bequeathed a spirit rather than an organism to his people. The causes which gave him his chance—civil conflict and internal weakness—also led to his failure. While he laid a firm foundation for the Maratha Empire and while his successors such as Shahu I (1707—1749) built a noble superstructure, this did not last even two centuries. The chief

reason was that the race was not prepared for the new powers of the West, which now appeared to challenge a divided and unawakened India. Are we yet fully awake to the implications and powers of the West? This is an interesting subject; but our present object is rather, as Ramdas said to Shivaji's son, "To remember his personal greatness"; let us do so sanely and temperately. I do not, in fact, believe that hero-worship is wholly good; and if the hero be a man of violence—however, his circumstances made this inevitable—we do harm to ourselves and society by idealising him and idolising him. The soldier-ideal has always its limitations, and in his stormy career they were many and obvious.

Let us see in him rather a symbol of the century which produced him, and of the folk-ways of our forefathers. If he was the expression of a new tide of life, he was also a life-giver, and this we can all be. The giants of the Deccan of the Middle Ages were carpenters, potters, even scavengers by birth; yet they made history. We are not merely creatures of our age, we can also be creators. We can shape it, and, by moral integrity and devotion to duty as we see it, work out on our small stage the solution of larger problems. Shivaji had no great advantage of birth or position. That a humble son of Maharashtra should become a nation-builder, and, in the teeth of three great powers, weld a weak and scattered people into a nation—that was a noteworthy achievement. That he should take hirelings and make them into patriots is the perennial inspiration of his life for us all.

We, who have long suffered from invasion and oppression, look to him as the inspiration, too, of more pacific paths to freedom, constructive human engineering and a moral equivalent for war. The heroic spirit may still find abundant scope, and his example inspires us to live magnanimous and courageous lives. Nor should we forget in these rather sceptical days that he was sincerely and devoutly religious, devoted not only to the local gods, but to the orthodox Dharma of his people. A religious patriot, he has been compared by my chief engineer to Joan of Arc—and in unveiling this statue we are kindling the fires of devotion to home and duty.



*On the occasion of the Karsandas Mulji Centenary Celebrations, Bombay,
19th March 1934.*



How often in history has the struggle between prophet and priest been repeated!

“I was neither a priest nor a leader”, said the Hebrew Amos three thousand years ago—as he called his nation from religiosity to true religion.

“I hate your abominations and your temple rituals: let justice flow down an unfailing stream”; so he announced the oracle of God to a corrupt priesthood.

So in our own land the great reformer Gautama Buddha, also a layman, called men from ritual to righteousness, from sacrifices of animals to offerings of a pure heart and kind deeds.

Ritual is only good when it is the outward expression of inward truth: priests are most useful when they are prophets also of social righteousness. But many of our Hindu priests had forgotten this: they had become corrupt and had made their temples, which should be centres of light, into dreadful caves of iniquity. Karsandas dared to shed the white light of truth upon their dark deeds, and to be outcasted by his own sect and family. Happy man! “Blessed are ye, when men shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for the sake of truth.” So we may apply the beatitude of Jesus to him.

We all know how the young crusader won a great moral victory, and we also know that like all such victories it has to

be pressed home, if the old abuses were not to raise their evil heads again. Trishna* is indeed hydra-headed; and we must all carry on the work of this spiritual warrior against entrenched evil, which is often the corruption of the good.

Greed, lust and selfishness are rampant in many forms, and superstition dies hard; it has scriptural authority to keep it alive. What was nobly said in symbols, men have interpreted literally—what was meant literally, they have taken as mere symbolism. And our national life has suffered, till a leading politician—himself a Brahmin—said recently that if our marriage-laws are to be reformed and our family life made healthy, we must make war on priests and Shastras. War is sometimes useful; but peaceful reform is far better. Evolution rather than revolution is our Indian way.

Let us help priests, institutions and writings to be true to their better selves. Bad practices must be fought; but this is best done by encouraging good ones. I have found in a long lifetime that reform is best carried out if it is done by releasing the truth from its bonds, awakening the dormant spirit, finding, if we can, the true meaning behind the false letter, reading the symbol aright. The Krishna stories are picture-language for the people: we cannot replace them; but literalism makes them a hindrance: it may make them an evil.

It is time we insisted that those who have the care of souls are as carefully trained as those who care for the bodies of men. Who shall teach the teachers? May be it is again time for us laymen to assert the true human values, and to get a better theology and ethic established in religious centres, and in training-schools of religion. Ought not all schools to be such centres of religion? Secularism is no solution of our problems.

Is it time for a restatement of Hinduism? “Feed the thin man, not the fat bull. Wed the woman to the man who is physically and mentally, suited to her. Insist that life is good, not evil. Educate young people in sex-hygiene and morality. See that women and children—roots of the great tree of life—are given a better chance of mental and moral sanity. Insist that each is an end in himself or herself, not a means.” All

* Thirst, i.e. Evil Desire.

these are ideals as yet unrealised. They are indeed not yet even accepted as ideals

In the renaissance of our country, such men as Karsandas are pioneers as well as prophets; we must have reformation as well as renaissance. Let us honour them by carrying on their work, and following their example. The battle for the widows' rights is not yet won: nor that for a saner marriage-law: nor that for the education of girls.

The inertia of humanity is great and homo sapiens is often very foolish and very cruel. Athens, the home of freedom, killed her greatest son; Israel, the country of the prophets, slew many of them. "Your fathers have killed the prophets and ye build their monuments ", said the greatest son Israel. One can sympathise too with Bernard Shaw, who says that when he goes to a zoo he takes off his hat to the monkeys and apologises for man.

What an august procession are those persecuted for righteousness and truth; and those who have been ostracised or exiled are a great company, whom none can number. Even in China, a tolerant and hospitable land, making much of reason, great rulers like the First Emperor, great statesmen like Wang An Shih and great poets Li Po and Su Tung Po were defamed or exiled. And what is our patient and gentle nation to say about its Harischandras and Pralhads, its Narsinh Mehtas, Tukarams, Kabirs and Pantulus? All these suffered much for truth, and in their noble company is Karsandas Mulji.

Another aspect of Karsandas Mulji's brief life I must mention. He showed in his "*Satyaprakasha**" and elsewhere the enormous power of the press for such educational work. The force of mass-suggestion, day after day, on impressionable minds—men, women and children, who read little but the daily papers—what an incalculable power it is for good or evil! If the journalist is a jackal with a nose for offal, he can poison a nation; if he is one who thinks on what is noble and lovely and of good report, he becomes indeed a messenger of Light. Such was Karsandas; and such are many journalists—thank God. But their task is a hard one, and we of the public

* "*Messenger of Truth*", a journal.

alone can make them succeed, if we seek good and avoid evil in what we read day by day. Let me speak bluntly. The “yellow” press must be boycotted. Who would put poison daily on the breakfast-table of his family? And if the great battle of truth against falsehood, of peace against war, of justice against injustice, of love against lust, of sanity against madness—if this great crusade is to be won, we must have a press devoted to it. Otherwise man will destroy himself and our gains, so hardly won, will be lost.

A sound press and a reformed religion, what a noble alliance might they not make in the service of humanity? As a servant of men, a prophet of pure religion, a champion of innocence, we honour Karsandas, journalist and friend of Truth. At great personal cost he devoted his paper to noble but unpopular causes.

I have a great admiration for Karsandas as the pioneer in yet a third field. He was a fearless and consistent advocate of travel as a means of enriching our national life. Let us learn alike from East and West whatever we can. Insularity breeds weaklings. It is characteristic of this fearless man that he saw the need to break through the strange taboo against crossing “the black water”. “All the earth is the Lord’s”, he said, “and therefore all is as sacred as our own soil.” On the early travels of Indians he shed the light of truth, and proved that like so many strange inhibitions, this was of later growth.

What harm these irrational taboos have done us, and how obstinate they are, largely because we have starved our women of true education. We feed them on superstition and breed ignorance. But now they are thinking for themselves, and are becoming free to be themselves, and they owe much to such pioneers as Karsandas.

He dared to think for himself on many grave questions; and when men do this and follow truth wherever it may lead them, they make history, and set free new and life-giving energies. As a great thinker has said, “Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free”. It is as a pioneer of freedom that Karsandas will remain in the memory and affection of India. It is clear that we have much still to do.

Foreign travel is still in many quarters taboo. May I, therefore, add some practical reflections suggested by my own experience as a ruler? I have just enacted a law against caste-tyranny, and Karsandas Mulji's life proves how strong that can be. In our age excommunication is still common, and the pressure of caste is, still tyrannical. Nor is the loss to our national life small in the inveterate hold of heredity. Men must do what they can do best, not simply what their forefathers have done. A Kshatriya is not necessarily a man of action, nor a Shudra necessarily fitted only for menial service. Let each rise to the fullest achievement of which he is by nature capable. In a word, much of our social Dharma is still far from democratic, and Karsandas was a pioneer also in this great spiritual movement for the free and unfettered growth of each individual within the society to which he belongs. The true ideal of a society is this: "Does it foster or thwart ability? Does it recognise or ignore the claims of personality? Does it set men and women free to achieve the best that is in them?" In helping to mould our social life on freer and more gracious patterns, Karsandas was an able and devoted apostle of freedom and truth. He is an immortal. Great men live on in the emulation which they inspire:

चलं चित्तं चलं वित्तं चले जीवितयौवने।
चलाचलमिदं सर्वं कीर्तिर्यस्य स जीवति॥

(The mind is fickle, fickle too is wealth: impermanent are life and youth, and all that moves, and that is still: he lives, and he alone, who wins immortal fame.)



At the Twenty-third Session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi, 24th March 1934.



That India urgently needs a common language requires no argument. Language-barriers are one great factor in our national weakness.

But those who see this most clearly are divided between two possible solutions. One school, strongly entrenched in the south, sees in English the best common speech for all India. It argues that as India's intellectuals must know English, in order to keep in touch with the West and to conduct the business of politics and law and higher education, this medium will naturally become that of the mass too.

We have, in other words, to imagine every Indian as at least tri-lingual—with one tongue for his home and social life, and another, English-totally unrelated—for his public and inter-provincial communications. To these we must add Sanskrit, if he is a Hindu- 'Arabic and Persian, if he is a Muslim. These are- needed, if he is not to be alienated from his own literary heritage.

Thus, with his everyday mind working in, say, Bengali or Marathi, he must have an English lobe and a Sanskrit or Persian lobe to his brain for his pursuit of Eastern and Western culture, and a good command of English as a lingua franca. I for one cannot see a unified or culturally, progressive India, if this is the path to it.

The other proposal is rooted in the north. It says, "Hindi is our natural lingua franca". And linguistically it is obvious that a Sanskrit-based language will mean far less divorce between the everyday practical mind and the literary mind of our people. We Hindus ought to know Sanskrit, and Muslims will find in Persian an allied language of culture, and in Hindi a vernacular which they already use in its Urdu form. This is really Hindi, with Arabic and Persian words mixed with it. If Hindi then be accepted as our common speech, all in the upper two-thirds of India will have related tongues for their lingua franca, their literary culture, and their daily and homely vernaculars. To know three closely related languages is easier; and also of greater cultural value than to know several unrelated tongues. We should be in the position of the Mediterranean peoples who know Latin as a classical tongue, French as an international one, and Italian or Spanish as vernacular. This is a close parallel, and their example is more inspiring than that of the Swiss who must know French, German and English, who have no tongue of their own, and who have produced no great literature.

If Hindi be accepted as the lingua franca for India, we cannot at present claim that we need not learn English also. We cannot afford to lose touch with England and the West.

But this will be for the intelligentsia only. There is a vast difference between, say, a million educated people learning a foreign tongue, and three hundred million largely illiterate people doing so. The common people can much more easily acquire Hindi, and much more fluency in inter-provincial intercourse will result.

This is a great practical benefit. But more important still is the psychological effect. There is something depressing about the habitual use of a foreign tongue. The natural poetry of speech gives place to a bastard and hybrid idiom, and spontaneity as well as beauty is lost.

Moreover, anything that denationalises also enslaves. Let us look at the example of England herself. It was only when she broke free from her mainland thralldom that she produced the English of Wyclif, Shakespeare and Milton. So when Japan broke away from her imitation of China, she produced her;

own civilisation, with its popular poetry and art, its code of Bushido, its own authentic Japanese spirit –Yamato Damashii.

To-day educated Japanese use English for their study of the West. and their contacts with Western people. They would not dream of using it among themselves, or for literary purposes. Thus, we have strong support in the past and in the present for urging the use of Hindi as our common tongue.

Let Hindi be the common yet graceful vernacular of us all. It will, however, need to be carefully defined. Let us take it to be the language written in the north in Devnagari by Hindus and in Urdu by Muslims. And it is surely only the literary exaggerations—towards Sanskrit on one side, towards Arabic and Persian on the other—which have produced the difficulty a Lucknow Muslim has in understanding a Hindu of Benares. But this is the case also in China, when a Pekinese seeks to communicate with a Cantonese. And China is finding a way out of babel by agreeing that all shall use the Pei-hua or vulgar tongue for literature as well as for daily speech. That Hindi can be made the vehicle of a great literature Tulsidas and Kabir showed. And a Bengali can learn it in a few days—whereas it takes him many years to speak even the Babu-speech which makes him a joke to those whose Macaulayan English he apes. Macaulay was surely both right and wrong; right in foreseeing the immense cultural advantage of English education in India, wrong in forgetting that divorce from Indian culture means mental degradation. For Imperial affairs English, for the higher cultural life English and Sanskrit, for national life Hindi, for home-life our vernaculars—such is I think India's immediate path. Rooted as they are in local sentiment, the local vernaculars will persist—playing some part in cultural and social life, but a subordinate part, as India realises her unity and Her place in the modern world: To do this she must overcome petty jealousies and narrowness of vision. “A great nation and little minds go ill together.”

As to the question of a common script for India, I am opposed to an adaptation of the Roman script to Indian sounds for the same reason that I am opposed to English as a vernacular. It is not rooted in our soil. It is, like esperanto, an artificial product, not a natural growth. Our barriers are admittedly

great: dozens of alphabets added to the confusion of tongues. But as in Hindi we can arrive at a lingua franca, so Devanagari is our natural common script. Any one who knows the Sanskrit characters can easily learn to read all the derivative scripts; and if the Dravidian south has to master Sanskrit, in order to be culturally one with the rest of India, so it must also learn Hindi and Devanagari, to which Nandinagari is closely allied. If we pursue this policy steadily, there is no reason why in a few decades India should not be largely unified in language and in script- reading a common daily press, circulating ideas, conferring on public matters, producing a new national literature. It is a goal worth striving for. Reformers know the strength of sentiment. It often overpowers reason. But here reason and sentiment are surely at one. Enlightened patriotism calls for a national tongue, and reason urges that we achieve a standard and universal script. Our great neighbour China, with four hundred million people, is now teaching a common set of characters to all, and producing a new literature in the common tongue. If China in turmoil can do it, we can.



Tribute to the Buddha the opening of a Buddha-Vihara in Bombay.



When the President of the Buddha Society requested me to perform the opening ceremony of the “Ananda Vihar”, I thought it my duty to accept the call; it has indeed been a most pleasant duty to me to associate myself with an undertaking whose sole object is to promote the cause of humanity.

As you all know, the essence of Buddha's teachings is the great respect he attached to life. He led men and women, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, in the pursuit of emancipation by training, controlling and purifying the three avenues of action- body, spirit and mind.

Much of the success of the Buddhist Faith is due to the Order of monks: it was this “Sangha” which first ensured for this religion its great vitality and its rapid spread, the members repeating the Three Refuges—to the Buddha (Intelligence), to the Dharma (Law) and to the Sangha (Assembly), and taking vows of abstaining from all that is unhealthy and wicked. Gautama tried to start an organised life in the Sangha, and through the members of that body be disseminated his teachings. He defined the scope of religion as active charity, cultivation of good thoughts, and destruction of evil ones. He awakened all classes to a sense of the real duty that they owed to man and to all living creation. He started Viharas to localise the activities of the Sangha, by providing means of education, imparting of religious instruction, opening of hospitals and all kinds of humanitarian work. The Viharas, for a long time, fostered a healthy corporate spirit, encouraged arts, and proved to be centres from which social, religious, moral and intellectual movements spread in many directions.

If we make a study of the great Faiths of the world, we learn that they arose as a protest against religion over-run by superstition and priest-craft. Zoroaster protested against the superstition of his time and country. The first call of Christianity was that men should recover the true spirit of the Jewish Faith. The mission of Martin Luther was to preach the return to Christianity as taught by Christ Himself. The mission of Shri Sankaracharya was to restore and purify the different Hindu sects which had grown old, feeble and degraded.

*The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world;
Thus God fulfils himself in many ways*

So the Buddha made a vigorous protest against the gross superstition and priesthood of the Brahminical Order, which preached "Karma Kanda" and the vain attempt to attain salvation by asceticism and by the worship of idols. Many modern movements preach the same spirit of healthy reform.

Long had Buddha felt that life is vanity and full of suffering, and he full of sympathy, the son of a king, secretly stole away from the palace, renouncing rank, wealth and family and betook himself to the pursuit of Salvation. He practised severe penance to acquire superhuman wisdom and powers, but convinced of the futility of the exercises, he was seized with the temptation to return to his home and worldly affairs. But at last, the light of hope broke upon him as he perceived that in self-conquest and universal love lay the true path of salvation. That instant he became the Buddha—the Enlightened One.

Strange to say, the Faith of the Buddha no longer prevails in the land of his birth; but his doctrines have left an ineffaceable mark on the country, and to-day he is regarded as an "Avatar", or incarnation of the Eternal.

Just as the Founder of the Christian Church inaugurated his mission by the Sermon on the Mount, so Gautama Buddha expounded the essentials of his doctrine in his first discourse in the Deer-Park at Sarnath, "setting in motion the wheel of the law". There are two aims which men should renounce: complete absorption in the passions on the one hand, and

the practice of austerity on the other. There is the Middle Path—the golden mean—which opens the eyes, bestows understanding and leads to peace, to insight, to the highest wisdom, to Nirvana. It is the eightfold path—right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right rapture.

What we want is peace. The means to attain it are loving-kindness, and ahimsa or harmlessness. Hatred cannot cease by hatred, it ceases by love. Overcome evil with good. This is the essence of true religion; it is central in Buddhism.

The teachings of Buddha are gloriously simple and worth following. His doctrines have been the consolation in life and death to untold millions, softening wild and savage races by tender words of loving-kindness.

In these days of strife and in the clash of races and religions, we are in need of the ethical, humanitarian and altruistic aspects of religion. To achieve this ideal in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay, there would be no better institution than the "Ananda Vihar".

There can be no higher religion than Truth; it alone leads to happiness. Establish the truth in your mind, for Truth is the image of God.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. Dr Anandrao Nair's has been a labour of love. The Medical College and the Charity Hospital named after his mother are living examples of his humanitarian and charitable ideals; and this splendid building which I have the honour to open is its crowning glory.

I congratulate Dr Nair and the Buddha Society on this great work. I trust that this symbol of Buddha's greatness and self-sacrifice will be an incentive to many others to follow in his footsteps. I hope this institution will be a source of consolation and inspiration to the poor and the suffering, and afford a quiet retreat to those who are, in need of peace.

I have much pleasure in declaring the VIHARA open. I thank you, Dr Nair, for so kindly inviting me to perform this function. May this bring peace and happiness to all.



At the Banquet to the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, replying to the toast of his health by the Lord Mayor, Mansion House, 24th October 1892.



YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, LORD MAYOR, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — thank you for the kindness with which you have received the toast of my health, proposed in such charming terms by our host this evening. I regard it as a special honour to be present on an occasion with which His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh is connected, because His Royal Highness was the first of the Royal Princes whom 'the Princes and peoples of India had the honour of receiving in India. Furthermore, as the present occasion is connected with the Brethren of Trinity House, who have done a good deal for the naval supremacy of Great Britain, I thought I could not do better than show by my presence, my appreciation of a supremacy which has contributed so largely to bringing the East near to the West.

The Lord Mayor has referred to Baroda State and to my humble efforts to carry on the Government of the State on approved principles. That is a subject on which I must speak with great caution and difference. The work of governing the Native States of India is, you will allow, a very arduous one. Their difficulties are altogether unknown in this country. Speaking personally, but without any desire to be egotistic, I would say that my great aim is to introduce and to maintain progressive ideas in the Government of Baroda.

As the necessary aids and concomitants of progress, some railways have been constructed and I wish to construct more of them in my territory. Roads have been made and hospitals and dispensaries built. Provision has been made for a good supply of pure potable water for the city of Baroda, and I have offered to my subjects opportunities by which they can take an important part in the dispensation of justice; but as no progress can be stable unless the people are able to grasp and to assimilate its principles, I have formed plans for the extension of education among them. I recognize it as a duty and it yields me real pleasure to do everything I possibly can for the welfare of my subjects, for I feel assured that in their welfare and happiness lies my own.

I will not weary you with a long list of the humble efforts that are being made in Baroda in the interests of progress, both material and intellectual. I have merely mentioned a few instances to show what work is being done in the Native States of India, and to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the encouragement and approbation of the public and responsible statesmen of India and England in respect of our humble efforts in our States to follow in the wake of the mighty British nation in the work of beneficence.



*At the Lord Mayor's Banquet, The Guildhall, London, replying to the toast
"Our Indian and Colonial Visitors". 10th November 1892.*



LORD MAYOR, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I have thoroughly enjoyed my short trip to the industrial towns of this country. The resources and wealth of it impressed me very much. The people of England have not only not remained satisfied with discovering the means of wealth which they possess, but they have, with their usual sagacity and intelligence, made admirable use of their opportunities. This banquet is quite a fitting termination in one way of my short and hurried trip.

The City of London is the heart of this vast country, not only on account of its vast population and its noble institutions, but because it has been the stronghold of commerce and enterprising men-men who have added to their wealth by subjugation and conquering vast territories. the possession of which has made the government of England very difficult, arduous and responsible, and I wish the Ministers of her Majesty, some of whom we see here this evening, every success in their undertaking. The various interests involved and the problems which arise in the Government of England are so great, engaging, and serious, that men saddled with the cares of office must find little time to watch closely the rapid and gigantic changes that are going on in the different parts of this Empire—an Empire unique in its extent, population, and civilisation.

The Government of this Empire is rendered very difficult owing to the many nationalities, and men of different faiths and creeds, of which it consists. To understand all their wants, and to administer to their aspirations, is a task which is not very easy. I think it would be well to allow the generous and liberalising instincts of the British nation full play by conferring on its colonies and dependencies the blessings of reasonably representative self-governing institutions. The introduction of such measures will not only lighten the cares of Government and be a powerful means of fulfilling the noble wish of securing the contentment and happiness of her Majesty's subjects, but will draw together the several parts of the Empire and strengthen it by consolidation.

The reference you have made to myself is indeed very kind. In (1) opening banks, ('2) in extending railways, (3) in building and founding hospitals, (4) in constructing rest houses, (5) in constructing bridges, public offices and schools (6) in encouraging literature, (7) in opening public libraries, (8) in introducing elective municipalities in my territories, (9) in creating village councils, (10) in securing supply of potable water, and so on, I have only made use of the opportunities at my disposal. The little that I have been able to achieve is due to the kind sympathy and assistance of the Government of India. In all my actions I am moved with feelings of staunchest loyalty to her Majesty, and with the desire of co-operating with the British Government in India to the best of my ability in the work of introducing progressive Government. We are no longer moved by the desire of pageantry and show, but by the principles of good and sound Government. As far as I and others in my position are concerned, all that we desire is that our field of usefulness may not suffer curtailment, and that we may be allowed increased freedom to make use of the opportunities offered to us, not in gratifying our personal ambitions and desires, but in fulfilling our noble duties.



*At the Banquet given to Lord and Lady Reading, Laxmi-Vilas Palace, Baroda,
12th January 1926.*



YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to propose the health of the King Emperor. It is not necessary to commend this toast to your acceptance nor to indicate the diverse ways in which the English Ruling Family has endeared itself to the affections of the Indian people. The life and conduct of His Majesty the King Emperor constitute the greatest assets of which the Empire is possessed.

For my own part, I recall with gratitude the personal friendship with which His Majesty has honoured me : it will always remain a cherished memory.



Proposing the toast of “The Guests of the Evening”.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I rise again, to discharge the grateful duty that has devolved upon me of proposing the health of our distinguished Guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Reading.

A Viceroy's visit to an Indian State is a memorable event to its Ruling House and its people. To us in Baroda, it is no common privilege to welcome a Viceroy of His Excellency's eminence. He is one of the greatest political figures of our time. For five years, he has held the stage in India, and now I have the honour to greet him in my State when about to leave our shores to enjoy his well-earned rest.

He came, no novice in statecraft, but grown grey in the service of the Crown. In seeking the dispel the clouds of suspicion and rancor that existed when he undertook his duties His Excellency displayed consummate courage, patience and wisdom. The more peaceful atmosphere and the stable financial situation that prevail to-day point to his success. For these results, the whole of India is under a debt of gratitude to His Excellency. We wish him cordial God-speed, and trust that his future years will be crowded with happiness and yet more renown.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is customary on these occasions to reiterate the State's loyalty to the British Empire. This I hope it will not be necessary to do in respect of my own State

and people. For nearly a century and a quarter of British connection, my State has been unswerving in its obligations to the Empire. Its loyalty has been tested time and again in the stern duress of war, and its worth has been proved beyond a doubt by its courageous contributions to the problems of peace.

During my regime, I have tried, to the best of my power, to follow out my ideal of a modern State, keenly alive to the welfare of the people. I have given my beloved subjects the blessings of peace and ordered Government. I have eagerly sought to bring learning not merely to the privileged few, but to the doors of the humblest of my people. In my war against social evils, I have been strengthened by the hope, despite many disappointments, that a widespread educational system will help, in the fullness of time, to crown my efforts with success. Further, my Government has pursued a policy of generous aid to industrial enterprises, as a result of which, though not without losses, many mills and factories have come into existence.

Your Excellencies, it is now over fifty years since Providence called upon me to begin my work in Baroda, and, looking back over this half century of promise and achievement, I feel that, although much remains to be done, I can claim for my State an honored place in the Indian Empire.

If this be the present, what of the future?

The whole of our sub-continent is being stirred to its depths by the rebuilding of its constitution. We of the Indian States are watching with deepest interest the progress of British India from stage to stage of self-rule. My earnest wish is that, in the new dispensation, the claims of the Indian States should not be forgotten. They feel that they deserve a liberal treatment in the interpretation of their much-cherished rights and privileges.

In the new era, the Indian States now claim a place in the sun, and, believing in the justice of the English people, they hope that their ancient rights and dignities will be fully revived.

For my own State, it is only natural for me to hope that its original sovereignty will be restored. Over a hundred years ago, the British Government elected to mediate between my

House and its tributaries, who were then temporarily handed over to them (the British Government) for the collection of tribute—they elected to collect the tribute on our behalf free or charge. It was a sacred trust then undertaken. A hundred years of British peace with progress and order have now ensued. In the interest of efficient Government, and with the utmost solicitude for the good of the Empire, I am prompted to suggest to the British Government that the ancient privileges be now fully restored to their Friends and Allies of old. For it is only as true allies and partners in a Commonwealth of States that our Indian States can really become pillars of the Empire.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now turn from these problems to extend our greetings to Her Excellency Lady Reading. On my return to India, I was happy to learn of Her Excellency's rapid recovery. Yet I was not sanguine enough to hope that her health would permit her to undertake this journey to my capital. It has, therefore, given Her Highness the Maharani and myself special pleasure to see her here. Though never in the best of health, Lady Reading courageously accompanied her distinguished husband five years ago, on his great adventure to India. Since then I have watched with admiration the splendid manner in which Her Excellency has fulfilled her exalted function as Vicereine. In all humane movements, such as the campaign against leprosy, she has admirably seconded the Viceroy's efforts; and by the very generous lead that she has given to infant welfare organization throughout the country, Her Excellency has convincingly shown that she holds the golden key to an abiding place in the affections of the Indian people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of Her Highness the Maharani and myself, I desire you to join with me in extending a very cordial welcome to Their Excellencies and wishing them every happiness under the sun.

I shall ask you now to drink to the health of my distinguished Guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Reading.



*His Excellency the Viceroy's reply at the Banquet at Baroda,
12th January 1926.*



YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — I thank Your Highness for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself and for the very kind words in which you have alluded to us both. It is invariably a gratification to me to find Her Excellency's efforts in the cause of humanity and relief of suffering, appreciated and Your Highness' generous expressions in recognition of her achievements in this direction have given me great pleasure. Your Highness has made eloquent references to myself for which I thank you sincerely.

My visits to Indian States would have been incomplete if I had not been able to include among them a visit to Baroda, and I am glad that I have been able to do so this year notwithstanding the crowded programme of the few weeks that remain of my period of office. I need not assure Your Highness that the historical importance of this State, its long and honorable connection with the British Crown and the Government of India, and the progressive lines on which its administration has been conducted by Your Highness entitle it to the highest consideration from me and from those who may succeed me in the office of Viceroy and Governor-General.

It is a source of special pleasure to me that my visit to Your Highness coincides with the celebrations of the Jubilee

Anniversary of your succession to the Gadi of this State. I heartily congratulate Your Highness on this auspicious event and offer you my warmest wishes for the future. May Your Highness long be spared to guide the destinies of your State and to labour for the advancement of your subjects. May your subjects long enjoy the felicity of your rule and profit by those wise schemes of development which it has been your pride to devise and execute in the interests of their welfare.

I need not dwell in detail on the earlier history of the connection of the Baroda State with the Government of India. Suffice it to say that more than a hundred years have passed since it began, and that from the outset to the present day loyalty to the British connection has been revered as a sacred obligation in the State. On those occasions when there has been opportunity to put that obligation into practice, the rulers of the State have not hesitated to demonstrate their fidelity to that tradition. In the days of the Mutiny, the Gaekwar of Baroda openly supported the British cause and took all possible measures to preserve peace in Gujarat. In the crisis of the Great War Your Highness, true to the same tradition, exerted yourself to the utmost to help the cause of the Empire. I need not enumerate all the services rendered at that time by Your Highness and your State but I may note that besides recruitment of combatants and non-combatants for our forces, Your Highness lent your palace at Bombay for use as a War Hospital and made contributions amounting to approximately 60 lakhs in cash for war purposes.

Not less well-known are the administrative and social measures with which Your Highness' name will be always associated and to which you have alluded with such marked modesty in your speech. Your Highness' rule has been characterised by the deep thought you have given to these problems and the personal attention you have devoted to securing that there should be progress and that progress should be along sane lines. Your Highness has wisely concluded that no worthy superstructure can be raised unless the foundations have been well laid and constructed from sound materials. You have conceived that the first essentials for the well-being of your State are the establishment and

maintenance of law and order and the provision of an efficient administrative machine and you have successfully laboured to provide these requirements. You have rightly decided that general progress must rest on a broad basis of better social and economic conditions and wider facilities for education among your subjects, and you have given effect to your convictions by arrangements for free and compulsory primary education and extensive facilities for higher education and by measures to promote the social and economic welfare of the people. In all these measures, Your Highness has displayed the greatest consideration for the interests of your subjects and the wisest forethought in equipping your State to meet any changing conditions which the future may hold in store. It is not vouchsafed to all men to reap where they sow or to see the results for which they have laboured. The work of many men brings happiness and profit only to those who follow after them. In your case, however, Your Highness has not only provided for the satisfaction of your successors, for the welfare of your State and for the happiness of your people in the future, but you have also been rewarded by seeing many great and beneficent changes, for which you laboured, actually come to pass in your State in your own time. Your Highness may indeed look back on the fifty years during which you have been the Ruling Prince of this State, with a sense of duty well done.

Your Highness has alluded to the position occupied by the Indian States side by side with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in British India. Let me remind Your Highness that at the time of the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme in British India, the position of the Ruling Princes and the Indian States was most carefully and scrupulously considered; and the sanctity of treaties and the intention to preserve and maintain the rights and privileges of the Indian Princes was specially and solemnly reaffirmed by His Majesty the King-Emperor in a Royal Proclamation. At the same time without prejudice to the relations subsisting between the Paramount Power and each individual State, the Ruling Princes as a body by the institution of the chamber of Princes, were given an opportunity of taking a wider part in

the destinies of India and the Empire by offering counsel in questions affecting the States as a whole or the States in British India and by association in the discussion of certain questions of Imperial concern. I can assure Your Highness that you need have no apprehension that, when any future enquiry is held regarding constitutional advance in British India, the position of the States and the privileges of the Princes will run any risk of being ignored or injuriously affected. I am convinced that their interests will be most carefully borne in mind and considered. British India is still in the first stage of her journey towards responsible Self Government. At this moment I shall not speculate on the precise position the States may occupy when a final stage in development has been reached: but of this I am certain that at all times whatever changes may be under consideration, the claims of the States will continue to receive the attention to which their position and importance in India and the Empire justly entitle them.

You Highness has referred to special representations which you have made regarding your own State. I cannot discuss them tonight, for these representations are still under examination. Your Highness may, however, rest assured that when the examination has been completed, they will receive the most careful and impartial consideration at the hands of myself and my Government.

Let me thank Your Highness once more for your cordial welcome and the hospitality you have extended to Her Excellency and myself. Your Highness has been most thoughtful in providing all that could interest and charm us during our visit. We shall carry away the most pleasant recollections of our visit to Baroda and of the friendly feelings of Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharani towards us. Permit me to add that I greatly esteemed the privilege of meeting Her Highness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me now ask you to Join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and in wishing him many years of happiness and prosperity.



Replying to the Viceroy's speech.



YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I find it very difficult adequately to express the thanks of Her Highness the Maharani and myself to His Excellency for the exceedingly kind manner in which he has proposed the toast of our health, and to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the kindly way you have responded to the proposal.

I feel that all I have tried to do during my life is fitly summed up in Shakespeare's words:

*Let all the ends thou aimest at be thy country's,
Thy God's and Truth's.*

We thank you all most sincerely.



At Prof. Manikrao's Physical Culture Institute, Baroda, after the lecture by Principal G.C. Bhate on "Cardinal Newman's Ideal of a University", 16th December 1926.



GENTLEMEN, — The subject on which the learned Principal has spoken this evening is of very great importance. Judgment cannot be passed on it in a moment, and careful study is essential.

I have my own doubts whether all the gentlemen who have assembled here—the young as well as the old—have realized fully the gravity of the question placed before them. I say this, not with the idea of discounting anybody's intelligence, but because my observation, my reading and my experience impel me to utter a word of warning. Do not think that in speaking thus I wish to put forward any pretension to special knowledge. The vastness of the subject itself is such that it could not uniformly and easily be grasped by all. A full comprehension of the scheme in all its aspects presupposes the existence of fitness and capacity to understand it, and all of us cannot claim to have such capability. A discussion of this subject can best be carried out by experts. Before adumbrating any new reform or launching any new scheme, it is absolutely necessary that one should exactly assess the readiness of society and the response likely to be given by the masses. One has to study environments, the history of the past, the events of the present and the possibilities of the future. A comprehensive survey of these three periods is a necessary step. They are, so to speak, the connected link of

grandfather, father and son, and this must be kept in mind when the scheme is taking shape. Pray do not misunderstand me and think that am against this scheme. I want only to emphasise that you should not be in a hurry, or jump to any conclusions not warranted by experience. You must release the great difference between Europe and India. In Europe there, is plenty of money; in India, there is abject poverty. Therefore, we have to make a start and work from the very beginning. We have to think of the exploited labourers sweating in the mills and factories, and of the oppressed untouchables denied all amenities of life. It is all very well to talk of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but the vital question is that of food. All worries and troubles have their origin in want of food. Men of mere book knowledge are not greatly appreciated in our country. Scholars can be sure of their livelihood only if they become practical and do not remain idealistic. The order of precedence should be (1) food, i.e. the necessities of life, (2) knowledge, and then (3) any extra activities. My predecessors used to spend a lot of money in giving *Dakshinas* (presents) to Brahmins in the month of *Shravana* and used freely to distribute food grains in the form of *Khichari*, but realising that this method of giving cash and food was abused, I had to divert the greater part of the funds to other and better purposes. The baneful idea of superiority complex and inferiority complex, the stigma of untouchability ruinous to Hinduism and such other narrow beliefs and customs, will have to be thrown overboard. We must extend the range of love towards humanity. This present conception of society calls for a radical change. It must become liberal and broad. Herein India we have to think of the difference between the Brahmins and the depressed classes and to scrutinise the evil effects of this absurd discrimination.

Again, we want a common language for our country. The multiplicity of tongues and dialects is an impediment. It does not even allow us to understand our next-door neighbors besides causing a number of other difficulties. Take for instance our Baroda, where I have to run Gujarati, Marathi and Urdu schools side by side. Had we but one language, much labour and much money would be saved. Once more I

repeat my warning that there is a great difference between England and India. Even in matters of education, we need revolutionary changes, taking into account our needs and the altered and rapidly altering times. Baroda tries its best in all honesty to achieve what is feasible in this direction to-day, but we can still see many fashionable fads. Our modern schools, high schools, colleges and universities, still make a point of propagating the remarkable hypocrisies of the twentieth century. The necessity has clearly arisen that we should put a stop to all these fads and fancies and devise an altogether new scheme of education. In these circumstances I invite you all to pay most serious attention to the ideas placed before you by Principal Bhate. It is my wish that a scheme shall be devised which will make us self-reliant, broad-minded firm and persevering citizens.



At the opening of the Bapuji Desai Science Laboratory Hall, Nawsari, 29th December 1928.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— Science is one of the most important subjects of study in our High Schools. But to make science really interesting and instructive to the students, it is necessary to have a properly equipped laboratory. This had long been a need of the premier High School in Navsari, with which the name of that great merchant-prince, Sir Cavasji Jahangir Readmoney is associated. Thanks are due to the Desai brothers for their liberal donation to build a spacious hall for the laboratory in honour of the memory of their father, the late Mr Bapuji Desai, a highly respected and leading citizen of this town. Thanks are also due to the Committee of the Madressa, for their contribution for the apparatus and equipment of the laboratory, without which the hall would not have served its purpose. With these few words I have great pleasure in declaring the Bapuji Desai Science Laboratory Hall to be open.



At the Christ Jayanti, 17th December 1932.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— The subject is so deep and abstract that it is hard to do more than express my agreement with the ideas and opinions of the preceding speakers. It would be useless for me to attempt to analyze the different religions and their creeds. If you study the books of various religious teachers, you will see, from a practical point of view, that religion is a very important part of life. It helps us to work the social organization, based on religious principles. One of the preceding speakers referred to the unity and diversity of different religions. I would myself prefer that there should be unity in all religions, and then there would be less disunion.

In all things, and religion as well, there is a power. We always try to pierce the veil, and we do find something. Of course, there are limitations to everything, situated as we are in a world with limitations. There is also a law of proportion. There is proportion in everything and we cannot exercise right reason too much for it will guide us in usefulness and save us from pitfalls. The result will be less disunion and distrust.

India is a country having many religions. But before us is this question: “Is it religion which we cherish to-day, or is it superstition?” I ask you all to think over this matter deeply. If there be any mistakes or shortcomings, we should, in our humble way, try to set matters right. I am trying to put before the public the best ideas in the different religions of the world,

and I hope my people will study them, improve their minds and correct their shortcomings.

Mankind must promote its happiness. अहिंसा परमो धर्मः This principle is common to Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity. We must not hate other religions. Our love for men should be limited not only to mankind but should apply also to the animal world. But, as I said before, there is a limitation prescribed to everything. This applies to अहिंसा also. If we do not eat even vegetables, saying that they have life and so we should not destroy them, our life and our endeavors will be useless.

At present there is a kind of revolution in social and religious life. Diversity exists in all religions, but there is fundamental unity in all religious thoughts. From that point of view, there should be neither emotion nor excitement. There should be no violent controversy or upheaval. nor should people be urged to fight. In peace and amity we shall have every chance to achieve happiness and prosperity in our present existence.

In conclusion. I thank you all for enlightening me with the excellent addresses that I have had the pleasure of hearing to-day.



At the Prize Distribution of the 14th All India Athletic Tournament held under the Auspices of the Hind Vijaya Gymkhana, Baroda, 24th December 1932.



MR SUDHALKAR AND STUDENTS,— I have not come here to-day with any prepared speech. You have already begun to understand the value of physical training, and I congratulate you on winning your prizes. I am glad that the love of sports and exercises is spreading apace in different parts of India and especially here in Gujarat. I hope this love of sport will continue to grow.

Physical development has a very important part to play in national life and I am very glad to notice that the new generation is already improving in bearing and physique. A second generation has been created since these sports began. I hope that the sportsmanlike spirit will go on increasing, for I see in it healthy and auspicious signs for the future. I congratulate you on the good games you have played. You should also take up more and more European games such as cricket and hockey, in which there is more skill and discipline, more scope for learning the habit of obedience and prompt action. I congratulate you again on your success in these sports, which I have watched with so much satisfaction and pleasure.



At the opening ceremony of the Domestic Science Exhibition, Baroda, 25th December 1932.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I did not wish to make any speech on this occasion, having had little time to put my thoughts together owing to many other pressing engagements since my arrival in Baroda. But as I take great interest in the subject of Domestic Science, I will give you a few of my impressions though they will not be in logical order.

It was from Europe that I gave instructions that an Exhibition like this should be organised. As the time was very short there were obvious difficulties in making arrangements, particularly in an area like Gujarat, where it is not easy to collect materials for such an exhibition.

What is Domestic Economy? What kind of articles and things should be exhibited in a Domestic Science Exhibition? While in Europe I asked Mr Kanoffsky to consider all these questions and arrange this exhibition, and thus to utilise the knowledge and experience of Domestic Science which he brings from Europe and to illustrate what Domestic and Artistic Economy is. The subject of Domestic Economy is very useful and requires steady encouragement. The exhibits are well arranged and I can see here the chief products of the biggest manufacturing companies in the country. The methods and instruments they have employed are worth studying. It is for you to show what can be done to improve our present situation by comparing the exhibits with those turned out in Europe, America, and

other countries, and by your efficiency and industry create demands so that the manufacturers may have an opportunity to produce good quality, and thus again increase the demand. For years we have been working at this idea more or less continuously.

I remember that in 1923 there was an industrial exhibition on a much greater scale, and it was the first of its kind. Such exhibitions play a very important part in educating people. I should like this one to be held annually, or if not annually, at least every three years, and thus enable us to study progress—whether we are going ahead or remaining stationary.

I have taken a personal interest in these matters in various ways and in various departments. Domestic Economy, which is related to domestic life, could be introduced in many branches. The first and the most elementary necessity is food, the quintessence of all materials. Sanitation, hygiene and other things follow closely. Years ago, as a boy, I was ignorant of all these things, but I tried to see what was going on in the Palace and how different officers performed their duties. I noted their views and activities and tried to put into practice what lessons could be learnt.

On the whole, in life, food is of primary importance to us, like coal to an engine. Food articles must be pure, good in quality, sufficient in quantity, and prepared sanitary surroundings. I have reduced everything to a system, and set down practical principles in the form of books. If you wish to see them, they are available in my Palace kitchen office. Of course, they are only notes and if you want more details you must have recourse to an encyclopedia. I find that the art of cooking is at present in the hands of illiterate people, having no idea of sanitation, hygiene, and cleanliness. I have introduced rules and regulations, to the effect that nobody is admitted into the kitchen unless he has had a good bath and secondly that no articles should be taken in by the kitchen personnel unless they are thoroughly examined. I can see that the food prepared in such a sanitary kitchen is satisfactory and hygienic.

Thirdly, people cook by practice and by seeing other people's methods. But that food does not always have the best taste.

It should be of proper quality and quantity, otherwise there is abuse and lack of economy. If there are not sufficient directions and sufficient supervision, and if the kitchen staff are not keen and conscientious, the goal will not be achieved.

Merely to tell, is of no use. Orders must be executed. We must fix a standard of means and we must not allow things to go on unless they are satisfactory. A collection of book has been prepared for this purpose only, Mere Orders and instructions are not sufficient for the servants. I tell my officers to do certain things, then examine whether my orders are observed properly and reasonably, and ultimately record what the officers did. As a result a series of books has been issued and you will find that a great change has come about in the art of cooking-at least in my Palace kitchen. Another result of these systematized books is that they show the means, proportion, nature and kind of article used in the various kinds of food dishes. Do not infer that I pretend to be an expert in cooking or that I have much knowledge or experience of the art of cooking, but I hope that my people will practice and observe what I myself preach and practice. If a person has intelligence, energy and efficiency and the power of organization, here is a field for him to make a fortune. This field is very wide and attractive, and you will find that there is demand for Indian dishes, not only in India but in all parts of the world.

Another thing I had to do was to standardize the use of articles of furniture, just as for cookery. I sent men to France and other European countries for education in furniture craft, and after they came back I introduced with their help several important changes in the State furniture factories.

When I was quite young, the life I lived in the old Palace in the midst of the city and afterwards in Makarpura was a life of which few of you can have any idea. It was not due to want of money, or that I could not command, but it was due to want of knowledge. I was ignorant, but my officers were more so; and they could not give me a better idea of what is comfort. It is now past history of which many of you may be ignorant. Now there are many changes, there has been a great expansion of ideas, and the standard of life has been raised.

If it happens in the case of a Raja, why should it not occur in the ordinary life of every one of you? You will, therefore, attain wider understanding, higher ideals and greater comfort in life, by practicing what I am. preaching and have practiced. The object of life is to make us happy in our own sphere. and not to hold pessimistic views. It is not meant by God that we should remain unhappy, rather is it His intention that we should be happy and make others so.

Reverting to other aspects of Art, Art never occurred to me while a boy. I was never told or shown what Art is and was therefore completely ignorant of it in my youthful days. My education was narrow and confined, and so I had much to learn, not because I lacked the power of understanding, but because there were no ideas, no education, no ambitions.

Can we as a nation understand what is Art? Is not Art good for a people's life? India is poor and her economic condition is wretched. Unless it is improved we cannot hope to achieve the aims of life. We must analyze the cause and nature of the obstructions which hamper our progress and if it is possible remove or circumvent them. Remember this and formulate your ideas accordingly. Indian people are no worse than any other peoples of the world; they love comfort and a little luxury also. How shall we achieve that end?

We must improve our economic condition and try to make right use of our leisure; then we shall have comfort and the good things of life, higher ideals, higher aims and. higher achievements. With that advice I now declare the Exhibition to be open.



At the Baroda College Golden Jubilee Celebration, 25th December 1932



MR BURROW, STAFF AND STUDENTS OF BARODA COLLEGE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I thank you very much for the depth and sincerity of the welcome which you have given me this evening. I am deeply touched by it and by the varied emotions that are stirred in me by the historic occasion to celebrate which we have met today.

A crowd of memories comes surging into my mind when I look back in thought through the dim corridors of the past and connect to-day's festivity with an event which was one of the first public acts of my reign—the laying of the foundation stone of this College, which has just completed the first half century of its life. And when I look back on this early event, think of the men who were then around me and associated with me in this task; when I find that I am the only one of them left to be present here to-day; when I survey the hopes, fears, expectations, the devotion and labour of all those who tried to make a success of the cause of the spread of education in my State, I would not be human, if the memory of all this had not stirred up the deepest and tenderest thoughts in me. At the same time my heart swells with very natural joy and pride when I cross over, as it were, in mind from the dusty plain, the lines of excavation, the heaps of mortar and bricks, a trowel and a stone on that cool evening in January nearly fifty-four years ago, to the ordered paths and drives

and green lawns; the magnificent pile surmounted by a wonderful dome and, what is even more, to the large and joyful foregathering of those who have received and are receiving their nurture in these scenes and buildings.

My earliest convictions, as far as I can recall them, were concerned with the promotion of education among my people. I had begun to realize that it was the lever—the only lever—by which our country and our people could be moved from the inertia of ages that had weighed them down. The Baroda College was founded under my aegis in 1879, when I was quite a boy. There was then it widespread interest in higher education and it was hoped that the seed planted would grow into a strong and vigorous tree. Those hopes and expectations have been realized, for we have met today under the shade of the wide spreading branches of that tree, bearing the promise of a very fruitful future. We therefore owe it to ourselves to think on this occasion with a grateful and reverent memory of all those who with clear vision and foresight prepared the ground, took all thought to nurse this growing sapling, watered it with the sweat of their souls. Many of them are now, alas gathered to their fathers !

Ever since that day when I laid the foundation stone I have watched with sympathy and interest the growth of this—the highest educational institution in my State. I have regarded it as the eye of my domains. I should perhaps more correctly call it a beacon from which were to radiate the quickening rays of thought and inspiration to the remotest parts of my dominions. I had expected from it a constant supply of men with training and character for carrying on efficiently and economically the administration of the State and for exerting a healthy influence on the moral and spiritual well-being of the people. You know well enough that, keen as my interest in higher education is, I have always looked upon education as an essential thing to instil the spirit of progress in the people at large. It is not every one who is fortunate enough to receive the benefits which such a College as this confers. Knowing this, and desiring that every one of my people should enjoy in some measure the advantages of education, I inaugurated a policy of compulsory education throughout my State. I regard this College as closely related to that policy,

the men and women should get education. To whom I look to carry it to success.

I have grudged no cost or endeavour towards the furtherance of these expectations. I have gone on instituting in it, as adjuncts to the Arts studies with which it began, courses and chairs in Science, Agriculture, Law, Comparative Religion, with a singleness of purpose—the good of my people and their moral and material amelioration, so that they might avail themselves of them, each according to his need or inclination. And now it is a matter of great personal gratification to me that this, the very first institution on which I had bestowed my thought and care in the spring time of my life, has borne abundant fruit. I am profoundly satisfied with its growth and development and look upon its achievements in the past as an earnest for even greater achievements in the future. Thirty students with which the College opened in 1882, as we have been told, have increased to over thirty times that number to-day. Almost 2500 have graduated in Arts and Science. This is a record of work of which any institution may well feel proud. But it is not numbers that impress me as much as my confident hope that the young men and women who have gone out of the portals of this institution have been forces to burst the narrow bonds of caste and sectarianism and to leaven the lives of their countrymen with ideals of courage, discipline, service and passionate belief in the brotherhood of man, ideals which I feel sure have been imparted within these walls and which they took with them into the larger world of their activities.

When I laid the foundations of this College the world was travelling into a new era under the most favorable omens very different from those which have burst into view during the last two decades. It was moving into an atmosphere most merciful to the cause of the moral arise and make wonder that during this time humanistic and liberty subjects absorbed the attention of the great majority of our students as they did in most parts of the world. But the last twenty years have witnessed great changes. They have coincided with the wonderful transformation that has been effected by Science in the two great departments of human activity, production and transportation, all over the world —especially America

and Europe. The effect of this is felt not only in every part of the globe but in every sphere of life. Our countrymen, who are inspired and perhaps also intoxicated by the tremendous changes and seized by a desire to take their due share in the scientific developments of the day, have realised that Science must be allotted its proper place in the field of modern education. We accordingly hear on all sides the cry raised for greater facilities for scientific studies. I have sympathised with this wish to catch up with the times, and mindful as I am, and have always been, of the truism that educational needs like those of every progressive activity in life have to keep pace with the revolving forces of the day. I have, and with the greatest good will, sanctioned the construction of a Science Institute which is even now nearing completion in our midst. It is indeed gratifying to me to feel that on the occasion on which the tree of knowledge-if I may so call it-which I planted, has attained a half century's growth, we are afforded the pleasure of witnessing the strong and vigorous branch it has begun to throw out-a branch which I have every hope will grow up as strong and fruitful of good in the service of this State and the welfare of its people as the parent stem from which springs.

In the mind of the present generation Science has come to dominate the field of education. There can be no doubt that the study of any branch of natural science opens possibilities of discovering new truth. There is scarcely a branch of Physics or Chemistry or of Biology or Natural History in which the student may not hope to extend the boundaries of knowledge. This is what makes or should make the study of science so attractive. One is occupied with what is permanent, one is in quest of reality. I find it difficult to exaggerate the importance of scientific study in this country. The mentality of the people, the result of age-long absorption in other-worldly matters, is averse from the study of fact. It is continually occupied with airy nothings. How detrimental this natural inclination is to the true pursuit of knowledge I need hardly point out. We must face facts, and the only means facing them truly is by adopting a scientific attitude towards them. It is not only in the purely scientific studies that this attitude should be adopted. History and Philosophy need to be approached in the

light of hard facts as well as Physics and Chemistry. I would urge you, with all the power that is at your command, to clear your minds of the cobwebs of loose abstraction, and to concentrate upon scientific examination and arrangement of the whole field of knowledge. But let us not forget that man himself has the first claim on our attention. Everything which explains his hopes, fears, needs, aspirations—in a word, all which interprets his inner or personal life, is not to be neglected. History, philosophy and imaginative literature do this and must ever retain a place in our scheme of studies. The ardour with which the study of the experimental sciences is now pursued must not blind us to the fact that education has to do a great deal more than turn out a man fitted to succeed in business.

I had no intention of being didactic this evening, and if I have referred to these distinct functions it is because I have the confident hope that these two branches by their vicinity and contact will help to correct the bias and supplement the deficiency that one-sided pursuit may beget. What I am looking forward to from both of them are benefits to the community and the emergence of men whose influence shall permeate the lives of their fellow men.

The value of knowledge depends on the use we make of it; if we use it for selfish objects or ignoble purposes we had better be without it. Those high and noble faculties of mind and will which are not the exclusive inheritance of any race or country have been given to us not that we may employ them for our own benefit alone, or cultivate them merely for their own sake, but that by developing them to the utmost we may apply them to the welfare of our fellow men, whether they be rich or poor. Realisation of this truth makes for the correct spirit of democracy.

This is an ideal worthy of our most constant striving. We must not be content with the measure of success we have already achieved. I know that it is much easier to criticise than to construct, and I would not have you think that I am unmindful of the good points of our higher educational system. But I am conscious of defects, and I hope you are too; because it should be your aim so to perfect the system, that those

who come after you may receive even greater benefits than you are receiving.

This country in common with a great part of the world is singing loudly the praises of democracy. I feel tempted to suggest that they may be only paying lip service to it.

It is the task of youth, which has had the benefit of education. It will be a real democracy when every man, woman and child in a State is filled with an irrepressible desire to do everything possible to make that community better, stronger and freer. And this ideal cannot be achieved without an educated people-educated not only in letters but educated in those deep, and moral truths which are implied in the phrase "the service of the community".

Students of the Baroda College, let me ask you to realise that your position as men of higher education and your influence among your fellow citizens is great—it must be great and must increase. Resolve every one of you that you will give your best thought, your best work, not only to the furthering of your individual interest which of course is natural—but also to the great community of which you are a unit. This is the surest way to achieve that fundamental unity which is the greatest and the most crying need of our country. Remember too that what is also needed in a democratic country is that we should not only level the mass upwards as far as it is capable of rising, not only make the highroads of learning wide and make them free to all who can walk, but also that we should not impede the progress of those who wish to motor or fly.

It is true a great deal has been achieved by this institution during its existence, but let us not rest on our laurels. The world in its present condition affords increasing opportunities both for academic work and for social service. I am sure the student: of this College cannot be indifferent to the crying needs of our country. The economic condition of the country mitigates against the attainment of our educational ideas. The poverty of the masses, the lack of suitable conditions for study, and the consequent apathy towards education are evils in the social system to the rectification of which we should devote our sincerest efforts. I do trust that you will find the time, for there certainly is the opportunity, to give a thought

to, and a helping hand in, this work of such tremendous moment to the fair name and prestige of this great land.

And now before I sit down I should like to urge you, students of the Baroda College, in whatever sphere your lot may be cast, to keep a warm corner in your heart for your *Alma Mater*. It is according to the course of human nature that you should ever cherish a deep sense of affection and gratitude towards the parents who have cherished you and guided your steps in infancy and youth. It is not less natural that you should entertain similar feelings towards that institution and its members that have bestowed assiduous care upon your education which has aimed at opening your mind and expanding your intellect and building up your character. The tree that has yielded all this fruit has been reared by them not without toil and not without sacrifice, and you owe it to yourselves to defend and shield it in its growth. Entertain therefore an affectionate hope for its increased prosperity and look back to see it rise higher and higher in the scale of public institutions, and wherever it may please Providence to place you, in your life and conduct show that you are worthy children of the Baroda College.

To you, Principal Burrow and the Staff who have been associated with me in this great task, who have gladly shared the responsibility and disinterestedly given of your best towards the furthering of my ideal, may you be granted the courage to carry on nobly, the strength to keep up the golden tradition, the power to inspire and elevate, the graces to instil character and infuse knowledge, and by your devotion, your sincerity, your self-sacrifice inscribe your names indelibly on the hearts of your students and the memory of the State.



At the opening of the 17th session of the Marathi Literary Conference at Kolhapur, 27th December 1932.



SHRIMANT RAJARAM MAHARAJ, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over this 17th session of the Literary Conference and I appreciate your desire to recognise in this manner my many efforts since my youth to serve Marathi language and literature by encouraging authors and books. So, despite my indifferent health, I have accepted your invitation in order that we may exchange views with good authors and good poets and that I may tell you something of my reflections. I need hardly say how deeply gratified I am that this occasion has brought us to the city of Kolhapur, the capital of a dynasty of the Chhatrapatis with which my own is so intimately connected.

This moving fair of Saraswati annually attracts thousands of devotees from all parts of India. We are like the pilgrims to Pandharpur who join with others in an annual journey to perform the communal worship of the god their choice, while at other times they worship him alone, Writing and reading is just such a twofold worship. Writing or the production of literature is an art. Literature is the preservation of man's speech, and essentially speech which is memorable. Truth, beauty and goodness characterise such speech; it is such qualities that society wishes to preserve in memory. The advent of the art of writing enabled the preservation of noble

thoughts in human speech, and it must not be forgotten that the written letter is but the symbol of the spoken word.

Literature is of a dual character; of the intellect and of the emotions respectively. We appear to use the term Sahitya nowadays for the type of literature which is emotional, aesthetic and artistic. In Europe it is known by the term *belles lettres*. Naturally this Conference inclines to such literature, but to me the other type-intellectual literature—appeals equally. For the last fifty years I have not only watched with interest the prowess of Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi literatures, but have also played an active part, helping their progress as much as I could and spending much time in studying trends which hamper development. And it is as an interested and anxious student of literature that I stand before you now, and not as an expert.

If I were to attempt to narrate my work in the cause of literature it might savour of self-praise. Nevertheless, the brief details that I give may help those who seek to do likewise and at the same time elicit comment indicating where I may have gone wrong. Firstly, I established a system of compulsory and free primary education together with a chain of village libraries intended to preserve and further such education. After spending Rs. 2½ lakhs on bringing out series like Stories of Nations, Treasure of Knowledge, Marathi Works Series, I set apart Rs. 2 lakhs in 1912 for the encouragement of literary publications. I also made provision for the study and development of Marathi as well as the language of my State—Gujarati—by such measures as the Gaekwar Oriental Series to save old and important works from the ravages of insects and time, founding the Sayajirao scholarship subsidising dramatic companies, appointing a poet-laureate, opening reference libraries for Marathi and Gujarati, and creating chairs for these languages at the Baroda College.

There is necessarily much similarity in the different languages spoken in various provinces, for they have a common origin. This markedly so in the case of Marathi and Gujarati, which resemble two rivers arising in the same mountain. Gujarat and Maharashtra are adjacent, and

their languages have originated from Prakrits. The general impression that the Prakrits are derived from Sanskrit is now being modified. But if we study the complex forms, difficult pronunciation and general clumsiness of Sanskrit, it is not difficult to deduce that it was an academic dialect, artificially formed by the Pandits after mixing together different Prakrits and adding a polish of their own. The Jains and Buddhists have a great Prakrit literature, adequately provided with linguistic apparatus like grammar, lexicons and so forth. A truer picture of ancient Indian society can better be found in Prakrit works than Sanskrit ones, and Indian vernaculars are more indebted to Prakrit than to Sanskrit. For that reason our young men should study the Prakrits carefully and Prakrit works should be translated into current languages. With that end in view, I have caused certain translations to be made of old manuscripts found at Patan, and I am certain that our labours will not be wasted if other old works are similarly adapted. Let us turn now to the four periods of Marathi literature and examine their characteristics.

The fight between *Sanskrit* and *Prakrit* raged for centuries. Buddha and Mahavir preached through Prakrits, but the Brahmins did not give up writing in Sanskrit. Even the Buddhists and Jains resorted to Sanskrit in order to command greater respect. Chakradhar, a Nagr Brahmin of Broach (A.D. 1263—71), the father of the Mahanubhava sect, ordered his followers to write not in Sanskrit, but in the language of the people, viz. Marathi. The earliest available works in Marathi are his. Prior to the coming of the Mahanubhava sect, Jnanadev and Namdev flourished. The Abhangas of Namdev find a place in the holy scriptures of the Sikhs, and the Mahanubhava sect, through their monasteries, spread Marathi literature even beyond Attock and as far as the Frontier, i.e. up to Kabul. All these earlier works can stand the test of literary criticism. In thus laying the foundations of Marathi literature, many writers took part along with Jnanadev and Namdev. Among them may be counted men and women of all castes: Chokhamela, the mahar; Gora, the potter; Narhari, the goldsmith; Sena, the barber; Muktabai

and Janabai. Thus they proved that the right to the highest knowledge belongs to all alike and not to privileged castes.

Afterwards came the ravages of the Mohammedan domination, but it so happened that they did not destroy the foundations of the edifice of Marathi poetry. The lamp of Marathi was kept burning by such poets as Eknatha (A.D. 1528-1608)—who fed a Mahar orphan even before the Brahmins at a Shraddha feast, and who edited the original text of the Dnyaneshwari; an English poet, Father Stephen (A.D. 1549-1619), whose phraseology was picturesque and rich, and who said that Marathi was among languages what the Jasmine was among flowers, or what musk was among perfumes, and the gifted poet Mukteshwar (A. p. 1599-1649), who revived classical poetry in Maharashtra. During this period many Urdu words crept into colloquial Marathi, but their effect upon the language of poetry was small.

Tukaram and Ramdas were born in the same year A.D. 1608. Tukaram's poetry is characterised by emotion, originality of thought, freshness of experience and an intimate knowledge of people. Its appeal to the heart of people is great, as it is composed in a simple style full of feeling. Wordsworth's definition of poetry as "the spontaneous over-flow of powerful feelings" is literally applicable to the poetry of Tukaram. In his many Abhangas, he has narrated the story of his spiritual development. If his poems can be arranged autobiographically, they will provide a unique addition to the literature of the world. Ramdas was a virtuous and sagacious personality. His fine definition of poetry:

कवित्य शब्दसुमनमाणा ।
अर्थ परिमळ आगाणा ॥
तेण संतष्टपदकुणा ।
आनंद होय ॥

(Poetry is a garland of flowers in the form of words. Its spirit appeals to those of good heart as does its fragrance to the bee),

is known to all. The poet Vaman, the composer of rhyming verses and translator of Bhartrihari's poems, was a contemporary of Ramdas and Tukaram. He was followed by such poets as Shridhar (A.D.) 1677—1728), the supporter of female education; Amritrai (A.D.) 1753) of the honeyed speech;

Mahipati (A.D.) 1715—90) the Marathi biographer of poets; and the great classical poet Moropant (A.D.) 1729-94). This era of religious or Pauranik poets provided a contrast to another set of poets, who amused the people and who are classified under the heading of bards and Shahirs. There are for example Ajnandas, winner of a golden bracelet from Shivaji; Tulsidas, who has immortalised Tanaji; Ramjoshi, the composer of love ballads in the times of the Peshwas; Anandfandi, under the patronage of our Darbar; tailor Parashuram, the ballad-writer; Honaji Bal, the author of the famous matin “धनश्याम सुंदरा” Shridhar Prabhakar, who has described the Rang Panchami Durbar of Savai Madhavrao. To these famous bards fell the duty of enlivening the leisure of the village peasantry.

With the spread of English education there came a general revolution in Indian literature. Before this period prose was an exception, while poetry was one-sided in Indian literature. Naturally it began, to lose interest. Just as the old poets liked to translate the treasures of Sanskrit literature into Marathi, so those having received English education desired to acquaint their fellow-men with English literature by translating its best works. When such translations began to find a place in all types of literature, there was a natural stimulus to original writing. Kunte started composing original poems. Mr Jyotiba Fuley, for example, started writing essays advocating equality. Lokahitwadi wrote essays urging the necessity of destroying old conventions. Mr Oke started to create children's literature. Mr Halbe established a new vogue of writing novels and Mr Kirloskar of plays. This earlier literature was simple rather than artistic. It was reserved for Mr V. K. Chiplunkar to lay the foundations of classical prose literature. Keshavsuta revolutionised the choice of subjects in poetry. Messrs Kolhatkar, Khadilkar, Gadkari and Varerkar started their respective schools of dramatic literature. Mr Haribhau Apte upoused the cause of the novel. Mr Rajwade started historical research work. Messrs Tilak and Agarkar changed the whole aspect of Marathi journalism. The traditions founded by such men are vigorously maintained by their disciples. The heart of the worst pessimist should

not be filled with optimism by casting a glance at the literature produced during the last sixty years, which is a hundred times greater in variety and quantity than the literature produced in six hundred years from the time of Jananeshwar to the passing of Moropant. Even the greatest pessimist must be impressed by such vigour. It must not be forgotten that this is for the most part a result of our contact with Western culture and communication with various countries.

Having briefly surveyed the four periods of Marathi literature, let us now see how circumstances influence literature. During the days of the Yadavas, Maharashtra was isolated from the outside world. Marathi words were then derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit and the poets knew no subjects other than philosophy and mythology. Writing materials being difficult to obtain, prose did not flourish, as people found it more convenient to compose and memorise poems. With the advent of Mohammedan rule in the fourteenth century, some Mohammedan customs and words crept in. With the influence of a monotheistic and non-idolatrous religion began the worship of Dattatreys sandals and the composition of that great work, *Gurucharitra*. Prose writing began with what is known as Bakhar, Mahajar and Kaulnama. In the days of Shivaji, the spirit of liberty began to rise and such feelings found an outlet in the lively and spirited poetry of Ramdas. In all parts of the country rang the words—"Assemble every Maratha"—and such like expressions conducive to unity, and they had an undoubted effect upon the poetry of that time. During the glorious days of the Maratha Raj poets like Moropant flourished and during the day of its downfall there were bards like Ram Joshi who revelled in composing ballads of a markedly sexual character. Then began the English rule, and with it communications with other provinces and nations were commenced, which introduced new forms of literature till then absent from the language. Society is changing apace, literature finds difficulty in keeping pace with it. The narrow and prejudiced outlook of olden days is giving place to broad-mindedness and liberality of spirit, which is evident in all the new books published.

From our brief review it is evident that literature is the reflection of the mind of society. It was akin to a social

revolution when the Mahanubhavi school started to write books in Marathi instead of Sanskrit. The Brahmin pandits had, as it were, seized a monopoly of higher knowledge and the disgust aroused in ordinary folk by their selfish policy was reflected in the form of these Marathi books. The art of writing books had assumed the shape of mental acrobatics through constantly writing books in Sanskrit, which was not understood by ordinary people. It was, therefore, an expression of sympathy that the earlier Marathi authors started writing in Marathi. Then, during the three hundred years which followed, only books on philosophy and mythology were written. This was quite in keeping with the nature of our people, who were stay-at-homes and thought everything would come to them without effort. But in times of oppression, the conviction began to grow that things would not happen automatically; they began to assert themselves in warlike fashion. They preferred the stories of brave deeds in Ramayan and Mahabharat to the riddle of Brahma and Maya. Ramdas described the general joy of Maharashtra when independence was achieved and the bards started singing of the brave deeds of warriors. Social restrictions were removed and the principles of religion were broadcast among the people, to the great satisfaction of Tukaram. There was Self-Government in Maharashtra and Marathi became the court language. Poets like Raghunath Pandit and Moropant composed classical and artistic poems in Marathi. But in the times of Bajirao II, when the sword was put aside, people were occupied in revelry and merry-making of all kinds, and the minstrels composed ribald poems instead of ballads. The first few years after the establishment of English rule in Maharashtra were barren. People were dazed by the new change of fortune, and their minds were unstable. It was not for some years that praise of such qualities as patriotism, equality, thirst for knowledge and contempt of conventions appeared both in society and literature.

For all our recent progress, we must not complaisantly assume that everything is satisfactory. Illiteracy and poverty being more prevalent in Maharashtra than elsewhere, it is difficult to obtain customers for Marathi books. It is the more pleasing to know that in spite of many difficulties the number

of writers is increasing. The only remedy is to create the desire for knowledge in the minds of the lower classes, upon whose progress the permanent good of the country depends. During the last two years there has been an appreciable addition to our literature in poetry, problem plays, non-problem social novels, short stories, biography, essays and children's books. An analysis of books (shown opposite) published in the Bombay Presidency between January 1931 and July 1932 illustrates the tastes of the people.

In addition, one-act plays and talkies are two new forms that have come into vogue. Newspapers enjoy good circulations and one daily is set in monotype in which it is now possible to print the Devanagri script. The sixtieth birthdays of the famous litterateurs Messrs N. C. Kelkar and K. P. Khadilkar have recently been celebrated with éclat. The disciples of

No.	Subject	No. of books	%
1.	Art	33	3.8
2.	Biography	58	6.7
3.	Fiction	73	8.5
4.	Drama	62	7.2
5.	History	60	7.0
6.	Poetry	114	13.2
7.	Religion and Philosophy	127	14.9
8.	Language and Rhetoric	65	7.6
9.	Hygiene	29	3.4
10.	Essay	5	0.1
11.	Travel	12	1.1
12.	Physical Sciences	31	3.6
13.	Literature for Children	45	5.2
14.	Politics and Economics	15	1.8
15.	Education	2	0.0
16.	Reference	3	0.0
17.	Law	6	0.1
18.	Miscellaneous	118	15.8
Total		858	100.0

Mr S. K. Kolhatkar have recently honoured him. All this is commendable, but it is regrettable that periodicals should be in a bad condition. There is need of a series of books to educate the masses and we sadly lack scientific books and manuals on arts and crafts. There is no sign of coordinated effort and the general trend of affairs gives cause for uneasiness. Owing to the poverty and paucity of customers, important books are not published. We have much to learn of the art of binding and of making the "get-up" of a book as attractive as the contents. If the desire for reading and appreciation of beauty grow together, and if our people will cut down wasteful expenditure and utilise the savings for the purchase of books, then book publishing will flourish and the publication of books of permanent merit will be possible.

There is one drawback in our literature, and it is that it appears to have been written by one special class for the same special class. Writers of all classes joined in the making of our old literature, but during the last fifty years, characters which move in novels, dramas and stories are taken from the educated classes; and that too from Bombay and Poona. Even if a writer tries to get his characters from the distant Himalayas or Malabar, the description of those places still appears to be either of Poona or Bombay. There is no local colour. the language is cumbersome and the poor cultivators speak and think like townspeople. Thus, if a writer takes his characters from all classes, they seem unreal and do not really belong to those classes. Even in our scientific literature, there are no books of use to the carpenter, the blacksmith and other village workers. Is it not really wonderful that there is not a single book on fishing or navigation in Marathi, although Maharashtra has a coast which runs for three hundred miles? The natural result of all this has been to make Marathi literature one sided. If literature is created by writers who belong to all classes and professions it will represent the sentiments and aspirations of all and becomes a national inspiration. If we turn to the proverbs and sayings in the English language we find that they are taken from such occupations as cooking, tailoring, navigation, farming and the different sciences. But our own sayings seem to be taken only from cooking and farming.

When a country is rising to higher things, its literature shows the signs; as the dawn heralds the day. Although literature is a reflection of the mind of a people, it does not always reflect the tendencies: of the social mind. Good literature can change the trend and inclination of Society. Mazzini's writings announced the dawn of Italian independence and it is well known that the poems of Keshav Suta heralded the destruction of foolish conventions in Maharashtra. The influence of literature is now increasing in all directions and it is no longer necessary to depend only on reading. Radio, the drama and talking-pictures have proved very effective and they create lasting impressions on youthful minds. Therefore, all those who are concerned with the making of literature, should create only that which will prove beneficial to society. Journalists also, instead of trying to please people, should write such articles as will instil courage and buoyancy in the minds of people, for the political and social opinions of a race are more or less guided by journalists.

Excellent original literature is being produced in Maharashtra and other provinces, but little is known there of the best books produced in other languages. Similarly, Western nations are not acquainted with literature produced in Indian languages. Rabindranath Tagore attained world fame because he was able to engage European savants to translate his works, but this is rarely possible for individual writers or even individual literary bodies. Therefore, if a Bharat Sahitya Parishad be formed with representative; of various literary associations, it will do immense service. It can, for example, have selected books translated into our different provincial languages and into English, and through such translations it can make provinces better known to each other. It can arrange scientific and technical terms acceptable to all. It can create a national language and a national script which will find general acceptance. I am convinced that if all unite in formulating a common script, it will be of immense help both in increasing the output of printing machines and in cheapening newspapers and books. Similarly it will be possible for province to study their rate of progress as compared with other provinces, to discover their own shortcomings and

eliminate them. Therefore it will be a most welcome development if provincial literary bodies can co-operate in common aims and labours.

If we can achieve a common script for India, co-operation among the educated must surely increase. And for mutual intercourse there should be a common language like Urdu cum Hindi or a similar combination. Provincial languages should be used for the sake of provincial unity and a national language for national unity. I think that Hindi will be most useful in promoting national unity, and for the last twenty years I have made it compulsory in our primary schools. Furthermore, in October last I announced my policy of making Hindi the court language of Baroda State. With the accepted principle of a wide franchise, it is essential that the functions of the forthcoming Federation should be performed in a language which is simple and understood by all. I appointed a committee to prepare a legal and administrative dictionary for use in our Federal Constitution. On this Committee there are both Hindu and Mohammedan members, and both current and coined words are given in parallel columns in eight languages including Urdu. I had previously made efforts to secure uniformity as to scientific terms and in my opinion these terms, whether they relate to administration, political economy or science, should be brought into general use throughout India. This dictionary is now being revised and I regard it as essential that the subject as a whole should be kept above communal and party differences.

The elected senators in our present Universities should try to introduce Mahathi more and more with a view to promoting its use. It has already been announced that the establishment of a Maharashtra University will be discussed in this conference. This University should not be merely an examining body, but a virile, living institution where patriotic young men may imbibe noble thoughts and noble sentiments.

And now, in concluding my speech, I wish to summarise and offer one or two constructive suggestions:

- (a) People need literature which will implant in their minds kind thoughts and noble aspirations. Therefore authors

should try to write and publishers to produce such literature as will germinate in the minds of the masses feelings of brotherhood and nationhood, making them rich in culture and knowledge like the peoples of other countries and civilisations.

- (b) Attention must be paid to utilitarian books. Economics, constitutional matters, scientific developments, untouchability—such are examples of important subjects of the day and books should be written upon them.
- (c) Series of books like Everyman's Library, the Home University Library and the Children's Encyclopaedia are necessary so that those who are not fortunate enough to go to a University may obtain requisite-knowledge.
- (d) Authors should write in language which will be understood even by the rustic villager. The object of writing is not to show of one's knowledge but to add to the general understanding.
- (e) While new books are being published, new editions must also be brought out of suitable old books which must not be allowed to perish. It will be a serious loss if such works are neglected.
- (f) Those books which have revolutionised world thought should be translated into our language. Those who lack the gift of writing original works may well devote their attention to the making of good translations.

The suggestions that I have placed before you clearly cannot be confined to individual enterprise, and they require the united efforts of many. The Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad was inaugurated in my presence at Baroda twenty three years ago and I regret that it has produced few tangible results. It would be well advised to take up this important work and impress on the minds of the people that it is honestly and sincerely serving the cause of our Marathi language and literature, that it does not restrict its field of activity to a particular locality or entrust its rights to particular interests but is seeking the uplift of all Maharashtrians. When that has been done, it will be possible for us to pursue the ideal of a Maharashtra University. Authors must make themselves at one with society in its broadest aspects, arousing in the

hearts of their readers sympathy and admiration for their works. How best that can be realised is the subject of our forthcoming discussion. Hence I conclude my speech with the words of Tukaram's blessing:

"Let us help each other along life's highway."



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At the Opening of Atladra-Padra road, 11th February 1933.



MR DE MORSIER AND GENTLEMEN,— Having finished the task allotted to me I would like to say a few words in connection with railways, a subject which is prominent in our minds on this occasion.

It was years ago that I commenced, by design and not by accident, the construction of railways throughout the different parts of the State. The programme was introduced after hard thinking and careful calculation and that portion of the public works has been more or less completed, though, as we know, there is never an end to progress or undertakings pertaining to the advancement and civilisation of the people. Along with the railways we should consider the construction and development of roads which naturally help to connect the railway traffic. It is with that object that our policy is being undertaken:

These roads are intended to serve as arteries to the railways in the different parts of the State and I hope that the people will derive the fullest benefit from them and that they will bring comfort, ease and security to those who take advantage of them. I shall be glad indeed to see, in the course of time, all these schemes completed and my people deriving the fullest benefit from them.

I have been asked at times by my friends what will happen to all these progressive measures that are being undertaken.

Well, gentlemen, it is not a paper constitution, it is not even law that will ensure security to an administration. It must be in the spirit, in the energy and the care of the people that the greatest security lies. And I hope that men of common sense and sincerity of purpose will ensure that the progress we undertake and on which we spend so much is secured and kept alive. I hope also that future rulers and their officers will continue the work so intelligently that they will earn the blessings of the people and receive timely assistance in maintaining progress.

In conclusion I would like to urge my people to study our progress, to be happy in their enjoyment of the benefits and in the realisation of the still greater benefits that will fall to the lot of their children.



At the first social gathering of the students of the Maharani Chimnabai Mahila Pathshala, Baroda, 11th March 1933.



MR MATUBHAI KANTAWALA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It is good to be assured that the founder, the life and the spirit of this institution, is Her Highness. Without life and spirit the institution would remain like a lamp without a light. Before I speak further about this institution, which, I understand, is partly dependent on Government aid and partly on the support of generous subscribers and donors, I would like to mention several points in our daily life which have occurred to me.

Firstly, the existing system of education, whether for women or men, is by no means ideal. If we are to attain the desired end we must devise a better system, both by studying the systems in other countries and by understanding the ideal we seek. Comparatively speaking, there are great defects in the system, whether in British India or in the State, and one cause is the failure to study the moral philosophy of India instead of preparing men merely for employment in services. Suitable institutions can certainly be started on a more substantial basis for the advancement of the people than the existing one. Much depends upon funds, but as an example of the other difficulty I mentioned, there is the college which I wished to start, in which education was to be given in the vernacular, making English a secondary language. The question was fully discussed, but the fate of the suggestion was disappointing. There was not sufficient support or

encouragement. We are therefore slow to make further attempts, but the idea was good.

The main difficulty we find in India is that people go to school simply for the knowledge that is useful to fulfil the qualifications that are required in Government service and Government is a large patron in this country. If we are merely to depend upon that, we cannot go ahead and follow our ideal. We can deviate from the governmental standard and curriculum only when people are intelligent and alive and they display a self-sacrificing spirit. Then we can gain our end. But it is very difficult, especially in a country whose people have to live from hand to mouth, embedded in ignorance, knowing nothing of life or progress in other parts of the world. They have no means of comparing their progress with that of others who have deviated from the Government curriculum and standard laid down. If, as I say, I could see in our people the desired qualities, I am sure there would be many willing and able to give us institutions better suited to our requirements, to our climate and to our ideal. As it is, there is waste! How far are we prepared to undergo trials in order to achieve a patriotic goal?

Those who are not in earnest find themselves linking vaguely and acting in an unpractical manner. If we are to think in the right way, we must follow the deals of philosophy. Philosophy does not mean mere speculation but conclusions derived from logical thinking for application in practical life. Clear thinking is urgently required. It is for you to do it and I feel that if you combined with your brethren you could start another institution on more practical lines and designed specially to serve your time and attain your objectives. Beyond that point I will not go; the rest must come from the people themselves.

Government, as such, has its resources, to be devoted not to one special object, not to one department, but to many activities. Just as in your humble homes a poor man has to divide his little income in life in Sansar, so Government has to apply its resources to different activities like the development of commerce, industries, works for the public welfare such as health, encouragement to institutions, and so forth. There are naturally many institutions, differing from

each other in scope, utility and intention. Government can have only limited resources and it is for all of you to help in starting institutions. I am not saying this with any desire to discourage your support of this institution, but I am sure that with the practical sense and the commercial wealth in Gujarat, if you all help, many will come forward to help you to develop the aims of the institution which you have at heart.

Those who have interested themselves in the foundation of this institution deserve my warmest thanks. I am glad that Her Highness has taken a warm interest in your welfare for many years: she is a very sincere well-wisher of the institution and its progress. We may belong to different sexes, but we all have one common aim: the desire to serve our children and future generations to the best of our ability and endeavour.



At the opening of the Flower Show at Baroda, 22nd March 1934.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN— It is not possible for me to compete with the admirable speech made by my Chief Engineer; a Frenchman by birth but an Englishman by education. I shall not therefore attempt to rival his eloquence.

Everything in this life is comparative. Baroda may be a city of flowers but we have to compare Baroda with India. Conditions in Europe are totally different from those of India and all that we can do is to take the utmost advantage of the gifts with which nature has endowed us. We may not have the green vales and verdure of the West. The degree of the utility of civilisation depends on the degree of natural endowments of a nation and how best they are put to use. Therefore there should be no disrespect for nature and beautiful scenery, whatever the contrast with the arid and hard stones that we find in India.

Gujarat is rich in vegetation and green fields, and I have tried to avail myself of the experience of my predecessors in working for the State and in seeking to multiply nature's gifts. Nature is a cosy corner where a traveller may take rest in times of distress and when the sun is burning hot. Therefore I have availed myself of nature's advantages to promote the planting and cultivation of trees in the State.

While thanking my Chief Engineer for his varied activities and keen devotion to duty, an example which may be commended to others, I may mention here that I fully share the sentiments expressed in his speech. I have great pleasure now in declaring the Baroda Flower Show open.



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*At the Summer Reception of the East India Association in Grosvenor House,
London, 24th July 1934.*



MR CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— When I was asked to attend this meeting to-day, I had not the faintest idea, that I should be asked to say a few words, but being called, on by my friend and host I feel it my duty to comply with his command.

My two predecessors have addressed you already and expressed such noble, genuine ideas, that it is hardly necessary for me to repeat them. I would, however, emphasise that I agree with many of the wise thoughts to which they have given expression.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have to bear in mind that things nowadays, as compared with the past, are vastly changed. We are not living in different continents or different countries, but in one united world where the interests of all have to be equal and sympathised with. What were continents before are now countries; what were countries are now continents, and thus our material and moral interests are inseparably intermixed, and it would be but a short-sighted policy not to recognise that fact and give weight to it in practical life and in the policies of States.

Unless that is done, the struggle for material prosperity, limited by human passions and tariff wars, will ever continue—and not to the prosperity of mankind. Such struggles may for a time give prosperity to limited communities, but for the good of all of

us we require a greater vision, a greater sympathy, a greater love for humanity, and not merely for a small community. Without this, struggles, rivalries and jealousies, must ever continue. In my position I can only give expression to such views and feelings, not having any direct part or share in the administration of the Empire.

But I hope the changes that are expected of India will be so well contrived, and the share given to the Indians will be so potent that they will not merely sentimentally but truly be in a position to help in the true progress of the Empire and of humanity at large.

With these few words, may I thank my many friends for giving me the opportunity of meeting them here today and especially my old friends Lord Lamington and Lord Linlithgow, whom I have known for many years. It is a matter of great pleasure to all Indians that we have such opportunities of coming together. I hope the opportunities will increase, and that we shall have still greater and freer opportunities of exchanging views at social entertainments.

In conclusion, let me thank you again for giving me this welcome opportunity.



At a Meeting of the Union of West and East, presided over by Sir Francis Younghusband, Caxton Hall, London, 7th August 1935.



SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I have been very greatly interested in the Bratachari movement founded by Mr Dutt, for in my opinion it has the greatest possibilities of good for the people of India. It is of course true that the Bratachari movement is not by itself a complete solution of the problem of reviving Indian life.

India is a country where there have been vast empires like the Mauryas and Guptas. We were not and are not as barbarous as some people in Central Africa. Judging from our old literature in ancient times, it was considered essential for our ladies to learn to dance and to sing. You seem here to be leading more of our ancient life than we do now in India.

It is essential for a race to be termed a nation, to have a common rule, a common religion, a common tradition, sentiments and customs and common aspirations. Judging from any of these standards, most of this can be fulfilled in India. Therefore, instead of being a congeries of tribes and different races, it is more a nation.

I have worked with Indians coming from different parts of India, and even Europeans, and I have had no difficulty in understanding either. Most of our habits and customs are the same, with some local variations to break the dead notony of uniformity.

Our old traditions have been lost or are being rapidly lost and we have not learnt any new ones well enough to enjoy them. However, we must strive to progress, but without health nothing can be achieved. We want more health and joy, and we also require a little more freedom in the country. The prime factor in the revival of life lies in the introduction of free institutions in the political structure of the country, a matter in regard to which important developments are now in progress.

The Indian people are fond of physical exercises, sports and music. In the old days, even when I was young, some the old people would not leave their houses unless they ad taken their physical exercises. Wrestling, riding, gym- tics and stick play, were some of the exercises in which indulged according to their status in life.

Just as people here have music at tea, dinner, and so truth, so with us, no ceremony was performed without some form of music. We have *Garbas* in honour of certain deities, at which ladies of all rank, including princesses, take part. There are dances amongst Waghers and Bhils, some of which are very entertaining.

In Baroda we distribute prizes to musicians and sportsmen, and also to men who study the *Shastras* and even to those who sing and dance the popular songs and dances (*Tamashas*). The form of some of these prizes has now been hanged to suit the present-day requirements.

It is of the utmost importance to bring the educational system of India and the life of the educated people into close touch with the indigenous social and spiritual traditions and culture of the country, and it is in this direction that the movement founded by Mr Dutt is of the greatest value.

I have myself been always conscious of the value of keeping alive the indigenous arts of India in both the spheres of music and dance on which the Bratachari movement lays emphasis. I have encouraged the conservation of the *Garba* dance among the women of Baroda; I have fostered the cultivation of Indian music by its traditional exponents and the work of compilation of folk-songs of my State. In spite of my efforts, however, I found that it was difficult to keep alive the folk-dances and folk-songs of our country. They are rapidly dying out owing to

the apathy of the educated people and that applies also to other parts of India.

When I began to examine these institutions and put them on a rational basis, my difficulty was to find people who understood them and who could set right any defects found in them. Herein lies the value of the great pioneer work which Mr Dutt is doing. He is not only making research into the folk-dances and songs but is opening the eyes of our educated classes and our universities to their national value by his personal example, learning himself and practising the folk-dances and songs of the country and introducing them among the cultivated section of the community.

I consider that Mr Dutt is doing work the importance of which may not be fully realised now but is sure to be realised seventy-five or one hundred years hence. He is doing a great national work for the whole of India and the movement started by him is bound to develop into a great national movement which will make his name immortal in the history of India. It will preserve the living traditional culture of the country from extinction and it will infuse vigour and joy into the national life.

This holds good not only as far as folk-songs and folk- dancing is concerned, for we can very usefully revive the old sports and games which were indigenous to the country. I have made a collection of games and published it in a book, which contains much useful information. A collection like this for the whole of India will be most interesting and suggestive of many ideas and require much research.

I have been so greatly impressed with the value of Mr Dutt's work and of the Bratachari movement that I have invited him to visit Baroda at an early date and to start the movement in my State so that we may infuse a new vigour and joy into our people.



After Prof. Soman's lecture on the "Reconstruction of Hinduism" at the Laxmi-Vilas Palace. Baroda, 2nd December 1935.



GENTLEMEN,— I would like to say a few words on the spur of the moment, so if my views should seem to you a little fragmentary, I ask your indulgence. In the first place, I speak to you on this subject as an individual and not as a Maharaja.

We cannot compliment the lecturer too highly on the able discourse which we have heard. In most respects his ideas are sound, though in some respects I differ from him personally. For example, I do not know why more emphasis should be laid on cultural affinity. Let us educate our people as well as we can and leave the subject of marriage to their choice and their discretion.

Unless our civilisation is broadly based we cannot work together. There was a time when India was isolated but eventually it was penetrated by people from Arabia, Persia, Europe and other countries, all having their influence on the ancient Hindu civilisation. The basis has been broadened but we have not yet learnt the lesson, which is that we should be brothers and accept universality of faith and thought, irrespective class, caste, creed and country. And surely it is by studying each other that we improve our own understanding and better ourselves.

I have pondered over this subject for many years and each and every progressive step I have taken has sought a definite objective. The primary necessity I believe, is the desire for

betterment. We must create that. People must learn to analyse and compare the old and the new and for that they must be given education.

I do not mean education merely in the sense of book-learning. There are other ways which you well understand and upon which I need not enlarge. Education is one part of the temple of knowledge and it should be available for all without restriction of caste and creed. When this has been done intelligently, we may then be able to ascertain the extent of human progress.

From the standpoint of social changes, a law that I am making provides for a small school for study of the subject. It is of course only a beginning and a great deal remains to be done. What further I or the State will be able to do, I cannot say. But we must do whatever lies in our power, both individually and communally, to propagate our ideas with sincerity.

If you do not wish to change your religious views, that is your personal matter. Certainly you should not run away from Hinduism on the ground that it is a religion of the past. I have seen greater ignorance of progress than I thought could possibly exist in India. Religion continued along such lines must surely die. That lesson has been learnt by my Mohammedan and Christian brothers who have the same path to follow.

The best ideas must be brought to bear upon our prospects and chances of success in order that we can learn to train character and to teach the masses really universal beliefs in which all religions have common ground. Religion is a word that can be defined in many ways. It is really a kind of emotion, individual to each one of us, and that emotion should be expressed by each one in a manner that is best and most intelligible to him personally.

But subject to that definition, there must be one common code of morality to which all subscribe. Let us be one at heart, loving and helping each other. In that I am sure the salvation of India lies. If you do not, you face disaster. Mohammedanism, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, all have great unblemished truths from which to construct a common code, but do not yet see many material results. It is practical

idealism to work step by step and our immediate objective should be to instil a greater love of country and a greater desire to help and understand each other.



*At the Annual Prize-giving of the Maharani High School for Girls, Baroda,
11th December 1935.*



MRS WEIR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MISS NEEDHAM AND TEACHERS, PAST AND PRESENT STUDENTS OF THE MAHARANI HIGH SCHOOL,— It has given me genuine pleasure to be present here to-day and to see the programme of exercises and games that have been so well performed. I was particularly impressed by the Garbha dances and by the imitation of stately and solemn Japanese drill. The latter is a type of training given to young girls in Japan before they leave school In order that they may be better able to discharge their many duties at home. I hope that some of you at least will find it as beneficial as do the young girls of Japan. For one thing, it will train you to become good hostesses and to perform your duties as such, quietly and efficiently, when you are married.

It has given me pleasure also to hear your annual report. I am glad that the number of girls is increasing, so much, indeed, that another High School will probably be needed. I hope that expectation will be fulfilled before long.

Women's education is not given here merely in imitation of Western civilisation. In our Indian homes women in olden days were as well educated as the men. In ancient India women also used to be trained to take a leading part in public activities and even in philosophical discussions. There is no reason therefore why you of the present generation should not take your opportunities, why you should not be able to hold your own, working steadily in literature and other

activities in the same way as men.

Let not your efforts, however, be marred by the spirit of jealousy. Aim rather at healthy competition which is always good for everyone. Your ideals should be mutual help, mutual welfare, and mutual progress. You should never seek to benefit at the expense of others but should seek to rise by your own merit and through your own efforts. It is my earnest desire that you should rise to the best of ability and I hope that you will be actuated in your a by the highest motives.

Men and women are not enemies. They are indispensable to each other, and for the progress of the world and humanity it is essential that they should advance together and help each other to achieve the great objective of life, namely the happiness of the home. Unless this is done, education will fail in its aim. I trust that this objective will be attained under the wise guidance of Miss Needham. She has been here for a long time and I hope will remain much longer. And in due course, may her successors follow in her footsteps and care equally well for your interests and for the progress of this institution.

Nowadays we hear a good deal about women and their freedom. But we want to ensure that freedom is not so interpreted as to become classed with licence. You should as far as possible try to mould yourselves on the basis of rational freedom. With that object in view we must give to women as much liberty as is in our power with a clear understanding as to what constitutes the right freedom. To achieve the latter requires a good deal of training, thinking and perseverance.

Some women are thinking to obtain equality in status as citizens of India, and our lawyers are trying to help them by legislation. I do not altogether agree with this. To command self-respect we must live and move on the right lines. Your freedom must be rationally based so that you may pass it on to your children and their children.

I do not wish to detain you longer and I will conclude. I take the opportunity of thanking you, teachers, for your help to Miss Needham. I wish you all happiness and success in life and thank you all again for the interesting programme of entertainment you have given us to-night.



At the name-giving ceremony to the locality beyond the railway station on the West of the town and to the Friends' Co-operative Society on Race Course Road, Baroda, 13th December 1935.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I am inspired on this occasion to say a few words in response to the fine address that you have given me. When I see these beautifully lighted houses my memory carries me back to distant cities like Berlin, Paris London, Cairo and elsewhere, which have undertaken programmes of expansion. Here in India extensions are also taking place every day. But as compared with other countries of the world, the progress of expansion in Bombay and other Indian cities is very small and ours in Baroda is still less.

Nevertheless we have no need to be discouraged, for our growth is not as slow as in other places and the pioneer spirit is to be praised. Regarding extension here and elsewhere in India, we have done much, but the general response has been inadequate. For that the people are not to blame. The main cause is economic. India is proverbially poor; still poorer compared with other countries of the world; and I believe that without a change in economic conditions we can not prosper or rise higher.

It is the economic condition of the people that must be changed. It is a problem which I cannot solve, and I must leave it to those who have better brains and greater experience than myself. Houses and place of recreation are not the only necessities of life. There are many others which

are equally essential, and we are trying to supply them to the best of our ability.

This beautiful work, which we are all delighted to see in Baroda, is a worthy example for the rest of the State to copy.

I may say that the state will always try its best to help all progress and advance. Much money is spent on the capital on the resources of the State reserve, but there is a limit to it, and we must now try to provide for the needy and for poorer people. I find that not only now, but for the last ----- years, we have been spending a lot on the capital, and their attention must now be directed to the villages and their needs. For that, as you know, Government has provided a certain sum for every province, and they are expected to provide further amounts. The State, in the same way, has provided large sums for towns which have undertaken to carry out waterworks and similar undertakings. Our records show how much we have done, and we have every reason to gratified with our progress. But we should not rest satisfied with what we have done, but try to do more and more.

Gujarat, as compared with other parts of India, may appear to be fairly well off. But the standard of living is not high, and Gujarat cannot be called prosperous as compared with other parts of the world. My desire is that we shouldn't remain satisfied but always strive for better things. It gives me great pleasure when you do rise to more prosperity, comfort and happiness, when your wants are easily and promptly provided and you obtain domestic facilities.

We all desire to have the benefits of good government. It does not merely consist of the Raja, but is a body politic. Expressed crudely, it means that if one part suffers the other also suffers: if one side of it is steadily developed, we must ensure that other sides are not neglected. If you read the books on the subject you will find that the whole has been produced to a definite system. Raja is represented as the father of the people and it is the duty or the father to watch the growth of his progeny so that they may live in a happier life. But the father also needs the help of the children, who also have their duties and responsibilities.

We must therefore work together in close co-operation for the progress of society, if we wish to achieve success in our great undertakings. For the common good of all, we must look upon ourselves as one body, actuated by the same desire for our common welfare. We must look ahead together and without communal, party, or caste feeling, work to achieve greater things and bring happiness to all.

I wish you success in all your undertakings. No one is more happy than I am to see progress. I compliment this Society on building good houses, for I am sure that others will be impelled to follow your lead. Baroda is extending, and I am providing further facilities for its expansion. The same movement is proceeding also in the districts. While I was in England, I wrote to the different municipalities in the State, inquiring whether congestion exists in their areas and what remedies they propose. I await their replies with a view to providing more space and more facilities. I hope the time will come when these matters will be arranged with less correspondence and discussion.

May I thank you again for your fine address to me and wish you all happiness and prosperity.



After presenting prizes at the Guiarat Intercollegiate Sports, Baroda, 15th December 1935.



PRINCIPAL BURROW, PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS, — I had not intended to speak this evening but the display of manly sports of strength and skill, which I have witnessed with so much pleasure, impels me to say a few words.

Naturally, this is not the first time that I have visited such college sports and I well recall how in former days I used to note the pale cheeks and sunken eyes of college students. They lacked both strength and enthusiasm, and when I compare your feats with theirs I am really delighted to see the improvement that has been made.

I would like to congratulate the University on organising these intercollegiate sports for I am sure that they will prove of the greatest benefit to the present generation of students. I would remind you of the famous English proverb that "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy". Students who only bury themselves in their books and do not participate in any games, invariably lack enterprise and enthusiasm. Every young man must try to be healthy and strong. Without health and strength, you will not be able to face with resolution the difficulties with which the path of life is strewn and in the end, no matter what your walk of life, defeat or disappointment may well await you.

I consider it essential that you should spare some portion of your time each day to be devoted to many exercises, and

that in your curriculum provision should be made for games and recreation. It gives me great pleasure to see that the University authorities are alive to this need and that to meet it in part they have organised these intercollegiate sports. Besides improving your health, they bring you into closer contact with students of other colleges and thus create in you the spirit of brotherhood and good will. As you study more and gain experience of the world you will discover that it is not only futile but harmful to differentiate between man and man on the grounds that A is a Gujarati, B is a Kathiawari and C a Deccani. Our ignorance is responsible for this tendency and the warped judgment which results. As you come in closer contact with one another you will realise that our culture, thoughts and customs are the same. We are indeed like the different parts of one body and our interests are identical. It is therefore my earnest desire that you should take a greater part in these activities, both to improve your health and cultivate the spirit of brotherhood and sportsmanship.

I congratulate those students who have been successful in these competitions and have won prizes. Not all can win prizes, however, and the spirit of striving in the losers also merits praise. To the latter I would say that so far from being discouraged they should strive the more to achieve success on the next occasion. In conclusion, I thank you all for having given me an opportunity to spend this delightful evening in your midst.



*At the Unveiling of the Statue of the late Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj, Baroda,
23rd December, 1935.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It gives me great pleasure to be able to-day to unveil the statue of the late revered Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj. This statue is the work of the distinguished sculptor, Mr. Karmarkar, and I am confident that it will add to his fame.

Though nearly seventy years have passed since the rule of Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj, he is still fresh in our memory. His life's motto was that "physical well-being is the first means of Dharma". He had a great love of exercise and used to perform wonderful feats of strength. Of a conciliatory and liberal temper, his charity knew no bounds, and it was above all considerations of caste and creed.

Bhavbhuti's famous adage "Harder than a thunderbolt softer than a flower", could be most appropriately applied to him.

He had a deep love for his subjects, and when, in 1857, at the very beginning of his reign, the Mutiny broke out, it was to prove a severe test of his merits. How he emerged triumphant from the ordeal and how it benefited the State, is well known in all of you. Among the outstanding achievements of his reign were the construction of the Dabhoi-Miyagaon railway, the introduction of the British Indian model of a system to collect revenue and to survey and classify the land, the scheme of water-supply to Baroda City from the Narmada River, and the enactment of certain beneficial laws, the

establishment of judicial courts and of banks, and an increase in well-trained military forces.

It is difficult for us nowadays to visualise the mental strain upon Maharaja Khanderao caused by Family feuds and the presence of a minister like Bhau Shinde. The Marathi proverb that "One can know the difficulties of a situation only by personally experiencing them", is indeed true. It was really remarkable that despite all his troubles and worries he achieved so much during the brief span of fourteen years' rule. Even the superficial observer must admit that by introducing social and economic reforms, Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj laid the foundations of good Government. And it is in recognition of his great achievements and as a token of our regard and gratitude that it is our duty to-day to unveil his statue.

This custom of erecting statues of great personalities and ancestors is indeed an ancient one. Bhasa's play *Pratima*, and Shudrak's *Mruchhakatika* refer to Devakula for housing statues of the departed and the recently discovered remains of the stone statues of the Shisnaga dynasty (642-413 B.C.) bear witness to the contemporary custom.

The idea of offering worship of Shraddha to the manes or Pitrис is still older. In the *Rig-Veda*, deities like Yama and Indra were invoked in order that the departed might attain heaven and that those left behind might be blessed with health, wealth, children, knowledge and fame. It was only in the passage of time that the original conception degenerated into its present form. Similar methods of expressing respect for the departed are widespread, for example Barsi among the Muslims, *Dosla* of the Paris Masses among the Roman Catholics, the *Shinto* in China and Japan and the worship of the Jains.

There are two ways of worshipping ancestors the manifest or personal and the non-manifest or impersonal. Of the two the latter is preferable. If at all, it is in that way that peace and satisfaction may be given to the souls of the departed, an aim which cannot be achieved by making funerals the occasions for costly ceremonies with the risk of debt or of attaching unwarranted importance to ritual. The very best form of non-manifest worship is to study and understand the good qualities of our ancestors and to carry on the good work

initiated by them. Such indeed is the admirable advice offered in the *Upanislmds*:

यानि अस्माकं सुचरितानि, तानि त्वयीपास्यानि, नो दूतराणि,

(Whatever good deeds we have done, you should follow, but not the others—our bad deeds.)

Every human being possesses name and shape, and to the artist we entrust the duty of recording the latter. If we have the likeness of a distinguished man before us constantly, we are more likely to develop our intimate knowledge of him and his qualities. For that reason photographs of distinguished men are inserted in histories and biographies. A similar moral may be deduced from Ramadas' advice to Sambhaji:

शिवरायाचे आठवावे रूप । शिवरायाचा आठवावा प्रताप ॥

शिवरायाचा आठवावा साक्षेप । भूमंडळी ॥

(Remember the person of Shiwaji

Remember the exploits of Shiwaji

Remember the policy of Shiwaji

On this earth.)

We should especially remember the personality of forefathers whose manly dignity and cultured physical excellence were so markedly developed like the late Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj. A handsome body is the gift of nature, but physical fitness can be achieved by one's own efforts. Those whom nature has not favoured should try to develop their bodies, for a healthy body makes for a strong and vigorous mind. It is desirable that the ideals and virtues of physical culture should always be before us, and it is with such intention that this building and this statue of Shrimant Khanderao Maharaj have been erected here.

This imposing and handsome building follows what is known in architecture as the Indo-Aryan style, which is characterised by a happy blend of symmetry and proportion—qualities of outstanding importance in our everyday life. This style reached its zenith in the reign of King Siddharaj of the Solanki lineage and again in that of King Vishaldeo. Temples, palaces and waterworks, constructed in those times, can be seen in Baroda State even to-day at Dabhoi, Patan, Sidhpur and elsewhere. The central arch in this market building recalls the Hirabhagol at Dabhoi. The background of this statue of Shrimant Khanderao

is decorated by the dome on the arch, and by the tall turrets and specious and attractive roofs which flank it. To complete the setting there is the proportionate foreground of the Mandai or Market Building, and eventually there Will be a beautiful garden which is at present under construction.

May the constant reminder of a great king make the minds of our people like unto his mind—liberal, fearless and strong—and their bodies also like unto his—healthy and vigorous.



At Baroda, 28th December 1935.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— In America last year, I had the privilege and pleasure of presiding at the World Conference of Religions. It was one of the most interesting experiences of my life, for gathered under one roof were distinguished exponents of every religion and creed.

It was indeed a Parliament of Religions in which we were assembled together for the purpose of pooling our knowledge, convictions and experience. We hoped that through our discussions we might arrive at a truer conception of essentials and a truer understanding of what religion could contribute to the solution of our individual and collective problems.

It was a memorable gathering and the effect it had upon me personally was to confirm my belief in the essential unity of all religions and in the primary importance of frank discussion and constant study.

During my subsequent travels, and particularly of late, I have devoted much time to the study of current trends in religion in India and other countries. I have sought, when opportunity offered, to bring together men of learning, culture and experience, in order that I might listen to them and benefit from their views and understanding and from an expert knowledge to which I can make no claim.

In the hope that something may thereby be added to our store of knowledge, to our capacity for understanding and to

our desire for study, I have prepared a short series of discourses which indicate the nature of my recent reflections and of certain conclusions at which I have arrived.

For the first of these discourses I have chosen the subject of "The Evolution of Hinduism". I wish to express my thanks to those gentlemen whose advice I have sought, and particularly to Prof. K. J. Saunders, a man of great learning and wide sympathies, for his arrangement and correction of the text.

I will turn now to Hinduism and its evolution.

All sects and schools accept the *Bhagwad Gita* as their text book. They realise that in its *shlokas* (श्लोक) there is authority for all kinds of teachings and practices: it is all-inclusive. It is itself an *Upanishad*, and one specially adapted to the needs of the laity: and has for two thousand years inspired , and comforted millions. It makes the three schools or ways — *Karma Yoga* (कर्मयोग) *Bhakti Yoga* (भक्तियोग) *Jnyana Yoga* (ज्ञानयोग) - clear and attractive. These all have their roots in the earlier *Upanishads*, and in religious experience, and they all are needed for a fully rounded religious life—the whole personality, will, emotion, and intellect being involved. Again the moral teachings of Duty, Detachment, Desirelessness, Devotion, are of permanent value. For the a *Gita* the layman's *Upanishadad*, and sets the life of duty above the life of renunciation—*Dharma* (धर्म) above *Sanyasa* (संन्यास).

If we analyse this comprehensive book, we see that it is made up of eighteen chapters and that these fall into three books, dealing with *Karma* (कर्म) *Bhakti* (भक्ति) and *Jnyana* (ज्ञान), and that while all are concerned with each of these three ways, the emphasis is on *Karma* (कर्म) in the first six chapters, on *Bhakti* (भक्ति) in the second six, and on *Jnyana* (ज्ञान) in the last six. "Do your duty without attachment" is the main teaching of Krishna in the first of these books:

तप्यात् असक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर । अ. ३, १६

"*Do it in loving devotion to me*" is his teaching in the second:

सर्वकर्माण्यपि सदा कुर्वाणि मदव्यपाश्रयः । अ. ७, ५६

"*Illumination is the fruit of action and of devotion*", that is the burden of the third book:

स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्थ्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः । अ. ७, ४६

The saints are those who have realised this supreme truth.

The great moral summaries of the sixteenth chapter are notable. The following passages are typical of its moral teachings:

अभयं सत्वसंशुद्धिः ज्ञानयोगव्यवस्थितिः ।

दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥ अ. १६, १

Fearlessness, purity of mind, steadfastness, true knowledge, charity, control of senses, recitation of sacred books, austerities and absence of crookedness.

अहिंसा सत्यं अक्रोधः त्यागः शांतिः अपैशुनम्

दया भूतेषु अलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं च्छीरचापलम् ॥ अ. १६, २.

Harmlessness, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquillity, freedom from the habit of backbiting, compassion for all beings, freedom from avarice, gentleness, modesty, absence of vain activity.

तेजः क्षमा धृतीः शौचं अद्रोहः नातिमानिता ।

भवन्ति संपदं दैवीं अभिजातस्य भारत ॥ अ. १६. ३.

Strength of mind, forgiveness, patience, purity, self-abnegation are the divine qualities obtained by a true aristocrat, Oh, Bharat.

The following passages are classic expressions of the three great ways : The Gita provides a ladder for the lay people to climb to salvation. It may also suggest a syllabus of religious education for our schools, which must aim at training the whole personality. Devotion to a personal God of noble character does this best: but to *Bhakti* (भक्ति) we must add *Karma* (कर्म).

कर्मणे वाधिकारः ते मा फलेषु कदाचन । अ. २. ४७.

Thy business is with deed alone, not with the fruits thy deed may yield.

नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।

शरीरयाचापि च ते न प्रसिद्धयेत् अकर्मणः ॥ अ. ३. ८.

Do thine appointed task: It is better far than worklessness. Thy body needs it and thy soul.

अनाश्रितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः ।

स सन्यासी च योगी च ॥ अ. ६. ९.

Whoso doeth work not seeking fruit of work he is the true Yogi, he the true Sannyasi.

The will being thus challenged, *Bhakti* (भक्ति) is revealed as its inspiration:

मां उपेत्य पुनर्जन्म दुःखालयं अशाश्वतम् ।

नानुवन्ति महात्मानः संसिद्धिं परमां गताः ॥ अ. ८. १५.

Cast off all thought of duty and thyself devote to me alone: from all thy sin be free. To me they come the great souled ones, and coming find release from birth.

थे भजन्ति तु मां भतया मथि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥ अ. ६. २६
श्रपि चेत् सदुचाराचारी भजते मां श्रनन्यभाक् ॥ अ. ६. २०.

साधुरेव म मन्तव्य :.....

You all who worship me in love in me abide, and I in them: if one deep sunk in sin devote himself to me, account him good.

And these paths of duty and devotion lead to *Jnyana* (ज्ञान)-
Illumination:

श्रध्यात्मज्ञाननित्यत्वं तत्त्वज्ञानार्थदर्शनम् । अ. ९ ३. ११

True knowledge and perception of the truth is gained by constant study of the One.

परं भूयः प्रवच्यामि ज्ञानानं ज्ञानं उत्तमम् ।

यद् ज्ञात्वा मुनयः सर्वे परां सिद्धीं दूतो गताः ॥ अ. ९ ४. १

I will again proclaim knowledge supreme by which all saints have reached the goal.

Other well known passages are as follows:

Karma

न हि देहमृता शक्यं त्यंकु कर्मणि श्रोषतः ।

यस्तु कर्मफलत्यागी स त्यागीत्यभिधीयते ॥ अ. ९ ८. ११

It is not possible for beings endowed with a body to renounce Karma (कर्म) altogether. He is said to have renounced his Karma (कर्म), who does not expect to enjoy the results of his Karma (कर्म)

Success of Karma

अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथगविधम् ।

विविधाश्च पृथक् चेष्टा दैवं चैवाच पंचमम् ॥ अ. ९ ८. १४

Five things are said to bring about the success of an undertaking. The place, the doer, the instrument, variety of action and the divine help.

Bhakti

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वं पापेण्यो मोक्षयिव्यामि मा शुचः अ. ९ ८. ६ ६

Leave aside all which you consider to be your Dharma (धर्म) and take your refuge solely in me; I shall save you from all your sins. Do not repent.

Jnyana

नहि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रं दूर्ह विद्यते ।

तत् स्वयं योगसंसिद्धः कालेनात्मनि विन्दति ॥ अ. ४. ३८

There is nothing purer than Jnyana (ज्ञान) in this world. Jnyana (ज्ञान) is obtained in the course of time by all those whose actions have been perfected.

Let us then look upon the *Gita* as our source book, without being bound by the letter seek the spirit of its teachings, balance one against another, and correct some emphasis by the collective impression of the whole.

Thus if Krishna seems to teach in one place that men are puppets of a God who has his spot with them and the world, this is corrected by His continual emphasis on duty; man is responsible and free to choose good or evil.

Again if *Maya* (माया) seems to imply the unreality of matter as Vedantists have insisted, there are many passages which say that matter is eternal, and that life is real. The world is in fact not unreal, except as contrasted with the one supreme reality- it is the *Atman* (आत्मन्) which gives all a measure of reality, for it is in all. And in realising it as the soul and breath of all, man finds salvation.

The very comprehensiveness of the *Gita* has meant that various teachings have been over-emphasised by various schools, and even perverted, e.g. the caste-system becomes too rigid; or *Bhakti* (भक्ति) becomes erotic: and *Maya* (माया) becomes a denial of the reality of the world, For the intellectuals *Jnyana* (ज्ञान) is emphasized, with its *Advaita* (अद्वैत) philosophy, or monism. This has the danger of pantheism, e.g. obliteration of moral distinctions. For the masses *Bhakti* (भक्ति) is taught with its dualism of God and the soul : this has the danger of particularism, and over-devotion to some local deity. For the priests *Karma* (कर्म) becomes a matter of religious and ritual acts, with the danger of priesthood. For the warrior it becomes a matter of acts of bravery, with the danger of callousness.

The emphasis on *Bhakti* (भक्ति) has been overdone by devotees like *Chaitanya* (चैतन्य) and by the common people, who give their devotion to unworthy idols till the Puranic Krishna takes the place of the noble Krishna of the *Gita*, or Kali is appeased with bloody sacrifices, and *Ahimsa* (अहिंसा) forgotten. Eroticism may go to extreme lengths, as symbols are too realistically interpreted, e.g. the *Devadasis* and the *Jus primus noctis* of priests of some sects. Even the moral lesson of *Upeksha* (उपेक्षा) may be perverted, as by anarchists who appeal to the authority of Krishna in committing murder. Without trained and spiritually minded teachers the emphasis will continue to be one-sided and poetry will be read as prose.

This is the tragic story of religion. And Indians, too often unhappy and unsuccessful against the forces of nature and men, have sought in *Sannyasa* (सन्नास) or in romantic visions of an unreal world of goods to escape. This is romanticism. We want realism. And *Gita* has both. It tells that the Unseen is Real : Plato and Saint Paul agree. But like them it says that the earthly scene is also real, and that man must do the tasks of to-day in the light of eternity.

This teaching is to-day almost lost. On one side there is the over-emphasis on Vedantic monism – over-subtlety; on the other the over-stressing of the Krishna-cult. But a middle path is needed. We must find a God who is in His world, making it real, and yet not exhausted by His world; and the *Gita* does hint at such a God- incarnate Him age to age when unrighteousness triumphs and righteousness grows weak.

Side by side in the *Gita* are *Sankhya* (संख्या) *Vedanta* (वेदांत) And Theism. All cannot be true : if one is the others are not : if there is one personal God as Theism requires, there cannot be only one impersonal reality, or two eternal realities as these schools teach. But the *Gita* offers these alternative emphases, and often interpreters turn poetry into prose.

Of these philosophies, Theism, with its emphasis on personality, is the only tenable one. Man – a person – must think in terms of personality and emphasise personal values.

In India much new emphasis must be laid upon human needs and upon the value and meaning of human life. Life is good; man must live fully and purposefully; in serving his fellows he is honouring God; God is father of all, and has no favourites; men must behave as brothers; such simple and profound truths need restating and incarnating in action. So *Bhakti* (भक्ति), and *Karma* (कर्म) will lead unto *Jnyana* (ज्ञान) – a new vision of truth.

Indian reformers from Buddha to Dayanand Saraswati have been largely concerned with a reshifting of emphasis. Such a reformer is now needed to blaze a middle path between.

- (a) Skepticism and superstition,
- (b) Religiosity and secularism,
- (c) Other-worldliness and mere worldliness,
- (d) *Dharma* in its rigid forms and *Adharma* in its anarchical forms

- (e) *Maya* in the sense of unworldly ambition and the utter denial of the meaning of life.

In this reform the human values must be reaffirmed – and the true nature of God, *Sat* (सत्), *Chit* (चित्), *Anand* (आनंद), reasserted; God in His world making it real : so idols must be distinguished as good symbols (as for example Krishna and his flute) and bad symbols (e. g. the *Lingam*) which lead to bad practices by over-emphasising sex. The goodness of life and its joys must be boldly asserted. The prayer,

असतो मा सद्गमय
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमय।
ब्रह्मदारण्यकोपनिषत्

*From the unreal to the real,
From darkness to light,
From death to life,*

Must be intelligently explained and used. And reality, Light, Life must be interpreted in more ethical terms and related to modern life.

The Upanishadic teachings of transcendental truth, of one reality, are accompanied by simple ethical maxims. But our categories of personality and of values are lacking. The old order is passing, and as India enters the full and complex life of to-day, she needs a new statement of social and individual ethics. Life is real, not illusory; and good, not evil. Man must live in the world and keep himself detached from its false lures. Let us keep the Upanishadic spirit and adapt it to the new needs : e.g. salvation must mean harmonious and useful living.

The disinterested quest of Truest of Truth – not of mere mystical experiences. The relative ethic of the four *Asshramas* is sound, but must be freed of the rigidity of caste. The freedom and intellectual interests of Upanishadic women, and the acceptance of inter-caste marriages are examples of the value of the Upanishadic ethics, even in the totally different world of to-day. But it is idle to use them as the beginning and end of wisdom. And even the *Gita* needs re-enforcing and re-interpreting. It has no teaching on the some of our most pressing problems, and it gives no adequate place to women, whose emancipation and education is the main task of modern

India. Chauvinism and true patriotism are at war in this vital field – new *Kurukshetra*.

If we seek in another direction, we find in the teachings of Buddha a middle path of sanity and moderation which has still much to teach us. Rooted like the *Gita* in the early *Upanishads*, the middle path of Shakya Muni avoids the extremes of religiosity and skepticism, of wordliness and austerity, of legalism and revolt from law.

It teaches who paths – one for busy people a way of simple morality : "Do good, cease from evil, cleanse the thoughts of the mind." By good *Karma* (कर्म) bad *Karma* (कर्म) is to be counteracted, and by occasional does of monastic observance the laity may nerve their wills of monastic observance the laity may nerve their wills and kindle their affection for the Buddha and his law.

"He that attaches himself to me with love and faith", says an early scripture, "will go to heaven."

This is the way, and this is the goal for lay people, a better rebirth by way of personal loyalty to the founder, his law and his order – three jewels of Buddhism.

But for disillusion and world-wary people, there is a higher goal to be reached by a more-difficult road. "He that aspires for *Nibbana* (निबाण) – cessation of evil and rebirth – let him tread the Eightfold Aryan Path." This is a ladder for the mystic – beginning in right views, ending in rapture and ecstasy. Shakya Munni is in fact the great Yogi or Rishi represented in early sculptures, "Like a flame in a wildless place", eyes closed and hands folded. He is also, like Krishna, an active teacher exhorting and questioning, as other sculptures show him.

Krishna and Shakya Muni were both Kshatriyas and both made their appeal to the will through the affections. So many enlightenment – *Bodhi* or *Jnyana* – be reached.

From Buddhism, in fact, Hinduism absorbed much; its emphasis on *Ahimsa* (अहिंसा) and on *Upeksha* (उपेक्षा) – detachment : the clear recognition that *desire* (तृष्णा) is the great enemy; its devotion to the *Guru*. Buddhism in fact stands between the *Upanishads* and *Gita*. From the *Upanishads* it takes the concept of a great mystic experience. This is the alone Real. In this, man is one with Atman. This is gained in both teachings by

morality and ascetic practices.

But Buddha insisted more on the former and less on the latter, and he freed essential Upanishadic teachings from their Brahmanic emphasis; not by sacrifices but by self discipline must reality be won.

The *Dhammapada* (धम्मपद) or verses of the law may be studied as the best summary of monastic Buddhism : the *Sigalo Vada Sutta* (सिंगली वाद सूत्र) and the *Jatakas* for lay Buddhism. What are the essential ethics of these two paths? For the Laity the duties are almost the same as those for the *Grihastha* in Hinduism. And Ashoka's edicts are a useful summary – filial piety, respect for teachers, love of truth, earnestness, and zeal in work, tolerance to all, *Ahimsa* – these are their main notes.

The monk has, in addition, the duties of his office, periodic fasting and meditation, and above all the duty of teaching. In practice Buddhism means a division of labour. "The monk to preach, the layman to feed and clothe the monk." This is an exaggeration, and the idea of merit, of buying a good rebirth by such offerings, kills the true nerve of Buddhism, which is kindness to all, attachment to none. Other exaggerations are an over-emphasis of the sanctity of celibate life, and occasional austerities, such as burning the scalp, and even self-destruction, in the pursuit of *Nirvana* (निर्वाण).

The ethical content of this ideal again is largely lost, and it is negatively interpreted as cessation of being. This is as much an aberration on one side as the sensuous paradises of the northern schools are on the other. Shakya Muni refused both extremes. And Buddhism like Hinduism needs to return to a sane and serene faith and a wise agnosticism as to the hereafter. It is essentially a doctrine of justice in a world causally controlled, and it begins with the affirmations : "Not of like result are good and evil"; "As a man sows so is his harvest"; "One thing only do I teach- sorrow and its cessation." That man can be happy; that no capricious demon or God can affect him – that he must work out his salvation – this is the essence of Buddhism.

It has been perverted by the abuses against which its founder protested, and is to-day either a dreary rationalism or a superstitious blend of polytheism and book-keeping. But

the admirable figure of Buddha - calm, authoritative, reasonable and kindly- remains, and he and the sanity of his middle path can be recovered from the confusion of the texts. He called himself Elder Brother of men (लोकस्सू सेटरी जेरी). Subsequent ages have made him God above the gods. He was a mystic with a great experience; schoolmen have made him a rationalist. If he appealed to reason he also appealed to faith. And in challenging the will, he did not neglect the emotions. A great personality, he called out a personal response, and Buddhist saints have been men of strong character. Attacking egoism, he has been accused of destroying personality. Attacking religiosity, he has been labelled Atheist. But his was a religious spirit, believing in a just universe and in the power of men to live sanely and temperately. He is India's greatest son, and her ambassador to the rest of Asia. In him the West has a master-key to the understanding of the East.



*At the Opening Ceremony of The Rural Life Exhibition in Baroda,
1st January 1936.*



MR PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE EXHIBITION COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — May I say at the outset that there could have been no happier thought than to associate a Rural Life Exhibition with my Diamond Jubilee celebrations. There have been exhibitions dealing variously with industry, agriculture and domestic economy, but this is the first exhibition of a comprehensive nature, touching the life of Baroda at all points. It is a logical and desirable development and I congratulate the originators upon the efficient manner in which they have given practical shape to their enterprising ideas.

Throughout my reign, I have never ceased to study the problems of the countryside and the agriculturist, seeking the best methods of reconstruction and uplift. The broad outlines of the policy I laid down were that the people should be shown what improvements could be effected in their social, moral and economic status. and that they should be stimulated to a consistent desire and effort for their own advancement. Government could and obviously must provide the original initiative and the bulk of the finance, but ultimate success depends upon the personal factor- the ambition of the individual for a happier, healthier, and more prosperous life, and the determination to secure it.

When I entered upon my life's work, the outlook was far from promising. Material improvements in some respects had

been made during my minority administration, but the fundamental problems had barely been touched. Education was the preserve of the rich or privileged, and the people were sunk in ignorance and apathy. Sanitation was unknown, and water was scarce. The standard of living was pitifully low, and the incidence of taxation irregular and often unfair. Disease and the money-lender flourished while agriculture and village industries decayed.

It is a sorry picture that I have painted of the conditions which existed in my State sixty years ago, but I assure you that I do not exaggerate either the poverty or inertia. The difficulty was to know where to start, for the first step was the most vital of all. I chose education as the rock on which to reconstruct a new social and economic life. No one realises better how much remains to be done, but I have never regretted for one moment the decision that education should be the right of the humblest villager. With that decision I coupled a determination to go into every corner of my State and study conditions and needs for myself.

It is unnecessary to recall the reasons for the stagnation and backwardness of the past, and time does not permit a comprehensive review of the manifold activities aimed to secure a definite objective- the healthy mind and healthy body, the corporative and co-operative spirit. That such activities were not uniformly successful was no deterrent. Difficulties are made to be surmounted, and temporary setbacks count little in the determined pursuit of an ideal.

By the aid of education, we began to make appreciable progress against the combined forces of ignorance, prejudice and inertia. But education in itself was not enough. It is useless to give a man the desire to improve himself and his lot, if he is fettered by economic restrictions. And the outstanding problems of Baroda State, as indeed of India as a whole, are largely economic. What would it avail a man to grow better produce, if communications did not permit him to market that produce and obtain a better price, or if the results of his labour merely went to enrich the middleman or money-lender? Why should he labour for better crops when he knew well that drought and disease might rob him of the fruits of his labour?.

Those were cogent and reasonable questions, and we had to find an answer to them. Water supplies and communications were immediately tackled, and as resources became available, so did the network of railways spread and the provision of pure and unfailing sources of water proceed. To introduce modern methods into a system of agriculture, as old as time, was very difficult, for it was a problem not only of traditional conservatism but of the ability of the agriculturist to pay more for the improved methods recommended to him. A man cannot buy unless he can sell, and it is useless to urge a man to better agriculture and a higher standard of living unless he can obtain a better price for primary products.

By a system of loans and remissions, by the reduction of fragmentation, by the co-operative movement, we began to free the agriculturists from the shackles of debt and from the haunting fear of famine and crop-failures. And with the growth of a feeling of security and the wider outlook that even an elementary education gives, came the faint but unmistakable signs of self-confidence and self-reliance, of hesitant initiative here and there. The wheels were beginning to turn even though they creaked badly.

But at the best times, the fruits of agriculture in India are scanty. To supplement the earning power of the people, it was essential to explore other avenues for employment in spare times and slack seasons and to find new outlets for the surplus population which the land could not support. Our educational policy was so devised that it dovetailed with an agricultural and an industrial policy. In the villages we set to work to revive the ancient industries and to stimulate new activities. Technical education was made available and instructional centres and travelling instructors, combined with loans in money and material, brought about a revived interest in hand-spinning and weaving, calico-printing, tanning, wood, clay and metal work, embroidery and allied arts and crafts.

The general policy of uplift and reconstruction is indeed a dynamic one, needing constant thought and unremitting attention. In earlier days, for example, it was not possible to construct roads as we wished, but nowadays we are

committed to a programme of building which, in conjunction with the railways, should eventually provide rapid and efficient communication between all parts of the State and adjoining territories. Only last week I passed a further measure for the relief of rural indebtedness, and I am confident that will go far to settle one of our most difficult problems. I have also initiated a scheme which aims eventually at bringing physical education and sport into every part of the State. Already there are evidences of encouraging progress and beneficial results. I am a believer in hard work, but healthy relaxation is essential to a healthy mind and body. Another development to which I am giving attention is that of rural broadcasting, both as a means to better education and entertainment, broadening character and stimulating thought.

These examples of potential developments which are occupying my attention, should serve to emphasise the breadth and continuity of policy through long years of endeavour. And I regard this Exhibition as one tangible sign that every effort has been worth while and that substantial progress has been achieved. It is so interesting indeed that it is regrettable that it cannot be visited by more than a small fraction of those who could most benefit from it. But there is no ostensible reason why its counterpart, on a necessarily smaller scale, should not be held periodically, preferably when harvest and holiday times coincide, a district headquarters and other convenient centres. Fruit, flower and agricultural shows are a regular feature of country life in other parts of the world, and I can see no reason why they should not become annual events in Baroda's State.

Nor do I believe such beneficial activities should stop at that point. I consider that in each district there should be one or more touring exhibitions, moving on a regular itinerary for the greater part of the year. I would also commend to your notice the allotments and kitchen gardens which figure so prominently in other countries. They provide spare-time employment, a greater variety of good and a welcome addition to the family income. I think that much greater attention should be paid to the possibilities of poultry farming for similar reasons. I am aware that marketing is a problem and have

already appointed two officers to study and stimulate solutions. But very much more could be done by non-official co-operative endeavour.

Such movements indeed should be predominantly non-official, and in respect of them I consider that there is scope for considerable improvement. Government can do much by way of example, stimulus and judicious finance. I can justly claim, I believe, that my Government has done and is doing everything possible to devote its resources to the welfare, prosperity and enlightenment of the people. It is to that ideal that I have devoted my life. But all efforts will be crippled unless there is a genuine desire for self-help and a determination to supplement the efforts of Government by efforts of a personal and non-official character.

It has been wisely said that Providence helps those who help themselves. We sorely need in Baroda State, as in other parts of India, the determination to rise above difficulties by personal effort and by that selfless service which is true religion. In one district there is an energetic Rural Uplift Society, which is entirely non-official. Surely such societies should exist in each district. Progress brings its responsibilities, and they must be shouldered. Yet when taxation is involved in some beneficial development, roads, sanitation or water supply, for example, there is too often a marked reluctance to find the funds or the necessary supplement to the Government grant.

There is a limit to what any Government can achieve by itself, but I am convinced that no limit can be set to the peace, progress and prosperity which can be achieved by a Government devoted to the welfare of the people and working in close co-operation with those who are sturdy, self-reliant and determined to rise to better things and to make the world better for themselves and for their fellow-men. So to the problems of social reconstruction and rural uplift, let each one bring toleration, determination and service. Working: then with unity of aim and purpose, we need fear nothing.

In conclusion, may I repeat how happy I am that this Rural Life Exhibition should be associated with my Diamond Jubilee and that I should have this opportunity of saying something

of my ideals and the policy which grew from my determination to try and achieve those ideals. With the aims and objects of the Exhibition I cordially agree, and I warmly congratulate those who have laboured so arduously to present a living picture of the daily life of the people, their needs, their achievements and their Opportunities. It is with pride and pleasure that I declare this Exhibition to be Open.



Extempore Speech (in addition to his printed speech) at the Opening of the Rural Life Exhibition, 1st January 1936.



MR CHAIRMAN, COLONEL AND MRS WEIR, THE CHIEF SAHEB OF AUNDH, AND FRIENDS, — Mr Nanavati has well explained all the facts relating to this Exhibition. I thank the organisers who have laboured so hard from beginning to end to make it a success.

I shall not inflict a long speech upon you this evening; nor do I wish to inconvenience or detain you here by reading the whole of my printed speech. I shall dwell upon one or two of the points mentioned by Mr Nanavati, one of the ablest officers of the State. He is one of the young officers whom I deputed to Europe and America to study economics and banking. Since his return to India he has with ability rendered good service to the State. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of all his labour for the economic development of the people.

The progress of nations is sometimes slow and sometimes rapid. But in India it is always slow. In a practical life we cannot rely upon theory alone but must be guided by experience. In India, people require much sympathy, a good deal of knowledge, and unfailing encouragement, to enable them to achieve their ends. As it is, there is too much theory and too little ability to face facts. For example, I have had to pass such social laws as are unnecessary to contemplate in other civilised countries.

In the solution of economic problems we have tried to do as much as possible, and I think the results are not discouraging. Baroda, of course, has its own special difficulties in that the State is scattered and interspersed with foreign territories. Things would have been very different had this not been the case.

You will all agree that these things cannot be accomplished in a limited time or in the lifetime of any one man, but require centuries. If, however, we work steadily for long years, the nature of our effort becomes part and parcel of the nature of the people themselves. If the people are sufficiently intelligent, they come to understand the real value of the work. Given education on the broadest basis from the highest to the humblest; contact with other advanced countries through radio, telephones, newspapers and other modern means of communication; and given sufficient encouragement; if then you cannot rise above your difficulties, you cannot stand in the world. The misfortune is your own and no one but yourself is to blame for it.

I was recently asked by one of my friends what will happen to the State when the present Maharaja is not here? My answer to that question is that everything depends upon the sagacity of the ruler and the desires of the people. If the foundations have been well and truly laid, there will be nothing to fear and the work will go ahead.

Unfortunately, as I remarked before, there is too great a tendency to theorise instead of practising. Those who are entrusted with certain responsibilities in conducting the affairs of the people for their benefit, are apt to pay more attention to shadow than substance. Paper constitutions are good only on paper. They provide a good deal of food for lawyers who twist the words to suit their points of view. Some blame religion for shortcomings. I know the arguments well and will reply that if Indian religion has its faults, it has its virtues also. If we can only get back to the simple truths taught by our religions, there will be no need for such arguments.

Another point which is insufficiently realised is that the Raja and his people are one; their interests are one and indivisible. Ill-minded and self-seeking persons may try to

spoil the relations and understanding between the Raja and his subjects, but the plain fact is that their interests are identical whether in prosperity or in woe. In their mutual confidence and determination lies every hope of happiness and progress. To my mind education is the proper safeguard against misunderstanding and misrepresentation. And with health of mind there must be health of body and a growth of the civic spirit which is growing but slowly.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your presence here this evening. I do not wish to try your patience any longer and therefore I request you to read my printed speech at your leisure and ponder over my views on rural reconstruction, an aim which is very dear to my heart.

Unfortunately, as I am unable to walk to-day, I must defer the pleasure of going round the Exhibition, but I trust you will do so and I am sure you will find the interesting and comprehensive. I thank you again for the patience you have shown and I thank the exhibitors and organisers who have made this excellent Exhibition possible.



Massage of His Highness Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Sena Khas Khel, Samsher Bahadur, Farzand-i-Khas-i-Dowlat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D, to his beloved subjects, on the auspicious occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of his accession to the gadi.



Creation of the Diamond Jubilee Trust. On this occasion when my people all over the State are celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of my accession, I desire to announce that I have decided, in commemoration of this happy event, to set apart a fund for one crore of rupees to be called the Diamond Jubilee Trust, the income of which will be devoted to improving the conditions of life of the rural population, especially those of the poor and of the depressed classes, supplementing the amounts which will be progressively devoted to such purposes in the regular budgets of the State.

My ideal to improve village life. As you well know, for over fifty-five years, I have laboured assiduously in the cause of rural development. Indeed no cause has been dearer to my heart. My ideal is to improve village life- all sides of it. I wish to develop in my people a keen desire for a higher standard of living - a "will to live better" - and a capacity for self-help and self-reliance. I earnestly desire to make village life interesting and farming a career the rewards in which will satisfy the most enterprising among the villagers. You all know the main lines in the policy I have followed, but I may state them as simply as I can.

Compulsory mass education. (i) First, there is compulsory mass education. This indeed is at the root of all progress. Introduced first in Amreli in 1893, education has been compulsory for

boys and girls in the State for many years. Today we have in the State over 6500 teachers engaged in imparting literacy to the people. Efforts are made to give a "rural bias" to primary education, the object being to stop the "drift" to towns. It is also my aim that the teacher should take his legitimate share in the life of the village. With this in view, the training college gives instruction in the elements of village problems.

(ii) There is further a network of village librarian to supply the people with knowledge of the kind needed by them to prevent the evil of lapse into illiteracy.

Village panchayats. Secondly, one of my earliest measures was the setting up or village panchayats. Every village in the State is under a panchayat. This has separate resources of its own, and its function is to improve village life. The funds of village panchayats should be judiciously employed on works of permanent utility.

Prant panchayats and their work. I have always insisted that prant panchayats should bear in mind prominently the needs of the rural areas. I shall refer here only to the programme

- (i) for feeder roads,
- (ii) (ii) for wells, and
- (iii) Sub-artesian borings

which are being carried out by these bodies at considerable cost.

Technical departments and their work. Thirdly, I have set up technical departments dealing with the economic problems facing the agriculturists.

- (a) The Agriculture department teaches what crops to grow, how to select seeds, how to treat plant diseases, etc.
- (b) The care of cattle is the business of the Veterinary department.
- (c) The co-operative movement finds capital on reasonable terms to agriculturists and assists them in buying what they need and selling their crops.
- (d) The Industries department teaches industries suitable to agriculturists for their spare hours and for the months in which Farming is not possible.
- (e) Then, there is the public health department which

tackles questions connected with rural sanitation, pure water supply and allied services.

Social legislation. Lastly, I should refer to the legislation passed for the abolition of harmful social customs like

- (i) early marriages which offend against nature and biological laws,
- (ii) caste tyranny, and
- (iii) untouchability which is against laws of social justice.

Untouchability of untouchability, it is difficult to speak with restraint. It is repugnant to our common humanity that those who should be regarded as our brothers and sisters are branded with this unnatural stigma. In my eyes and in the eyes of my Government, there is no difference between man and man. Moral decay is the inevitable fate of those higher classes who deprive millions of their fellow creatures of all self-respect and all hope of betterment.

Results. Now, I am far from claiming that all these measures have had their full effect and have produced all the results I desire. The ideal I have placed before myself is a high one and I remind myself that the inertia of centuries is not easily overcome and that the superstitions of ages are not removed in a decade.

Object of the fund. I desire now to give a further stimulus to the movement I began fifty-five years ago. It is with this object that I am constituting this special fund. From the income of this, grants will be made for useful schemes like extensions of gamthans to relieve overcrowding, village water supplies, communications, educative work of all kinds, etc. Special preference will be given (i) to the poorer areas which probably have been neglected in the past and (ii) to the needs of backward communities like the Ranparaj, the Antyajas, the Thakardas, the Rabaries, etc. As I have already said, this will be over and above the usual State expenditure, which I trust will increase with the expansion of our revenues. If circumstances change and if Government think it necessary hereafter, this fund will be utilised for other (beneficial) objects.

Hope. It is my earnest hope that, by this action of mine, the

happiness of my people may be increased and they may be led to a higher and better manner of living. Should even a part of this ambition be realised, I shall feel myself amply rewarded for a lifetime dedicated to the well-being of my subjects.

Valedictory. In conclusion, I wish to tell you one thing: If you understand correctly the great laws of truth and apply them rationally to the practical life, you are sure to be more happy. I sent my loving greetings to all my people and pray that they may be blessed with long life, happiness and prosperity.

*LAXMI- VILAS PALACE,
Baroda, 1st January 1936.*



*At the Banquet to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon,
Laxmi- Vilas Palace, Baroda, 5th January 1936.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I — rise to perform the most pleasant duty of proposing the health of our illustrious guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.

I have enjoyed their friendship for many years, and while it is always a privilege to welcome to my capital the Representative in India of His Majesty and King Emperor, the presence of old friends on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of my accession enhances that privilege and gives me particular pleasure. Our welcome is, however, tempered by the sad reflection that all to soon they are to bid farewell to the land they have served for many years and which Lord Willingdon recently claimed to be his "second Empire home".

Lord Willingdon arrived in Bombay on the eve of the Great War which changed India as it changed the world. India was united in loyalty, but nationalism could not but grow when the greater part of the world was thinking in terms of home-rule and self-determination. Lord Willingdon realised that the surge of national sentiments and constitutional ambition was inevitable, and the Home Government found Lord Willingdon convinced of the necessity of conceding to India a liberal measure of responsible self-government.

It was thus fitting that Lord Willingdon should be chosen to inaugurate the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in Madras. Once more he strove to anticipate the march of events, refusing to

allow dyarchy to function to the detriment of joint and increasing responsibility. When he left Madras the hope was generally expressed that he would return to India in a still greater position. Happily for India, that hope was fulfilled five years ago when the best minds in both countries were engaged in the task of carrying the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms one step further to their logical outcome- Dominion status for India. Again, his personal influence was all on the side of a generous and impressive measure of advance, and, as he has himself informed us, he sought in precept and in practice to become India's first Constitutional Governor-General. Lord Willingdon has indeed been a great servant and a true friend of India.

There comes a time in every man's life when he seeks to render an account of his stewardship, even if it be only to himself and his conscience. It is natural that, of late, I have looked back over the long years of my life- with their joys and sorrows, their success and disappointments. Sixty years have passed since I was first called upon to begin my life's work in Baroda; fifty years since I first had the pleasure of welcoming the Representative of the Queen Empress to my capital. I am proud that the alliance of my State with the Crown is 150 years old, still prouder that during all these years it has been steadily upheld and maintained.

Of all that has passed through my mind, it is impossible to speak, and I must confine myself to certain reflections which seem appropriate to this occasion. The occasion shall be my excuse for speaking first of my State and of a lifetime spent in the pursuit of an ideal. Progress in some respects has been slow, in others disappointing, but there has been material progress in many directions. The feeling uppermost in my mind is- how much remains to be done. Ideals of Government are so high that a lifetime of unremitting labour is insufficient to overcome the combined forces of nature, human inertia and prejudice. Nevertheless, I think I may justly claim for my State an honoured place in the Indian Empire. The welfare of my subjects has ever been my primary consideration, and I rejoice that I have been able to give them peace and ordered government, and to lessen their social evils and economic troubles. Every passing year confirms my

belief that education for the humblest member of society is the only sure foundation on which to build. Every effort has been worth while, and, in the fulness of time, I hope and pray that the policy I have initiated and steadfastly pursued may be crowned with success.

India has changed greatly during my lifetime, and in no respect more profoundly than in constitutional status. I welcome the change. The new constitution is necessarily in the nature of a compromise between a multitude of desires and interests: but its main feature is of particular interest to me. For many years I have thought Federation to be the best and most hopeful line of advance, and I am sure that the decision to build on such a stable foundation is a wise one. In an All-India Federation, with British India and the States as equal partners working for the common good, the States have a great part to play. When the time arrives, and it cannot be long delayed, I feel confident that the States will shoulder their new responsibilities and make an un-grudging contribution to the cause we all have at heart.

In order, however, that the States may play that part to the greatest advantage, they are entitled to invite consideration of certain essentials, which are inseparable from their distinctive traditions and proud histories. Enterprise and individuality will be destroyed if any attempt is made to force them into a uniform mould, and a wealth of varied political and administrative experience will be lost to the new India. In all matters outside the federal sphere, the States should have, unfettered autonomy and they should be, freed from restrictions and limitations imposed upon them jointly or severally in circumstances, which are now ceased to exist. Then alone will the States be able to develop naturally and fruitfully as virile, responsible entities, equipped for the manifold duties of good government and determined to bring such qualities to the best service of India. I am gratified to know that these matters—especially questions like retrocession of jurisdiction on railways—are receiving attention.

When I think of the future, I must confess that I am deeply distressed by recent unhappy developments. I refer to the curse of Communalism, which is again spreading throughout

the land, embittering the present, imperiling the future. It has neither redeeming feature nor justification; and nothing but ill can come of it. I appeal to leaders of all creeds and communities to make a bold determined stand against this evil, to place their country first and urge their followers to do the same. The insistent need is for broad-minded leadership and universal toleration, and I make this appeal in the hope that there will be a general response.

So far, I have spoken of India generally. I may now refer to a question which concerns my own State—its relations with tributary states and estates. Over a hundred years ago, the British Government elected to mediate between my house and the tributaries. Conditions have changed greatly since, and the policy of these early days needs a new orientation. I have proposed a scheme for the readjustment of these relations. In preparing this I have kept two principles in view. The first is that the powers and privileges of these states and estates should on no account be reduced, but that, on the other hand, their financial position should be strengthened by the abolition of the tributes which were fixed on no logical basis and are unequal in their incidence. Secondly, the interests of good government and economic development in this part of India should be furthered. I venture to express the hope that this scheme will be accepted and that the new order of things will soon be established.

I need hardly say how much we all regret the absence this evening of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon. To our cordial greetings we join the hope of a speedy recovery. Her deep devotion to all that concerns public welfare and her unremitting work in many spheres of charitable and humanities endeavour have been an example and stimulus to all. In Baroda we are doing what we can by education, abolition of irksome restrictions on rights of women, the encouragement of child welfare and allied activities, to enable women to take a rightful place in society. This is a cause very dear to Her Highness the Maharam and myself and while we are happy to welcome Her Excellency once more to Baroda, we sorely miss to-night an old friend to whose interest and guidance these movements owe so much of their vitality and progress.

Ladies and gentlemen, I desire you to join with me in extending it very cordial welcome to Their Excellencies and in wishing them every happiness for many years to come.

I ask you to raise your glasses to the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.



His Excellency the Victory's Speech at the State Banquet at Baroda on Sunday, the 5th January 1936.



YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I thank Your Highness most cordially for the very warm welcome you have extended to me this evening. It is a real pleasure to renew my friendship. with Your Highness, and I consider myself fortunate indeed that the auspicious occasion of Your Highness' Diamond Jubilee of Accession should have taken place during my Viceroyalty and that I have been able to come to Baroda and extend to you in person my warmest and most heartfelt congratulations. Your Highness, it is my pleasant duty now to read out a message which His Majesty the King Emperor has been graciously pleased to entrust me to convey to Your Highness:

Your Highness, it gives me much pleasure to convey to Your Highness my sincere congratulations on celebration of Diamond Jubilee of Your Accession the *Gadi* of Baroda. To few Princes is it granted to rule for so long a period of time and to look back with satisfaction upon sixty years of continued material and moral progress in the lives of their subjects. I trust Your Highness may be spared to your State for many years to come and that prosperity and happiness may increasingly attend your rule.

The year 1875, when Your Highness succeeded to the *Gadi*, marked the beginning of a new era of material and steady progress in the State. Under Your Highness' enlightened guidance Baroda has never looked back. At the outset Your Highness set before you high ideals, some of which have

already been attained. Others you steadfastly pursue, and I can truly say that you have devoted your life to the interests of your State and the welfare of your subjects. The fruits of your labours are in evidence on all sides. The administration of the State is on a high level, but what is perhaps more important, it is built upon sure foundations.

It has afforded me much gratification to see the announcement which Your Highness has made that in commemoration of your Diamond Jubilee you have created a Trust with a capital of one crore of rupees, the income from which is to be devoted to the improvement of rural conditions in your State. I can imagine no more fitting manner in which the memory of this historic occasion could be perpetuated.

The people of Baroda are fortunate indeed that Your Highness has been Spared for so long a period of service for their common good, and I am confident that your name will be emblazoned in gold upon the annals of your State and will long be remembered by your people with gratitude and affection.

Your Highness has generously referred to the part I have been called upon to play in the constitutional change, that are now taking place in India. As I stated when I visited you three years ago, my firm conviction is that an All India Federation with necessary safeguards will be to the advantage and in the interests of the States and British India alike. Since that time the Government of India Act has been placed upon the Statute Book, and I am delighted to know that this measure has the support of broadminded and experienced Rulers like Your Highness. The future of India is now placed in her own hands. In that future the States will be called upon to bear an ever-increasing share in the problems which beset every Government, and Baroda, by reason of its high standards of efficiency in education and administration, will be expected to play a role of great importance.

I have been very greatly interested in Your Highness' reference to the scheme which you have put forward with a view to the readjustment of the relations existing between the Baroda State and certain of her tributaries. Under this scheme, while you have sought to effect an improvement in

economic and administrative conditions and to provide for financial relief to the States and Estates concerned, you have wisely taken care to leave their powers and privileges unimpaired. I sincerely trust that the Feudatories to whom Your Highness has referred will give your proposals their full and careful consideration, for they will certainly be well advised to do so.

Your Highness has mentioned the subject of Communalism in India. It is for the leaders of creeds and communities so to set their house in order that toleration may prevail. Communalism must necessarily retard progress and (as I have said in a speech which I recently made at Allahabad) it is the duty of all those who have the welfare of their land at heart to show courage and wisdom so that his evil may be eradicated and India may enter on her new constitution with the omens favourable and the course set fair. I heartily endorse every word that Your Highness has said on this subject and I sincerely trust that your appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

I thank Your Highness most gratefully for the generous and gracious remarks which you have made with regard to my wife's constant efforts and activities on behalf of the women of India. No one knows better than I how well deserved those words are. The welfare and progress of this great country are as near and dear to her heart as they are to my own. I can assure Your Highness that it is a matter of the keenest disappointment to Her Excellency that ill-health has prevented her being with us all this evening.

I feel that I cannot sit down without saying how pleased I was to learn of the honour which was bestowed at the New Year upon Your Highness' Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamchari, who has played such an important part in the constitutional discussions which took place in England and who has rendered such consistent and outstanding service to Your Highness and to Baroda.

In conclusion I thank Your Highness once again for your kind hospitality and I must once again say how glad I am to have been able to be present here on this auspicious occasion and to pay my tribute of regards to Your Highness and Her

Highness whose friendship I have valued for many years, and I ask you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in offering to His Highness our warmest congratulations upon the happy occasion of his Diamond Jubilee and to drink to the long life and happiness of Their Highnesses and prosperity to the Baroda State.



In reply to the Address of the Dhara Sabha (Legislative Council), at Luxmi-Vilas Palace, Baroda, 9th January 1936.



GENTLEMEN ON THE DHARA SABHA, — I have received your address with great pleasure and interest and I have noted the chief points that are mentioned in it. They are not beyond my comprehension or beyond my knowledge, and are always in my mind.

Since the inception of the Dhara Sabha I have been closely watching its work. I shall not say much on this occasion. Some other day I will give you my views and experiences and tell you how subjects can best be handled and by what methods according to the circumstances in which we are placed.

Nothing in this world is permanent. The world is always changing, and in conformity with the needs of the times, changes have been made and will continue to be made in the constitution of the Dhara Sabha. We have, however, to proceed cautiously in the attainment of our goal. Let us not be carried away by mere fashion or show. We must strengthen the body corporate, seek unity, facilitate mutual confidence and co-operation, while giving as much liberty as is consistent.

Remember that you are part of my people—the subjects and the officers. Matters cannot proceed smoothly if these two refuse to co-operate. I am glad to learn that good relations and co-operation exist between you and my officers.

If we refer to the past history of Baroda, we shall find many defects from which lessons can be drawn. You have much to learn from such lessons and you cannot afford to ignore or forget them. Do not commit the same mistakes. Pursue higher ideals in promoting the happiness of the people and to increase our prosperity. You should always remember that the path of sacrifice in service leads to more noble, more healthy ideas. If these are followed, the benefits will be still greater. Sacrifice first and then the higher ideals—thus shall we enrich our mutual interests.

With these few words, may I thank you once again for the cordial reception you have given me this evening.



*At the Dinner given by Past Graduates of Baroda College,
12th January 1936.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I rise to thank you for the touching words with which you have greeted me.

I am not a clever lawyer like my friend Mr. Munshi who can almost prove right things wrong and wrong things right. Laying the foundation stone of Baroda College was one of the very first acts of my rule, and since then over half a century has rolled by. Looking back over all those years, a number of pictures crowd into my mind. I wish I had the art of Mr Munshi who can so ably produce pen pictures of important events of the memorable past. I wish too that I deserved the many good things he has said of me.

It is only the fortunate few who can witness the fruition of their labours within a limited span of life, and especially of labours in the administrative field. An administrator can be better judged some fifty years after his death when both friends and enemies are no more. The effects of his rule, good or bad, will bear fruit in time and by such results he will then stand to be judged impartially.

An able and progressive administrator, in my opinion, a must study the past, carefully observe the present, and look ahead to the future. I am convinced that the people of our country are in no sense inferior to any others in the world, and yet our progress is so slow.

In early days, I felt that the social evils and superstitions surrounding the people were the main handicaps to evolution, growth and progress. As a ruler it was my duty not to attempt to overthrow the existing social order, but so to modify it as to make individual evolution widely spread amongst my people to achieve that purpose, and to utilise legislation if necessary.

It was my intention next to cut the bonds which social evils provide and thus help individuality to grow. There followed a series of legislative measures destined to achieve that end, but they were undertaken only after educating and gathering public opinion. My administrative measures were neither conceived nor put into operation in a great hurry, and sufficient time was always allowed for social adjustments. The operations so begun have not ceased yet. It is my duty to strive more and more in that direction with both caution and determination.

I have, in fact, tried to help my people to free themselves from the social evils with which I saw them desperately struggling and from which they were eager to be freed. Throughout my more than sixty years of rule, I have consistently kept in mind what can be achieved and what is not possible, what is good and what is not good for my people, remembering always the main causes of progress in other countries which I have visited over and over again for purposes of study and health.

Turning to the idea of a University of Baroda, let me assure my friend Mr. Munshi and all of you here, that it is still under my consideration and is never out of mind. A small State like Baroda must carefully consider whether it could shoulder the heavy financial burden involved before any decision is reached. Mr Munshi and all of you are aware of the complications that are bound to arise when a State falls in financial arrears and officers and servants of the State cannot be paid regularly. The consequences are indeed unpleasant and I am sure that neither Mr Munshi nor any one of you desires that Baroda should be faced with such a difficult situation.

I am anxious to see the expansion, of this College and other such institutes; I am anxious to improve the lot of my

agricultural population and to go ahead vigorously with village uplift work. I am also anxious to do much that yet remains to be done in the direction of social regeneration. All these demand close attention and adequate finance. Again I emphasise that nothing should be done in a hurry or without a clear idea of future commitments, if it is to be done thoroughly and well.

Mr. Munshi has referred to my recent attempts to improve the joint families system and to eradicate the evils which prevent the growth and progress of individuals. Let me assure all of you that I have never caused neither would I permit necessary legislation to be undertaken, unless and until I felt that public opinion was sufficiently vocal and the people ready for it.

It is always my earnest endeavour to watch until the time is ripe. It is only then that legislation is enacted and enforced in order to help to free my people from the evils against which I have so long seen them struggling. If some-times the results have not been commensurate with your expectations, if has not been for lack of good motives on my part.

Whatever the limitations to which I, as a human being like yourself, on subject, I can assure you that every motive has been for the good of my people. I want you to judge me by the motives which guide me rather than by the results achieved. What I am always anxious for is thorough co-operation from my people. You, as graduates of this college and as the intelligentsia, can help me a great deal by advising my Government from time to time of needs that arise and thus help us to accomplish much more than we have been able to do so far.

Once again I thank you all for your very kind and loving sentiments and wishes to-night, and before we depart let me add that I feel assured of your active and sincere help in all that I have yet to do for the good of my people and of future generations.



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*Condensed Version of the Speech at the Jasdan Ceremony held at Navsari,
16th January 1936.*



SIR PHEROZ SETHNA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I am suffering from a very bad cold and I fear that you will have some difficulty in hearing what I say this evening.

At the outset let me thank you for your warm welcome. I have been greatly touched by what has been said of me by several speakers. I have only done what I conceive to be my duty out of my love and regard for the happiness of my people.

The Parsi community, though numerically small, has played an important part in the history of India. By their wisdom, courage, sagacity and common sense, the Parsis have more than held their own and have become a worthy example to others. If the Parsis were lost to us, we should be very much the poorer.

Some of you have referred to-day to my previous visits to Navsari. I have the happiest recollections of those visits and they are vivid in my memory even now. I well remember my first visit here as a boy, for the impressions then formed are still in my mind.

There is much in common between the religion of the Parsis and that of the Hindus. But in one respect the Parsis have a definite advantage. They are more inclined to beneficial activities and social service than to mere words or promises. Their philanthropy has become proverbial. They are not only prominent in all walks of life, but, as I said before, they have

played an important part in our history. The manner in which they have ably held high office in the State is but one example of their valuable and many sided activities.

I always hold the Parsis in high regard and I shall continue to do my best to promote their happiness and welfare, no less than for other communities. May I thank you once more for all the kind things you have said of me and for the splendid reception you have given me this evening.



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*At the Opening Ceremony of the Ambika River Bridge,
17th January 1936.*



MR ADALJA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — A little over one year ago I laid the foundation stone of this bridge. It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate at length what was then said of the history of this project. I am glad that my hope of its early completion has been fulfilled. Such a bridge has long been needed to remedy the lack of easy and uninterrupted communication between Gadevi taluka and the district headquarters-town of Navsari. It is equally important for those villages of Jalalpore taluka which lie outside Baroda territory on the north of the river.

I am aware, as the Chief Engineer has already pointed out, that the approach to the bridge from the north is incomplete and that in consequence access to the bridge from one bank is not yet feasible for traffic. On the other hand I am assured that completion of this approach, which lies within British limits, is a matter only of a few weeks. The bridge itself is already available for foot passengers and light traffic, and as it is improbable that I shall be able to visit Navsari district again during the present cold weather, I have thought it proper to take this opportunity of performing the opening ceremony of the bridge.

Its utility will probably appeal more directly to those who live in the immediate vicinity, but in point of fact, this bridge is far more than an important link in the general system of

communications in Baroda State. It must necessarily acquire an All-India standing by filling the sole gap in the vital roads between Bombay, Baroda and the north. It will thus render service to areas and peoples far beyond the confines of my State, and I trust it may also emphasise the urgent need for greater attention to communications as a whole.

As you know, I have never wavered in my belief that education is the first and foremost of our needs, but I would unhesitatingly place communications next in relative importance. For without them, education lacks channels for healthy expansion. Roads were the earliest form of communication known to mankind, and to the great majority they remain the most important. It is hardly too much to say that civilisation spread, until recently at all events, along the high roads of the world.

Over two thousand years ago, the Romans realised their value when they drove their highways, which endure to this day, through Gaul and ancient Britain. Great rulers have invariably been great road-builders, as contemporary writings show.

Indeed, I believe, we can justly claim that India set an example to the world. In the edicts of Asoka, we find constant references now only to road-building and metalled but to the importance of providing rest-houses, wells and trees along such roads.

पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता ब्रक्षवाच रीपापिता परिभीगाय पसुमनुसानं.

- गिरनार शिलालेख अंक २.

The oldest Pali manuscripts show beyond any doubt that in Buddhist India there were great trunk-roads with metalled surfaces. In an exposition of the sixty-four arts, which has much to teach even to-day, prominence is given to road-building and allied activities.

Few countries can better appreciate roads than India, which possesses at least two of the most famous highways in the world, the one an ancient, caravan route to China over the Roof of the World, the Other the more recent Grand Trunk Road in British times. In a sense, I suppose, we also possess the oldest highway in the world, for there is reason to believe that along the primitive tracks on the banks of the Indus, prehistoric man first made his way to the greater world

beyond. To-day India, in common with other great countries, is still building roads and building them apace.

Communications of all kinds have developed greatly in my lifetime, and now wireless and aviation are opening up new vistas. In their turn they may have served to overshadow the importance of roads for a time or to cause anxiety to those charged with the prosperity of railways. But we have always returned to our roads and railways, the arteries along which life and prosperity flow. They are still, and will almost certainly remain the great agencies for good administration and for rural and industrial development. And as an educative influence, they will continue to stimulate a desire for knowledge, for self-improvement and for higher standards of living.

History teaches that national awakening, development and prosperity have invariably coincided with intensive road-building. The proofs are abundant whether we turn to Rome or Napoleonic France or to the example provided today by any one of the five continents. On the other hand, history also shows that neglect of roads has led to retrogression in all other beneficent activities. Many of you will recall that road development, fundamental to human intercourse since the dawn of civilisation, was checked by the advent of railways. But the pace was only checked, never stopped. Road development soon came into its own again, and now that we have entered the motor age, there is progress such as the world has never known.

In India, with problems which have no parallel elsewhere, road building has often lagged behind other fruitful enterprises. Indeed I have sometimes felt that communications have been neglected through the insistent cry for education, whereas they are complementary and should march together. I will not, however, dwell upon what might have been. The determined effort which is being made throughout India to-day is in keeping with our desire and need to enter a field of almost unlimited perspective, a field for economic expansion which no other country to-day can claim with the possible exception of China. This desire and need have been emphasised by the trend of the times, and public welfare has demanded this renewed concentration upon roads and communications as a whole.

If India has her peculiar problems, it is undeniable that they exist in my State in an intensified form. So much so indeed that in the early days of my regime it was necessary to place railways before roads in the urgent development of communications. The lack of road metal in most parts of Baroda State made the cost prohibitive at a time when finance was far from prosperous, and it remains a problem to-day. Also the sandy and scattered nature of the territory, with multiple jurisdiction intervening, add to the difficulties to be overcome in our road policy. But these difficulties will make our roads, once established, the more valuable, and the very fact of overcoming them sensibly and with foresight will add to our pride in achievement.

It is no secret, I believe, that I desire the railways and roads of Baroda to be complementary in their service to the people. If in the past, we devoted more attention to railways than to roads, it was for reasons which I have indicated and the validity of which has not been affected by the passing of years. But for the moment, though progress is only temporarily checked, we have reached a stage in our railway programme when it seems to be more practicable to consolidate and improve than to contemplate additions to the existing network.

Thus we are enabled to devote more attention to our road programme, and where it is not possible to establish complete roads, to the provision of bridges and culverts so as to minimise more effectively the isolation of villages and districts during the rains. I have no doubt that railways will ultimately benefit from this policy. It is indeed a sign of mutual benefits conferred that the railways themselves, by the transport facilities they offer, enable roads to be constructed much more cheaply and much more easily.

I think it well, however, to sound one warning note. It is useless to build roads, bridges and culverts unless they are maintained in good condition. That is why we must proceed with caution, and why I would impress upon you the necessity of studying the provisions for the judicious maintenance of roads and allied works and for the provision of requisite finance as laid down in my road policy. It is for you who benefit from these roads to realise what they mean to you and your well-being. It

is your duty to yourselves and to posterity to shoulder the new responsibilities which are attached to beneficial development projects, and to determine for yourselves that you will initiate and carry through further schemes. Of my sympathy and support in all such efforts, I need hardly assure you.

Now let me turn to the completion of the enterprise which has brought us together to-day. I am very happy to be in your midst once again, and I wish that Mr de Morsier could be with us for he took a great interest in this project and would have been proud to see its completion. I congratulate Mr Adalja and all those who have played a part, however humble, in the completion of this mark of progress, this pleasant milestone in the Gaekwar's Highway. Its strength and simplicity should be an inspiration to you as it is to me.

It has been represented to me that this important bridge, the completion of which coincides with the celebration of my Diamond Jubilee, should be so named as to form a perpetual reminder of such a happy and auspicious association. I warmly appreciate the honour which lies in that kindly thought, and I have approved the suggestion that it shall be named the Sayaji Diamond Jubilee Bridge (श्री सयाजी हीरकोत्सव सेतु).

I now declare the bridge to be open and dedicate it to the service of my people.



At the Opening Ceremony of the Kirti Mandir, Baroda, 24th February 1936.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — We meet to-day to open a noble edifice, not the least merit of which is its noble simplicity, and in so doing praise famous men and commend their example as a worthy inspiration to posterity. But the honour we seek to render will not be fulfilled unless we, and the generations to come, also study those qualities upon which lasting fame rests, and by our search for truth so model our lives that we may contribute towards the greatest ideal of all the brotherhood of man, the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth.

This Kirti Mandir is intended, as a Hall of Remembrance, to commemorate the benefactors of my State, irrespective of their race, caste or creed. It will be a reminder to all of the story of its rulers and of the men who have planned and toiled in shaping its destinies, and a tribute thus to the most cherished qualities in humanity. Monuments crumble but the Truth is eternal, and the Fame which endures for ever is that which rests upon a ceaseless quest for Truth and religious harmony. Therefore I hold that we can pay no greater tribute to our famous men than that this Kirti Mandir should be dedicated as a meeting-place for men of all religious and creeds, where we may gather in amity and unity of purpose to seek Truth and apply it as best we may to the service of humanity.

We are living in an age when religion has become a byword for discord, strife, and exploitation. Instead of bringing peace and harmony, solace and comfort, religion to-day is responsible for much unhappiness and intolerance. Sacred character and high principles forgotten, religion has been made a weapon in the struggle for political and economic supremacy. It is impossible to avoid the reproach that the divergence between precept and practice is very marked.

The question naturally arises how best we can shield ourselves from the onslaught of materialism and from the evils of this divergence. Some dream of universal religious based upon the fundamental doctrines in all religions. Some have sought the other extreme, ruthlessly trying to abolish the outward forms of religion, led by a spirit of negation which refuses to understand the past or think of the future. To them the present counts for everything. They forget that the past, present and future are but conventional phases set by man, whereas Time is one and indivisible, an attribute of the Infinite.

Irreligion connotes irresponsibility towards oneself and mankind, towards nature and everything. It is valueless and utterly barren. True religion, on the other hand, is the foundation of society and when that is shaken by contempt, the whole fabric becomes unstable.

In the domain of law, we find three laws constantly operating in the world, the State law, the Moral law and the Divine law, belonging, respectively, to polity, ethics and religion. If we shun religion, we refuse to admit the operation of the Divine law or the Law of God. The State laws by their very nature, cover little ground and are limited in operations. How then shall we make men good and righteous, how shall we make our world habitable and our lives fruitful when the principles and practices of various religions are so divergent and confusing?

Some admit the existence of God, while others deny him. Some believe, like Cicero:

Whatever that be, which thinks, which understands, which wills, which acts, it is something celestial and divine and upon that account must necessarily be divine.

To them the

*Soul on earth is an immortal guest,
A spark, which upwards tends by Nature's force.
A stream that is directed from its parent's course;*

While others will have nothing to do with things which their eyes do not see and their senses do not perceive. Some have faith in the transmigration of the soul, while others are unimpressed by such a doctrine. Some hold the Vedas to be the repository of all religious wisdom. Some will cite the Bible, the Koran or other holy books. Even within orthodox Hinduism itself, the diversity of views has been emphasised ever since the days of the *Mahabhatta* which says:

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठाः श्रुतयो विभिन्नाः ।
नैकी मुनिः यस्य वचः प्रमाणम् ॥

(Reasoning is unsettled, the Shruti (श्रुति) are many, and there is not a single Rishi (ऋषि) whose opinion is authoritative).

And in modern times, the study of comparative religion has disclosed the heterogeneous and wide divergence of doctrines, which warns us from admitting them to be universally valid and applicable, whatever the underlying unity is essential principles.

When, however, we examine the moral side of all religions, we find much greater agreement. Wherever man may live and so whatever community he may belong, his needs are almost the same. In order that he may obtain the necessities of life and live in amity with others, there must be in existence a code of laws to which all men will subscribe. And man's needs being much the same everywhere, the general framework of such laws will be the same. So it should not prove beyond our powers to determine the moral needs of the human race and reduce them a system. It will necessitate the separation of pure ethics and religion but I regard such an endeavour, ambitious though it may seem, as in imperative need and duty.

I do not propose to attempt to-day to define in detail an ethical system which might find universal acceptance. But in view of its importance I will endeavour to give a brief and non-controversial outline of such a system. In early days, a child is entirely dependent upon the affectionate care of its parents and family, and the attention of the society into which

it is born. In those years it is incapable of making any return for the benefits it receives. Gradually its faculties develop and its mental horizon widens. The growing man is influenced by his environment, by the manifold aspects of life, by society and the state. He continues to receive benefits and commences to return them, fulfilling his duties to himself and his obligations to others. According to whether his faculties are developed rightly or wrongly, so does he become an asset or a liability to society. Ethics are concerned with the right and wrong in a man, and they show through reason and experience how the right may triumph.

Before right and wrong can be adequately separated, man must be properly analysed in the light of the tools he commands and the use he makes of them. From this standpoint it is clear that his three precious instruments are his mind, speech and actions. His body is responsible for all actions done through the ten Indriyas (इंद्रिय), the five organs of sense and the five organs of action. Through speech he gives vent to his feelings, and through his mind he thinks. Such is the sum total of his assets with which he enjoys infinite possibilities for good and evil.

The body is only a weak weapon in the sense that action has limited applicability. But as the repository of all our assets, it is a sacred trust and it behoves us to keep it in a sound and healthy condition instead of treating it carelessly or despitefully, as is so often the case. Therefore, let the first principle of our system of Universal Ethics be the care of the body and its use to good purpose. Speech is a powerful instrument for pleasure or pain, good or ill. It can muse human passions and control human actions. Reduced to writing, it can influence millions. Our second principle then is that speech should be pure and considerate.

The mind is the most powerful of all. It dominates the body and controls the organs of sense and action. If the control is weak, disaster may follow. If thoughts are bad there is seldom any harmony between mind, speech and action. But the man whose thought, speech and action are attuned, is known as a man of noble character, no matter what his sphere of life may be. It is only by control of the mind that a man can implement his infinite potentialities for doing good to others

by speech and action. Therefore a pure and noble mind is the third principle of Universal tunic? Well has this been emphasised by the saying that our conflict purified by noble thoughts.

There are four aspects of a man's life in which the instruments at his command have general applicability. In each of them, he has power to violate laws or to uphold them, to do unlimited harm or unlimited good. As a social unit, he receives benefits of all kinds and thus incurs a debt to society. If for some reason he is unable to pay that debt in full, let him not show his ingratitude by injuring society. As a political unit, he receives protection through an organised Government and its State laws, for himself and his property, so that he may carry on his daily avocation in peace and security. In return he is at least expected not to injure the State.

As an economic unit, whether in trade, industry or profession, a man is entirely dependent upon the goodwill and co-operation of others. In this field his conduct is mainly guided by moral laws which demand a frank and generous reciprocity on his part. Lastly, man belongs to some form of culture, whether primitive or advanced. His actions, speech and thoughts are regulated by traditions and laws peculiar to the country and people of his birth. To the uplift of that culture he can contribute his share and thus liquidate a portion of the debt he owes to it.

The question now arises Why should man obey laws, whether divine or human, State or private, ethical or religious, customary or traditional? This leads us to a very important aspect of Universal Ethics -the law of harmony. In every aspect of the universe we find the law of harmony at work, whether in the rising and setting of the sun or the birth and death of man. The reverse of harmony is discord, and the ultimate aim of all laws is to produce harmony and avoid discord. If natural laws are violated, man suffers and the results are immediately apparent. If State laws are violated, punishment follows. With ethical, religious and social laws, the results may be indirect or undisclosed for the time being, but the ultimate outcome is the same. Broken laws mean broken harmony, which is discord. All discord is unethical and unethical conduct is the greatest factor in unhappiness and

kindred ills, whether for the individual or for society in general.

The system of Universal Ethics also seeks to answer such such as to how the body, speech and mind can be so regulated as to produce general harmony; We are thus led to consideration of ethical standards and the ethical ideals to which all actions, speech and thought should conform. These ideals were considered by the ancients, and the lessons they taught are in most respects applicable to the more complex life of today. The eight virtues- the *Atmagunas* (आत्मगुण) mentioned in the *Gautama Dharma Sutra* (गौतम धर्म सूत्र)- are admirable, but for the development of character nowadays they would seem to require provision for valour, determination industry and trade.

This provision is indeed to be found in the Gita, which is more comprehensive and more systematic. The virtues given therein may conveniently and logically be reduced in number to four:

1. संयम or Self-control,
2. संस्कारप्रियता or Self-development (Culture),
3. धर्म or Duty,
4. विश्वबंधुत्व or Benevolence.

We have double sets of duties to perform. In our individual and in our social life, some things we must do and others we must refrain from doing. Logically then there are four sets of duties and four broad virtues. Self-control and self-development will be the negative and positive virtues of individual life. Duty including justice, and benevolence including social service, will be the negative and positive virtues of social life. Self-control includes in its fold valour, firmness, purity and austerity. Self-development includes wisdom, dignity, industry, cleverness, *ahimsa* (अहिंसा), truthfulness and culture. Duty and justice include equity and regard for the rights of others. Benevolence and social service are identical and imply all forms of philanthropy.

Such are the standards to which every individual should conform in the application of his three faculties. If he does conform to them he will be able to produce the desired harmony in so far as his own life is concerned. Those four ideals cover all the qualities of an individual and all the ethical principles

enunciated in all religions and in every age. He alone is deemed to have attained perfection whose thoughts, words and actions are in perfect accord with the great laws of harmony enunciated in this system of Universal Ethics, regardless of caste, creed, community, religion or profession.

This Kirti Mandir is intended to inspire posterity to the study and practice of the virtues and to commemorate those who have so practised them as to honour my State and honour themselves. Let my final exhortation to you be to cultivate virtuous qualities and to bear always in mind the old Sanskrit adage:

शरीरस्य गुणानां च दूरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।
शरीरं चणविध्वंसि कल्पान्तस्थायिनो गुणाः

(Great is the distance between the person and his qualities : the first is destroyed in a moment, while the second abides until the end of the cycles.)

I congratulate and thank all those who have contributed to this magnificent edifice, whether in its conception or in its completion. They have every reason to share my pride to-day in declaring the Kirti Mandir be open. I dedicate it to the remembrance of famous men and to the quest for harmony in religion whereby lasting peace in the brother-hood of man may be achieved.



At Baroda, 27th February 1936



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — The first of these short series of discourses was devoted to the evolution of Hinduism. In the second, delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Kirti Mandir, we passed from Hinduism to a brief survey of religion as a whole, concluding with an outline of a system of Universal Ethics by which harmony might be achieved in private and public relationships and thereby contribute to the cause of peace and the brotherhood of man.

To-night, I propose to speak further upon both religion and ethics, and from the standpoint of the practical man of modern times. I shall endeavour to indicate what I believe to be their true bearing upon the problems of the world as a whole and those of India in particular. In the use of the word 'Practical', it is not to be inferred that I am thinking of the man who is the backbone of every race and religion, the man upon whose appreciation of human values and virtues civilisation really rests.

A hundred years ago, the general cry was for toleration in religion and religious beliefs. Whatever may have been the justification then - and we still need toleration to-day - it would have been far better for the present generation had that cry been for co-operation in religion. Toleration without understanding is a blind alley whereas of co-operation understanding is born. Understanding means broad-

mindedness, and of that our world is sorely in need. It is no new sentiment, for an ancient Sanskrit adage commends the broad-minded man of catholic outlook who considers the whole world to be his family :

“उदारचरितानां तु वस्थैव कुटुम्बकम्”

The same sentiment is fundamental in the teachings of Christ, “Love thy neighbour as thyself”.

In this third discourse then, I do not propose to invite you to follow me into the realms of abstract philosophy or historical review, interesting though they are. It is my desire rather to place before you certain mature reflections founded upon study, travel and observation for many years and upon the opportunities I have sought and enjoyed of discussing with men of many races and religions what I believe to be a vital question: “Can we find in religion that guidance in the conduct of our personal lives and public affairs, which will enable us to solve pressing problems and to leave the world better than we found it?” I am convinced that we can.

It is abundantly clear that in a world distraught with complex problems, men are turning more and more to religion to see if it does not offer a solution of their personal problems and of the national and international problems which so sorely trouble mankind. This trend is one of the most significant and most welcome in my life. It may be that the agnosticism which appears to prevail temporarily is far from unhealthy, and the signs are that the future will bring a religious renaissance.

Mankind has a natural predisposition to religion, and men and women are asking to-day why religion is failing them, why its great potential influence is ineffective? Surely there is something fundamentally wrong, they say, when in Russia there has been a concentrated effort to stamp out every vestige of the great religions. They point to Ireland where bitterness between Catholics and Protestants underlies every issue, to Germany with its cruel anti-Semitic policy, to America where religious restlessness takes many and sometimes strange forms. Even in our own Homeland, the birthplace of great religions, we find strife in one place between Hindu and Muslim, in another between Muslim and Sikh, and in a third between Hindu and Hindu. This narrowness

and prejudice is inevitably reflected in national relationships, and the evils thereof are painfully apparent in world politics.

The magnitude of the problem was recently put in a very simple form by Mr Baldwin, Prime Minister of Great Britain. He thought it a tragedy that 2000 years after Christ preached the brotherhood of man, the nations should be arming again and preparing for war. It is a tragedy indeed, but I think that Mr Baldwin also gave us the key to a solution. Have we not forgotten the simple creed which Christ preached? Have we not also forgotten that the same creed is fundamentally in the teachings of Shri Krishna, the Buddha, Zoroaster, Mahomet, Confucius, Moses, every great interpreter of the Eternal Truth?

Their teachings were based on eternal *Dharma*, on universality as well as homeliness, on sincerity as well as kindliness, on realism as well as idealism. Those teachings are as true and as applicable to-day as they were long centuries ago. Where we have gone wrong is in forgetfulness. Where we err to-day is in our failure to apply to modern conditions, a code of living truths which is as old as Time.

Corruption, superstition and decadence have obscured the truth. Complacent in our shortcomings, lethargic in our efforts to overcome them, we are helping to lay the foundations of irreligion, materialism and intellectual anarchy for posterity and to perpetuate an intolerance and narrow vision which must cripple all efforts for spiritual and material uplift. We stand sadly in need of a re-orientation of ideas, a sane and serene faith and a breadth of outlook which will embrace mankind. Wisely did Kabir, preaching the brother-hood of mankind 500 years ago, urge upon his disciples: "Be friends with all and mix with all" (सबसे हिलिये सबसे मिलिये) for immortality awaits him "who considers all creatures on earth as his own self".

We must break through the shell of tradition and orthodoxy, return to our earlier and purer faith, adapt the spirit to modern needs. Religion is dynamic, not static, a developing process, not a finished product or a fixed system. We can aptly apply to it the famous saying of Edmund Burke: "Nothing in Progression can rest on its original plan. We might as well think of rocking it grown man in the cradle of an infant."

Let the spirit have free play, and the organism adapt itself to the new environment. Pruning is part of the process, and we must see clearly and fearlessly where the organism shows atrophy and decay. One of our greatest difficulties in India to-day is the obstinate defence of Hinduism against reform and the refusal to purge it. All our efforts are hampered by our adherence to ancient beliefs and rituals which are the product of climatic and local conditions. Whatever their justification was in the past, it no longer exists.

Though the broad principles laid down by the major religions of the world are true for all times and all countries, it is merely idle to consider that the scriptures of olden days are the beginning and end of wisdom. Obviously they cannot give us satisfactory guidance, or even any guidance at all, in respect of some of our most pressing problems, which had no true parallel in those times. The Gita, for example, given no adequate place to women, whose education and emancipation is an outstanding task in modern India. And I cannot believe that if Shri Krishna were among us now he would tolerate the rigidity of a caste system which sentences millions of our fellow men to a life of misery, subjection degradation. Caste is contrary to the laws of nature and of economy, whereas elementary justice in these days demands an equal opportunity for all. Nor would Shri Krishna tolerate conception of charity which refuses relief to suffering animals or devotes money to the upkeep of able-bodied Sannyasis (सन्यासी) when it could be so much better devoted to the care of under-nourished children or the relief of working women before and after childbirth.

I do not for one moment forget or seek to be little the great unorganised network of charity among our own peoples, but I would gladly see different outlets. I hold that true religion demands the care and consolation of the un-fortunate and afflicted and a life of probity and good-will towards all men. In India we sorely need team spirit, the power to unite men in a common cause. Caste has divided us whereas we need to foster the corporate and co-operative spirit and to ensure that the new industrialism does not foster a selfish individualism as it has too often done in the West. Surely it is not impossible for us to develop team spirit and eliminate

the narrowness of caste by subordinating it to the larger loyalty and national well-being, and that in lift turn to the good of humanity. Surely there is not one among us who cannot subscribe to the simple Parsi tenets: "He is happy who makes others happy", and "Virtue is its own reward and in harmony with Nature's law (or vice) its own punishment."

Clearly it is in social service of many kinds, in the practice of true religion, that we find common ground for Hindu and Muslim, Parsi and Christian. For in a common ideal and purpose; wounds will be healed and differences forgotten. For all of this you have the authority and example of India's greatest teacher and of her greatest ruler—the one a Chakravarti of a spiritual Empire, the other of a material one which yet embodied great spiritual ideals. Buddha and Ashoka have humanised religion. Both teach that to do good, to put away evil, to cleanse the mind and heart, is the Eternal Law. Both say that to honour parents and teachers, to protect wife and child, to care for the poor and sick, is true piety. Both maintain that religion is for all, lying not in secret truths and muttered *mantras* (मंत्र), but in the sane teaching of the Middle Path, selfless service for the good of mankind.

Fifty years ago, one who knew and loved India, said that Hinduism was "a troubled sea, without shore or visible horizon, driven to and fro by the winds of boundless credulity and grotesque invention". There is less credulity to-day, and some are in danger of losing faith of any kind. But there is still much that is grotesque, and to-day we ought to seek fundamental truths that have nobly stood the test of time anti bring constructive criticism to bear upon those practices and beliefs which have been exaggerated by the credulity of the masses or exploited by the ambition and greed of the priesthood. That India is hiding a new soul is clear. She is determined to claim her rightful place among the nations, but before her efforts can come to fruition she must find herself and get rid of her shackles.

Of the disabilities which retard our progress I think that the persistence of idolatry is most to be deplored. Idolatry leads to disrespect for God and to failure to appreciate that idols themselves are merely symbols, a lower form of worship

for the ignorant (प्रतिमा स्वल्पबुद्धीनां दैवः।). They must be regarded only as a stepping-stone to higher things, to realisation of the Absolute Self—the identity of the Brahman and the Atman (जीवो ब्रह्मते नापरः।) That cannot but inspire us to active service for the benefit of mankind.

On such a foundation alone can a true and worthy humanity be built, with the worshipper reflecting his God in the conduct of his life and his relations with his fellow beings, playing his part in the construction of a new society and a better world, believing the world to be the stage for a divine drama, the conquest of evil by good, of light by darkness. Such is the Spirit which animates the social service of the Parsis, Christians and Jews and it can well be commended not only to India but to a world which is groping for a new sense of values.

It is not to the search for a new religion that I urge you to turn your thoughts and activities, but to a reassessment of human values and the discovery of an impetus and inspiration to unselfish and moral living, to energy and to zeal. If religion is to be an incentive and an inspiration, we need re-definition and restatement. Can we not recall and re-incarnate the old Indian ideal of the Empire of Righteousness and Truth? Cannot we recapture the spirit of the four *Ashrams* (आश्रम) and the *Nishkama Karma* (निष्काम कर्म) and apply it to the industrial age? We sorely need that spirit in our search for religious and ethical truth, for truth is truth wherever we find it, and we need a scientific spirit in religion as well as a religious spirit in science. Let us seek truth wherever it may be found, in Athens or Jerusalem, in Benares or Mecca, in the literature, language and thought of all countries.

All religions are the common wealth and common property of mankind. Freely and frankly we should seek inspiration from all of them. In their original form, there is very little difference between the teachings of Krishna, Christ or Buddha, and their great moral truths, in their original simplicity, are as applicable to-day as they were hundreds of years ago. Where we do tend to go astray is in our adherence to the practices which grew round those teachings in later days. The truths themselves are universal and ageless, timely and

timeless, but we must fit them into the world of to-day. The world needs them but. we cannot remain slaves of ancient rituals and corrupt practices. The order is passing, values are changing, horizons are enlarging. As India enters the full and complex life of to-day she needs a new statement of social and individual ethics.

What seems to me to be the essentials of the modern man's religion are humanism, equanimity, moderation, service and morality. They are all inherent in the love of God and love of man, the two great fundamentals of the simple creed and code of living which the saints of our own faith and the great prophets of other religions, taught and exemplified. There is no reason why it should not still be a simple faith, untrammelled by prejudice and corruption, wise and powerful in truth. Let it be open and not secret, active and not passive, human and not inhuman, and a reborn and reinvigorated India will again be the light to many nations as she was in the past.

Let us turn then to the study of all religions, taking the best from each, attaching equal importance to their great moral lessons. Thus can India and the world rediscover a lost balance. The Greeks left us an imperishable legacy in philosophy, in art and in politics, because they studied man and made him the measure of all things. Our idealism must be rooted in the real facts of man's nature. Our religions and our social reforms must spring from a careful study of men, their motives and their feelings, their idiosyncracies as well as their sanity, their highest intuitions as well as their logical thinking.

Let us discover the goodness in men, their power to live globaly and to sacrifice themselves in great causes. Let us appeal to their latent patriotism and vague idealism so as to focus them upon the many tasks of village reconstruction, the amelioration of family life, social reorganisation and the building of fairer cities. Let us persuade them to abandon their fetishes regarding feed and to eat that which is both pleasant to the taste and beneficial to the health. Let our aim, in general, be a more healthy, cheerful and vigorous mode of life. The Greek saying was that "Strength is incapable

of effort, wealth is useless, eloquence is wasted, if health be wanting". The same moral truth lies in our Indian proverb, "Health is wealth". Our great and imperative task is to bring health back to India—health of mind, soul and body. I do not underestimate the difficulties that lie in our path but they are difficulties that can be overcome if we realise the essential purity of all religions, study the great moral lessons of mankind and history, model our lives and actions upon them. Then will India and the world find peace again in universal ethics and true religion, the wider vision of the love of God and the brotherhood of man.

In conclusion, I urge each one of you to endeavour in precept and practice to contribute to the solution of our problems, for I am convinced that the cumulative effect of world-wide goodwill and understanding would be irresistible. And as a companion thought for everyday life, commend to you a beautiful Sanskrit prayer compiled from the *Rig-veda*. Five thousand years have not served to dim its beauty or alter its truth:

May He who is One without second,
who is beyond all distinction of colour, caste and creed,
who knowing all our needs meets them with His manifold powers;
may He who is in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end;
may He unite us in fellowship and understanding.



At the Public Inaugural Meeting of World Fellowship of Faiths, Queen's Hall, London, 3rd July 1936.



DAME ELIZABETH CADBURY, SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— Three years have passed since I had the honour of delivering an inaugural address to you at the first Parliament of Religions in Chicago. I am proud to have this further opportunity of associating myself with your noble labours to bring to the solution of many dire problems the universal truths which are fundamental in all religions. Three anxious years ago we were drawn together by our belief that the practical application of such truths to the conduct of our personal lives and public affairs would make the world happier for ourselves and for our fellow-men.

When to-day we survey a sorely troubled world, driven by intolerance, prejudice and greed, with complex problems of such magnitude that they almost defy understanding, we may well be dismayed at the thought of the task to which we have set our hands. Nevertheless, we may go forward with resolute hearts and high hopes. We have with us leaders and exponents of every kind of religious belief, and we may be said to represent millions in every country who think as we do—that in the brotherhood of man lies the salvation of the world. If, as I am convinced, that belief exists, it behoves us to study where religion is failing to achieve its ultimate objective and to eliminate its faults, and so failing to harness and direct a tremendous potential force, the effect of which would be

irresistible. For I doubt if anyone will care to deny that the cumulative effect of world-wide goodwill and understanding must be irresistible.

But if we are to succeed, we must be completely frank in our analysis of religion and its present-day shortcomings. It will not serve our cause to deny that the insular intolerance and prejudice, which we find so blameworthy in national and international relations to-day, have their counterpart in religious rivalry and prejudice. Nor can we deny that the gross materialism which we would replace with that innate spirituality of man which strikes at the root of all evil, is largely the outcome of religious apathy, ignorance or struggles for supremacy. And if that be true, we must accept our share of the blame for the unhappy condition of the world in which we live.

Our primary need is to return to simpler beliefs, common to all religions, and to base on them fellowship of faiths wherein there is not only toleration, for that is insufficient, but co-operation for the good of humanity. It is not to a new religion that mankind should be urged to turn, but to consideration of the fundamental beliefs which are common to all religions and to their evaluation in the light of modern needs and conditions and in accordance with the great truths of science.

After all, this conception of a fellowship of faiths cannot be regarded as a new one. Bana, in his *Harshacarita*, tells us how the great Hindu King Harsha presided over a religious conference consisting of men of all creeds and of all creeds, where fruitful and friendly discussions of fundamental religious problems were held. In the sacred scriptures of India, we find the different religions compared to different rivers flowing to the same sea, and being coloured by the soil of the countries through which they pass. In the Upanishads they are likened to parallel streams of rain water flowing down the sides of a hill, or different to vessels fashioned from the same clay.

In the *Mahabharata* we read of a universal religion and the specific religions. The universal religion is defined as faith in a truly moral life, universal friendship, charity and good-will, and in ancient times, Hindu monarchs encouraged the

observance of the principles of this universal religion among the adherents of different faiths in their kingdoms. The famous King Asoka had the principles of his religion inscribed in popular language in rock edicts and on pillars throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire, while religious ministers were appointed to impart such principles and to encourage their observance.

The long and peaceful reign of Asoka, whose work for the uplift of humanity is almost unequalled in the annals of Indian history, is a glorious and abiding testimony to the security in peace and goodwill, which can be secured by moral and religious uplift without resort to force and fear. What a pity that this magnificent example was not followed through the many changes of later centuries. Yet the writing is still there for those who care to read. I would that in India, the land of many religions and superstitions, my countrymen devoted more attention to the great truths preached by Asoka and work with sympathetic understanding for the well-being of society. If they did so, I am sure that the majority of their trials and tribulations would disappear.

The creed which Asoka accepted and preached so fruitfully is fundamental in all religions and all moral philosophy, and it is true of all ages. Among the truly enlightened, religion has always implied fellowship of faiths and fellowship humankind. The Buddhist preaches universal compassion, and where Hinduism says, "A wise man looks upon others as himself". Christianity preaches, "Love thy neighbour as thyself". It is only the bigoted adherent of a particular faith who emphasises the narrow meaning of religious union as restricted to members of that same faith.

Unhappily, those earlier and simpler truths have become obscured by rites and ritual, and too often we find ourselves slaves to shibboleths and outworn ceremonies. Though we deplore the development, it is at least understandable. In earlier times, religion, with all its rites and rituals, served to unite people in different groups on the basis of the faiths they possessed. The import of any religion, the rites and rituals, changed as the religious migrated from one country to another, according to the genius and temperament of the

different races among whom such religions found shelter. They changed also in accordance with political, social and economic developments and with variations in world conditions. In short, like every other phase of life, is subject to environment and to the laws of nature.

Christianity as taught by Jesus in Palestine is different from Apostolic Christianity, and that again is very different from the Christianity as practised in Catholic and Protestant countries to-day. Buddhist as preached by Buddha underwent manifold changes as it spread in India among adherents of the Vedic faith and through Central Asia and the Far East.

It remains, however, that we can still distinguish a variable and an invariable part in religion. The variable part consists mainly of creeds, rites and rituals which have changed and are still changing according to racial genius and temperament, and to psychological and other requirements. The invariable part consists in the function of religion in uniting the adherents of all faiths in ties of fellowship and friendship and in common acceptance of those fundamental truths which are universal and ageless and transcend the confines of the narrow nationalism and international selfishness which are the bane of modern times.

Let us base our labours, then, upon the simple moral tenets common to all religions and make them a common ideal in our dealings between man and man, between nation and nation. Let those tenets enter into the daily lives of our children as essentials of their earliest education. The child of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow, and it is in childhood that character can best be moulded. As true enlightenment and sympathetic understanding spread, so will our troubles diminish and disappear. The old order is passing and values are changing apace, but whatever comes to pass, there is no problem, personal or international, which cannot but benefit from consideration in the light of the fundamental truths on which all religions are based. But our influence and our labour must not be of a passive nature, and we must not submit meekly to inevitable setbacks and disappointments. The brotherhood of nations is a righteous cause, and we must strive for its attainment, for a new world and a new society, with pride and with unremitting energy.

Looking back through the long years of my life, I cannot avoid the reflection that never before has there been the same compelling need for goodwill, understanding and co-operation in all our relationships. It is, indeed, rather a sad reflection upon the march of civilisation that, many centuries after the great prophets preached the fellowship of man, and only twenty years after the world war which brought sorrow and suffering to millions, nations should again be arming and our natural desire for peace and amity be obscured by tendencies which we all deplore. Nevertheless, I remain an optimist and a firm believer that good must ultimately triumph over evil. Let us take the best from all religions, and base on their fundamental truths a creed of selfless service to humanity. Whatever religion we profess, it does but colour our lives, whereas the fundamental truths which we share, irrespective of our country or religion, are those which mould the substance of our lives and relationships and will lead us to the attainment of our highest ideals.

Let us, then, continue to emphasise in theory and practice the supreme value of those fundamental truths as a great unifying force through a fellowship of nations and a fellowship of faiths. The difficulties are many and the way is long, but if the inherent goodwill and commonsense in man is brought to bear upon our problems the world will find peace again in the wider vision of God and the brotherhood of man. Civilisation to-day is blindly groping. Let us try to give it direction and restore its lost or wavering faith. It is a noble work to which we have set our hands and hearts. Let us go forward in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right-let us strive on to finish the work we are in."



At Dr. Collin Davies' lecture on "India and Queen Victoria", India House, London, 4th May 1937.



MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — We cannot help but admire the manner in which Dr. Davies has treated his subject. He has marshalled his facts in a masterly manner and, presented them to us easily and clearly. In certain expressions of opinion one may differ from him but that, however, is not a matter with which we are concerned this afternoon. We are all agreed that Dr. Davies deserves the utmost thanks from all of us for an excellent lecture.

My personal contact with the British Royal Family dates back for nearly sixty-two years but the contact of my family is still older. That began with the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India, when one of my predecessors had the pleasure of meeting him in Bombay. I remember as a small boy hearing the story from various sources of how the Duke of Edinburgh was received in Bombay and of all the ceremonial that had to be gone through. It happened, however, before I came into existence.

My own first contact with the Royal Family was when the Prince of Wales visited Bombay in November 1875. I was only a boy but I still have vivid recollections of the brilliant spectacle and the scenes I witnessed there. I remember, for example, how the Prince of Wales disembarked from the steamer and made his way through a vast crowd of spectators. I remember too how he was met by the Viceroy and many high officials in their resplendent uniforms. Several Indian

Princes dressed in their colourful clothes, turbans and jewels, were standing by the side of the Viceroy gazing at the spectacle and anxiously waiting to welcome His Royal Highness. I was only a boy, about thirteen I think. But I remember also some of the disputes that arose about precedence and how they were settled. However, such affairs will hardly interest you.

Shortly after first met His Royal Highness in Bombay, he paid me a visit in my house there and gave me some very nice presents, ornaments, watches, snuff-boxes and the like. In accordance with custom I had to make presents in return. After a few days' stay in Bombay the Prince decided that he would like to visit Baroda and we had to hasten back to do our utmost to make arrangements befitting his position. It was no altogether easy for at that time conditions In India were very different. We were not then so much in touch as we are now with European life and its requirements. However, the officers in charge did their utmost. One thing certainly satisfied His Royal Highness and that was the Shikar, pig-sticking, and other spot we were able to provide him within Baroda. .

After that, the next important occasion at which I was present was the Delhi Durbar when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. That too I remember perfectly well and I can still picture the different Princes and dignitaries of the State, the lovely jewels, beautiful brocades and other types of dresses that the Indian Princes wore. There were many fine soldiers, well built and with stalwart figures. It seems to me that there has been a great change in the physique of the Indian peoples since that day. Whether that is a fact and if so to what it is due, my friend Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood will know better than I.

I can remember the dais where the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was seated, and where he stood to read the Proclamation to the Indian Princes. I can remember his face, the manner in which he read the Proclamation, and the answer which was given in a few words by the Maharaja of Gwalior. The Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore and I, were only little boys looking on as mere spectators. We all felt that it was a great occasion though I am afraid we did not understand very much of its significance.

The third occasion when I came in contact with the Royal Family was on my first visit to Europe. That was in 1887 after I had been ailing for some years from nerves. My people did not understand what was the matter with me and, looking back now, it seems to me that they did not trouble to find out. It was the then Surgeon-General of Bombay Presidency who advised me to have a complete change of scenery and life. My people could not understand the meaning of that advice or why I required a change of scene.

When the Jubilee of Queen Victoria took place I was in Venice. I was well aware of the importance of the occasion and was anxious to go to London but Mr Elliot, my tutor, suggested that it would not be wise for me in view of my indifferent health to undertake such an arduous task as a journey to London and participation in the rejoicings.

It was, then, not until after the celebration of the Jubilee festivities that I went to London and paid my homage to Her Majesty, being invited to stay both at Windsor Castle and her favourite Osborne. I have a vivid memory of Her Majesty's appearance and the gracious manner in which she received my wife and myself and other members of my party. Her manner was cordial, simple and straightforward, and it made a great impression on me, certainly greater than the grandeur of her surroundings. We respected Queen Victoria far more, I am sure, for the greatness of her character, her warm sympathy and for her devotion to duty, than for all the wealth and power she possessed. The last time I saw the Queen was in 1900 just before I sailed for India. She was then getting old but it came as a great shock when she died a little later and the whole Empire was plunged into mourning.

Dr Davies has covered the ground so thoroughly that I feel it hardly necessary for me to try and improve upon his treatment of a fascinating subject. He has given us a most interesting address and ample food for thought and on your behalf I thank Dr Davies for his splendid lecture. I would also like to thank the East India Association for the admirable manner in which they have arranged this representative gathering and for their invitation for me to preside.



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Address to His Majesty at the Reception at Buck Ngham Palace, 11th May 1937.



It is my proud privilege on behalf or the Ruling Princes of India to say on this historic occasion what I know to be in the minds of every one of them. No one holds the British Crown and the Sovereign who wears it in greater reverence than we do and there is none readier to answer the call of the King Emperor in time of need.

May success attend the efforts of Your Majesty and Your Gracious Consort to bring happiness and contentment to the millions entrusted to your care!



At the opening of the Imperial Conference, St James's Palace, London, 14th May 1937.



PRIME MINISTER AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE — It is my privilege to address the Imperial Conference on behalf of India, on this historic occasion when the Conference follows closely upon the Coronation of the Sovereign to whom the great communities here represented all acknowledge allegiance.

The splendid and moving ceremony of two days ago, the vast crowds gathered together in order and freedom at the centre of the British Commonwealth, the presence here to-day of men representing different communities in widely separated parts of the world—all remind us that the Crown remains as it has been for generations. It is still surrounded and sustained by the reverence and affections of millions; it is still the visible symbol of the Empire's unity and the centre of its loyalties.

We are confident that His present Majesty, with His Gracious Consort by his side, will show himself a worthy heir of the highest traditions of the British Monarchy; and as spokesman today of the Government, Princes, and Peoples of India, I tender to Their Majesties respectful greetings and our assurances of unswerving devotion and attachment.

The internal affairs of India are not before this Conference: but you will not expect that, speaking for India to-day, I should pass them over in silence. For sixty years I have been closely concerned with public affairs in my own State and outside it.

During that long stretch of time I have striven to watch events and, what is more, to interpret them with detachment—to divine those unseen currents of ideas, emotions, aspirations, which ultimately determine the course of history. Nowhere do those currents flow more strongly than in India to-day. The great cities of India ferment with social and industrial vigour. But much more far-reaching is the fact that the traditional life of the peasant, the very foundation of India, is being touched, I will not say shaken, by many influences: it is awakening from a long quiescence. It is not too much to say that the whole of India pulsates with life. And this vast energy which is now being realised to what goal is it to lead her many millions. I answer politically, towards the attainment of her full stature as an autonomous unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations, socially—towards the attainment of the ideal inseparably bound up with that Commonwealth—freedom perfected by order, order perfected by freedom.

In that attainment India will have no mean contribution of her own to make to the Commonwealth. No two nations, no two races, interpret and realise those words "order" and "freedom" in precisely the same way; but their realisation may be none the less true and rich if they are transmuted by the genius of individual peoples. If India has received and will continue to receive much from the Commonwealth, she has equally much to give.

I should wish to conclude these few remarks by expressing our gratitude to you, Sir, for the welcome which you have just given to us in such cordial terms, and by offering to His Majesty's Government our sincere thanks for the abundant and gracious hospitality extended to us.



At the Oxford University Raleigh Club, Oxford, 22nd May 1937.



MR CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN, — Unique experiences are to be my good fortune this evening. In the first place, I find myself, so to speak, on the same platform as Mr Churchill, not the least of whose many qualities is that he is one of the most gifted orators of the present age. Furthermore, speaking for the first time in Oxford, renowned as a home of liberal thought which has given so many great men to India, I am to respond on behalf of India to the toast of the British Commonwealth.

The British Commonwealth is based upon one fundamental conception—freedom. Within each nation of the British Commonwealth, the individual has, or at least we desire him to have, that freedom; and similarly when we pass on from the individual, each nation is free within the Commonwealth—free to develop according to its own genius and to determine its own destiny. The Commonwealth stands before the world as a British League of Nations and as such is a factor of ever growing importance in preserving the world's peace.

The ideal underlying our present understanding of the Commonwealth may not always have been there but happily the Commonwealth is alive. It can and does constantly adapt itself, though sometimes tardily, to changing conditions. Looking to the future, I can see a still greater destiny for the Commonwealth along lines which I will attempt to indicate

briefly. It is not merely the Western races that can achieve their destiny within the Commonwealth. There is a definite place for other races which have grown up with other civilisations and other conceptions of life. As in Greece so in India, with her ancient traditions and civilisation, the underlying principles of the Commonwealth were known and practised many years ago, though the modern electoral system is new to us: And nowadays, a new and vigorous spirit is to be detected everywhere. I feel that if broad-minded statesmanship demonstrates that there is room for India and all that India stands for, within my conception of Commonwealth ideals, then only will the Commonwealth achieve its highest mission.

I have no doubt that with the consummation of the hopes I have expressed the Commonwealth will play an ever increasing part in achieving and maintaining peace in the world. It is not an uncommon suggestion that an eventual clash between Europe and Asia is inevitable. But with India as a free autonomous unit in the Commonwealth such a clash cannot occur and is indeed inconceivable. To my mind, it is only along these lines that Future development can lie, if we are to be true to our ideals. Anyone who talks in this strain may be called an idealist but great Empires cannot be built up without idealism.

India as a contented member of the British Commonwealth will be an effective safeguard against any clash between East and West, and I am confident that statesmanship in England and India will work steadily to secure that contentment. If impatience is deemed to be injurious, the retarding of an inevitable development is likely to be more injurious. And above all, any undue or unnecessary check to an inevitable development would not be in accordance with the ideals of the great Commonwealth to the toast of which I have the honour to respond on behalf of India.



Replying to Mr Baldwin's Toast of the British Commonwealth, Empire Day Dinner, Grosvenor House, 24th May 1937.



YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MY LORD CHAIRMAN, PRIME MINISTERS, LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It is an honour to be asked to answer the toast proposed to-night by Mr Baldwin. He has held for years the high office of Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. We all know that he is just relinquishing that office. It has been held in the past by many great men but by none I believe in whom the Empire has felt more undivided confidence. He takes with him from the conflicts of the House of Commons, the affection and esteem of the many millions who constitute the peoples of the British Commonwealth.

That Commonwealth is no mechanical aggregation of races; it is a living organism, changing and developing as does all life. At the heart of its being are the two moving principles of liberty and of order; and if it is to be true to itself those two principles will always govern the changes and development which are the unfolding of its innermost nature. Such changes are the necessary accompaniment of human development and the necessary condition of human happiness among the great peoples whom they directly touch.

The happiness of the people—that is the test by which ultimately all forms of government, all constitutions come to be judged Will posterity hereafter be able to point to the new Constitution of India, and say: "With all its complexities, with all the imperfections inherent in such a work of human minds,

this was, on the whole, a successful attempt to promote human dignity, brotherhood and happiness in a vast population over a vast area of the earth's surface”?

This new Constitution is admittedly a welcome step towards our goal of a free and autonomous unit within the Commonwealth, though more rapid and extensive progress would have been preferred by my countrymen. So we may cherish the hope that India’s political development will win from posterity a verdict to that effect. I am certain that those words may already be used concerning the great organisation of which India is a part—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is that hope and that certainty which are the source of the deep pleasure I feel in responding to this toast.



At the East India Association's Reception to Indian Delegates to the Imperial Conference, Grosvenor House, 11th June 1937.



MR CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS, — I came here without the least knowledge that I should be called upon to express my sentiments upon such an occasion. But the Chairman has referred to his in such an eloquent manner that I find it impossible either to refuse or to answer him adequately. It is not the first time that I have been the guest of this Association and I always recall their hospitality with gratitude.

In my Opinion, the East India Association and similar organisations are doing a great work. It is good that people should mix socially as much as possible and try to understand each other's ways and manners, weaknesses and strengths. If they are studied impartially and with an open mind, I am sure that the respect of each for the other will be much greater than is the case today.

The East is said never to move, but the East is changing fast. We are imitating some of your best things and with the adoption of such manners and customs, I think it will be much more easy to mix than it has been hitherto. In India, there is the question of caste, for example. Let me tell you that many of these old ideas are slowly but steadily disappearing. At my own table I have had people of the Depressed Classes invited to dinner, and men of all different castes, including Brahmins, come and share the fare. Years ago it would have been a revolution, but now people look upon

it as an everyday thing, and a thing, moreover, which many of them think should come to pass.

Some years ago, I was invited by my Mohammedan friends to have dinner at a mosque. I went with several of my darbaris and other gentlemen, and none hesitated to go. We had a very hearty reception and enjoyed an excellent dinner and great hospitality. That shows that religion does not divide us as much as some people appear to think. The Mohammedan religion has certain principles which any intelligent man will adopt, and in the same way there are certain principles in Hinduism which others can adopt without the least hesitation. After all, the principles of ethics and love are common to humanity, and if those principles are properly interpreted and laid before people, many of the existing differences in feeling and sentiment will gradually dwindle away and bonds of friendship and close sympathy will grow.

The remainder of my Speech I propose to leave for my friend Sir Zafrullah Khan. He has been a lawyer himself and as a practised speaker will know well how to express the sentiments befitting this occasion. May I thank you for the kindness of the reception and the hospitality that you have given to us.



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*At the Garden Party given in his honour by the Baroda Municipality, at Baroda,
15th December 1937.*



MR PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CITY MUNICIPALITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting you all here this evening. When I accepted your kind invitation, I had no intention of making a speech, but after hearing what your President has to say on the progress of municipal activities and your aspirations, I am tempted to say a few words.

It is indeed most gratifying to know that the City Municipality is making slow but steady progress. Nevertheless it must be admitted that we are lagging far behind other nations. Progress depends upon the political, social and economic conditions of the day and there is and can be no end to it. You would indeed be surprised if you could see what is being achieved in the Outside world. That a lively curiosity in this respect has arisen in Baroda, is a matter for great satisfaction and I suggest as a necessary complement, determination, patience and a steady eye to the future.

A healthy mind in a healthy body; that is a proverb well known to you all. Health depends mainly upon sanitation and in its turn, sanitation depends mainly upon doing your duty to yourself and to your neighbours. At all times you should have every consideration for others and not allow your outlook to be warped by petty-minded narrowness. Seek to make your

surroundings clean and beautiful and you will help to create a healthy life for yourself and those around you.

As I have already remarked, what you have done so far is but a tithe of what is being done elsewhere. Education and perseverance are two remedies which will remove most municipal ills. Cultivate them sedulously and in the fulness of time, the results will redound to your honour and glory.

The world is changing rapidly and we are apt to imitate everything new. But you must avoid slavish imitation. Consult your own heart, study your own surroundings, see what is good and what is bad for you, rejecting the latter and retaining only the best. Such study should be the great determining factor in the adoption of new methods or new equipment.

A ruler and his administrators, those intrusted with office, are but part and parcel of society. They alone cannot carry society onward and there are obvious limits to progress unless the governed co-operate whole-heartedly with them. Success cannot be achieved single-handed. There must be genuine support and assistance from all and I appeal to you, therefore, to join hands with us in creating a healthy civic life.

You should beware of what is published in the newspapers. Do not accept blindly or be misled by what others say, but subject everything to the test of reason. After all, man is endowed with a brain, for otherwise he would be rather like an animal without a tail. He must use that brain to reason with, to worry out the solution of his own problems, and thus keep himself abreast of the times.

I started my public life with such ideals and I hit upon education as the only solution for all civic ills. Let me urge you all to educate yourselves for healthy civic life and to remember that your duty lies in creating a vigorous atmosphere for such a life, and insistently claiming it. It is easy to clamour for power and to ask for a share in administration, without any such training. It is much more difficult, but very much more fruitful, to offer proper and efficient co-operation in carrying on a Government for the good of the people.

I congratulate you on having this magnificent building us your headquarters. I doubt if any municipality in India has one more imposing and I trust that it may constantly stimulate you to imposing efforts and achievements. I congratulate you also upon the progress you have so far achieved in civic welfare and I trust that the economic welfare of my people will increase in no less measure.



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*At the Diamond jubilee Celebrations of the Shree Jayasinhrao Library, Baroda,
6th December 1937.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I had no intention of speaking on this occasion, but the address of our learned lecturer, describing in such interesting fashion the libraries of the world, tempts me to say a few words.

What I see here to-day vividly recalls to my mind memories of long years ago. I remember well the site and scenes of the day this library was founded. The neighbourhood was then overcrowded with narrow, dark and dirty lanes, wretched, uninviting shops, miserable houses, tenements and temples, unhealthy and tiresome for the pedestrian. What a delightful transformation we find to-day! Our city now looks charming with its broad and well-lit streets lined with trees. Stately buildings depict different schools of architecture and, together with the amenities of modern civic life which we now enjoy, the whole scene has not only changed but in many respects has indeed become charming.

Turning to the learned lecture of Father Heras, I doubt if I can usefully add anything to what he has told us. As regards his flattering references to what I have been able to do, I make no claim to have been more than partly successful in my efforts to promote the welfare of my people. We do not all get equal opportunities in life, nor do we get sufficient scope or encouragement for what we wish to do. I have done the best I could within my limitations and I am happy to say that I have been able to provide a network of libraries for my people,

bringing about a healthy change in their outlook, culture and general knowledge.

Father Heras has given us an excellent description of the large and varied collections of books and manuscripts stored at different times by different nations. From these collections has flown the stream of knowledge which has given light and happiness; to mankind. It is a matter of great regret that in Spain, from which, I think, our able lecturer comes, these ancient monuments are threatened with complete destruction owing to political troubles. Let us hope that these difficulties will soon pass, that peace will not long be delayed and that Spain's ancient culture and civilisation will be preserved.

India's culture illumined the world of the ancients. But during the interim period of ignorance and darkness, India has not been able to maintain her link with the past or to plan adequately for the future. If we wish to keep pace with the world which advances daily, it is essential that we should acquire more and more knowledge and spread it far and wide.

We cannot adequately measure our progress unless we come into contact with other people and try to make ourselves conversant with their achievements. For this purpose we must visit countries Far and near, for thus and only thus can we widen our knowledge, estimate where we stand and determine what path we should follow. By reading and by study, you can of course obtain much practical knowledge, useful in your daily occupations. Naturally all reforms cannot be good for us, and some may be impracticable, but by studying the really good customs and methods of others, by adopting and moulding them to our needs, we shall certainly improve our lot.

We all know something of the vicissitudes through which our country has passed, and of the defects that have retarded our progress and stunted our growth as a nation. Appalling ignorance and unnatural class divisions are, in my opinion, the main reasons for our backwardness. What a shocking percentage of illiteracy we have among our 35 crores of people! The very thought of it is sufficient to make us shudder and feel ashamed. Therefore our primary and foremost want is education and spread of knowledge. With that object, I have opened many schools and libraries and I urge you to take full advantage of them.

If you are really anxious to progress you must work hard and Strive for it. Study well the methods of Western races and apply the knowledge thus gained to your everyday life and to the! many religious and political problems that await solution. I urge you to give up, once and For all, faulty notions and dogmas in religious matters, and also the vices and defects which are the products of subordination and want of scope and freedom; Do not hesitate to introduce reforms which will give you refinement and health. It is hardly necessary for me to say that the happiness and prosperity of the individual or of society in general, mainly depend upon these things. By generosity of heart and diffusion of knowledge, you will come to realise that we are all the children of one God. Only when you fully understand that truth, can you render full service to humanity. Keeping that aim always in sight, do your duty according to your light. Each one of you possesses strength, but real strength lies in unity. Acquire that real and noble strength and work, in harmony and conjunction with others, and you cannot but do good to yourself and to society, while progress will proceed unchecked.

In order to secure that strength in unity, you must abandon mutual conflicts and petty squabbles, which are the products of distrust, class divisions, selfishness and similar vices. Do not treat one particular class as untouchables. They have enough worries without that and you must try to reduce their suffering and enhance their happiness. Forget all differences of race and religion, caste and creed. Whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, for our salvation, you must all unite under one banner as one nation.

The name of my late son, Prince Jayasinhrao, has long been associated with this library. After he had completed his education at Harrow, I sent him to Harvard in the United States, so that he might learn that in work lies our honour. He thus received excellent higher education, the education that I myself longed to have but could not get through circumstances well known to you. But I tried to give to my sons what was denied to me. I sent them to colleges in different countries in the hope that they would use their acquired knowledge to further the happiness of my people. I must admit that I did not completely realise my object.

As for myself, though I had no opportunity to receive a university education, I devoutly and zealously utilised all the available resources at my command in acquiring such knowledge as I could from reading good and useful books. I have studied them, and have endeavoured to apply my knowledge to everyday problems, trying to serve my people and secure their happiness. Though I have not succeeded in achieving all my desires and ambitions, I have done my best. Ladies and gentlemen, I look upon you as my children and it is my desire that you should have education and acquire knowledge. Thereby you will make headway towards the fulfilment of your cherished hopes and thus achieve happiness. Such has been my own aim in all directions. I have never lost hope as the result of failures, though often they have brought unhappiness. We learn by experience and every failure brings experience and enlightenment.

I know that many of you go to Europe and other foreign lands but how many of you derive proper benefit from your travels? I sometimes think that you hardly see the good things there and I am afraid that sometimes you also bring back with you the less desirable habits. Furthermore, if you receive higher education and are attracted by diplomas, degrees and other labels only as a means to government service, then that higher education is being wasted. You must cultivate your intellect and strength of character, and actively promote the arts and industries of your country. We are laggard in that respect, and economic difficulties are partly I responsible. But knowledge alone will not help us much unless we give up faulty habits and servile mentality, and boldly eradicate those social evils which have been such a hindrance to your progress. Cultivate practical wisdom with the aid of knowledge, to serve both the individual and society. You will find our Vedas urging: "Give away that food (knowledge) and satisfy hunger (ignorance)." You can raise society and our land to a high level of culture and progress if you place proper education and knowledge at the disposal of the poor and ignorant, increasing thus their chances of happiness and self-support.



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Replying to addresses at Calcutta Sanskrit College when the title of "Bhupati Chakravarty" was conferred upon His Highness, Calcutta, 23rd December 1937.



DR DAS GUPTA, LEARNED PANDITS AND PROFESSORS, — I am most grateful for the kindness of your addresses, and I trust you will not regard the brevity of my reply as a measure of my gratitude. I am glad too that you spoke in Sanskrit for we should obviously try to foster the use of our own language among our people in order to stimulate progress and increase their knowledge of our history, traditions and beliefs. But as we are insufficiently educated in that respect, I must perforce speak in English, the language which has done so much for us though it is foreign. For it has made us alive to our past history, told us wherein our shortcomings lie and indicated a suitable line of future progress.

Above all, the English language has been an elevating influence in our lives, raising our standards and broadening our outlook. In this uplift India finds the greatest problem that she has to deal with. Religion may be good in itself but it is clear that unless you study it scientifically and unless you rationalise your institutions, future prospects are very poor indeed. Furthermore, it is necessary to realise that religion can never depend on the isolated efforts of a few individuals, whatever their devotion. Ultimately it must depend upon the people as a whole and the vast majority of them have not been educated in true knowledge of their faith.

Professors should try to teach their pupils not only their past history and traditions but also what the drawbacks are and where they should rationalise. I have travelled throughout Europe, America and Africa and have hardly found a country in which the vast majority of the inhabitants go without elementary knowledge of their religion. The only outstanding exception seems to be India. In olden days it was possible to impart religious education to hundreds of people through their teachers. But nowadays men, women and children know little or nothing of even the main principles of religion.

It is your duty, a sacred duty, to impart the elementary principles of religion to your pupils in a clear and simple manner so that it may not be beyond their comprehension. If you render that service you will find that you have done something to ameliorate the condition of society and of the country. If you fail to render that service, then, no matter what knowledge you may have or what books you may write, your best efforts and intentions will fall short of the mark.

I sincerely hope that you will try to impart valuable knowledge to the people so that they may derive the greatest benefit, whether morally, financially or industrially, and that they and you may rise in the world. Try to reduce your skill and knowledge to what is rational and practicable and impart the outcome to others.

Truth must prevail in the long run and it will surely bring happiness to yourselves and those around you. I have myself tried to improve the condition of my people and, as far as lies in my power, to bring them happiness and prosperity. Education has been the rock on which I have sought to build, and there could be no greater happiness or reward for me than to know that such efforts have brought them material benefits. And now in Conclusion, let me thank you again for the most cordial welcome you have extended to me and for the kind things you have said in your addresses.



*Replying to an Address of Welcome from The Bengal Buddhist Association at
the Buddhist Vihara in Bowbazar, Calcutta,
30th December 1937.*



PROFESSOR BARUA, MEMBERS OF THE BENGAL BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION AND FRIENDS, — I am very pleased to be able to visit this institution and I thank you for the kind welcome you have given me. I take a keen personal interest in Buddhism which has done so much for the removal of pain from the world and for the deliverance of mankind.

Religion, like most other things in the world, changes and must change according to circumstances, adapting itself to new surroundings. A religion or an institution which does not or cannot change is destined to gradual extinction and ultimate death. Religion is for man and not man for religion. If a religion does not elevate men, does not serve the high purposes for which it is intended to function, it is better to abandon rather than to follow that religion. Better indeed, I would say, to give it up and make a new one which more fitly serves the needs of humanity and which, bereft of rituals and useless formalities, is more suited to modern conditions.

The rich, the cultured and the learned are few in number. Nevertheless, we must find means of imparting mural instruction to the masses in order that they may be educated and elevated. The differences among the Various religious sects are due to the fact that they emphasise the unessential features that keep them divided. What we really need is the unification of the various ideals for which religion stands. It

is possible because truth is one. We must study all religions from a comparative point of view, analyse their merits and defects scientifically and dispassionately, and so arrive at a proper judgment of their values.

Buddhism played a great part in Indian history. It has also a great place in human history for it has done more than most to remove prejudices from the human mind, to destroy dogmatism, to preach love for others, and to take a comprehensive view of life. You have all my sympathy in your work for the regeneration of the faith. The Buddha is the greatest figure not only in India but in the whole world, for he rendered the greatest service to humanity.

If you look back into the past history of Buddhism, once a dominant religion in India, and analyse the causes of its decline, you will, I think, find that its decline was due to the fact that the priests and monks lived on the charity of the people without rendering due service to them in return. Priests have no right to live on the charity of others unless they work for others as well as for themselves.

In conclusion, let me urge upon you that every little home, every little family, should be a true fount of morality from which will emanate and radiate influences to ever widening circles. Well-doing breeds well-doing and the ultimate effect upon society would truly be a happy one. In thanking you again for the manner in which you have me, let me assure you that the teachers of your institution will be welcome in my State and that I will render them every possible assistance in spreading the genuine tenets of Buddhism.



*Replying to his grandson, His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, at a banquet in his honour, Cooch Behar Palace,
3rd January 1938.*



YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN — I thank you for the appreciative words in which you have proposed my health. For many years I have promised myself a visit to Coach Behar but for reasons of health and pressure of work, my good intentions have hitherto been defeated.

This time I was determined not to fail and after getting as far as Calcutta, I have managed to pay my long-deferred visit, brief though it has to be. However, I hope it will prove the precursor of many more such visits, so that I may even become a nuisance to you.

I have known the State of Cooch Behar since the time of your grandfather and grandmother. The latter was a very accomplished lady of amiable disposition and charming manners. Your grandfather was a tall, handsome man of excellent physique, liberal-minded and progressive and above all a great sportsman. I knew your father and his brothers from their childhood, so that my connection with Cooch Behar, so far from being new, is deeply rooted in the past.

I am very pleased indeed to have seen your State. It has earned the reputation of being progressive and it is for you to maintain that reputation and to strive for still greater achievements in order to keep pace with the march of time. I am also very impressed with your officers who are alert and

enterprising and greatly devoted to yourself and to your State.

It has given Her Highness and myself the greatest pleasure to be among you and I thank you again for the kindness of your welcome.



Replying to an Address of Welcome from the Sahitya Sabha, Lansdowne Hall, Cooch Behar, 4th January 1938.



KHAN SAHEB AMARNIT ULLAH AHMED, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It gives me great pleasure to be here this evening as your Sabha is doing very useful work in bringing to light old manuscripts. It is a matter for gratification to know that some of them were written by the illustrious rulers of this place in olden days. In ancient times, though education was not as widespread as it is to-day, you will see that it was not confined to the middle classes, but reached the higher strata of society. You have before you the instances provided by your own former rulers, and Indian history abounds in such examples. If more be required, I need quote only one, the famous Shri Harsha.

In these days of democracy, we have to see that knowledge does not remain the perquisite of one class or group of classes, but reaches all. In short, knowledge must descend and be widely spread among the masses. We must not forget that even if a small fraction of our society remains ignorant or uneducated, the more advanced classes will suffer thereby and the progress of the nation as a whole will be retarded.

Our aim must be to explore knowledge and make it available to one and all, for the amelioration of our country and in the best interests of the masses. Judged from that viewpoint, it is clear to me that your organisation is doing important work and I feel it a great pleasure and honour that my name should be associated with your labours. I thank you for the cordial welcome

you have given me this evening and I shall look forward to seeing more of your work when next I visit Cooch Behar.



Laying the foundation stone of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda's X-ray Ward at the Jitendra Narayan Hospital, Cooch Behar, 5th January 1938.



YOUR HIGHNESSES, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COOCH BEHAR COUNCIL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It is a great pleasure for me to be able to be here to-day and to declare this foundation stone to be well and truly laid.

The State has to perform multifarious duties and of those duties, medical relief may claim to be the most important. Unless proper care is taken of health, it is impossible to raise good citizens, mentally and physically fit. I have been looking into your administrative methods in his respect and I am very impressed with your up-to-date organisation. Previous rulers have played their part well and Her Highness the present Maharani Saheb has contributed considerably to the maintenance of progress. I am sure that your Maharaja, my grandson, will stimulate developments in all directions.

Science progresses every day and it is but natural that the Medical Department should claim a lion's share of the State Revenue. It has been my own experience that whatever has been done in the past or is proposed for the future, soon proves to be inadequate and naturally people clamour for more. How to solve such problems as they arise must lie with future administrations, but of one fact I am certain: any State can progress but little without the co-operation of its peoples.

It I am very glad to see that your hospital is provided with the most modern appliances and it is gratifying to know that

Her Highness the Maharani Saheb gave a considerable amount of her private money for its construction and equipment. Nothing could be more laudable and she deserves the greatest credit for the noble use she has made of her money. Alleviation of human suffering and improvement of the lot of mankind are aims which must be near and dear not only to Maharajas and rulers but to each and every one of us. In that manner alone can we help each other to happiness and higher achievement. And now let me conclude with the heartfelt hope that this institution and its great work will increasingly thrive each succeeding day.



At the Opening of the Fifth Rotary Conference for India, Burma, Ceylon and Afghanistan, College Hall, Baroda, 22nd January 1938.



ROTARIAN DISTRICT GOVERNOR, PRESIDENT OF THE BARODA ROTARY CLUB AND ROTARIANS, — It is my privilege to-day to offer you a warm welcome to my Capital. I understand that this is only the second conference since your present district was constituted, and as Baroda is a comparative new-comer to the Rotary movement, we are naturally the more pleased that Baroda should have the honour of being your temporary headquarters. We may not be able to offer you all the amenities of Madras, where you assembled a year ago, but I can assure you that you will find here not only a real welcome but a very genuine sympathy in your work and deliberations.

Though have known of the work of the Rotary movement for many years, it was not until five years ago that a happy coincidence brought about my first contact with it. In 1933 I visited Chicago to preside at the convention of the World Fellowship of Faiths. That is an international organisation which seeks to foster the brotherhood of man through toleration, goodwill and co-operation, stressing the common truths fundamental in all religions, making them the basis of personal and international relationships. It was during that visit that I was taken to see the original home of . Rotary in Chicago, where four American businessmen originated a movement which has spread throughout the world, a

movement the development of which brings you together here to-day.

I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you warmly approve of the aims and work of any organisation seeking to break down the barriers of distrust and misunderstanding which disfigure our world to-day. But whereas some seek to work through organised religion, you seek to work through personal service. According to your constitution, religion as such does not enter into your work or deliberations and all creeds and races find scope for well doing within your ranks. Service to one's fellow-beings is indeed inherent in all established religions and philosophies. Bigotry and prejudice throughout the ages have tended to obscure that simple truth and it is an outstanding achievement of the Rotary movement that selfless service has been revived as a vigorous personal creed and, to my mind, a true religion.

What appears to be an admirable method of approach to this ideal of service is that Rotary provides each member with frequent Opportunities of meeting men of other races, creeds, trades and professions. It has been my good fortune for many years, whether as administrator or traveller, to enjoy such opportunities of meeting men of all types and opinions, of studying their points of view and deriving benefit from their experiences. It is a habit which I have deliberately cultivated and I need hardly assure you that those opportunities have proved invaluable, for understanding has been born of them and without understanding there can be little progress to mutual liking and respect.

Understanding, liking and respect are sorely lacking in the world to-day. The result is that selfishness and narrowness have entered into the souls of individuals and nations and instead of general endeavour being for the greatest good and happiness of the greatest number, it has become a struggle for power regardless of suffering. India has suffered and suffers still from this lack of mutual respect, toleration and understanding. Caste and religion remain two great barriers to our progress, for experience proves only too well that narrowness in religion tends to wound and not to heal, while caste hinders healthy personal contact between men of the

same race, preventing them from knowing and helping each other. If, gentlemen, you set yourselves steadily to remove this stigma of untouchability with its degrading influences, you will indeed deserve well of India.

Yet, whatever our own internal shortcomings, they appear to be overshadowed by those of the world outside, where professions of goodwill towards others are absurdly at variance with the cynical disregard of the ordinary canons of morality which characterises the international situation. It is more natural in man to be kind than unkind, happy than unhappy. Yet when nations are warring, the air is full of bitter recriminations, and there is poverty in the midst of plenty, there is clearly something grievously wrong with the world. Is it not that the best within us is being repressed, that our natural instinct for peace, harmony and goodwill, is denied free play? Is it not largely our own fault that baser passions rule the day, that we have forgotten friendship to be one of the greatest gifts in life? I believe that we are moving towards a new order of society, that ultimately good must prevail and restore happiness and prosperity. But we may well ask ourselves whether, as individuals, we are giving the best that is in us?

I am informed that more than one hundred Rotary clubs are represented in this conference. You come, gentlemen, from centers large and small throughout a vast area, some of them four thousand miles apart, having different cultures and languages, different interests and outlooks. You find your unifying force in your ideal of service towards mankind, your sole reward the knowledge of well-doing for the common weal. Doubtless district conferences are being held in other parts of the world, seeking to further the same ideal. Think for one moment of the irresistible force that would be generated if not only Rotarians, but every individual in the world contributed his mite of belief and practice. This world of ours would be a very different place.

It was while thinking of your ideal as given in your motto, that I recalled a too little known maxim of John Morley. He once remarked that any individual can do a surprising amount of good if he does not care who gets the credit. It is a maxim

which we can all take to heart and it is clearly a force in the Rotary movement. That movement, as I understand it, strives through the individual effort of each member within the circles in which his influence is greatest, and his scope for service most potent, to bring! about more understanding, and so more effort to work for the common good. The magnitude of such a task needs no emphasis but it is well worth our every effort to foster the spirit of goodwill on earth.

You have been good enough, through your President, to speak of my efforts to foster those aims which we all have at heart. I am afraid that I cannot speak to you to-day as a classified or active member of your movement but I am a Rotarian at heart and I trust that I may justly claim to be one also in practice. I can conceive no higher ideal for a ruler or for anyone to whom authority is entrusted than to devote himself to the welfare of those entrusted to his care and it has been my privilege and responsibility for many years to attempt to conform to the ideal which Rotarians set before themselves.

I am deeply conscious of the honour you have done me in inviting me to open this conference and I thank you again for the kind words with which you have welcomed me to your conclave. I trust that your deliberations will be crowned with success and that you will take away with you none but happy recollections of your stay here. And now I have pleasure in declaring this conference to be open.



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*At the Opening of the Prachi Road-Kodinar Railway, Kodinar,
15th February 1938.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — It is a source of constant regret to me that my health nowadays permits me to pay only infrequent visits to the outlying parts of my State and I am the more pleased to be with you on this important occasion. I thank you for the cordial welcome you have given me and for the appreciative remarks made on your behalf by the Manager of the State Railways and by the President of the District Board. I need hardly say that I share both your pride that this project is finished and your belief that it will greatly conduce to the amenities and prosperity of your taluka. You may rest assured that your needs and wellbeing are never far from my thoughts.

Modern science has so increased the speed and variety of communications that new generations are apt to regard as leisurely progress which their forefathers would have deemed rapid. Furthermore, they do not realise how much all governments are called upon to do with resources which communications, important as they are, must share with other beneficent developments. That limitation has necessarily applied in Baroda State as elsewhere, and it is the more satisfactory to be able to feel that our record of railway construction is sufficiently noteworthy to invite comparison with any part of India.

If you consider the position when first I entered into my stewardship, you will readily understand why railways were

one of my earliest enthusiasms and have remained so. In 1875, Baroda possessed one rather pathetic little line, nineteen miles long, and very few roads worthy of the name. The scattered nature of Baroda territories did not permit the developments possible in a consolidated domain, many of the areas did not lend themselves to road construction even if the material had been available, and finally such limited finance as was available had to be carefully husbanded to meet in some degree all calls upon it.

It was of primary importance that the Baroda territories should be opened up, and after balancing the requirements and the limitations, I decided to concentrate upon railways, provided the configuration of the country permitted, the cost was not prohibitive and there was a prospect of a reasonable return on the large outlay. It was not possible however to insist too rigorously upon this last proviso, for while railways are primarily commercial concerns, their value cannot be measured solely by profits. They are for the convenience of trade and commerce and the benefit of the travelling public, but by facilitating intercourse, stimulating fresh ideas and broadening outlooks, they have a cultural value which cannot be shown in a financial balance sheet.

Such were the general considerations which guided my earlier railway policy and though it has required certain modifications in the light of modern conditions, the principles have remained substantially the same. I need not dwell upon the difficulties we encountered in those early days, of the mistakes that were made and the lessons that had to be learned and sometimes unlearned. Suffice it that progress was steady. In the last fifteen years, one hundred miles of railways were constructed and today our railway system is more than seven hundred miles in length.

It is perhaps not always realised how well Baroda is served nowadays in respect of railways, but it is a statistical fact that for the area covered by Baroda State, the railway mileage is live times greater than the average for the rest of India. Naturally the cost has been great but that has not been allowed to stand in the way of any construction considered necessary or desirable. At the time of my Diamond Jubilee I reflected

that the programme of major construction was nearing its end, and with the opening of this line to-day, it is possible to claim that almost every part of the State is adequately served.

If we have gone steadily forward to the attainment of our railway objectives, it must not be assumed that we can afford to relax our efforts or rest on our laurels. Railways cannot be dissociated from communications as a whole and I have already referred to modifications in policy which time and experience have brought about. Railways, for example, made road construction simpler in those areas where material did not exist and could only be transported at prohibitive cost. The tremendous growth of motor transport brought a need for more and better roads, both for their own sake and as feeders to the railways. In some cases, roads and motors brought costly and unnecessary competition to the existing railways, so that in general both our road and rail policy needed adjustment as the years passed.

In much of Gujarat road construction is still difficult and costly and the maintenance charges high. But construction has never been slowed down on that account for roads and railways do not differ materially in their commercial and cultural value and for the most part we have is sought to make them complementary and not competitive. In the result, there has been an increase in road mileage since 1875, nearly as striking as in the case of our railways. Instead of a few miles of unreliable, neglected roads, we now have one thousand miles of good roads, properly cared for, and that mileage does not take into account urban areas or seasonal and local roads constructed and maintained by district authorities.

I have briefly explained my past railway policy and its relation to communications in general. Naturally it has not always worked smoothly, sometimes because of human limitations, sometimes for reasons beyond our powers. But on the whole we have moved steadily forward to our objective. What, then, of the future? So far as it concerns new railway construction of a major character, my sixty years programme may be considered complete. That there are possibilities of other projects cannot be denied, but for the present our policy must

be one of consolidation, to improve what we have, to modernise and to develop to the run all the facilities that our railways offer. In such directions there remains tremendous scope for energy and enterprise.

So it comes to pass that plans which first began to take shape in Baroda so many years ago, achieve maturity here to-day in Kodinar—no longer isolated. Posts, telegraphs, telephones, your main road and now your railway have brought the world nearer. Soon the wireless will add to your amenities, and doubtless there will be aircraft in the years ahead. Let it be your ambition, and that of all in Baroda State, vigorously to make use of the opportunities that modern civilisation has brought to your service. In the growth of our happiness and prosperity will lie my reward for all that I have attempted to do. And now in declaring this railway to be open, I thank all those who have been concerned in its construction and I recall with gratitude the memory of those who have helped in the years that have gone.



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*At the opening of the Navsari Cotton and Silk Mills, Navsari,
4th March 1938.*



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your cordial welcome to me to-day land for the appreciation you have expressed of my efforts to foster the happiness and prosperity of my people. It is a sincere pleasure to me to be able to accept your invitation to perform the opening ceremony if the Navsari Cotton and Silk Mills, which will bring new life and opportunities to one of the most important centres in my State.

A country without flourishing industries must always be handicapped. Agriculture is naturally of vital importance to India, but it is obvious that an economy largely dependent upon seasonal conditions must be precarious. Economic well-being demands a proper balance between agriculture and industry. Nearly forty years ago, speaking at Ahmedabad, I drew attention to the evils of the disproportion which then existed, urging the need for industrialisation. The desirable proportion between agriculture and industry has yet to be achieved: but there is no doubt that we are moving in the right direction, moving with deliberate intent and a fair measure of success.

To-day there is a new spirit in India. Firstly there is a growing passion for industrialisation which is pervading all classes. Secondly, no longer do our young men go abroad, as in the old days, either for literary studies or to fit themselves for the established professions and official services. They now

go in increasing numbers for technical studies, bringing back expert knowledge, enterprise and broad out-looks. Lastly, there is the readiness of Indian capital to invest in industries. In this respect also there is a remarkable contrast with the state of things that prevailed in the years before the Great War.

An important contributory factor is the policy of discriminating protection adopted by the Government of India, for this has given new industrial endeavour a chance to consolidate. At the same time, it must be realised that this policy cannot be justly applied to industries which have i no chance of establishing themselves permanently with the help given in the initial stages. To attempt to assist such industries would be to impose an unfair tax on the consumer.

One fundamental point must, however, be emphasised strongly. There can be no industrial advance in India unless the material condition of the millions of agriculturists and workers in the country is improved: for, it is their purchasing power that determines in a large measure the demand for the output of factories. Industrialists should therefore actively support all programmes for the rebuilding of rural life in all its many sides: this would only be enlightened self-interest on their part.

I turn now to policy and experience in my own State, and here I shall not weary you with our early experiments in State enterprise; nor recount the difficulties due to the territories being scattered over a wide area in Gujarat and Kathiawar. I shall only say what we have learnt. We believe that, speaking broadly, private enterprise provides the best foundation for an industrial policy when reinforced and encouraged by the facilities that can be reasonably given by the State, like suitable industrial areas, transport facilities and cheap electrical power. More essential than these of course are the conditions of ordered Government, security and freedom which are summed up in the term "rule of law" and a moderate and stable level of taxation.

We shall soon have an opportunity of seeing this new mill which Sir Homi Mehta has established and which he has equipped with the latest machinery. Sir Homi is, of course,

no stranger to our State and since the opening of his mills in Billimora nine years ago, he has demonstrated what can be achieved by business talent and hard work, bringing moreover to Billimora steady employment and increased prosperity. I am sure that, under his expert direction, the Navsari Cotton and Silk Mills will enjoy equal success. You are doubtless aware that I have recently conferred a distinction upon Sir Homi Mehta as a mark of my appreciation of his ability and industry. I may add that I always welcome the sagacious advice of such experts and I trust that I may always look forward to their co-operation. I now declare these mills to be open and in congratulating you, Sir Homi, and those associated with you in your new venture, I assure you of the constant interest of my Government and wish you all prosperity.



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At Mr. Edwin Haward's Lecture before the East India Association on "India and the Far Eastern Crisis", Caxton Hall, London, 11th April 1938.



SIR JOHN ANDERSON, MR. HAWARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I have been asked to say a few words on this occasion and I must confess that I feel rather at a loss. Not only is the subject entirely new to me but it is very controversial and of great importance. So far as the connection between China and India is concerned, there is no doubt that it is very old. Many ideas, superstitions and even matters of taste are common to us. It is not a matter of mere co-incidence, for example, that the garments worn by ladies in India resemble those worn in China.

As to the political question, all that I need say about my country is that, given the opportunity, India will be able to carry on her Government even better than she is doing at present. Government is largely a question of experience and education. At present the administration of India is in the hands of the educated classes but the masses have hardly been touched by the new ideas, not even after the British Government has looked after them so closely.

If you want to change a nation or race, you must go to the village, to the family and to each individual member of the family. Educate them in the right way, give them an outlook on life and above all serve their economic needs. Then probably you can expect greater independence, greater interest and a greater striving for better conditions than they have at present.

To improve economic conditions, a fundamental problem in India, we must come in contact with the rest of the world, see the march of progress and study what may profitably be introduced into India, so that in the end we may be able to serve other nations.

People who were originally divided by caste are now divided by nationality. Each nationality tries to make itself as complete and self-contained as possible, and thus the law of division ever continues. If there were a little more sympathy a little more kindness and co-operation, more sustained effort to benefit humanity as a whole, there are important problems in which, without restriction of caste and creed, we might combine and increase the happiness of mankind. For that purpose, nations which are oppressed or which have only partial liberty, should be given greater freedom, as the British Government' is doing in India.

My only hope is that the British will not be satisfied with what they have already done. There is a great deal more that they can do and I feel that it cannot be less than they have done for Canada and Australia. If they do follow that policy, you will find that India will progress apace, will have great confidence in herself, and will create self-respect among her peoples. Failing that, you can hardly expect honesty in the administration. India needs freedom and that freedom should be wisely, properly and quickly given.



APPENDIX

The following Proclamations of Her Majesty Queen Victoria made in 1877 and in 1858 respectively are of interest in connection with the first Speech.

By *The Q U E E N* A PROCLAMATION

VICTORIA, R.

Whereas an Act has been passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled An Act to enable Her Most Gracious Majesty to make an Addition to the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, which Act recites that, by the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland it was provided that after such Union the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies should be such as His Majesty by Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, should be pleased to appoint: and which Act also recites that by virtue of the said Act and of a Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal, dated the 18th day of January 1801, Our present Style and Titles are: "Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith" and which Act also recites that by the Act for the better Government of India it was enacted that the Government of India, thereto vested in the East India Company in trust for Us should become vested in Us, and that India should thenceforth be governed by Us and in Our name, and that it is expedient that there should be recognition of the transfer of government so made by means of an addition to Our Style and Titles. And which Act after the said recitals, enacts that it shall be lawful for Us, with a view to such recognition aforesaid, of the transfer of the Government of India, by Our Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom to make such addition to the Style and Titles at present appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies as to Us may seem meet; We have thought, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, to appoint and declare, and We do hereby by and with the said

advice, appoint and declare that henceforth, so far as convenience may be, on all occasions and in all instruments wherein Our style and titles are used, save and except all Charters, Commissions, Letters Patent, Grants, Writs, Appointments, and other like instruments, not extending in their operation beyond the United Kingdom and its Dependencies; that it to say, in the Latin tongue in these words : "India Imperatrix". And in the English tongue in these words : "Empress of India".

And Our will and pleasure further is, that the said addition shall not be made in the Commissions, Charters, Letters Patent, Grants, Writs, Appointments and other like instruments, herein-before specially excepted.

And Our will and pleasure further is, that all gold, silver, and copper moneys, now current and lawful moneys of the United Kingdom, and all gold, silver and copper moneys which shall on or after this day be coined by Our authority with the like impression, shall notwithstanding such addition to Our Style and Titles, be deemed and taken to be current and lawful moneys of the said United Kingdom and declared by Our Proclamation to be current and lawful moneys of such Dependency respectively, bearing Our Style and Titles or any part thereof, and all moneys which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such Proclamation shall notwithstanding such additions continue to be lawful and current moneys of such Dependency respectively until Our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon.

GIVEN AT OUR COURT AT WINDSOR, THE TWENTY-EIGHT DAY OF APRIL, ONE THOUSAND AND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX, IN THE THIRTY-NINTH YEAR OF OUR REIGN.

God Save the Queen

The document referred to in the Speech is the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India, dated November 1st 1858 :

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the Government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or Observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious beliefs or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows: Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government, we hereby promise our unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

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Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Speeches & Addresses

Vol - 2



सत्यमेव जयते

Govt. of
Maharashtra

Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda is known as a wise ruler who was devoted to public good. During his 64-year-long reign, from 1875 to 1939, he carried out, in the State of Baroda, several experiments based on modern democratic political principles of governance. He brought into being many social and religious reforms in order to lay the foundation of social equality. He also passed laws that worked towards eradication of caste discrimination and speeded up the process of rehabilitation of the oppressed classes. Scientific farming, reforms at the levels of villages and towns, industrialisation, increase in trade and enterprise, effective infrastructure and networking, education and a trained and healthy workforce to ensure productivity as also morality remained the underlying principles of his governance. The state of Baroda became a shining example, a successful laboratory of the experiments with modern democracy.

Maharaja Gaekwad utilised every opportunity for social reform and to sow the seeds of modern values of life. Through his speeches, he connected with students, farmers, women, writers, artists, political figures, researchers, religious figures and many more. Whether it was the Second World Parliament of Religions or the Conference of Anthropological Research in London, the felicitation in Japan, the Rotary International Convention, the graduation ceremony at the Banaras Hindu University, the event of the Buddhist Association, several industrial fairs, literary meets, music conferences, meetings with editors, children's conferences, inauguration of the statues of Bhagwan Buddha and Shivaji Maharaj, conferences for social reform, his speeches at the events have been compiled into two volumes. This is a treasure-trove of thoughts that need to be read again and again, absorbed, as also mulled over. Their essence remains the pursuit of human good. These speeches would be immensely useful for the rulers of today and tomorrow, entrepreneurs, agriculture experts, academicians and all those connected with the organisations that work for social welfare.



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