INDIA
PAST AND PRESENT

BY

ROBERT L. FLEMING

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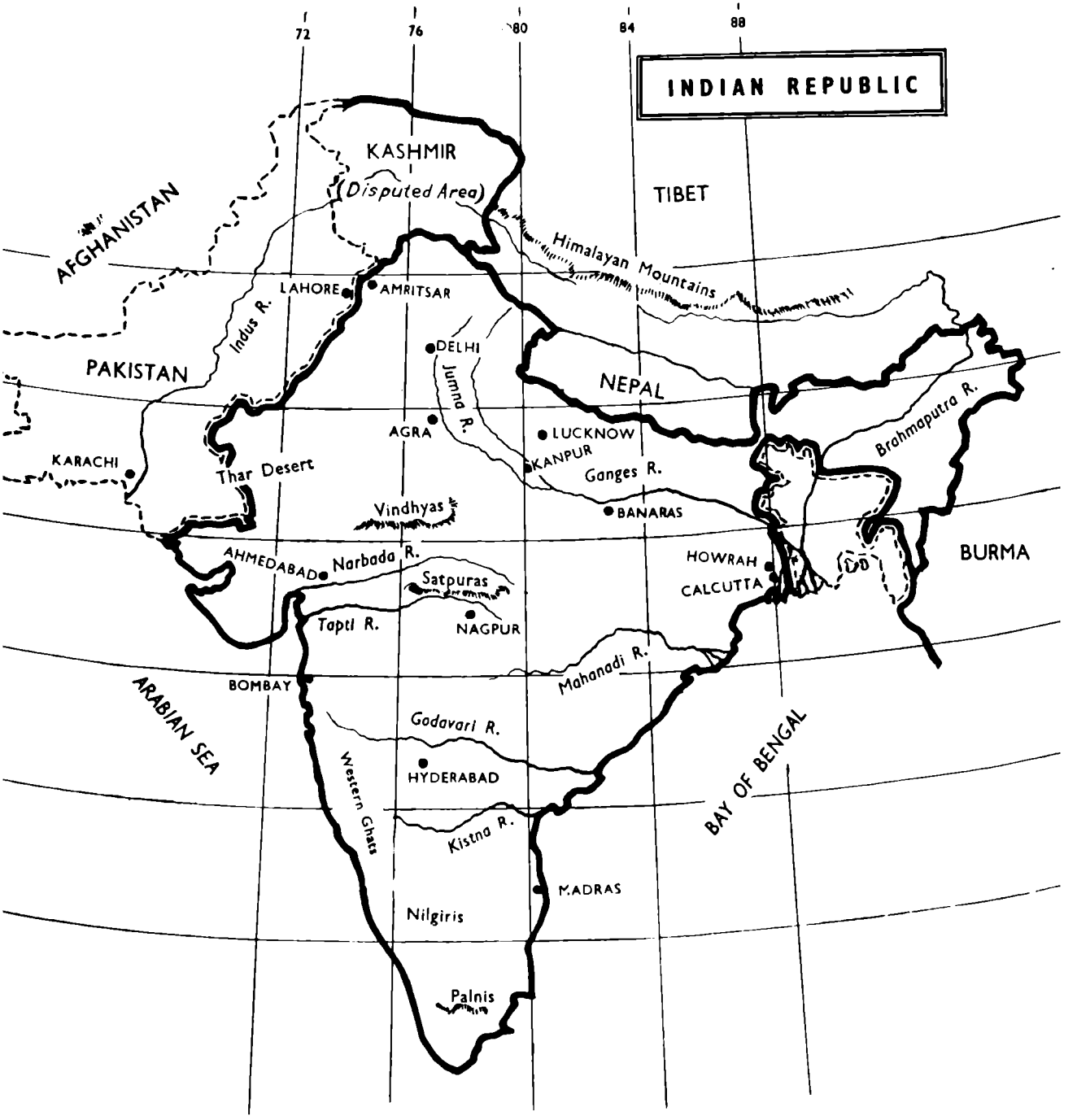
INDIAN REPUBLIC
72
76
80
84
88
KASHMIR
(Disputed Area)
AFGHANISTAN
TIBET
Himalayan Mountains
LAHORE
AMRITSAR
Indus R.
PAKISTAN
DELHI
Jumna R.
NEPAL
AGRA
LUCKNOW
KANPUR
Ganges R.
Brahmaputra R.
KARACHI
Thar Desert
Vindhyas
BANARAS
AHMEDABAD
Narbada R.
Satpuras
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA
BURMA
Tapti R.
NAGPUR
Mahanadi R.
BOMBAY
ARABIAN SEA
Godavari R.
Western Ghats
HYDERABAD
BAY OF BENGAL
Kistna R.
MADRAS
Nilgiris
Palnis

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Robert Leland Fleming

Phoenix Arizona
9 Dec 1981

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DEDICATION

To young American citizens, past, present and future, who at one time have had the privilege of calling India their home and who become unofficial ambassadors of goodwill for India when they return to America for their higher education.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

India has emerged into the world of international affairs. It is necessary that people who live in other lands should be acquainted with this historic land. Great changes are taking place today with more rapidity than ever before in all of her long existence. Events which are headlines today will be history tomorrow. It is therefore well worth one's effort to know something of the past in order to appreciate current events in India.

India is a land of contrasts. Here are some of the world's highest mountains and some of the broadest plains. Assam contains some of the densest jungles while parts of Rajputana is nothing but desert. Cherripunji in Assam has a rainfall from 400 to 500 inches a year while western Punjab on the other hand, has scarcely ten inches. India is at one and the same time both wealthy and poverty-stricken. Some of the world's greatest scholars have been Indians while tribal peoples live as their ancestors did two thousand years ago. Customs in one section of the country are entirely different from those in another part. The same is true of language.

India is a land of antiquity. Americans who think of the history of their country in terms of a few hundred years, must regard India in the light of 4,500 years. Archaeological evidence from Sind shows that an advanced civilization had developed in India long before it did in Europe. Some 15,000,000 Indians are descendants of the so-called 'Austroasiatics;' they are largely tribal people, living in the eastern part of the country. The Dravidians are a much larger group, numbering some 65,000,000 who live largely in South India. Yet their civilization was widespread and highly developed when the Sumer civilization flourished. The Aryans, numbering some 200,000,000 or more are 'recent' arrivals in this country, having come here merely three thousand years ago! They have contributed more to the present patterns of daily living than any other group. Mohammadans came to stay in A.D. 1001. Europeans, followed five centuries later. There are many reminders of past ages. It may be a pillar of Asoka (272–232 B.C.) or Kanauj, the ruined capital city of King Harsha (A.D. 606–647). The dust of the centuries lies upon the roads of India.

India is a land of religion. Most of the people are Hindus. Their temples and shrines are everywhere. Holy men travel throughout the width and breadth of the country. Devotees numbering over a million at a time, gather to worship and to bathe along the banks of sacred rivers. Hindu men often have their hair cut so as to leave a *chuttia* or a lock of it on the top of their head to show their Hindu connections.

Daily private worship in Hindu families is a regular practice. Manners and customs often have a religious significance. Anyone who is a religious leader secures a ready audience. It is in the light of religion that the people of India should be understood.

India is a land of vast numbers. The fertile miles of the Bengal plain support one of the densest populated areas in the world. The Gangetic plain also provides a home for many more millions. Indian cities are rapidly increasing but the bulk of the people live in the 700,000 villages. The average holding of land is probably less than an acre per person. The economic problems are many. The birth rate is high as well as the death rate. The increase, according to the census, from 1931 to 1941 was about 35,000,000. The problems which face a society which must maintain such numbers, are manifold.

These pages are an outgrowth of a series of lectures, given over a number of years to senior American students at Woodstock School. From time to time, the students themselves have contributed valuable information by citing examples of what occurs in their section of India including all parts of North India. Some of these data have been incorporated in this volume. This work does not pretend to be comprehensive. It is hoped that among the subjects presented, a new interest in India shall have been aroused and that readers may continue their study and investigation of things concerning India.

The writer is indebted to a number of people who have helped prepare this document: Rev. Harold Young who lived among the Lahu and Wa tribes of Burma; Mr. Norman Williams from the Santal area and Rev. Long who contributed data on Santal totems; the Supplees of Assam who lived among the Angami Nagas at Kohima; Rev. A. Merrill whose work is among the Garos; Rev. Hugo Page, familiar with the Telugu people; Mr. D. N. Sharma for his criticisms on the section on Hindus; Bishop Subhan and Dr. M. Titus for their help on Islam, Rev. C. H. Loehlin who works among the Sikhs, Dr. M. Pitt and Mr. V. Sherring for their data on music, Dr. E. D. Soper for his reading and criticism on the section on comparative religions, Gordon Roadarmel and Dr. Bethel Fleming for reading the manuscript.

FERN OAKS, MUSSOORIE
UNITED PROVINCES, INDIA
May, 1949

ROBERT L. FLEMING, Ph.D.

CHAPTER I

Geographical Influences

The sub-continent of India has an area of over a million square miles and a population of almost 340,000,000 people. India is about a thousand miles wide and 2,500 miles long. Natural barriers surround most of the country. There are the Himalayan Mountains to the north, desert to the west, the Arabian Sea to the southwest and the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal to the east.

Topographical Areas

This country is one of contrasts and variety when it comes to geography. The following topographical classification may be used: seashore, plain, plateau, desert, forest, hill and mountain areas.

1. *Seashores.* Thousands of miles of seacoast stretch from Iran to Burma. In many places the low land extends for some distance inland. The humidity is rather constant and the air feels sticky and heavy. People near the sea usually eat fish, rice, bananas and cocoanuts. Malaria abounds, robbing the people of their energy. Here the seasons seem to be only two—the hot one and the wet one.

2. *Plains.* A large part of India is drained by river systems. Much of the Indus valley is now desert but other rivers run through fertile plains. In the drier parts of the year, broad rivers like the Ganges are moderate-sized streams, but during the rains they become several miles wide. Irrigation projects such as the Upper Ganges Canal System, have been constructed in the north where the water rushes out of the higher hills. The Gangetic plain is so fertile that the surface of the earth only needs be scratched with a rude wooden plough to insure good crops. The warm weather in these valleys comes in February and continues until November, being interrupted in the summer by rains. Winter in the central and southern part of the land is mild, but in the north the winter is apt to be severe, causing a great deal of suffering to persons who have a limited amount of clothing with which to keep themselves warm.

3. *Plateaus.* The rolling expanse of the broad Deccan plateau covers the greater part of South India. This volcanic region is now worn down. The western side, as pointed out before, has a great amount of rainfall but the amount rapidly diminishes as one moves eastward. In places like the city of Hyderabad, gigantic rocks reflect the intense heat of the summer sun. The Deccan plateau, like that of the Dun plateau of the North, rises to over 2,000 feet above sea level. The Dun plateau, however, is a very narrow strip of land caught between the Siwalik Hills to the southwest and the Himalayas to the northeast. Streams of the upper Dun flow into the Jumna while those of the lower Dun

join the Ganges. The weather is a trifle cooler throughout the year here than it is nearer sea level, though the summer months are distinctly hot.

4. *Forests.* About twenty per cent of the country is at present forested. At a much earlier date, however, forests covered most of the India sub-continent. The Province of Sind, now mostly desert, was once heavily wooded. Only a few hundred years ago, Moghal kings hunted the wild rhinoceros between the Ganges and Jumna rivers near Saharanpur. Now much of that territory is treeless or badly eroded, affording habitation to hyenas and jackals.

The government owns most of the forests, which are divided into open and closed sections. In the former, cattle are permitted to graze upon the payment of a small sum per head. In the latter, hunting blocks are reserved and the government rents them out upon the proper application and payment of required fees. Forests mainly furnish lumber and firewood. Minor products consist of lac, resin, fibers, leaves, herbs and seeds. The Forest Research Institute, begun in Dehra Dun in 1905, directs all this type of work throughout the country. Connected with it are the Forestry College and the Forest Ranger's College, institutions which train men to take charge of forest administration throughout India.

5. *Deserts.* The Great Indian or Thar Desert covers much of Sind and a part of Rajputana and the Punjab. A railroad journey from Karachi to Lahore through this desert is oppressive. Dust filters into the compartments of the train, making it a dirty, tiresome trip. The rainfall varies from one to five inches a year. There are indications that in ancient times there was a much greater rainfall and that the population was more numerous than it is today. The government of India has carried out extensive irrigation projects in places like the Montgomery and Lyallpur districts, reclaiming large sections of the desert. The Pakistan government continues with this work.

6. *Hills.* Hilly districts are found throughout the country. In the extreme south, isolated peaks are common. In the southwest the Nilgiris rise to 8,000 feet and continue to the Western Ghats region which parallels the coast to some distance north of Bombay. To the southeast of the Nilgiris are the Pulnis. Beyond the Deccan plateau, some 500 miles and more in extent, are the ranges of the Vindhyas on the north side and Satpuras to the south of the Narbada river in central India. Beyond the Gangetic basin, and at the foothills to the west, stretch the Siwalik range, some 4,000 feet high. These hills run parallel to the foothills of the Himalayas and are famous for fossil remains. Newer than the Himalayas, their peaks are serrated like teeth on a saw. To the South of the Siwaliks and at the base of the Himalayas is the *Terai* which extends from Kumaon and Garhwal eastward along most of Nepal. It is a wild section noted for big game and mosquitoes. Just north of the *Terai* and the Siwaliks are the foothills of the Himalayas which rise to about 8,000 feet. On the top of these ridges at intervals of a hundred miles or so are situated the "hill-stations" or mountain resorts where people go during the hottest season on the plains. Darjeeling, Almora, Naini Tal, Mussoorie, Simla, Dharamsala,

Dalhousie and Murree are some of the more noted hill-stations in India and Pakistan. Behind the foothills extend range upon range of lower hills for a distance of 80 to 100 miles. Beyond these, rise the higher Himalayas.

7. *Mountains.* Elevations of 8,000 or 9,000 feet at the base of the Himalayas are usually called "hills" while the mountains are thought of as snow capped ranges, well over 15,000 feet. These mountains are the crowning glory of India. They can be seen from the plains of India in the United Provinces at places like Haridwar and Saharanpur or in the Punjab, from south of Pathankot. Scores of peaks tower more than 20,000 feet. Massive crags rise above deep valleys. One is close to one of the highest mountains of the world at Darjeeling. On clear days, one feels as though he could almost reach across the intervening space of 30 miles and touch Kinchenjunga (28,250 feet). A hike of two days brings one to Sandakfu, at 12,000 feet, where Everest and its two closer companion peaks stand out in all their distant glory. From Mussoorie, a dozen peaks over 19,000 feet can be seen including Nanda Devi (25,600) the highest point in the Indian Republic.

Easy access to snows and glaciers is found in one of the most beautiful settings in the world—the vale of Kashmir. One can ride within a few miles of glaciers in June and walk across meadows carpeted with flowers. One of our students reported that there one may experience "a little bit of heaven before his time." Then there are the longer treks back into the mountains behind hill-stations like Mussoorie. One is richly rewarded in the presence of eternal snows, and never feels quite the same again. When one leaves the mighty Himalayas, he takes a bit of them with him forever.

Intimate Relationship with the Out-of-doors

The average villager spends little of his day within four walls. He is usually barefooted and much of his time is spent in the fields. His wife prepares food and carries water from the village well. She is up before dawn, grinding the grain. Besides caring for the children and the house, she also works in the fields. Numerous deer, antelope and pig roam about, taking their toll of the crops. It is interesting to watch a farmer guarding his fields at night. On cold nights in North India, a watcher will sit almost naked at the edge of his field with a little straw or twig fire in front of him, warming him with its meagre heat. He uses a number of devices for warding off nocturnal marauders. He shouts, explodes sulphur, rattles tins and shoots mud pellets from his bow. He also constructs scarecrows, or places sharpened piles along bamboo fences where deer are likely to jump over. These farmers are able to interpret many sounds of the forest with great accuracy. During the day, monkeys and parrakeets begin where the animals of the night leave off. It is a 24-hour duty, guarding fields, especially when the crop is almost ripe. The ordinary villager does not know many specific names for plants and animals. Aborigines seem to be better acquainted with the fauna and flora of their environment.

The soil is sometimes personalized and referred to as "Mother Earth" or "*Dharti Mata.*" This concept was successfully used in 1905 to prevent a political partition of Bengal, but in 1947 when the eastern part of Pakistan was created, this principle did not seem to carry the weight it did 40 years earlier. Rivers and mountains are revered like the earth. Hindu devotees annually flock to the banks of such rivers as the Ganges, crying, "*Ganga Mai ki jai!*" ("Praise to Mother Ganges"). When a train crosses a sacred river, coin offerings are tossed into the water. To bathe in a sacred river is to wash away sin. At certain places along the Ganges, special merit is obtained—at Haridwar, Allahabad and Benares. Upper reaches of the Ganges are also visited by devout pilgrims. Should a Hindu be able to trek a few hundred miles along rugged mountain trails to such places as Jamnotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath or Badrinath, exceptional blessings may be obtained. The sources of the Ganges and Jumna rivers lie deep in the Himalayas, a mountain range which figures prominently in the mythology and thinking of Indian people.

Houses, customs and weather encourage people to spend much of their time outside four walls. In rural areas, people become familiar with the sight of wild animals. Those who live near forests where the larger carnivora are found, are as used to the roar of a tiger as dwellers in urban areas are to factory whistles. The following incident occurred in a hill section of Central India. Two Bhils,—short, dark men,—less than five feet tall, came to the Canadian missionary and excitedly dramatized their experience of the previous week. One rolled on the ground while the other seized him and dragged him around. This was the story: The head of the family was ready to retire and tied the family goat to the leg of his bed which he placed on the front porch of the thatched hut. The man went to sleep while the goat made itself comfortable under the bed. Sometime later, a panther passed along the road just outside the thick thorn hedge which separated the cottage from the road. Someone had come through the hole in the hedge during the day and had forgotten to push back the thorn bush to block the entrance. The odor of the goat attracted the panther which squeezed through the opening and approached the sleeping man. The panther rushed, grabbed the goat and broke the rope. This aroused the man who awoke just in time to see the panther with the goat in its jaws, trying to thrust itself back through the opening. Fearlessly the owner of the goat jumped out of bed, rushed up and took hold of the goat's hind legs. Frustrated by both man and thorns, the panther dropped its prey, struck the man across the shoulder with its paw and disappeared through the opening. Result—a few superficial scratches and teeth marks on the throat of the goat which rapidly healed. Nature is not quite so intimate in her relations between most mammals and villagers but this experience is not unlike that of others who live in the forested or "jungle" areas of India.

Coriaria

CHAPTER II

Mussoorie and Vicinity

History

The name attached to this hill-station may have been derived from a shrub or small tree, *Coriaria nepalensis*, which the Indian people call "masuri". There is another possibility, that a former Rajput chieftain by the name of "Munsoor" had his name attached to this city. Local people use both words for Mussoorie, so the exact origin is obscure.

The territory now included in the Dun once belonged to the princes of Garhwal. The authentic history of the Dun seems to date from the arrival of Guru Ram Rai, said to be a descendant of Guru Nanak. As a dissenter among the Sikhs, he set up his own form of religion in the Dun with the permission of Aurengzeb who had been duly impressed by Guru Ram Rai's interpretation of the Sikh scriptures. A large grant of land upon which most of the city of Dehra Dun now stands, as well as all the section from Dehra Dun to the border of Tehri State, was given to him. His seventh descendant called "The Mahant", now holds this land. The Mahant's Gurdwara or place of worship is famous in Dehra Dun and thousands flock to this spot for the flag-changing ceremony in the month of *Chaith* (March).

About 1765, the Gurkhas began to make their presence felt in Nepal. They captured section after section of the country and began to come outside of their land. They drove westward, capturing Almora, the capital of Garhwal, in 1790. They continued to move west until they had completed the conquest of Garhwal which brought the Gurkhas into the Dun. By 1803 they were well established there. Then followed war in 1814, with the British whose headquarters were in nearby Saharanpur. At first the British suffered reverses but the next year brought success and by treaty they annexed the Dun to Saharanpur district. The British restored western Garhwal and Tehri State to the descendants of the old Prince of Garhwal.

The first Superintendent of the Dun was Mr. Shore. He and his military assistant, Captain Young, probably erected the first building in Mussoorie, a small shooting range on Camel's Back in 1823. Captain Young then erected Mullingar as his official residence and that building, along with Annfield in the valley below, are the oldest places in Mussoorie. In 1827, the government established a home for convalescent soldiers in Landour. At that time, the division between British territory and that of the Rajah of Tehri was the watershed in the Landour–Mussoorie range. From 1827 on, the British government rented an additional 100 square miles from the Rajah of Tehri which included the upper portion of the north slopes of the range. A total of Rs. 350 was paid yearly for this valuable part of Mussoorie.

By 1836 the European population had increased enough to form a congregation and to build Christ Church. A few years earlier, the Surveyor-General of India, Colonel Everest, set up his headquarters in The Park and for a while Mussoorie tended to spread out toward the west. By 1841 the Himalayan Club was formed with a membership of 148. St. George's College was opened in 1853 and Woodstock in 1854. Mussoorie was now rapidly growing because of its accessibility to the Dun. Visitors to Mussoorie crossed the Siwaliks in stage coaches until 1899 when the railroad was opened through to Dehra Dun. Thirty years later a motor road was constructed most of the way to Mussoorie. Lights along the Tehri Road were put in use in 1932 and a few years later the road was open to rickshaws.

Today Mussoorie is a flourshing hill-station of about 10,000 population. During the season this number doubles. The Savoy, Charleville and Hakman's Hotels attract Europeans and wealthy Indians while a number of Indian Princes have summer homes in Mussoorie. Attractive shops along the Mall offer Indian and European articles for sale. Mussoorie has been noted for its schools. There is Oak Grove, the Railway School at Jheripani, St. George's at Barlowganj a thousand feet higher and then Allen Memorial and Wynberg Schools across the valley from Woodstock. The Convent of Jesus and Mary is situated on a high ridge four miles east of Woodstock and Vincent Hill School is some distance beyond.

Landour was at first separated from Mussoorie municipality but now it makes up the eastern suburb of the city. Landour bazaar is the most heavily populated section. Farther east, centring around Woodstock School, most of the property is now owned by American missions. The British military hospital and residences at the top of the hill were empty immediately after the war in 1945. In 1910, the American Presbyterian Mission was about the only one which owned property in Landour. There were several large English estates, at Oakville, South Hill, Fir Clump, Eastwood and Midlands (now Woodstock College) where business people spent the hot weather. The maids and butlers of these families lived in the smaller cottages attached to these estates. An elderly lady visiting Woodstock in 1944 took us back to the years when English people lived at Midlands. Pheasant shooting was then a popular sport. When dinners were given, servants stood at intervals along Tehri Road, holding flaring torches of pine wood, so that guests could see the way and avoid falling over steep precipices.

As Woodstock School grew in numbers, American missions purchased the old estates and remodeled them to provide small suites for missionaries whose children attended Woodstock. Besides the school, several other community institutions developed. There was Kellogg Church, begun in 1899. The Landour Language School holds its sessions on these premises. Dr. A. Woodard organized Landour Community Hospital in 1931. Mr. A. E. Parker built the Community Centre in 1925 near which there is also the Community Shop. Landour has been a mecca for missionaries throughout North India

who come to be with their children during their vacations or to take part in the many activities carried on during the summer season.

For the smooth running of the municipality, a town government was set up in 1842. The task of conducting the affairs of Mussoorie is a heavy one as the officers well know. Many of their affairs center around the municipal hall and offices near the Himalaya Club and at the Kutchery, opposite Hakman's Hotel.

Only eight hours by bus from Delhi, Mussoorie with its temperate climate, affords a haven from the heat of the plains. The motor road to Mussoorie with its 25 reverse curves and 225 right-angle turns, is kept in excellent condition. The main street of Mussoorie is rather narrow and motor traffic is seldom seen in the more inaccessible sections of Mussoorie. One moves about a great deal on foot, by dandy or rickshaw. Roads mostly run in two directions, up and down. This is true for Landour at least. The houses resemble those of cliff dwellers. Instead of being cheek to jowl as in Bombay, they are isolated and surrounded by trees, a delightful change for those who live in the center of a noisy city.

Hill Villages

The density of population in the Himalayas is not great. In many places, the slope of the hills is so steep, that any soil which might accumulate, is washed away by the heavy rains. Most of the villages are located in or near little valleys, where the wealth of the village is in direct proportion to the extent of cultivation and the degree of richness of the soil. Agriculture is the chief occupation of hill people. Fields usually have to be terraced. This is extremely heavy work. The upkeep of such fields on the mountain slopes where there is a large rainfall is considerable. Rice is grown in fields situated along river-beds while on the highlands wheat and millets are planted.

Other crops in this section are potatoes, chilies, elephant ears, dhal and beans. Near the houses, people plant pumpkins, cucumbers, tomatoes and eggplant. Corn is seen in some villages. A common fruit tree is the apricot while the most common nut tree is the walnut. There appears to be little systematic crop rotation.

Tools are primitive and have remained unchanged for centuries. Plowshares are hewn of wood and a crude iron blade is attached. When seed is sown, a flat beam is yoked to the neck of oxen and drawn across the surface of the field. A harrow, hoe, sickle and axe are some of the other implements.

Methods in agriculture are also primitive. Potatoes are planted in rows which slope down the hillside rather than in a contour arrangement. Most of the field work is done by hand. Men plow and plant the fields while women plant, weed and harvest them. Rice is cut by hand, dried in the shock and threshed by foot. Husked rice is then prepared in a hollow stone with the aid of a heavy wooden pole with a metal tip. Cattle are usually used on the threshing floor to tread out the grain or women flail it.

Mills are probably the most ingenious device used by the hill people. Millstones are usually enclosed in a one storey house with a roof of thatch, wood or stone. Water is diverted from a ditch and flows with great velocity down a chute, usually made of a hollow log. The water strikes the blades of a turbine set at an angle. The axle passes through the lower millstone and is keyed in the upper stone, which turns. The grain, in a conical basket above, is held in a goat-skin bag; it trickles down between the stones through a hole in the upper one, and gradually works out to the edge. Wooden links, fastened to the spout of the hopper cause it to vibrate and to keep the grain working down at an even rate. A wooden peg between the grinding-stones, adjusts them to the thickness of the grain being used. These stones, usually about two feet across, are shaped with radiating ridges at the grinding surfaces. The flour falls into the space toward which the stones slant and is gathered and placed once again in the goat-skin bags. Such is the ingenious primitive mill.

Castes. There are three main castes among hillmen—the Brahmans, the Rajputs and the Doms. There are other castes but many of these belong to groups who have more recently come into the hills from the plains. The Brahmans are roughly divided into two groups, a minority of whom give time to the care of temples and *jajman* work; the majority of hill Brahmans are farmers and care for their fields and cattle. Brahman *jajmans* officiate at marriage, birth and death ceremonies of the caste people. They also conduct a monthly purification service in the villages of their circuit. These men, educated in Hindu ritual, travel from village to village to carry out their religious rites. Their fees for such services vary with the occasion and the financial status of their employer, though usually receive about two to five rupees per family per visit. On special occasions they may be given as much as 50 rupees. These men are well versed in the contents of several large books of ritual. They often wear special clothing while performing their duties. A mark is placed on the forehead of those for whom prayers have been recited.[1]

The Rajputs make up the bulk of the hill population. There are a number of divisions among them but all belong to the Kshatriya caste. These Rajputs, as the name signifies, orginally inhabited Rajputana, but fled to the hills when the Muslims invaded this country. Migrations from Rajputana occurred over quite a long period, more than three or four hundred years ago. At the present time, Rajputs own most of the land in the hills.

The Doms are among the most interesting of hill people. They are darker and more hairy than the Rajputs. It is believed that the Doms may have been the original inhabitants of the hills who were overcome by the Rajputs. They were then made outcastes. Doms are often classified according to occupation—iron-smiths, basket-makers, tailors, musicians, leather-workers, carpenters, potters, stone-masons, weavers or washermen. The Doms, more often than not, are landless. They usually occupy one end of a village or may

[1] See Wiser's book, *The Hindu Jajmani System.*

be quite separate from the village. Social contact between the higher and lower castes, however, seems to be quite common in all respects except intermarriage, smoking and eating together. Caste rules, on the whole, appear to be considerably more lenient than on the plains. A young Rajput, building a new house in a village near Sainji, would not have minded adding a couple of American girls to his household, along with his village wife, for then, he said, his house would be comfortably full and he would have more workers to take care of his fields!

Chamasari is located on the south-eastern slopes of Witches Hill, in the territory owned by the Mahant of Dehra Dun. It consists of about 25 houses with a population of about 100 people. Several houses of this village extend in an unbroken row under a single roof. Each section is approached by its own individual series of stone steps. This form of house is rather economical as it saves duplicating extra walls. These houses are usually of two storys with the second floor extending a few feet beyond the first floor. Livestock are housed in the lower rooms while the people live above. Wooden arches along the open verandas, made by the local carpenters, are sometimes carved in pleasing designs.

This village is close enough to be considerably influenced by Mussoorie. Some of the houses have corrugated iron roofs instead of the ordinary ones made of slate. Stone walls are pointed and whitewashed and once in a while there is a concrete floor instead of a stone one. Most of the women of the village have been to Mussoorie and one or two have worked as servants in Landour. One old woman of about 70 claimed that she had never been to Mussoorie, five miles distant. Chamasari men deliver milk daily in Mussoorie. Two or three men had attended school up through the sixth grade and spoke English. These influences are not found in the more remote places.

The water supply comes through a pipe in the side of a hill and flows into a concrete tank where clothing is washed and cattle are watered. The crops in the fields below the village depend mostly upon the annual rainfall, though a little water is conducted to them through ditches. Hemp is prepared in the lower streams where the stems rot and the fibres are woven into crude rope. It is the job of the women of the household to bring the water.

Most of the population of this place are Rajputs or Thakurs though several families of Doms occupy the lower end of the village. The Doms support themselves largely by carpentry though they raise some crops and livestock. The houses of the Doms are noticeably more shabby than those of the high caste Thakurs.

Threshing floors are common in and around Chamasari. The work of threshing grain is carried on by village women and their oxen. Monkeys, pigs and sometimes deer, raid the crops. They are protected by dogs and men, designated to be watchmen. *Beemal* trees near the village provide fodder for the cattle in the dry season and fibres for rope. Some banana trees are

seen while along the stream are walnut and apricot trees. On the whole, the village looks quite prosperous.

Koti Kimoin is one of the nearest hill villages to Mussoorie, but is typical of many of the places farther away. It is located on a hillside opposite "hunter's cabin" in the municipal forest block. Although only about three or four miles distant, the descent to the stream below the town is steep. Milkmen make the trip to Mussoorie daily, but few of the women have ever visited Mussoorie.

The path leading to Koti Kimoin passes through terraced fields, past several enormous walnut trees. The terraces of stone below the fields are overgrown and look old. One man said that four generations he knew about have lived there, thus making the village more than 100 years old. There are a group of thirty or forty houses in which from 100 to 150 people live.

One of the head men is Inder Singh, a man of about 25. His first wife had died and he had just married the pretty girl who was working on the threshing floor, driving four oxen round and round over the grain. When one of the girls of the Woodstock party began asking questions of Inder Singh, several men gathered and began to laugh and joke and made up spurious information. These men were not in the habit of being addressed by a strange lady. Finally Inder Singh said that he owned two buffaloes and four calves. The visit was made in the month of October which was harvest season. Women were flailing grain while men were stacking the straw in crotches of trees. This was to provide food for cattle during the winter months.

We offered the children some peanuts whereupon a man invited us to his house to sample some of the walnuts he had gathered from his trees. We went up six or seven large stone steps to the veranda and sat on the rug he offered. As he went inside to get the nuts, we could see that he lived in one room and that it was clean and neat. Numbers of milk pails were on the floor and there was one bed. The host said that he used the bed while one of his wives slept in a little room just adjoining. His second wife, an older woman, slept in one end of the buffalo shed a little distance away. They had had no children. Meanwhile he cracked several walnuts which tasted good. His price for them was one rupee for 50 or about twice the current price in the bazaar. He pointed out in the course of the conversation that five people lived in the room next to his. We were not asked to come farther than the veranda of the house as it is taboo for foreigners to do so. (Europeans are outcastes to the orthodox Hindus because they eat meat.) He went back to where he was harvesting black *dāl* and millet.

Several Rajputs now accompanied us to the houses of the Doms on the outskirts of Koti Kimoin. At first the Doms said that they did not have any drums but when pressed to accept a coin, the older man took down a nice instrument, tuned and played it for us. Besides being the village musicians,

the Doms told us that they did all the barber work. They asked us why our faces were white and offered the information that this was due to the things we ate! On the whole the inhabitants of the village were somewhat distant, which we had also noted six years before. Finally one came out with the remark that "you just come to our village to criticize us and to compare our houses with toilet houses." Some adverse experience at a previous time made Europeans unwelcome. This is the exception rather than a rule, for in all other villages visited, the inhabitants were unusually cordial and gracious to us.

Untur is located at the foot of Nag Tiba in Tehri State about 18 miles from Mussoorie. It stands at about 5,500 feet above sea level in a rather wide stream bed among large, fertile fields at the edge of cedar forests. Of the twenty dwellings, sixteen are occupied by Brahmans and four by Rajputs. An imposing temple to Nag the Cobra stands at the edge of the town. It is twice as high as the houses and from a distance looks like a grain elevator made of stone and wood. On the lintel-posts are carvings of snakes and within are some metal idols. Stone steps lead to a heavy wooden door on which a number of coins and chunks of metal are nailed as offerings to the gods. The building is older than living memory; the village itself was estimated to be more than 400 years old.

Jajman Brahmans are trained at this temple. About one in six could write their names. These Brahmans care for the temple and conduct religious rites in the villages allotted to them. Other Brahmans of this village cultivate their fields. There seemed to be no arrangement for providing for those suffering from diseases. The Brahmans pointed out that they themselves are strict vegetarians while their neighbours, the Rajputs, eat the flesh of goats and sheep. Marriages are usually arranged with women of other villages. Several had more than one wife. Local *dais* assist at childbirth; they receive a rupee or two for their services and usually a little more when a son is born.

Most of the money of the village is spent for buffaloes, salt, clothing or land. Taxes of the village amount to about Rs. 450 a year. The man who gathers this sum is paid Rs. 50. Money is lent at about 25 per cent interest and most of the debts are paid in kind. The cows give about two quarts of milk a day. On the whole, the village is cattle-poor. The people rely upon their fields for most of their income.

The above account of three villages gives something of a cross-section of hill villages near Mussoorie. There are other places of interest besides these mentioned. There is Nagdwa, beyond Chamasari where three castes live in close proximity. Near Siakoli on the Tehri Road is Jalki where a small community of plainsmen dwell who make their living by selling shoes. Above Magru is a large, wealthy village of Beli which has a shrine to the god Siva. Some distance behind is Almus which is difficult to reach. On the banks of the Aglar River is Tatura where the *patwari* of the district has

his headquarters. Further up the valley towards Nag Tiba is Doggada with a village school. Tiwa is on the stream below Untur while Kinsu is where the seth, Jai Ram, has his well-built house. Ardasu, Tika and Surwa are near Deolsari. Two villages on the Chakrata road are Sainji and Batauli. One can see numbers of villages on the farther hills, many of which are seldom visited by Europeans.

The hill people, especially the women, wear a good deal of clothing. A skirt of 15 or 20 yards of material is common. Their diet is rather monotonous, consisting of *chappātis* and vegetable curry, with an occasional addition of a little rice, potatoes, fruit or *ghi*. The women seem to be much freer than those on the plains. They often speak only *Pahari* and not Hindi as the men do. Their horizons are limited. Marriage is the biggest event in their lives. The man's parents give a dowry of jewelry while the wedding expenses are shared by both families. Ceremonies at the wedding follow ordinary Hindu ritual, accompanied by several days of feasting. On the whole, the hill people are a sturdy, friendly, simple-minded lot, though their life is one of toil and hardship.

Landour Dhobi Ghat

The village is situated on two adjoining spurs of hills, one extending from Witchés Hill and the other from Cantonments. The stream nearby is a perennial one and flows to the east and below the village, joining the Sōng River and the Ganga River above Haridwar. The village is about two and a half or three generations old, according to the people who live there. A cluster of some thirty houses gives shelter to about 135 people. In 1943 there were four families of only two people, eight with three, one with four, eleven with five, four with six, two with seven, one with eight and one with nine. The families with only two consisted of a sweeper and his son, two newly married couples and one very old couple. The larger families had three generations under the same roof or several married brothers living together. A grandparent was often found in the family group. One couple had five children, several four but more had one or two.

Most of the houses consisted of one, two or three rooms. Walls are of stone and clay, whitewashed with lime. Wooden doors, windows and rafters, to hold on corrugated sheets of roofing, are the usual thing. The floors of the houses are neatly cleaned with dung. A few beds are in evidence though most inhabitants sleep on the floor. Provision is made for a broad ironing box about three feet high. The irons weighed about ten or fifteen pounds and are heated with hot coals. These irons last for ten or twelve years or more and cost about Rs. 20 when new. There are not many furnishings in the houses, though one frequently sees pictures representing Hindu deities or pages from Western magazines. A small cook room is attached to these dwellings and here the work is done on the floor. Often there is a large kettle set in the wall just off the floor with a wood fire to boil clothes. In a few places there are drying sheds but during sunny days, clothing is spread on the ground

or hung on a few lines. During wet weather, clothing is usually dried inside the house.

There are four castes in the *ghāt*. The larger number belong to the outcaste *dhobis* or washermen. Some appear to be more wealthy and to rate higher than their fellows. Among them are apparently two rival factions. When work was transferred from one to another, a small gang was in the habit of waylaying one who had newly acquired work from the other group, and beating the individual and making life uncomfortable for him until he would give the work back again. Usually these families are rather peace-loving except at times when liquor is used. On these occasions general fights take place in which blood is shed. The tollgate keeper is a high caste man. In 1943 he was a Brahman; his successor a year later was a Kshatriya. This man is the only high caste man in the village. His appointment was made and his salary paid by the municipality which maintains some fifteen tollgates throughout the city. He collects taxes on milk, wood, charcoal and on other loads brought in from the hills on the backs of their owners. Early in the morning this man could be heard chanting from his religious books. During the day he played cards with the *dhobis* and in other ways fraternized with them, though smoking and eating were taboo. One family of outcaste Doms lived in a house near Witches Hill. Their house was rather poorly kept compared to the *dhobis*. Their front lawn was a stock yard for the few heads of cattle they possessed. Much of their living seemed to be made from selling forest products. The fourth caste was another outcaste man, the municipal sweeper, assigned there to keep the village tidy. That year his family was in Bijnor District, but on subsequent years, his family came to live with him at the edge of the *dhobi ghat* in a house provided by the municipality. From a salary of Rs. 33 a month, he had to pay for the wood used to burn the refuse in the incinerator and to feed his family. His hours were from 7 to 4 but was on call from anyone in the village upon the payment of appropriate *bakshish* or the washing of his clothing.

The stream where the clothing was washed was blocked off in compartments, one below the other. The earliest families to come to the *dhobi ghat* took the higher places. When the clothes were washed, a man stood in the water up to his knees and swung wet garments over his head and brought them down on a flat stone with a bang. This was repeated many times and finally there was a rinsing in blue water. Methods may be primitive and hard on buttons but garments usually stand up quite well compared to American laundries where chemicals are used. True, the white sheet may have goat or dog tracks on it but the fact remains that the ground is a good place to dry sheets when the sun shines.

Below the village was a little white shrine. In 1948 a travelling *sadhu* visited the place. He sat on a little platform, with a stick at each of the four corners, capped with dung cakes. *Dhobi* families furnished him with milk and potatoes. When he left, a little shrine above the village, dedicated

to Siva, was erected. It appears that the line between outcastes and low caste Hindus is beginning to disappear.

Landour Bazaar

The most picturesque place in Mussoorie is Landour Bazaar. Open-front shops line both sides of a single street for a distance of about half a mile. A brief survey was made of this area by the sociology class in 1944 and again in 1948. Meanwhile the communal disturbances of 1947 had seriously affected the economic life of Mussoorie. Here are some of the changes which occurred. There were 209 shops in 1944 and 249 in 1948. A few new places had been built; some of the former shops of Muslims had been sub-divided. Numbers of merchants, based on community, were as follows:

	1944		1948
Hindus	58 per cent	...	78 per cent
Muslims	34 per cent	...	0 per cent
Sikhs	1 per cent	...	18 per cent
Others	7 per cent	...	4 per cent

Shopkeepers were asked when they had begun business in Landour. 133 were here before 1944, 28 came from 1945 to 1947, 88 arrived in 1948. Of those who sold goods already manufactured or produced, 75 per cent were Hindus and 25 per cent were Muslims. Of those who made their own products to sell 25 per cent were Hindus and 75 per cent Muslims.

With the departure of the Muslims in 1947, the following places of business were missing: 2 watchmakers, 2 tinsmiths, 5 jam and chutney shops, 2 painters, 4 shoemakers, 2 Kashmiri men, 2 butchers and 2 blacksmiths. Among the new shops listed for 1948 were 10 fruit and vegetable shops, 9 tea shops, 7 general merchants, 5 photo shops, 5 sweet shops, 4 laundries—all new, 4 silversmiths, 3 barber shops, 2 tailors, 2 doctors, 2 cloth shops, 1 second-hand shop, 1 cigar store, 1 shoe shop, 1 goldsmith, 1 hardware, one optician, 1 stationery shop, one medical supplies, 1 liquor shop, 1 soda-water shop and 1 miller. Some of the most novel shops were those owned by people from Tibet. Porcelain, jewelry, precious stones, jade and amber may be purchased from them. By 1949 the economic readjustment was practically complete. A number of Muslims returned in 1949 and more were expected to follow. Government has been insistent that equal treatment be given to individuals of all communities.

Snow Ranges Behind Mussoorie

From Mussoorie one can view the snowy ranges of the higher Himalayas. They are whitest in winter or early spring. By late spring they are often obscured by dust, whipped up by the hot winds of the *loo* which blows over the Gangetic plain. After the summer rains, the snows again are clearly seen.

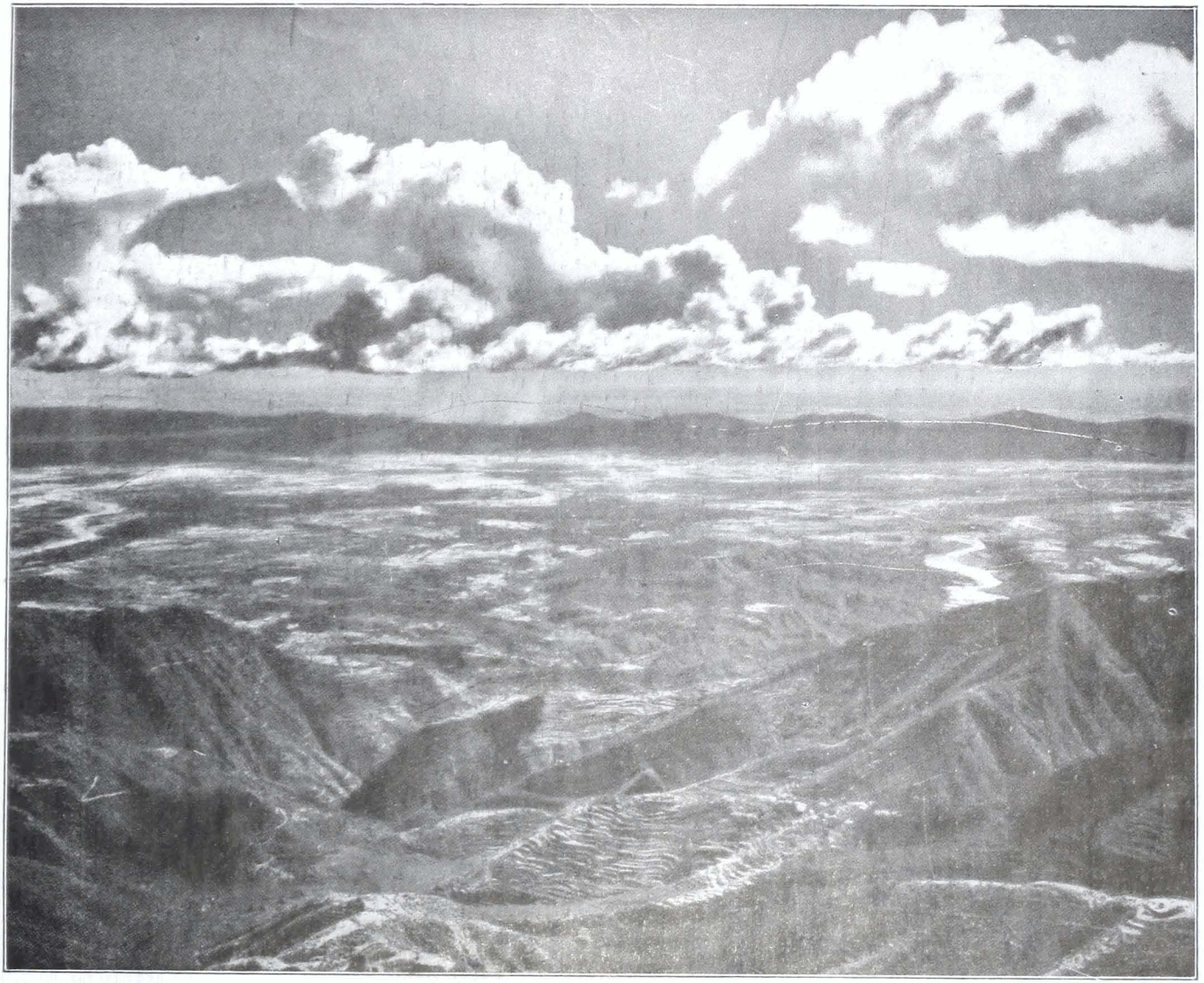
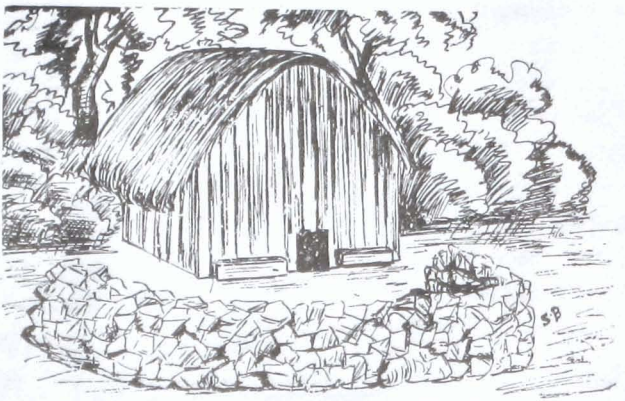


Photo by Kinsey

THE DOON AND SIWALIK HILLS FROM MUSSOORIE



Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

HUT OF AN AUSTROASIATIC TRIBE IN SOUTH INDIA

OLD MAN OF SAME TRIBE

AN AUSTROASIATIC GIRL

Many undulating hills stretch between Mussoorie to the bases of the higher peaks, 80 walking miles distant.

One intermediate point is Nag Tiba, nine miles straight away or about 27 miles by foot. It rises 9,920 feet and is heavily wooded with oak trees. In front is a false peak of outcropping rock. Most hikers are not satisfied until they reach the cairn on Nag Tiba where they secure a magnificent view of the glistening mountains not far distant. Around the cairn lies a meadow of alpine flowers.

Immediately toward the east of Nag Tiba is Sargaroin, some 20,330 feet and about 50 miles from Mussoorie. Next comes Bandarpunch which looms up larger than all the rest. It is only 46 miles away and is over 20,000 feet. Bandarpunch ("monkey's tail") recalls the story of Ram and Sita in the popular epic poem *The Ramayana*, in which Hanuman, the monkey god, played an important part. The mountain which forms a sharp peak in the next range is Srikanta, 20,120 feet high and 54 miles away. Near the centre of that particular range is Jaunli, 52 miles away and 21,760 feet high.

The groups of mountains to the east of this are better known. There is Kedarnath, a place of pilgrimage, 22,000 feet high and 62 miles away. The most massive cluster of peaks comprise the Badrinath group, also a place of pilgrimage; they are almost 23,000 feet high and 72 miles distant. Finally, 112 miles straight away and to the extreme east, towers Nanda Devi in all of its lonely grandeur. It rises to over 25,600 feet. When one views these lofty snow covered ranges, though they are remote, it is a never-to-be-forgotten experience.

CHAPTER III

Austroasiatics

According to the Census of India, 1931[1] the term "Austroasiatic" refers primarily to a very old language group, the origin of which is obscure. Some think that these people may have come from the direction of Australia. Whether these were the very earliest inhabitants of India and Burma, we do not know. Von Baer declares that these people must be a very ancient race for they have spread from Madagascar to New Zealand. Centuries must have intervened before the Austroasiatic peoples could have become so widely separated.

Anthropologists determine the origin of living people in several ways. They may measure the head and bone structure of individuals. Artifacts, unearthed in excavations, such as hand stones (shouldered kelts) or pottery, help to place past civilizations in their chronological setting. The study of etomology is another method used. Furthermore, customs and practices of the present-day people may also be revealing. When all these methods are employed, it is possible in some degree, to determine the origins of people.

The Austroasiatic tribes today speak variations of a Munda language. There are about four and a half million of them; they include the Was and Shans of Burma, the Khasis of Assam, the Santals of Bengal and Orissa, the Kols of southern Orissa, the Doms near Benares and others. Associated with the Munda-speaking peoples was the ancient practice of eating aged relatives. The Shans had a saying, "The fruit is ripe, let us eat it" and "they shook down their aged parents from the branches of the trees they have made them ascend."[2] When the language contains such sayings related to a former custom, it is used to indicate the antiquity of a race.

In our present study, it is sufficient to be aware of the fact that there were people living in India long before the Aryans started to come here, some 3,500 years ago. Indications are that these people possibly pre-dated the Dravidians who had a highly developed civilization some 5,000 years ago.

By examining some of the customs and practices of Austroasiatics now living in India and Burma, these tribes will become real to us.

The Santals

There are about 2,000,000 Santals today. Originally they owned much of the territory in their sections of eastern India but now the Hindu has taken over much of this land. Feuds over this matter are still carried on. In 1855 the Santals rose against the government and since then they have lived on sort of reservations.

[1] *Census of India, 1931*, Part I, pp. 350ff. [2] Ibid, p. 365.

The Santal is short and dark, with a flat nose, high cheek-bones and often curly black hair. He has a roving tendency and somewhat resembles gypsies in this regard. Santals often live in jungles.

One of the oldest of Santal practices is the use of totems. A totem is an object to which the people believe they are related. There were seven original totems and later five more were added. Totem emblems include the rat, blue bull, wild goose, a grass, betel-nut palm, the pleiades, conch shell, buffalo. One cannot cut, burn, eat, carry or use their totem in any way. The name of the totem becomes the surname of the person. Those with the same surname were not allowed to marry. The Santals trace their origin to a wild goose which laid two eggs from which the two ancestors of the tribe emerged. They became parents of the first seven tribes.

The religion of the Santals originally was forms of animism though Hindu elements are now added. Practices still remain in which spirits inhabiting plants and trees are propitiated. At night, people remain indoors to avoid the evil spirits that thrive in the darkness. Broken pots, filled with ashes and chicken feathers, are placed in front of dwellings to draw evil spirits out of the houses. Other pots with faces on them, are placed under *pipal* trees in order to catch evil spirits. Series of earthen jars hang one above another at places where the dead are burned. The Santali bed is only four and a half feet long. One must curl up on it to sleep, thus guarding against the influence of evil spirits. Small beds are placed on graves along with articles of clothing so that the spirit may rest there. At certain feasts, a tripod is placed in front of the village from which is suspended a bowl of perfume. Villagers dance around the bowl and dedicate it to keeping spirits from the town. When some Santalis were helping to construct a bridge, they wanted to offer some human blood. However, they were persuaded to use a chicken instead. At the harvest festival, a blood-sacrifice of a pig or chicken is observed.

The celebration of the worship of the sun is one of the most colorful occasions. Mysterious rites are carried on in the depths of the forest. The Santali has two secret gods, the names of which he will never tell to anyone but his elder son. The *Orakbonga* is the household god while the *Abgibonga* is a personal god. Should a wife come to know the names of these gods, it is feared that she will have undue influence with certain strong *Bongas* and that she might become a witch and eat her family when the protection of the god has been withdrawn. Another prominent celebration takes place during the annual village hunt. At this time, important affairs affecting the entire group are discussed in council and settlements are made. During these gala days, the Santal displays his chief vice—drunkenness.

Another occasion for getting drunk is at a wedding, usually in the month of January. Fermented rice-water is easy to obtain and is part of the wedding celebration. Some of the marriage customs have survived from olden times. When a girl wishes to get married, she goes to the festival wearing red

flowers in her hair. Then the candidate is initiated with magic rites by the *Bongas* who teach her special verses or *muntras*, charms and songs. She comes out of the house with a lamp in her hand and a broom tied around her waist. Then she is taken to a *Bonga* of whom she approves and is married. The *Bonga* pays the bride price and applies vermilion to her forehead. After this she may marry the man she wishes. He also pays a bride price and the marriage is complete. These marriage customs resemble those of numbers of other primitive tribes.

The Wās

Rev. and Mrs. Harold Young, of Burma, report that the Wa tribe on the China border is among the wildest left in that country. They are a large race with apparently a non-Mongolian ancestry. Their features are almost negroid, with big lips and flat noses; they are darker than other hill tribes of Burma. Their clothing varies with the locality but all wear black or dark blue home-spun material of a coarse texture. Some of the men wear baggy pants and a jacket like the Shans while others are almost naked except for a narrow skirt wrapped around their waists. They often wear much more around their head. The women use a scanty wrap-around skirt embroidered in a red and yellow over-all design, a skimpy bolero-like jacket which leaves the abdomen bare. On their heads is perched a little peaked cap and all of them load themselves down with lacquer rings and beads and silver rings around their neck, arms and legs.

The Wa villages are usually situated upon a mountain ridge where a distant view may be obtained. Their villages are large and well guarded. They need this protection as they are continually quarrelling and fighting among themselves. They carry home-made weapons—crude guns which they shoot from their cheek,—spears and a three foot headhunting knife.

The village may be made up of as many as 50 to 80 houses, surrounded by a large mud wall. This wall is reinforced within by a wooden wall and outside by a cactus hedge some thirty feet wide. Poisoned bamboo sticks are placed on all sides. The village is approached through a tunnel, blocked by a thick door. There are few entrances to the village and these are guarded all night by relays of men. These precautions must be taken for headhunting is a present day activity. The houses are oblong shaped ones where as many as 50 people may live. In such a house, four or five fireplaces are constructed for several groups which eat together; their food is prepared in clay vessels. At night the older people are grouped at the center of the house for protection while the younger ones sleep on the outside edge. Every man has at least twenty weapons, most of which are spears. The interior of the house is decorated with the skulls of animals which hang on every wall. A skull of a small animal is used to prevent the spirits of the spears escaping. There is a constant fear of evil spirits and in order not to offend them, the Wa talks very little. In special groves outside the village are human skull posts. Each has a stone on top to keep in the spirit. These posts are hollow trees in which

the skull rests. The teeth show out of a hole at the side of the post. These skulls usually last for about three years before they begin to disintegrate.

The Was believe that everything is inhabited by spirits. There are house, tree, rock and river spirits. They cause sickness, disaster and death at the least provocation. Was also constantly fear that the spirit within their own body will get outside and tie cords around their wrists, necks and ankles. Broken glass or sharp bamboos are placed on graves to prevent the spirit of the dead from escaping and annoying the living.

This tribe does not mix with other people. They do not travel a great distance, and because of their isolation have many unique customs. Their main occupation is farming. Rice is the staple food and cotton is the next largest crop. Their work in the fields is divided among men and women. The men do the rougher tasks while the women do the lighter ones. They weave their own cloth, make silvery jewelry and manufacture their work implements, knives and guns. Children wear silver lockets with an old piece of jade or agate inside. The men use ancient relics such as stone or bronze axes which they carry for good luck in their hunting bag and store in the central room of their house when it is not in use. Salt, iron, silver and lac are articles which they get from the outside world. Beyond this, they are quite self-sufficient.

Headhunting is still a necessary occupation for some of the Was. They feel that the spirit of the harvest, which is king of spirits, demands a human head to insure a fertile crop. This spirit shows the Wa who his next victim will be. Because of frequent quarrels with neighbouring villagers, heads may be secured a few miles from home. A gang of as many as 300 may go out in search of someone. If they are at peace with their neighbours, they must go farther afield, usually in search of some hapless Chinese travellers. When the Was have chosen their site, usually a well-worn path in the jungle where the road is quite narrow and well shrouded on both sides, they place a line of rice across the path. This will act to draw their victims to the spot. Now the party breaks up into three sections. The center one hides on either side of the road and one group will be a short distance up the road and the other an equal distance down the road. With a whoop like a peal of thunder, they rush upon anyone who comes between them. The victim, paralysed with fright, stands while his head topples at one swing of the long knife which the Wa carries. It is said that the bodies of Chinese usually drop in their tracks but a few foreigners kept on moving a few steps and each step brought disaster to the headhunters. For this or some other reason, the Was seem to prefer the heads of Chinese. The fatal place where the ambush is laid is called the *kawatang*. Headhunting usually takes place in April or May about the time the rice crops are to be planted. Should a European be able to speak their language, the Was are friendly to such a one.

The following incident took place when Mr. Young was on tour. At a certain place a group of a hundred or more Was was sighted. When asked

about their errand, the Was said that one who was not a Wa would not understand but they needed a human head for their religious rites. The missionary spoke strongly against the taking of human heads and went on. At noon he chanced to stop at a Chinese village for lunch. While there it was learned that the headman had started out for a bazaar several miles distant but the mule on which he was to ride, refused to go. This was a bad sign and the man and his party of 22 were discussing what to do. They were then advised not to attempt going out that day for a party of Was had been seen not far off. After a little while, the party of Chinese decided to go to the bazaar after all. They set off and Mr. Young trailed a quarter of a mile behind. The party ahead reached a crest of a ridge and disappeared down the other side. A few minutes later there was a clap like thunder and a terrible yell. Mr. Young hurried to the top of the hill and when he looked down he saw one lone Chinese running towards him. He went on down and found 22 bodies and blood everywhere. The band of Was was sitting by the side of the road smoking. They had bathed their arms in blood up to the elbows. Another lecture was given them but the response was that the missionary was too softhearted.

When such a party returns home, they walk in single file and sing. A leader yells a line and the others all respond with another, telling the incident of the slaughter and praising the spirits for their victory. As they near their homes, the women come out to meet them. Meanwhile the head has been carried in a bag on the back of the man who secured it. The closest female relative of the man, seizes the head, takes it out of the bag, forces open the jaws and places an egg between them. Then the eyes are pricked open as the woman chants, "Didn't you see my husband (or male relative) when he was going to kill you?" They pretend to wail over the dead in order to fool the spirits. The head is then placed in a hollow bamboo or oak post in the center of the village. As the brain decays, the juice drips into a large basket of rice. This rice is then eagerly divided among the surrounding villages for now fertility of the crop is assured.

Customs among the Santals and Was which indicate the antiquity of these tribes include the use of totems, methods of Santal marriage, fear of spirits, special celebrations, arrangement of villages and houses, use of good-luck stones while hunting, and finally the fertility rites which these people practice.

A second group of people who represent an ancient civilization are a number of tribes in the north eastern part of India and in Burma. In contrast to the Munda-speaking groups, these use Tibeto-Chinese languages. There are the Bhotias, Lepchas, Akas, Abors, Miris and Mishmis of northern Assam, the Nagas, Kukis, Garos and others south of the Brahmaputra and still others like the Kachins of Burma.

Angami Nagas

It was Ptolmey, the Greek geographer of the second century B.C., who wrote of the "Nagas" or naked people in northern India. These people still flourish in Assam. There are a number of distinct Naga tribes such as the Sema, Ao, Lhota, Kacha, Mao and Angami Nagas. The Supplee family who have lived for some time in the Angami Naga village of Kohima have given us some idea of their customs and practices.

The clothing of the Angami Naga woman consists of a short skirt and a shoulder cloth. Men wear loin cloths, homespun shirts and a blanket, often of red, orange or black. They wear special belts, woven by a girl as an engagement symbol and worn by the man after they are married. Each Naga tribe has its own pattern and can be easily distinguished by those who know them. (The Mao Naga men wear a short, black skirt which other Nagas do not use. The Tangkhul Nagas have red and black or red and white blankets. The blankets of the Ao Nagas are solid red or white while the Sema Naga blankets are black with a red stripe.) The blankets of the Angami tribe are usually black with some orange, green or white stripes. Male beauty is displayed in the form of prominent calves or biceps. Strips of wirelike bands from banana trees wrapped below the knee help to make the calves bulge to an appropriate size. Men pierce their ears in several places and insert tufts of coloured or white cotton. The physique of the short, stocky men is excellent. It is an anticlimax to see them decked out in ear-tufts! Unmarried girls must keep their heads shaved. As soon as they marry they must let their hair grow. For the first year their appearance is far from attractive but as soon as the hair is long enough, they look much better.

The Naga village is located on a lofty ridge where they will be free from surprise attacks. Nagas used to be nomadic, moving from one spot to another every two years or so. Now they have well-established villages which are guarded by a thick wall and a heavy, wooden gate. A common carving on these gates today is of a Naga holding the head of his enemy in his hand. The streets of the village usually follow the contour of the hill on which the village is situated. Refuse is thrown into the main street and during the rainy season the streets are impassable. One can only wade. Water must be brought by the women, often from a great distance. Formerly it was not safe to construct a village in a valley near water for it was likely to be wiped out by enemies.

Houses in the village face the same general direction. The roof often slopes east and west while the courtyard, bordered by a bamboo fence, faces south. Artificial antlers, made of wood or tin, are placed criss-cross along the front edge of the roof to advertise the fact that the man living there had been able to feed the entire village. The appearance of these "antlers" is striking; they represent the horns of animals used in the feast. The wooden frame of the house is covered with thatch and one long room is divided into two, three or even five smaller ones. At the front of the house is the combination living-

room and kitchen. Next is the bedroom and lastly are the store rooms where grain is kept in tightly woven baskets. Cooking is done over little fires made in a sand box on the floor of the first room. Most of the vessels are earthenware though metal ones are now being used. There is very little furniture. Beds are constructed of flattened logs set on pegs. Out in the courtyard, pigs and chickens wander about. Grain is dried on the ground in the sun. Occasionally a grave will be placed there.

Meals are served about three times a day. Most of the dishes are made of bamboo or gourds while a few of them are carved out of soft wood. Rice beer mugs are made from sections of giant bamboos and have a capacity of two quarts. During the forenoon, on special occasions, the men will gather in the sunshine, sit in rows along the wall and sip their rice beer together. The menu of these people is quite inclusive. Meat is expensive and so leisure time is spent in hunting in gangs in forest and waste-land. They devour vultures, along with the intestines, and in the case of smaller birds, eat legs, beak and all. Most of the food is vegetable matter, highly spiced with chilies and salt. They are fond of a rotten, black fish which can be smelled quite a distance away. At the time of a village feast, they consume great quantities of chicken, pig, beef and bear.

The people of each village are divided into clans. In Kohima there are seven of them, each one more or less occupying its own little hillock. Their religion is animism. A great deal of time is spent in avoiding the influence of evil spirits. All catastrophes in nature are due to evil spirits. *Genas* or "holidays" are observed when anything unusual occurs. The headman determines how many days the usual work of the village is to be suspended. Should a man's house burn down, the village may have two are three *gena* days while the man himself may be given more. Physical phenomena such as eclipses, earthquakes, and floods, are celebrated by *gena* days.

The end of February, for the Angami Nagas, is the most exciting time of the year. It is now that they put on all of their finery, including the spectacular costumes decked with black and white hornbill feathers or bamboo tubes with tufts of hair. One village will go to visit another and a return visit will be arranged. Endurance dancing then follows. When a man falls to the ground, he may be given some rice beer to drink and so he gets up and continues the dance until he collapses again. On these village visits, the men as well as the women go along. This is the chance when young people may become acquainted. Should a young man wish to marry, he breaks the news to his father. The boy's father then visits the girl's father and they talk things over. The girl must give her consent or the affair is off. If the talks are favorable and the boy settles on an agreed price with the girl's father, the girl will weave a belt for her lover and the engagement takes place. After the wedding, shortly afterward, the couple moves into a new house, often added on to that of their parents. In former days, girls preferred to marry a husband who had taken a human head, for then the soul stuff of the victim was added

to that of the victor, making him very strong. This custom has now practically disappeared. In male society, tests of strength count—big muscles, success in wrestling, putting the shot and broad jump.

Among the Nagas, unique burial customs are observed. Along main paths one frequently sees *gena* stones, upright slabs placed there in memory of some person who has fed the village. These stones are made taboo (sacred and therefore barred from use) so that no one will remove them to be used for other purposes. The grave of a well-known man is often placed along a main highway or along the road in front of his house. On three sides are erected bamboo panels about five or six feet high. In the central portion, many of the personal possessions of the deceased are placed. These he will need on his journey after death. Articles hung on the main panel always include his belt, made for him by his wife, and special things he used when alive. In one village the grave was adorned by a favourite bear skin. In the village of Khanoma, where a government letter carrier had died, relatives hung up his book bag, tennis shoes, a ceremonial necklace of green click beetles, his belt, a costume with hornbill feathers at the top and horns of several cattle with which the man had fed the village. On graves of small children, often dug in the front yard of the home, are placed the playthings which the child used—toy beds and spinning wheels.

Education has been stressed since the American Baptist Mission began to work among the Nagas. Village pride makes it necessary to carry on classes in the local dialect. As these dialects run into the hundreds, many pupils drop out of school after a year or two, rather than go to a higher school where the dialects are limited. Where there are schools for the hill children, such as the one at Jorhat, teaching is carried on in a dozen different languages. Each village has its own popular songs and tunes. In the middle school at Kohima it was impossible to choose any of these songs for all to learn, for everyone, except a small group, whose song was being used, would be offended. When western music was substituted, they were all quite happy. They formed a first class band which became famous throughout the Naga hills. Since the arrival of the Christian missionaries, the Nagas have dropped their headhunting and have become quiet, agricultural people. However, these tribes still remain some of the most picturesque in India today.

The Garos

In the eastern part of Assam, centering around the town of Tura, dwell some 200,000 tribal persons, the Garos. According to Joan Merrill, formerly of Tura, the Garos are divided into five or six clans. When a person gives his name, he mentions three—a personal name, the title of his sub-caste and finally the sign of his clan. Traditions of the clan must be carefully observed, especially in regard to marriages. Government often follows Garo law.

A Garo village is composed of oblong frame houses of thatched roofs, and bamboo walls and floors. The structure is placed on posts two or three feet

above ground. There are occasionally tree houses in the fields. The largest structures of the village are the bachelor's houses. When males reach the age of eight or ten, they move into these larger houses and remain until they are eighteen or twenty years old. Each boy has his own drum, about five feet long and large at one end and small at the other. Drums have their own tones. When they are beaten out of time, the din is terrific but when they are beaten together, the rhythm is pronounced. The small end, beaten with a stick, sounds like a bell, while the larger end is beaten with the hand and sounds more like a drum.

Garo society is a matriarchy, an unusual practice in India. If there is to be a marriage, the women get together to make the match. The girl proposes. After an agreement is reached, brothers of the girl kidnap the husband-to-be, beat him and otherwise test him to see whether he is strong. If he is, the wedding is arranged by signs from the intestinal tract of a chicken. After the wedding the couple go to live in the home of the boy's mother-in-law. Later, if a daughter is not born, the family is considered most unfortunate. Men in this society, however, are not entirely indispensable. The chief official of the village must be a man. Men are permitted to beat their wives as severely as they desire just so long as they do not draw blood. The belief is that the more a man beats his wife, the more he loves her.

Of the many animistic practices, only a few are mentioned here. The highest mountain, several miles away, is the abode of the spirits, of which the Garos are particularly conscious. Every so often they weave a scarecrow of bamboo. A hat is placed on the scarecrow's head and a pipe in his mouth. This will surely catch a spirit and prevent it from harming humans. In March there are a few days of great noise and confusion. This is the time when the villagers chase evil spirits out of their houses. A priest takes a goat around the village and as he strikes the sides of the houses with a bamboo stick, evil spirits will rush out and go into the goat. The unfortunate animal is then led outside the village to a pile of stones where it is killed. Blood is spattered around on the stones and the body is crucified to a crude cross. No one is permitted to come to this place and the spot is carefully shrouded with bamboo leaves.

In cases of sickness, one frequently sees a bamboo framework holding a basket of feathers, peppers and blood. On the ground underneath, a little mound is shaped like that of a person. Friends come to pray for the individual who is sick and whose image is represented on the ground. Next the village priest is called to see the person who is sick. His only qualification is to be able to recite a long list of names for God and to beat a drum. A bamboo frame is constructed and the priest recites a list of objects and stops. This pause used to be made before the name of the person who was to be sacrificed but now a chicken is substituted. If the person does not get well, the priest lets it be known that an error was made and that the wrong name was said. He tries again. Should death occur, the body is cremated and the ashes are placed on a bamboo platform in the person's front yard.

The economic life of the Garos is simple. They raise a little cotton and some peppers which they exchange for rice, salt and rotten fish. They chew betel nut which helps cover up their breath. Rice beer is an indispensable item on the menu. On the whole, the Garos live much like the Nagas.

The Abors

In the extreme north eastern part of the foothills of Assam, north of the town of Sadiya, live a tribe called Abors. This group resembles other hill tribes in many ways. Their houses are the usual oblong building put on posts and approached by an inclined, notched log. Bachelor houses are conspicuous because of their larger size. On the walls inside are displayed trophies of the hunt—antlers and skulls of animals which they have killed. Houses are grouped in villages surrounded by bamboo fences. Before one reaches a village gate, he may see the well constructed granaries, built to resist water, rodents and even elephants. Inside the village one notices that almost everything is made of bamboo. Banana leaves hang here and there and keep turning in the breeze to ward off spirits. Pigs and chickens are common.

The jungle in this area of India is almost impenetrable. Abors, however, are great hunters and can follow narrow game trails quite easily. Much of their hunting is done with the aid of poison arrows. A certain lethal substance is brought down by natives from the higher mountains. On a narrow jungle road, some of these apparitions, clad only in leaf loin-cloths, were encountered. When they saw us, they darted into the brush like frightened rabbits. They evidently had never seen white faces before. The poison which they bring is moistened and packed onto the arrow just behind the sharp point. When an animal is wounded, the blood begins to dissolve the poison and in an hour or two the victim will die. The main job, after one shot, is to follow up and overtake the prey. When this is done, men pause in a clearing on their way back home, cut off the hoofs and place them next to a small stick, pointing in four different directions. Should it be a pig, the tail is removed and hung on a pointed bamboo. They feel that the spirits of dead animals will surely follow the trail but when they come to the place where the footprints go in all directions the spirits are too confused to proceed and to overtake the hunters. One of the Abors was coughing and spitting blood. His friend pointed out that in his earlier years he had killed many birds. Finally some of the spirits of these birds had caught up with him and had taken their revenge.

The place of spirits in the lives of these people is large. Charms hang above the doors of houses. Every stream has crossed bamboo sticks, an homage to the river god. At the entrance of one village, a false gate had been erected and a bamboo bow and arrow strapped to the framework. It was intended to ward off the goddess of cholera which had taken a heavy toll among the pigs of the village. At the time when we met the naked men from the hills, we were being led to the next village by three small boys. Just for fun, the missionary with whom we travelled, asked the boys their name but got

no reply. After we had reached our destination and the boys were safely inside and out of hearing of the spirits of the forest, they let us know their names through some of the village women, who told us. Even then, they were not willing to use such a personal thing as their own names for fear that a spirit just might hear. We learned that none of the Abor women ever repeat their own name.

The Abors gain their living by farming and hunting. On several platforms attached to individual houses, women were weaving red and yellow skirts. The people were a jolly lot. They certainly know the names of many of the plants and animals of the jungle. Some of the Abors now attend school at Sadiya. The missionary there has spent years reducing their spoken language to a written one.

From these brief accounts of a few of the Assam tribes, several practices, associated with antiquity are evident. There is the arrangement for boys of a village to live in bachelor's houses until marriage. The use of a scapegoat for getting rid of evil spirits is another. There is the fear of spirits in regard to the killing of animals and birds. Also a personal possession, such as a name, is carefully guarded. *Gena* stones, *gena* days and decorations on graves of Angami Nagas are also of significance.

CHAPTER IV

The Dravidians

The Austroasiatics and Dravidians are sometimes classified together as early inhabitants. In the *Census of India*, 1931, the Dravidians are placed after the Austroasiatics. There seems to be some question regarding the remains of civilization unearthed by archaeologists in Sind. Whether it belonged to Dravidian peoples alone, we are not certain. Authorities seem to feel that much of their finds were a product of Dravidian culture.

In 1931 there were 65,000,000 Dravidians, speaking 14 main dialects. As to the origin of these people it is commonly accepted that they came to India much earlier than did the Aryans. In support of the theory that the Dravidians entered from the northwest are Dravidian words such as *nira* meaning "water" which is the same word used in the Mesopotamian story of The Deluge. At the present time, a remnant of Dravidians still live in Baluchistan. Schooner points out that the Dravidian language survived the Aryan conquest of the Euphrates. Furthermore, "India was not an isolated welter of Austroloid tribes until the Indo-Europeans entered it in the second millenium B.C. but had a civilization comparable to and in communication with the ancient Kingdoms of Mesopotamia, far older and in most ways more highly developed than that of the Indo-European invaders who established themselves in India precisely as they did in Babylon, as barbaric rulers of a more cultured peoples.'[1] Thus the Dravidian culture brought in from the northwest, was highly established as early as 2500 B.C.

In 1923 archaeologists began to excavate in Sind and the Punjab. The first place was near the Indus River in Sind where a 60-foot Buddhist stupa stood over an extensive mound. Ernest Mackay in his book[2] gives an account of the early work and the finds at Mohenjodaro. It was discovered that under the mound a number of ancient cities lay buried. The age of remains in the lower stratas was very old. As the work progressed and the streets and the walls of the houses came to view, it was noted that the sun-baked bricks were of an excellent quality and were dated as pre-Aryan. Mohenjodro was a uniform city with streets which ran north and south, 35 feet wide and bordered by 25-foot walls. There was an excellent sewage and drainage system, far surpassing anything known elsewhere. The "hovels" of the people of Mohenjodaro compared favourably with the palaces of the Kings of Egypt. The houses were constructed in such a way as to suggest that watchmen may have been stationed above the entrances of the houses. There was nothing resembling latticed windows as used in the practice of *purdah*. Superior drainage had been installed in bathrooms. There were signs of oil having been used in bathing. Wells were brick-lined and carefully constructed.

[1] *Census of India 1931*, Vol. I, p. 366.

[2] Mackay, E., *Indus River Civilization*, 1925.

Few religious symbols were found. A single stone head may have been that of a mother goddess. The well-known trident was there, indicating that modern Siva worship may have been derived from this source. The goose, bull, tiger and buffalo seemed to have special significance. There were also pictures of such mammals as oxen, donkeys and cattle but no camels. The area seemed to be well-wooded, sustaining quite a heavy population.

Archaeologists have unearthed nose, finger and toe rings of silver and gold. Implements were made of both copper and tin. Axes, swords, spears and razor blades were discovered. There were many earthen jars and from a study of the pottery, the date of this civilization was placed between 2700 B.C. and 3200 B.C. Games in those days included halma, marbles, and figures which ran up and down strings. There were abundant remains of mammals, birds and fish, indicating that these people were meat eaters.

A few skeletons were found. Possibly the dead were cremated and that was why the number was less than 30. Most of them are classified as Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean types. The former averaged about five feet for men while the Mediterranean types averaged 5 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches for men and 4 feet 9 inches for women. A few represented the Alpine type. At a lower level one Mongoloid type was recovered.

As significant as anything found in these ruins were the seals bearing an unknown script. Father Heras of Bombay states that the word "Mohenjo-daro" means "City of the Dead". The city seems also to have been known as "Nandur", "City of the Crabs". The second name may have been an old totem sign. Totems were derived from several sources. Heras also believes that the ancient name for India was *sid* meaning "stream" and that later it became "Sindu". Nehru accepts this interpretation and adds that the present term "Hindu" is clearly derived from "Sindu", the old as well as the present name for the Indus River. From the Greek form "Indos" came the word "India."[1]

As the work of excavation continued in Sind, some sixty sites yielded much material but none of them was as rich as Mohenjodaro. Comparing these, Mariwalla divides the types of culture in four groups. One is called the Amri group with articles from Ghazishah and Damb Buthi. So far, this group has been unidentified. A second group is that found in Mohenjo-daro itself and also at Lohumjodaro, Chanhujodaro and other places. Some stone was used, along with copper and bronze. Thirdly is the Late Mohenjo-daro group with finds at Gujo, Tharro Hill, Karri, Dhakanjodaro and many other places. This is called the "Buddhistic" period because the artifacts were Buddhist. The fourth group is called the Jhukar type, with things from Jhukar, Lohumjodaro, Lal Chatto and several other sites. "Generally speaking, the conspicuous finds from these sites are the pottery finds and we can fully trace the development of the pottery culture from Amri to Mohenjodaro

[1] Nehru, J., *Discovery of India*, p. 63.

and from Mohenjodaro to Jhukar and from Jhukar to Chanhujodaro and from Chanhujodaro to the present time."[1]

Scholars feel that the civilization represented in Sind was not confined to the banks of the Indus. Heras points out that it flourished in the Gangetic plain, in Gujarat and the Kathiawar peninsula, in Hyderabad, the Trinivelli District in South India and Ceylon.

Nehru quotes several authorities when he discusses the significance of the Sind discoveries: "Sir John Marshall tells us, 'One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa is that the civilization hitherto revealed at these two places is not an incipient civilization but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavor behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt as one of the most important areas in which the civilizing processes were initiated and developed . . .' Gordon Childe says, 'Manufactures from the Indus cities reached even the markets on the Tigris and Euphrates. Conversely, a few Sumerian devices in art, Mesopotamian toilet sets and a cylinder seal were copied on the Indus. Trade was not confined to raw materials and luxury articles; fish, regularly imported from the Arabian Sea coasts, augmented the food-supplies of Mohenjodaro.'"[2]

Significant is the fact that archaeologists suddenly pushed back the whole sweep of ancient history from vague references to events 1500 to 1000 B.C. to certain evidence of a civilization far advanced by about 3000 B.C. Indian civilization was contemporary with that of Mesopotamia and possibly of early Egyptian history. Could the "Garden of Eden" have been along the Indus rather than in Mesopotamia?

Dravidians Today

Most of the 65,000,000 Dravidians are found in South India. They speak Telugu, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalam. One theory for their being concentrated in the south is that when the Aryans invaded India, they caused the Dravidian to move farther south. When we think of Dravidians today, they fall roughly in two groups. There are the people of culture, having highly developed religious beliefs, language, literature and art. At one time their empires were much more extensive than they are now. The Cholas (10th century A.D.) extended their rule to Ceylon and Burma while their culture has left its mark on peoples as far east as Indo-China. Most cultured Dravidians are Hindus and their thoughts and practices are almost identical with Hindus of Aryan extraction. The other group of Dravidians is the tribes who inhabit forest areas and whose religion is largely animism.

The interaction of culture between the Dravidians and the Hindus has been a two-way process. The practice of blood sacrifice in such places as Kali Ghat in Calcutta, though conducted by Hindus, is a carry-over of the blood sacrifices of the Dravidians. The worship of the goddess Kali is a part of the blood sacrifice, taken over by the Hindus, especially those in

[1] Mariwalla, C. L., *Ancient Sind*, p. 3.

[2] Nehru, J., op. cit., p. 59.

Bengal. However, blood sacrifices are not confined to Bengal, for during Dussera in North India, Gurkhas, Rajputs and others, practice them. On the other hand, the principal of *ahimsha*, caste divisions, worship of distinctly Hindu gods and goddesses, were adopted by the Dravidians, especially the more cultured people.

The Telugus

The Telugus live in Hyderabad State and southward. There are about 24,000,000 of them, speaking a language which is not of a Sanskrit origin. In appearance the upper castes vary from the lower in being taller and fairer. The others are short, dark, with straight hair. The Telugu is not a good fighter but is more placid, meditative and scholarly. The Brahmans of Madras are the most learned and are often university professors.

The men wear a *dhoti* with plaits in front and back and a long white shirt called an *angi*, and a coloured scarf on the left shoulder. The hair is cut short with a portion left to make a *zuttu*. The women use a short, coloured bodice and a *sari*, seven or nine yards in length, draped over the left shoulder. Their hair is long and after plaiting, is wound into a bun. When a woman is married, she puts on as a sign, the *taili*, a small half inch gold piece with the image of a god on it. Toe rings are now added, along with nose and earrings and jewelry for the arms.

Marriages are arranged between the families when the child is quite young, especially if the child is of low caste. The girl then lives in her own home until puberty when she will live three months at the home of her husband and three months in her own home again and so on. When the first child is born the young couple sets up their own home.

Castes are not very numerous among the Telugus. There seem to be more rigid restrictions but the gradations are fewer. Some are Brahmans but the masses are Sudras. There are two outcaste groups. The Malas are usually farm workers and coolies; the Madigas are leatherworkers and eat carrion which causes others to despise them, especially the other outcaste group, the Malas. There are no sweepers among them; this work is done by Muslims.

Most of the Dravidians are Hindus though the tribal groups are more animistic. Phallic worship is prominent and Siva is the most popular god. In the South, Hanuman is one of their gods, but here he is considered a trouble maker and his shrine is outside the village. The evil eye is a source of fear. One should never do anything to cause one to become envious. If someone asks about a man's crop, he will never say that it is a good one like 14 annas or a rupee crop; he will always point out that it is a poor one—a two or a four anna crop.

Poshamma is the goddess of smallpox and cholera. She is the most popular of all the goddesses among the Telugus. An object representing Poshamma is often painted red. It may be a strangely shaped rock, placed at the entrance of a village or in a banyan tree. The goddess is kept away by hanging a dead chicken on a wooden frame. When cholera or smallpox

causes death in a village, a communal sacrifice is arranged. Those in charge, collect so much per head. In one section where 200 died of cholera, Rs. 120 were raised only among the outcastes in two days time. With this money, animals are purchased for sacrifice. Buffaloes are slaughtered, the head removed and the foreleg is placed in the mouth and a lamp on its head. When all have been seated in a circle, the priest asks for toddy. When he has had sufficient, he grabs a sheep, bites open its neck and drinks some of the blood. The entrails are then removed and hung about the neck. This ceremony of the low castes is a relic of blood sacrifice.

Omens are a potent force in the life of the Telugu person. If one were to start a journey, it would be a happy thing to see a married woman, a cow, umbrella, a black monkey, a dog or a parrakeet. However, bad luck is thought to follow should one meet a widow, see a smoking fire, a hare, a blind man, a beggar or hear a quarrel.

The language of the Telugus is musical. Someone has called it "the Italian of the East." A great Telugu poet was Vemana. A learned man who has written on many social subjects in the form of prose is Veirasalingam. The Telugus have contributed much to the advance of culture in South India.[1]

Dravidian Tribes

Dravidian tribes in Gujarat and Central Provinces are represented by the Bhils and the Gonds. "The Bhil is a short, dark man who shoots you with an arrow and rolls your body into the ditch. By this you will know the Bhil," wrote a schoolboy. The Bhils are a jolly, independent lot. They may have descended from the Bhilawas of ancient Sind, Heras suggests. The Bhilawas dwelt on the eastern bank of the Indus when Mohenjodaro was a prosperous city. Some think that when invaders overran India, these people fled to the hills where they live today. Most of their livelihood is gained through agriculture, though a Bhil always loves a hunt. Some use bows and arrows very effectively.

The Bhils live in the plateau regions of Marwar. They were more widely spread until they rebelled against the Mahrattas. They then took refuge in the wilder areas of Gujarat and Central India where they live today. The Bhil does not live with others in a village but their houses are found singly. Protection is secured by the thick walls of the house which he constructs. An outer as well as an inner wall helps to keep out robbers. When a couple marry, they build their own house some distance away from others.

The religion of the Bhil is largely animism. Shrines are constructed of simple materials such as a slab of rock with eyes painted on it, or a pile of stones or images molded to resemble horses. Pictures of horses are often used as decorations on the walls of houses. Small toy horses are placed at shrines. Memorial stones, found along the highways have a horse carved on them with a god riding the horse. The Bhils claim Siva as their first ancestor. Hanuman

[1] Lecture by Rev. H. W. S. Page.

is a favorite divinity. The goddess of smallpox is much feared. Offerings are made to her and red cloth is hung in trees to frighten her away.

A number of other facts may be mentioned about the Bhils. They have a good sense of humour. While travelling on tour, a Bhil pointed to a man he disliked and compared him with a dog walking under a cart. "The dog thinks he makes the cart go!" he remarked. The Bhil is fond of toddy and the taste is developed from childhood. Bhilderdhi is the medium of communication; it is a spoken language only. Totem clans are observed. Child marriage is not a common practice among Bhils. Their total population is about one million. Numbers of them have become Christians and are good, solid citizens of the country.

A branch of the Bhils are the Gonds who live in Madhya Pradesh. They used to live in forests but now many of them are settled in villages and secure their livelihood through agriculture. Mr. Reynolds of Pendra Road, C.P. points out that three systems of control are used to regulate marriages among the Gonds. One system, which has almost disappeared, is the use of totems. Clans are grouped under a totem such as the turtle or the crocodile, and none in the same totem group are supposed to marry. Then there is the practice of "god division" in southern and south western Central Provinces. In a larger group, there may be as many as four to seven divisions grouped under the name of a god or goddess. The names for these divinities are old Dravidian names and there is no other purpose other than regulation of marriage among the people. Finally there is a fratric system or that of blood brotherhood, or clan. Offspring in the clan may not marry each other. Often when a person is given in marriage from one clan to another, the second clan reciprocates. Actually, first cousin marriage is common and the genealogies cannot be accurately traced. Thus the taboos supposed to be carried by the fratric system have broken down.

The Gonds are usually considered low caste Hindus by their Hindu neighbours. Many of them observe current Hindu customs along with some of their older Dravidian ones. There are indications in their villages of fears of spirits and the worship at shrines. Occasionally one will happen upon a shrine in some forest spot where clay horses of all sizes are placed around a central platform. This is similar to the practice of the Bhils. On special celebrations, the drums of the Gonds "talk." As a rule, the Gonds do not sing but use drums instead. The sound of the increasing cresendo of their beating is electrifying. Drums may be heard throughout the night for miles away where the Gonds live.

Some of the Gonds today are quite well educated. A Gond girl is taking her medical degree at Vellore, South India, perhaps the first of her group to do so. Those who have become Christians are quite advanced. They hold responsible positions in local government and on the *panchayats*. In only a few cases are Gond women members of *panchayats* and most of these are Christians.

CHAPTER V

The Hindus

We now come to a short study of the majority group in India, the Hindus. They number about 270,000,000 including the 65,000,000 Dravidians of South India and about 40,000,000 outcastes whom some nominally consider as part of the Hindu majority. (This leaves about 40,000,000 Muslims in India proper, excluding Pakistan, and about 20,000,000 others of whom about half are Christians.)

For hundreds of years, India has been the scene of a succession of invasions. People from Europe or China have crowded through the northwestern passages of the Himalayas into the Punjab and the Gangetic plain. The Dravidians probably came from that direction only to find the country occupied by Austroasiatic tribes. After them came the Aryans in successive invasions for over a thousand years. The Aryans were tall and light-colored, compared to the Dravidians whom they found here. The Aryans were originally nomads but the fertile sections of North India began to bind them to the earth and they became farmers. From the earliest known literature in the world, the *Vedas*, written when the Aryans were still new in India, we learn that their religion was a simple spirit worship led by the head of the family. They worshipped not only objects in nature but also their ancestors. There was no indication of such customs as child marriage, *purdah*, *sati* or caste. People were loosely grouped in four classes, the warriors, the priests, the traders and the farmers, of whom the warriors were the more important.

The caste system seems to have developed rather gradually over a long period of time. The development of caste was probably due to several factors. (For the accepted theories, see chapter X.) There was a difference between the appearance of the conquerors and the conquered. Distinctions in the type of work must have been made. There was a change in gradation of Aryans in which the priests exchanged first place in the social order with the warriors. One plausible theory for this change is that as many of the warrior group lost their lives trying to defend their country from invaders, their numbers became small. When the conquerors came in, they chose the learned *pundits* to carry on the administration of the country. Through the formulation of rules as seen in their sacred literature, these *pundits* gradually assumed the highest social position which they still hold today.

In the millenium following their arrival in India, the Aryans found it necessary to defend themselves against others who followed them to India. Among these were the Greeks in 327-326 B.C., the Sakas from 145 to 100 B.C., the Yueh-chi, the largest clan of which were the Kushans, A.D. 25 to 100 and the Huns from A.D. 455 to 528.[1] After every invasion, the Aryans

[1] Smith, V., *Oxford History of India*, pp. 8-10.

were able to absorb the newcomers into their society. Kumarappa advances as a reason for this that caste had not yet become crystalized and that the Aryans had an outgoing, friendly interest in other people who became their friends and ultimately joined with them. Later, when caste had become rigid and their concern extended to only those of one's *jāt*, the Aryans, or as we know them now, the Hindus, were no longer able to absorb outsiders. The Muslims, for example, who invaded India after A.D. 1000, remained a distinct entity.[1]

The Aryans did not leave a clear, connected record of their political and social development. Asoka was an exception for he had his edicts carved in stone and placed at the important crossroads throughout his empire. But on the whole, there are many blank pages in the history of India, particularly from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 600. A reason for this is pointed out by Dodwell when he says that to the Aryans it was the spiritual universe rather than the material one which mattered. The Aryans were not interested in recording political history; what they wrote concerned philosophy and moral etiquette.[2] Because historical evidence is lacking, it is through the medium of literature that the evolution of Aryan society must be studied. This includes not only the *Vedas* but the *Brāhmans*, the *Upanishads*, the *Laws of Manu*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Epics* and the *Puranas* as well.

In changing Aryan society, Brahman priests assumed the responsibility originally held by the head of a family, in conducting religious rites. Gradually the Brahmans became less and less inclined to wed those of other groups. This separation was extended to eating and smoking and finally to most social contacts. The patterns set by the Brahmans were gradually accepted by other castes too so that by about five or six hundred A.D. the caste system had become rigid and continued without much change until the latter part of the first half of the 20th century.

In some foreign countries the term "Hindu" is used to denote any person from India. It should be pointed out that "Hindu" refers to a religious group in India, who make up a majority of the people. In speaking of a national of of this country, he should be referred to as an Indian.

Some Distinctive Features of Hinduism

A person becomes a Hindu by birth into a society in which the supreme religious, and often social, position is given to Brahmans. Non-Hindus have attempted to become Hindus by initiation, but they assume a different status from those who were born Hindus. An American wife of an Indian prince went through special ceremonies but her children were not listed in succession to the throne as are children of Hindu wives.

[1] Kumarappa, B., "Hindu-Muslim Problem and Its Solution", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Sept. 1947, pp. 104-5.

[2] Dodwell, *Modern State Series : India*, p. 15.

The educated Hindu possesses a keen intellect. "Their philosophies, their systems of ontology (an argument of the existence of God primarily from the nature of being) and their religious speculations are probably not surpassed in abstruseness or elaboration by those of any other people of ancient times and are frequently the admiration of modern Western scholars."[1] It was Schopenhauer who said of the doctrines in the Upanishads that they were "the most rewarding and the most elevating which can possibly be in the world."[2]

There is probably no religion as difficult to understand as Hinduism. One reason is that the Hindu is often speculative rather than practical. His arguments, in which he is skilfully adept, often present a point of view rather than attempt to convince his opponent. Another reason why Hinduism is hard to understand is because there are so many religious beliefs superimposed one upon another. "Its absorptive genius has included important teachings of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity."[3] From Buddhism came the concept of *ahimsha* or the non-shedding of blood. From Islam came the practice of *purdah*, a method of affording protection to women at the time of an invasion by foreign armies. From Christianity comes Christ who is thought to be an incarnation of Vishnu and whose name appears in the Hindu pantheon. Besides the prominent place which caste observances have in Hinduism, there is also a place for mysticism in which ascetics withdraw completely from practical life in order to give their lives to contemplation on spiritual things. In Hinduism one can find sanction for numbers of opposites which non-Hindus would consider incompatible with one another.

Religious Practices

Hindus think of a man's life as divided into four stages. First there is the student or learner (Brahmacharya) up to the late teens; secondly, the householder (Grihasta) to the age of 45 or 50; thirdly, the abstainer (Vanprastha); and finally, the renouncer (Sunnayasi). One may elect to go through the last two stages. As a Vanprastha, a man's wife becomes as his sister or mother, yet he lives within the family. As a Sunnayasi, he renounces his family, puts on the saffron robe and becomes a wanderer.

Sadhus. Those who donned the saffron robes originally were all travelling preachers who were to carry Hinduism to the remotest village. Many of them still move from one place to another, holding religious services wherever they go. They pause only a night or two in the smaller villages and not much longer in the cities for they have a specified circuit to follow which they have to complete by the end of the year. They carry little except a beggar's bowl, made from an Seychelles seed or from pumpkins or wood. At the end of the year, the *sadhu* travels to the Magh Mela where he is joined by his fellow *sadhus* and where he will be assigned a new circuit.

[1] *The Presentation of Christianity to Hindus*, p. 18. [2] Ibid, p. 28.
[3] Ibid, p. 30.

The morning worship of a *sadhu* includes the burning of incense called "*hawan ki samagri*" made mostly of sandlewood and ghi. The ashes which remain after it is burned are considered holy and are rubbed over the body.

Most *sadhus* wear a robe and a loin-cloth but there are some who belong to the naked or "sky-clad" order. They do not usually live in cities but form their own colonies in some remote spot. When the annual Magh Mela is held, they journey to that place. When they arrive, they are given the honour of bathing first at the holy spots. Naked *sadhus* are not common in India. Most Indian men are extremely careful not to expose their sex organs. When some Americans were hiking in the hills, they stripped at a river bank and went swimming. Several men and women gathered to watch the procedure. Then a high caste man arrived and demanded that the swimmers dress themselves. He was greatly incensed and said that husbands did not even expose themselves in front of their own wives, let alone other women. The party was permitted to continue on their journey only upon condition that news be spread around that swimming naked in India is not permitted among adults.

Priests. Religious leaders among the Hindus carry on several types of work. They are often assigned to temples where they look after buildings and grounds. Priests accept offerings which are made to the gods of the temple and in this way their livelihood is maintained. A priest may also receive contributions of food and money outside the temple, for he often has a number of patrons whom he visits daily. Others may contribute something as he passes. Other duties often include the training of pupils or *chelas* assigned to the temple. In the smaller villages, where there are no *dharamshalas* or rest houses, the priest may offer both lodging and food to travelers. Priests usually do not wear saffron robes but put on white clothing, including the required *dhoti.*

Sunnayasis. The Sunnayasis wear saffron robes and are divided into two main groups. There are the *Vanprastas*, mentioned above, who have chosen to give up normal sexual relationships with their wives and to devote a certain amount of time to some special causes, usually outside the family group in which he (or she) continues to live. Then there are those of the second group who have renounced family, earthly possessions and the comforts of life to become a true Sunnayasi. These people leave their homes and go to remote places, often into the Himalayas or along sacred rivers where they spend their last days in meditation.

Ascetics. Another group of Hindus, drawn from any of the four stages of life but more particularly from the last three stages, may possess the power of asceticism. Such individuals have great control over their senses and bodily functions as to be able to sit motionless for hours at a time. The metabolic processes of the body seem to slow down to such an extent that the desire for food vanishes. Breathing almost stops and the body may appear to be dead. These persons may lie naked on the cold ground and rouse in the morning covered with frost and be unharmed by exposure. This state of affairs

is difficult to imagine unless one has seen ascetics carrying on these rites. Occasionally ascetics die while engaging in their practices. A man at Raipur, C.P. permitted himself to be buried in a box for 12 hours after which he emerged quite all right. He announced that next time he would remain inside the box for 24 hours. This he successfully accomplished. When the time was to be extended to 36 hours, an American missionary lady happened along and took a snapshot of the ascetic. He was buried, but after 36 hours, when the box was opened, the man was dead. The populace thought that the lady had caused the man's death. The police managed to stay the angry mob which was out to avenge the holy man's death.

Fakes. In former times wandering *sadhus* who wore the saffron robe drew great respect and reverence from fellow Hindus. Times have somewhat changed however and corruption has taken place. There are some who mask under the saffron robe for the purpose of making money. They usually gather at *melas* where they sit on beds of thorns, or spikes. They may hold their arm in the air until it atrophies or they may bury their head in the sand and stand on their head for hours at a time. There is sometimes corruption in temples. A strong religious leader may draw followers of both sexes who group around him. When the leader dies, the followers of such engage in immoral practices in the name of religion. The same may be true with *devadasis* who are girls dedicated by their widowed mothers to temple service. With no male relative to protect her, a mother considers that the next best thing she can do is to give her loved daughter to the temple where she becomes a servant of the male visitors to the temple.

Meritous Practices

Daily practices of the orthodox Hindus are several. First of all, upon waking, ceremonial bathing takes place. When water is plentiful, the entire body is washed. Men may gather at a well or a tap while women wash within their house. If the water is limited or when a person is ill, the cleansing of the head, hands and feet is enough. Morning prayers come next. *Mantras* from sacred literature are repeated. The verse most commonly used is the *Gayatri Mantra* which translated means:

"We meditate on the adorable and self-radiant Light of Him who has produced this universe. May He enlighten our minds."[1]

When there is time, the *Gayatri Mantra* is repeated 108 times and a string of beads is used to keep track of the number. Some repeat the verse in series, of 108 times each.

Now follows the important rite of *prasad* or making offerings to the deity of the household shrine. *Prasad* means "Gift of God." First the offering is a gift from man to God, and when it is received back again, it becomes a gift from God to man. There are several types of *prasad.* In one, the elements are used as a symbol and are placed on the forehead by the head of the family

[1] D. N. Sharma, Woodstock.

or by a priest. Grains of rice, *haldi* (a yellow powder) and roli (a red powder) are used for this purpose. A second type of *prasad* consists of offering sweetmeats to the household god and later distributing it to members of the family or to friends who may call during the day. A third type is prepared at noon. When the food is being cooked, a portion of it is divided and presented before the household shrine. After from three to five minutes of devotions, the offering is taken back to the kitchen, mixed with the rest of the food and the whole lot now becomes *prasad*—the gift of the household god to the family. *Sadhus* often know when the family has the *prasad* ready and they are invited to come in and to eat with the family. Should more guests arrive than were expected, the food is easily apportioned among a greater number while more *chapati* are quickly made. This easy divisibility of food is quite a contrast to Western customs, where a certain number of salads or chops are prepared for an expected number of guests.

Ceremonial bathing at a sacred river sometimes occurs. The devotee arrives at the river well before sunrise so that his bathing may be complete before the sun rises. He wades into the water about waist deep and then submerges several times often once for each member of the family while he thinks of them. After bathing, a priest repeats sacred verses and if the devotee knows them, he will say them with the priest. If he does not know them, he listens reverently until the verses are completed. Then the devotee places his offering (*prasad*) of cocoanut, milk, fruit and *tulsi* leaves on a banana, sal or some other leaf, and faces toward the rising sun. After a moment or two he throws the offering into the water. Then he stoops and secures a bit of water in his cupped hands and offers this to the rising sun which will burn away all that is evil.

Hindu Beliefs

Pantheism is a doctrine which holds that the material and the spiritual universe are only manifestations of an ultimate It which is absolute and unknowable. The pantheistic view was held by scholars like Vivekananda who attempted to synthesize all religions into a universal one. He was a Bengali whose influence was invaluable in establishing the Ramakrishna Mission. A literary scholar, he wrote in Bengali and English. In 1893 he attended the Parliament of Religions in Chicago and remained in America much of the time until his death in 1902 at the age of 39. "He preached the monoism of the Advaita philosophy of the Vedanta, and was convinced that only this could be the future religion of thinking humanity. For the Vedanta was not only spiritual but rational and in harmony with scientific investigations of external nature. 'This universe has not been created by any extra-cosmic God, nor is it the work of any outside genius. It is self-creating, self-dissolving, self-manifesting, One Infinite Existence, the Brahma.'"[1]

Six branches of philosophy grew out of the *Upanishads*, one of which

[1] Nehru, J., *Discovery of India*, p. 339.

was *Yoga.* *Yoga* is a system of self-concentration in which humans may come into contact with a supreme Soul. A means to self-concentration is through exercise and muscle control. The philosophy of the *Vedanta* is the best known. It is said to have developed about the eighth century A.D. and about 90 per cent of all Hindus accept it. There is no reality except Brahma, the absolute Soul. All else is a product of illusion and ignorance. Hindus who pay nominal respect to gods and goddesses will contend that they actually believe in one god, Brahma. Possibly the influence of Christianity, which is monotheistic, is making itself felt among those who question the efficacy of idol worship.

Incarnation is a belief that from time to time gods visit the earth for a special purpose. This thesis is put forth in the *Bhagavad Gita.*

Karma is a doctrine used to explain the occurrence of unmerited suffering. The condition of a man in this life is due to what he has done in many previous states. This belief leads to a fatalism which stifles initiative. It is no use doing anything for a person in need, one reasons, for maybe he is being punished for his failures in former lives.

Transmigration of souls is a belief that "every living creature is born and reborn in some organic shape; every living creature passes from one to another in a countless series of existences until in some stage, all desire and all activity as a result of desire has passed away. The reason why the soul must thus wander from life to life is first that so long as the soul has any desire, that desire must result in a deed and that deed must have its recompense in some future state of existence; and, secondly, the soul changes its habitation according to the quality of its deeds in the previous state of existence."[1]

As a result of this belief, a living soul as it passes from a human body may enter into an ant, a cobra, a bull or something else. Good deeds in this life might result in a woman being born a man in the next, or a non-Brahman being born a Brahman in the next birth. An incident occurred at Fatehgarh where a sacred bull repeatedly raided the garden of the Collector. When the Collector threatened to tie up the animal, an old woman near by begged that this be not done for she claimed that the spirit of her son was in the bull. She promised that if the bull were not molested this time, it would never come into the garden again. The bull was released. Time after time this same bull passed the garden but never did the Collector see it attempt to enter the garden. Another occurrence was reported in Bengal where the husband of the family died. A cobra inhabited the house and the wife claimed that the soul of her husband had entered the cobra. Milk was offered to the cobra daily. One day the woman was late in placing the offering in the usual spot. Very soon after the woman was bitten by the snake and died. The family were sure that it was the husband's spirit in the cobra, punishing her for her negligence.

[1] Hume, *An Interpretation of India's Religious History,* p. 113.

Modern Religious Cults

The development of the idea of the Hindu Triad has arisen within the past two thousand years. Many Hindus believe that Brahma the Absolute is seen in three distinct persons: Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. Long before the formulation of the Hindu Triad, however, religious cults such as Vishnuism, Sivism and Saktiism existed and these "have occupied practically the whole stage in the dramatic history of Hinduism."[1]

Among the shrines to various gods, there are none to Brahma, the Absolute, for Hindus feel that it is not possible to depict Brahma as they do other gods. *Vishnuism*, on the other hand, is very widespread. Ram is one of the incarnations of Vishnu while Krishna is another. Those who have displayed mildness and love in their lives and who have come to earth to relieve the sufferings of humanity are incarnations of Vishnu. Christ is placed in this category and of late M. K. Gandhi has been included. *Sivism* is probably the most ancient and the most widely followed of any of the cults. It was pointed out that Sivism appears to be as old as the civilization of Mohenjodaro. Siva is sometimes depicted as a great ascetic who sits in contemplation. Siva is also regarded as the quickener of life. The phallic symbols—the lingam—or the organs of sexual intercourse, are worshipped. In a third aspect, Siva is represented as the destroyer of life. Sivism is particularly strong in South India. Devotees sometimes wear a trident painted on their foreheads. Siva's bull, carved in stone, is frequently seen in front of a temple to Siva.

Shaktiism, the worship of strength, is the worship of the goddess Kali, the consort of Siva, and her several incarnations. Kali is depicted holding the head of a demon in her hand and trampling on another, a display of strength. As mentioned, Kali worship was of Dravadian origin. "Shaktiism may be regarded as worship of Durga Kali, Siva's consort. . . . Parvati, daughter of Himalaya; Uma, the gracious and self-immolating wife; Kali the terrible; Durga the unapproachable though less terrible than Kali—all these are manifestations of the one goddess, Siva's consort. Kali and Durga may have been originally the goddesses of savage tribes, whom the Aryans found lurking in inaccessible forests."[2] Durga was first mentioned in the *Mahabharata* IV, 7. Here she is the sister of Krishna, living in the Vindhya mountains and eager for wine and flesh. Later she is the wife of Siva and is called "Uma the Gentle". Legends later picture her destroying demons and drinking the blood of her enemies. "The Durga-puja is the great festival of Bengal when friends and families come together. Durga's image is decorated; on the sixth day she is awakened; on the night of the eight day, countless goats and some buffaloes are sacrificed to her."[3] Many families offer pumpkins or sugarcane

[1] *Presentation of Christianity to Hindus*, p. 26.
[2] Thompson and Spencer, *Bengali Religious Lyrics*, p. 9.
[3] Ibid.

instead of animals. An incident is related of Kali worship in Orissa. Blood was sprinkled over a pile of stones. During a cyclone in 1943, a tree fell over these stones. Devotees cut away the tree and said that Kali was angry, so a grand feast was held and many animals sacrificed to Kali at that spot. Kali is also regarded as the goddess of smallpox and should one's face become pitted from the disease, it is a sign that Kali has blessed him. It is believed that gods may be pictured as both beautiful or hideous to represent the aspects of good and evil.

Shakti worship is divided into right-handed cults that carry on practices like those mentioned above and left-handed cults that carry on a degraded ritual of magic and sexual intercourse.

Hindu Reform Groups

Two of the earliest reform groups which developed as a protest against Hinduism were Jainism and Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. A much later offshoot was the Sikh religion which began in the 16th century A.D. These older sects are discussed in Chapter 7 under minor religions. Of the modern reform groups, only three will be mentioned here: the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Brahmo Samaj.

By far the most popular of the three is the Arya Samaj or "The Congregation of the Noble". Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a Gujarati Brahman who formed the organization about 1825. The Arya Samajists renounced idol worship, child marriage, and advocated widow remarriage and a modification of the caste system. Saraswati urged that the four castes should become four classes of society, which men could enter by choice and by merit. This position antagonized the orthodox Hindus but appealed to the educated Hindus who no longer held to the older beliefs and who wanted to reconcile modern science with the *Vedas*. He went so far as to say that the *Rig Veda* was the source of all religious beliefs as well as of all science and modern discoveries. In recent years the Arya Samaj has adopted a patriotic bent with the result that many have joined the group. Depressed classes were freely admitted to membership, which helped break down sentiment against intercaste relationships. As early as 1866 the movement tended to become anti-Christian, though many of the methods for propagating their faith have been copied from Christian institutions. Missionaries are trained to go out to convert Indians to the Arya Samaj cause.

Nehru, in summarizing this reform group, says: "Its slogan was 'Back to the Vedas.' This slogan really meant an elimination of development of the Aryan faith since the Vedas; the Vedantic philosophy as it subsequently developed, the central conception of monism, the pantheistic outlook, as well as popular and cruder developments, all alike were severely condemned. Even the Vedas were interpreted in a particular way. The Arya Samaj was a reaction to the influence of Islam and Christianity, more especially the former. It was a crusading and reforming movement from within, as well as a defensive

organization for protection against external attacks. It introduced proselytism into Hinduism and thus tended to come into conflict with other proselytizing religions. . . . It is significant that it spread chiefly among the middle class Hindus of the Punjab and the United Provinces. At one time it was considered by the government a politically revolutionary movement but the large numbers of government servants in it made it thoroughly respectable. It has done very good work in the spread of education both among boys and girls, in improving the condition of women, and in raising the status and standards of the depressed classes."[1] Araya Samaj leaders are respected among Indian youth. Their membership is something over 500,000. Woodstock students report that in some areas Arya Samaj people are definitely antagonistic while in other places they are more friendly. One of the best known Arya Samaj colleges is located at Haridwar.

The Ramakrishna Mission is a small but influential reform sect. Its founder, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, lived in Bengal, where he influenced a number of the newly English-educated Indians. He was not a scholar nor was he interested in social reform. In speaking of the founder, Nehru says, "In his search for self-realization he went to Muslim and Christian mystics and lived with them for years, following their strict routines. He settled down at Dakshineshwar near Calcutta, and his extraordinary personality and character gradually attracted attention. . . . He linked up various aspects of the Hindu religion and philosophy and seemed to respect all of them in his own person. Indeed, he brought into his fold other religions also. Opposed to all sectarianism, he emphasized that all roads lead to truth. A follower of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, preached the monism of the Advaita philosophy of the Vedanta. The abstract Vedanta must become living in everyday life; out of hopelessly intricate mythology must come concrete moral forms; and out of bewildering Yogi-ism must come the most scientific and practical psychology. Caste, which was necessary and desirable in its early forms, and meant to develop individuality and freedom, had become a monstrous degradation, the opposite of what it was meant to be, and had crushed the masses. Caste was a form of social organization which was and should be kept separate from religion. Social organizations should change with the changing times. Passionately Vivekananda condemned the meaningless metaphysical discussions and arguments about ceremonials and especially the touch-me-notism of the upper castes. . . . He kept away from politics. . . . He wanted to combine Western progress with India's spiritual background."[2] He urged Hindus to "go back to your Upanishads, the shining, the strengthening, the bright philosophy".[3] Ramakrishna rest houses are found throughout India and a certain following has been gained from Westerners.

The Brahmo Samaj, "Union of God", is the smallest of the three groups, numbering only a few thousand. However, members of this group have

[1] Nehru, J., *Discovery of India*, p. 337.
[2] Ibid, p. 339. [3] Ibid, p. 341.

contributed to the welfare of India, far beyond their proportion to the entire population. The founder, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was greatly influenced by Christianity. About 1800, he introduced a reformed Hinduism which included numbers of Christian principles. The code of belief resembled Unitarianism to some extent. He translated parts of the *Upanishads* into English and parts of the Bible into Bengali.[1] Sastry wrote of the teachings of Mohan Roy, "The sum total of the Raja's teachings . . . seems to be that the doctrine of the one true God is the universal element in all religions, and as such forms an article of faith of the universal religion for mankind; but the practical applications of that universal religion are to be always local and national. As a herald of the new age . . . he held up before men a new faith, which was universal in its sympathies, but whose cardinal principal was that the 'service of man is the service of God'."[2]

The Brahmo Samaj members believe in one God. They will tolerate no images nor sacrifices to them. They felt that there was no value in pilgrimages, ceremonies or penances. Moreover, to them, caste was worthless. Great stress is laid on moral righteousness. The Vedas are not infallible. These teachings of the Brahmo Samaj offended most orthodox Hindus but appealed to a small, educated minority. At one time Debendra Nath Tagore lent his prestige to the group and made available a printing press so that literature might be distributed.[3] The Tagore family and a few other prominent families have been Brahmo Samajists.

[1] Hume, R., *The World's Living Religions*, p. 36.
[2] Macnichol, N., *The Living Religions of the Indian People*, p. 103.
[3] Ganguly, N., *Raja Ram Mohun Roy*, p. 152.

CHAPTER VI

The Muslims

The Muslims (Moslems) are also called Mussulmans. Their origin is woven around the person of Mohammad. The land of Arabia is mostly desert. The people at the time of Mohammad (A.D. 570 to 632) were nomadic descendents of Shem. According to Nicholson, the ancestors of the two main tribes in Arabia in the sixth century were Joktan, son of Eber, and Adnan, descendent of Ishmael.[1] The religion of the people was largely paganism and they worshipped idols, planets, storms, fate, animals and other things. The Ka'aba in Mecca was the centre of pagan worship and the Quraish were the group who were in charge of that temple and of the festive events such as annual celebrations held there. They controlled the buying and selling of animals for sacrifice and guarded the several hundred idols in the Ka'aba. To refer to Nicholson again, "During the century before Mohammad we find them in undisputed possession of Mecca and acknowledged guardians of the Ka'ba—an office which they administrated with a shrewd appreciation of its commercial value."[2]

Mohammad. The word "Mohammad" means "The Praised". He was born in a poor family. His father died before he was born and his mother died six years later so that he was cared for by an uncle. He tended sheep and, when older, took part in caravan trips. When 25 years old he successfully conducted a caravan for an elderly widow, Khadija. She was pleased with the work of Mohammad and offered her hand in marriage. They lived together 25 years until she died. Of their six children, only Fatima survived.

At the age of 40, Mohammad began to preach, speaking the words given to him by Gabriel. When he began to emphasize two themes, the folly of idol worship and the importance of the future life, his popular following fell away. People scoffed at him. However, he gained a few converts, the first being his wife, then his 13 year old cousin, Ali, and most important, his close friend, Abu Bakr, who was a leading merchant among the Quraish.

When Mohammad was 50, Khadija died. Mohammad began to change. His preaching became more authoritative and less coherent. He married a succession of wives. He attacked the Quraish for their idol worship. Now the Quraish became alarmed, for they saw their trade in idols threatened and an important source of income cut off. Mohammad finally had to leave Mecca and go to Medina to live. About the year 623, Mohammad proclaimed the principle that no believer in Islam should be put to death, and as a reward for slaying an infidel, if such a one died fighting for the Faith, he

[1] Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. xviii.
[2] Ibid, p. 64.

would go straight to Paradise. Thus Jihād, or Holy War, became a new feature of this religion. The use of the sword became more common and many unbelievers, especially Jews, were killed or driven from the land. About this time, difficulties in his household caused restrictions to be laid upon women. By a special treaty in 629, the Quraish finally permitted Mohammad to come to Mecca for a few weeks to worship at the Ka'aba. Next year the treaty was scrapped and he invaded Mecca and conquered the city, destroying every idol in the Ka'aba. Mohammad now commanded all Arabians to submit to Islam, saying, "And when the sacred months are past, kill those who join other gods besides God wherever ye shall find them." "A term was now set for every man in Arabia to submit to Islam: Arabia was to be solid for Allah and the Arabian prophet."[1] Most of the inhabitants turned to Islam.

In June 632, Mohammad fell ill at Medina. He was attended during his last days by his 19 year old wife, Ayesha, whom he had married ten years before. In a few days he died. He had not appointed a successor though some thought that he would name Ali. Others claimed that Abu Bakr should be the rightful successor as Mohammad had asked him to lead prayers when Mohammad was unable to do so. When Mohammad died, he was buried in his red robe in the chamber of Ayesh. This place is now sacred like the Ka'aba.

The habits of Mohammad were simple. He took special care of his teeth. He liked perfumes but hated liquor. He was nervous and disliked pain. He loved children. He was kind to his slaves and often waited on them. He was courageous, loyal and quick to forgive. He followed personal lapses, such as the marriage with the wife of his adopted son, with "divine revelations."

The Koran. The meaning of Koran is "The Recital." Muslims point out that the Koran was revealed bit by bit from heaven and that Mohammad repeated it and those near to him recorded it on such media as stones or bark, as Mohammad spoke it. The earlier *suras*, or chapters, are more simple and beautiful than the later ones. The Koran is accepted by Muslims today as the literal truth, not a word of which may be added or subtracted. The strength of Islam is found in the Middle East and in Pakistan, the largest Islamic state both in regard to territory and population.

The Spread of Islam. Every Muslim is considered a missionary. Mohammad himself urged his followers to convert others to Islam. In the early years of Islam, the religion was spread by the sword; this method is not often used today. The initial spread of Islam was phenomenal, due to the law of Apostacy which held that anyone may accept Islam (and if not, pay taxes in Muslim-dominated areas) but once one becomes a Muslim, he cannot give it up. Non-Muslims may preach to Muslims, but Muslims have no right to change their religion. Two years after the death of Mohammad, Arabs were

[1] Gairdner, *The Approach of Islam*, p. 41.

already in Palestine and by 638 they had completely conquered not only Palestine but Syria. Authorities at Jerusalem made it a condition that they would only surrender to the Caliph Omar in person. Omar rode, according to Wells,[1] 600 miles on a camel, with only one attendant, to accept the surrender of the city. In the year 637, a Persian host, led by elephants, was attacked by the Arabs. Thirty-three elephants led the charge on the third day. By some error, the elephants turned and charged the wrong way, routing the Persians instead of the Arabs. The Persian king lay dead. Within 25 years, Muslim power had extended to include all of Arabia, Syria, Armenia, and the land to the Caspian Sea and the Oxus River to the north-east. To the west their power had already spread over North Africa as far as modern Tripoli.

The expansion of Islam continued, and in 681, Tripoli was taken. The Muslims pushed up along the African coast to the Atlantic, crossed over the straits and entered Spain. To the northeast, the Arabians crossed the Oxus and took part of Turkestan including Kashgar. Several attacks were made by sea on the city of Constantinople, a part of the vast Byzantine Empire. Leo the Isaurian, the defender of the city, burned Suleiman's ships and killed his landing parties. Then followed a severe winter; the Arabs were completely defeated. In Europe the Muslims overcame the West Goths in 711 and pressed toward the Pyrenees. The Muslim leader was Tarik, whose name is in the word "Gibraltar" (Mount Tarik or Jabal Tarik)[2]. Meeting with great success, the Muslims invaded France. In 732, just 100 years after the death of Mohammad, Charles Martel met the Muslims and defeated them so decisively that the Muslims were gradually pushed out of all Europe except for places in southern Spain.

Although their advance was stopped to the north and north-west, they continued their successes in Africa and Asia. A raid on the Indian coast occurred as early as 640 followed by an invasion in 664, the same year that Kabul was captured. Sind was raided in 711 and although not conquered, much Muslim influence continued to make itself felt. It was not until 1001 that the Muslims came to India to stay. That year, Mahmud of Ghazni, a Turk, invaded India and carried on raids for 25 years, moving as far as Gujarat. Since that time, Muslims have continued to live in India.[3]

Muslim Beliefs and Practices

Titus states in his primer on Islam[4] that the religious system of the Muslims has been built up from four sources.

1. The Koran is the first source and the most important. In the Koran are recorded the revelations made to Mohammad directly from God through the angel Gabriel. Those close to the Prophet recorded his sayings; the language was Arabic, "the language of the angels." Abu Bakr gathered the stones, bark, and other media upon which Mohammad's sayings had been written. He

[1] Wells, H. G., *The Outlines of History*, pp. 328–29. [2] Ibid, p. 332.
[3] Titus, M., *Indian Islam*, pp. 3–6. [4] Idem. *Islam for Beginners*, pp. 21 ff.

called all those who had memorized portions of the Prophet's words. From these sources, the sayings of the Prophet were put in book form. The lack of written vowels in the Arabic caused some terms to have several interpretations. It was Othman, the third Caliph, who decided which meaning was to be used; this became the official version from which nothing might be subtracted or to which nothing might be added. The six cardinal beliefs, based on the Koran, are: one God, Allah; Allah and His angels; the Books, including Jewish and Christian Scriptures and the Koran; the Apostles of Allah; the Last Day, the Judgment and Resurrection; and the predestination of good and evil. Some of the *suras* or books of the Koran contain accounts of the Apostles, the first of whom was Adam, and others such as Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Many of the titles of the chapters in the Koran, such as "The Cow" or "Mary" are taken from a word in the first few sentences.

2. The second source from which Islamic doctrine and religious practices were derived was from a group of books called *The Hadith*, or "Tradition". Everything which the Prophet did, said, or permitted others to do, is gathered in these books. Since he was under direct inspiration, it was important to record everything. Therefore one finds comments on such minor subjects as brushing teeth and yawning, to larger ones such as the killing of apostates and hell fire.

3. The third source is from what is called Agreement. When a question arose which was not mentioned in the Koran or the books of the Tradition, wise men would give a decision on that point in the spirit of what had already been recorded.

4. The fourth source from which belief and practice is taken is Analogical Reasoning. This forms the basis of Muslim law and is used in the courts today. When a question arose, the wise man would look back through the first three sources to see whether there may have been any similar case, and from that a decision would be reached. For example, the Koran forbids becoming intoxicated. Through Analogical Reasoning, this rule may be used to apply to modern drugs which were not in use during the time of Mohammad. The question always remains as to how far to carry Reasoning when new cases arise.

In putting religious belief into everyday use, Muslims have a further set of directives to guide them.[1] The creed, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammad is the Apostle of Allah" must be recited at least once in a lifetime. Many Muslims recite it every day but one finds others in the street who do not know the creed by heart. Muslims are urged to pray five times a

[1] The Creed, in English is as follows:

"God is Great (repeated 4 times); I testify that there is no God but He (repeated twice); I testify that Mohammad is the prophet of God (twice); come to prayers (twice); come to salvation (twice); God is great (twice) and finally, there is no God but he." At dawn, a twice-repeated line is added, "Prayer is better than sleep."

The five daily prayers are called Salat-ul-Fajr, Zuhur, Asar, Maghrib, and Isha. To

day: at dawn, just after noon, mid-afternoon, at sunset and when darkness has closed in. The month of fasting, Ramazan, must be kept. Except for certain cases (children, sick, travellers), one cannot eat or drink during the day. Muslims must give a certain amount of material possessions to religious purposes. If the medium is silver, 1/40th must be given. Finally, every man if possible, must make the trip to Mecca.

Laws of society are also based on the Koran. A man may have as many as four wives although Muslims usually have only one. A man may divorce his wife by repeating three times "I divorce you"; the woman may not divorce her husband. Modern reforms are expected to modify this orthodox practice. Slavery is permitted under Muslim law but not widely practised. The practice of lending and taking interest on money is another prohibition along with the use of strong drink. Becoming an apostate or giving up Islam, is punishable by death. This is still carried out in countries like Turkestan, Iran and Afghanistan but not very often in India. Muslims exert social pressure in India against anyone who contemplates relinquishing his religion.

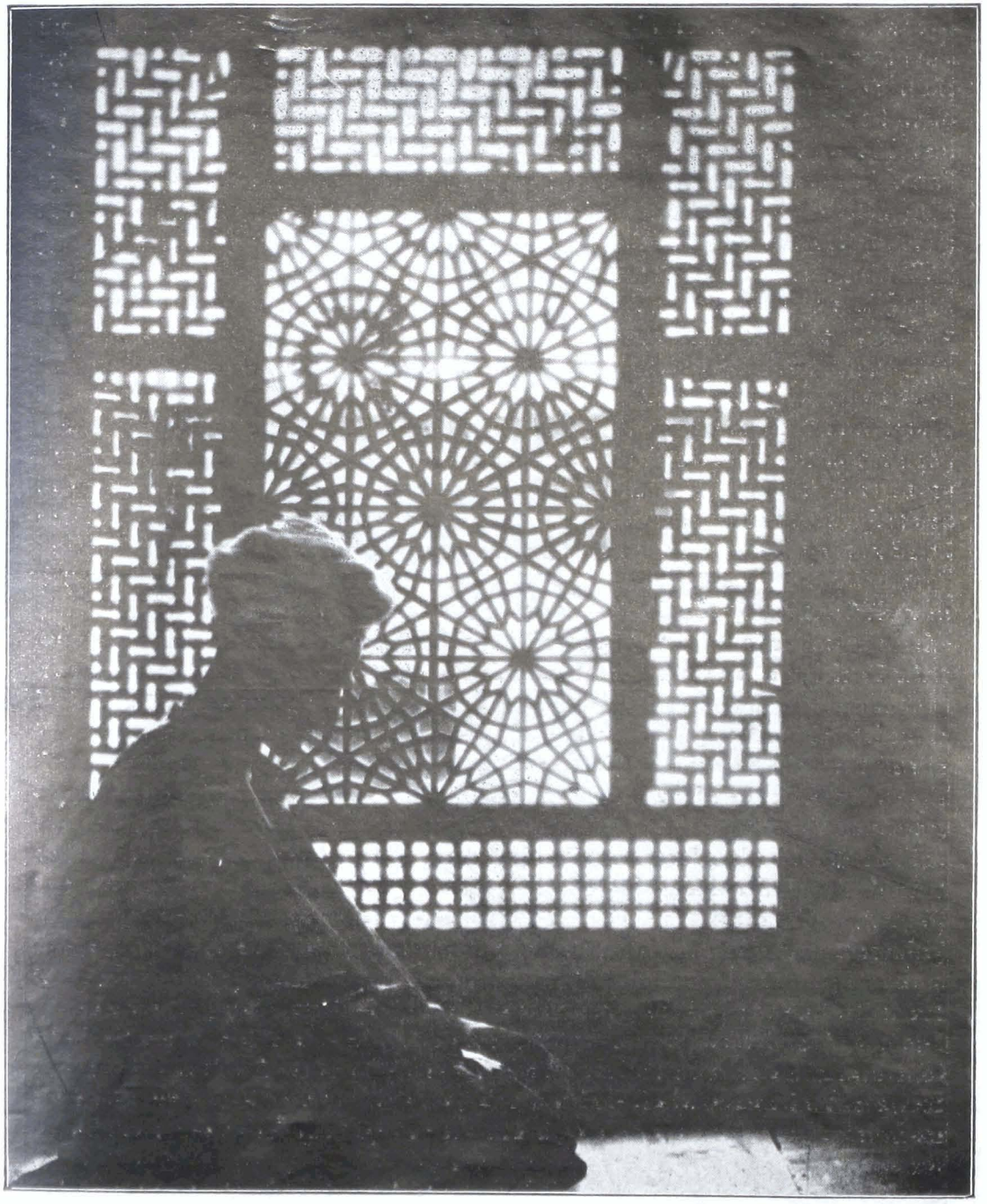
There is no caste among Muslims but there are definite classes. Dr. Titus places Muslims in two general classes, the Sharif or Noble group and the Ajalaf or Common group. The Nobles are in turn divided into four classes. Highest are the *Sayyads* or direct descendents of Mohammad. This is rather a small group. Then there is a very large section called Sheiks, who are of Arabic origin but not of the family of Mohammad. Many of the converts from high caste Hindus become Sheiks. A third small group are Moghals, descendents of the former Muslim rulers or North India. The Pathans, a group of a few million, make up the fourth class of Nobles.

About half of the Muslims are numbered as Commoners. They are classified according to occupations such as the *tailis*, oil-pressers; the *kassis*, butchers; *kalals*, liquor dealers; *mochis*, shoemakers; *methars*, sweepers. Class system among the Muslims is not rigid like caste is among Hindus. One's place in society often depends upon wealth. As one becomes more prosperous, he may take the social position of a Sheik. If one can successfully defend it, he might even take the position as a Sayyad. Thus social differences are somewhat fluid and "upward mobile" persons are found among Muslims.

Muslim "Holidays." One of the most important Muslim celebrations throughout the year is Muharram. The Sunnis celebrate one day but the

prepare for prayers, one must wash his mouth three times, his face, his hands down to the elbow, and feet. The right hand is used to clean the nose. The muezzin gives the call to prayer (*azan*) from the minaret of a mosque.

Prayers are accompanied by prostrations. One faces Mecca, towards the direction of the setting sun and stands with hands clasped before him, the three middle fingers of the right hand touching the body below the navel and the eyes turned toward the ground. Then one bends forward so that a water jar could be placed on the flat of the back. Then one kneels and touches the head twice. The sitting posture is then assumed with the left toes turned under and the right toes turned out. Several prostrations are made, only touching the nose and the forehead to the earth.



Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

MOSQUE WINDOW—SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

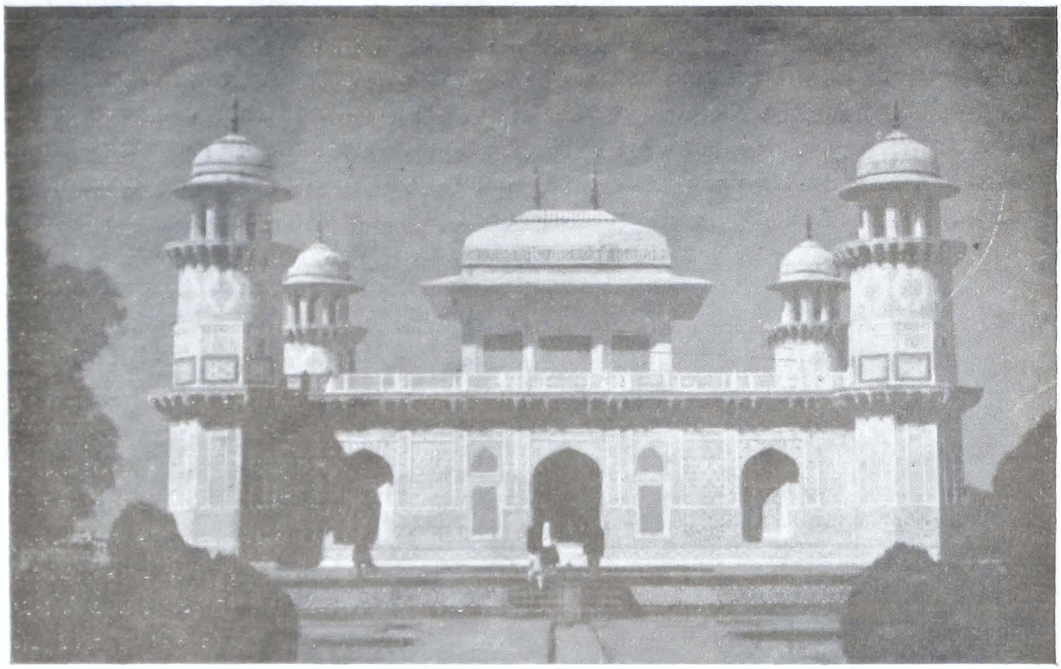


Photo by R. Alter

THE IMAM-U-DAULA AT AGRA

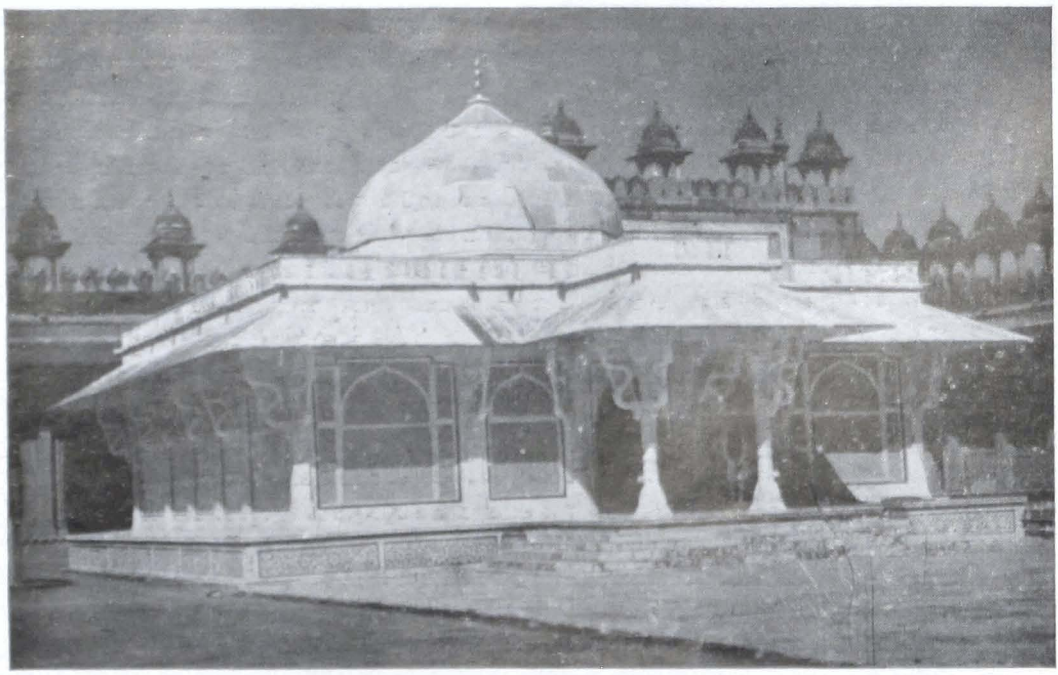


Photo by R. Alter

MOTHER-OF-PEARL TOMB OF SHEIK SALIM CHISHTI AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI

Shias include the nine preceeding as well as the 10th day. On this day God is said to have created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, and life and death. Scenes from the Battle of Kerbela are reenacted by the Shias during the first nine days; they often curse the first three Caliphs whom they consider were illegally holding that office. One of the sons of Ali, Hussain, was killed at Kerbela, sixty miles southwest of Baghdad and this event is recalled to memory. These nine days with their parades of people who flay themselves and relieve the events of Kerbela, were first originated, according to O. M. Buck, in the 14th century, when an emperor who could not go on a pilgrimage ordered that the scenes at Kerbela and events in the life of Ali, his two sons, Hasan and Hussain, and Mohammad, be enacted for him. The tenth day is observed by both Shias and Sunnis with a feast. The Shias and some Sunnis have the added attraction of forming processions carrying "taziyas" or gilded replicas of the tomb of Hussain which are taken outside the town or city and thrown into a river. Small ones are sometimes buried. A man, painted to represent a tiger, takes his place in these parades.

Ramazan or the month of fasting, is another important time in the Muslim year. It occurs during the ninth lunar month, the month when the Koran is said to have been revealed. The Muslim calendar is based on phases of the moon so that Ramazan, over a period of time, gradually moves up toward the beginning of the year. During this month, the Faithful take neither food nor water during the day. When Ramazan falls in the heat of late spring or summer, it is extremely trying. An incident is related of a Muslim boy who deliberately ate a wild plum during one of the days of Ramazan. In a few minutes he was so ashamed of what he had done that he stuck his finger down his throat to bring up the forbidden fruit. The fasting begins and ends with the appearance of the new moon. During these days additional evening prayers are said. Upon the appearance of the moon at the end of the month, great rejoicing takes place. Sometimes clouds postpone the final feast until the next day. Then Idul-Fitr is celebrated. Men and male children, dressed in fine new clothing gather at the *Idgar* for corporate prayers. In a large city like Delhi, the crowd at the Juma Musjid is an inspiring sight. Rich and poor, beggars and kings pray side by side in the great Muslim brotherhood.

One other special day might be mentioned. It is the celebration of Baqar Id, which is an obligatory duty. It comes at the time of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Abraham's sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac) is commemorated. It is a time when Muslims show their gratitude to Allah for blessings received and show that they are willing to sacrifice something to Allah who has been good to them during the past year.

Muslim Religious Groups

The Sunnis in Islam are said to number about two hundred and twenty million. They are the faction who believe that the rightful successor to Mohammad should have been Abu Bakr, the second Caliph, who did follow

Mohammad. The Shias are those who supported Ali, son-in-law of Mohammad, who was the 4th Caliph and whom the Shias thought should have been the second Caliph. Sunnis form a majority in every Islamic country except Iran. In India, the only city where there are large numbers of Shias is Lucknow and vicinity. The Shias are further divided into two other groups, some of whom claim that there were twelve religious leaders or *Imams* while others hold that there were only seven. Among the "seveners" are the Khojahs and Bohoras of Bombay and Gujarat, headed by one of the world's wealthiest men, the Aga Khan.

Sufism introduces the mystical element in Islam which is inclined to be largely a religion of the head. Sufis added the religion of the heart. It drew adherents from all sections of Muslims. According to O. M. Buck, Sufism began about 752 and was looked upon as heretical. Sufis believed that the souls of men differed only slightly from the spirit of God. The highest aim a man could have was to become absorbed in God. This group may have gotten its name from "suf" or the coarse wool garments which the Sufis wore. Growing out of Sufism was beautiful Persian poetry and dervish orders, with a membership of about 100,000. The Rufaiyah Order was founded in 1182. It is an order which displays great ecstasy but is not a fanatical group like some others. During their sessions, members may walk around in a circle and repeat the name of Allah for about two hours. At other times, members sit in a group on the floor and repeat the name of Allah as they move back and forth. When someone hits the floor, they jump to their feet and scream until strength is gone. While in a state of ecstasy, fire does not seem to harm them. These dervish orders are an extreme outgrowth of sufism.

Wahabism developed along about 1780. The Sennusis of North Africa are Wahabis. Abdullah, the son of Wahab, an Arabian reformer, felt that Islam had drifted away from the original teaching of the Prophet. He urged that Muslims go back to the Koran and to the Traditions for guidance. He did not think that visits to tombs of saints should continue. He also asked his followers to refrain from the use of tobacco. In Arabia, Wahabism was revived by Abdul Aziz ibn Saud who captured the country in 1924 and drove out the Sultan.

Aligarh Movement. The outstanding Muslim reform group in India is called "The Aligarh Movement." The founder of the movement was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–88) who was born in Delhi in the highest class in Muslim society. He obtained a good education and for a time, worked for the British Government. He became loyal to the British. He found some of his ideas changing, including his religious point of view. From an orthodox Muslim he became a liberal of the liberals, declaring that religion should be interpreted in the light of investigation and reason. He made a study of the Bible and tried to bring the two religions together.

It was in the field of education that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan made his

greatest contribution. In 1869 he went to England to study educational systems. Upon his return he founded a college now known as Muslim University. He felt that Urdu should not be the only medium of expression and urged that his students learn and use English. He wished that the students attending Muslim University would develop a deeper appreciation of religion and that the elements of bigotry and fanaticism be dropped. Through his efforts the University became known for its broad understanding and appreciation of Muslim culture as well as the culture of other peoples. The University now has become the fountain of liberalism in the Muslim world. Sir Sayyid went further and stressed social reform as well. Two chief themes were that there was nothing wrong in Muslims dining with Christians or with members of any other religious group. Secondly, he contended that women should no longer be kept behind the veil. Orthodox Muslims opposed Sir Sayyid, but he stood firm along with a small minority. When his life was threatened, he faced danger with courage and stood as a prophet of his time. Today, Muslim University, with its liberal and progressive ideas, stands as a fitting monument to an outstanding Muslim of his day.[1] Nehru records that Sir Sayyid said, "Remember that the words Hindu and Muhomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Muhomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation." Of his influence, Nehru added, "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's influence was confined to certain sections of the upper classes among the Muslims; he did not touch the urban or rural masses. . . . "[2] Nevertheless it is refreshing to find a man of influence among the Muslims, taking the position on questions that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan did.

[1] Titus, M., *Indian Islam*, pp. 193-99. [2] Nehru, J., *Discovery of India*, p. 347.

CHAPTER VII

Other Religious Groups

Depressed Classes. Some classify all people of the Depressed Classes as Hindus. Others like Ambedkar, claim that these people form a distinct group. For our purposes we shall place them in a separate category from the Hindus, though many of the forty or fifty million in India may think of themselves as the lowest strata of Hindu society. Outcastes, Exterior Classes, Untouchables, and Harijans are all names for this same group.

There are a number of theories as to the origin of the Depressed Classes. Some think that when the Aryans came to India as conquerors, they separated themselves from the darker people whom they had overcome. To them they gave the meaner occupations and because of the unclean work they had to do, they became placed in the lowest strata of society.

At the present time, the ranks of the depressed classes are augmented from several sources. (1) There are those who are excommunicated from their caste groups because of the infringement of rules. If one is to regain caste status it is at a great price and after severe penances have been paid. Many feel that to regain their original status is next to impossible so they leave their homes and go to live in quarters with the depressed classes. Thus they have become excommunicated for good. Two ways in which caste people lose their status are by marrying a member of the depressed classes or eating with them. (2) Children of mixed marriages are another source from which the depressed classes draw their numbers. Sometimes the upper caste men keep concubines, unknown to their caste brethren. The offspring of such unions become members of the lower group. (3) Aboriginal tribes are often numbered among them. Those in out-of-the-way sections, who have given up some of their spirit worship, are accepted by Hindus as a new section of depressed classes.

Depressed Classes have closely followed the patterns of Hindu society. Among them one finds even stricter caste distinctions, sometimes, than exist among the high castes. One who is considered to be of a lower depressed class is said to pollute a higher depressed class person should he touch him or take his food. In South India such pollution was rectified by the pricking of a finger to shed blood and by seven baths. Outcastes are bound by pride, birth, jealousy and exclusiveness just as much as any of the twice-born.

The common occupations of depressed classes are: gardeners, washermen, tailors, basket-weavers, musicians, watchmen, barbers, carpenters, iron workers, potters, butchers, magicians, weavers, robbers, beggars, leather-workers and sweepers. Sometimes upper castes carry on some of these occupations but it is usually the depressed classes who do so.

Christians

Early Christians in India

The Syrian church of Travancore is unquestionably the oldest Christian organization in India. The actual date for the coming of the first Christians is obscure. Tradition has it that a man by the name of Thomas first brought Christianity to India. Some thought that it was the disciple of Christ while other evidence seems to show that another Thomas came to India about the third century. The Nestorian group was already widely spread by A.D. 300 and Christianity in India could easily date from that time.

The Jesuit fathers arrived in India shortly after 1500. They operated up and down the Arabian sea coast from the 16th century on. The most outstanding of these missionaries probably was Francis Xavier. He worked many years in India and had a great response to his message. He died when carrying the Gospel to the Far East but his body was brought back to this land and was laid to rest in a beautiful silver sarcophogus in the cathedral of Bom Jesu in Old Goa. Catholic Missions spread over the country although today most of their membership, of about five million, is found in South India and in the larger cities of the land. Portuguese Goa at one time was largely Catholic but now of the 100,000 population, only about half of them are Christians while the others are Hindus.

Protestant missions did not appear until 1793 when William Carey arrived in India. With the establishment of the Serampore church, British missionary activities began. Carey is called "Father of Modern Missions." The first Americans were Mr. and Mrs. Adoniram Judson of the Baptist Mission. Now there are almost 200 mission societies operating in India. The date of the establishment of some of the larger missions are as follows:

1813	American Baptist Mission
1834	American Presbyterian Mission
1840	Irish Presbyterian Mission
1856	American Methodist Mission
1859	United Presbyterian Mission
1856	Swedish Lutheran Mission
1864	Evangelical and Reformed Mission
1882	The Disciples Mission
1895	The Brethren Mission
1897-1901	American Mennonite Missions

Christian Institutions

With the establishment of Protestant Missions in India, three institutions are often set up—a church, a school and a hospital. To these have been added farms in rural areas. The message of Christ, which is to all men, appeals perhaps more to people who have more disadvantages in life. Most of the estimated 4,000,000 members of Protestant churches are drawn from

the low castes. The church building may be an open place at the side of the village wall or it may be a temporary structure of bamboo and thatch. The church may also be of a permanent type as one often finds in the cities. Here the Christians gather to worship on Sunday. They have available to them the Bible printed in their own language (except in some tribal areas where the spoken word has not yet been reduced to writing), literature, and usually a song book. Services are led by trained pastors who have attended a seminary or a layman who is often the most educated person in a village community. Pastors and special workers are sometimes entirely supported by the local Christians where there is a large enough group. In other places Missions contribute towards their support.

Christian schools are usually established as soon as a Christian congregation is formed. Before 1930 most of the pupils attending non-Christian institutions were of the higher castes and most of the teachers were Brahmans. Only occasionally were low caste or Christian children numbered among them. When Christian schools were opened, there was no restriction on the basis of caste, so both Christian and low caste children attended. A great number of the students in Christian teachers' training institutions were women. Christian schools were early staffed by women teachers. When low caste boys became the best educated in a village and when girls became capable teachers, then non-Christians began to change their attitudes concerning who should attend school. Finally in 1949, compulsory education for all was introduced by the Indian Government. Christian schools with its activity program seemed to be more successful in training children at the primary level than they are at the secondary level. For a number of years a study was made of the students who successfully passed through high school and it was noted that a Christian student who secured first division was the exception rather than the rule. Girls seemed to do better than the boys but many fell by the wayside when it came to higher examinations and the majority who did pass, were in the third division. At the college level, certain institutions achieved outstanding results among its Christian students. Isabella Thoburn College for women, in Lucknow, is an example. Today Christian trained students occupy many positions of responsibility throughout the land of India.

The medical work carried on by Christians is another field of activity set up in a Christian community. In many centers, dispensaries care for the elemental needs of any, both Christian and non-Christian. In certain places, hospitals have been erected. Not many Christian hospitals are found in the large cities. They are more often established in smaller places where they are available to people who do not have access to city institutions. Again, non-Christians as well as Christians are served. When first established, many fears and superstitions had to be overcome before patients were willing to come but now these institutions are well known and fill an invaluable need in this country where disease is so prevalent. Common wards have carried the ideal that all people are important in the sight of God. Classes in nursing are open

to both men and women. It was a striking fact that when a call for medical help was sent throughout India at the end of 1947 and early in 1948, 85 per cent of the Indian girls who administered to the needs of the sick and the dying were Christians. These individuals worked with all castes and creeds, following Christ's ideal of serving one's fellow men.

Many mission stations now raise large gardens and keep a herd of cattle and flocks of chickens in order to provide indispensable items on a well-balanced menu for all the Christian community. In some places such as Allahabad, Ghaziabad, Etah and others, special work is carried on in research and agricultural instruction so that those who are trained may earn a better living and raise their economic level. The use of better seed, improved agricultural methods, certified breeding stock and modern methods of child care and sanitation are some of the ways in which this is done. Classes for men and women in health, sanitation, rearing of children and the maintaining of a happy Christian home are a part of the program.

The attitude which Hindus took toward the Christian community in the debates on the new constitution for India in 1948 at New Delhi was noteworthy. They were quick to mention the contribution made by Christian missions to people of all religions and recommended that this good work be permitted to continue.

The Christian Community

Sources. The Christian and the Sikh communities are the most rapidly increasing groups in India today. Christians secure their numbers from two or three main sources. There are those who are born of Christian parents and who themselves choose to be Christians. The birth-rate among Christians is about the same as Hindus or Muslims but their child mortality is much lower. Therefore the natural increase is larger for Christians than for the other two.

Another source from which the Christian church receives its members is those who make a personal profession of faith in Christ. These individuals often come alone. A Brahman in United Provinces decided to become a Christian. He had to leave his wife and family in order to follow his own inner convictions. His wife claimed that he was mad and wished to commit suicide because he had now become an outcaste and a Christian. Eleven months later and with no pressure on the part of the husband, the wife had seen such a change in her husband that she asked to become a Christian too. A Muslim in Central Provinces chose to be a Christian after he had read about it and investigated it. A Parsi in Bombay said that through inner personal conviction he had become a Christian. The numbers who have joined the Christian community in this way have been small, but their influence has been great.

A third source of recruitment is in group-movement areas. Geographically, these places are wide-spread—from the Andhra and South India country northward to the Bhil country and the Chamars in United Provinces, rural areas

in the Punjab, and to the hill tribes of Assam and Burma. People of a whole village or section of a village are instructed together and when they are adequately prepared for baptism, they all become Christians.

Two general methods have been used in establishing a Christian community. In one, the principle of self-support was set up as a basis of economic life. Improved seed for better crops and better strains of live-stock were used. When a congregation wished to build a church, the labor and materials were largely contributed by the group themselves and the structure resembled others near by. Schools were built in the same way and parents paid children's fees in kind, usually in grain, which formed part of the diet of the child while at school. Supervision may have been offered by Americans and Europeans but the work was largely in the vernacular and books were written from the point of view of the child's surroundings. This method sought local available materials and improvement is based on more adequate use of things found in one's environment. The Christian community thus sent down its roots into Indian soil.

A second method was used more often and with less permanent results than the first. Much of the material aid and planning came from foreign sources. Christians in other parts of the world sent money to build the new church. The structure was often foreign. Songs had western tunes and the ritual was western too. Medical and hospital services were given free. Some Christians felt imposed upon if asked to share in expenses. A general idea grew up that foreigners were mother and father to nationals of this country. As a result the idea developed that being a Christian meant holding a mission job. When a salary was not forthcoming then Christianity meant little to this individual. In recent years the defects of the second method have been noted and attempts have been made to encourage self-support. The results have been disappointing. Such a shift must be done slowly, perhaps after one generation has gone and a new one has taken its place. The present emphasis is more and more on an indiginous Christian community having active Indian leadership with foreigners in a position of consultants.

Trends. Protestant Mission bodies today are represented throughout India. In South India, various church bodies with widely varied organizations have joined to form the United Church. Something of the same movement is found among the denominations represented in North India.

Protestant Missions, in regard to general outlook, methods, and training, tend to follow two patterns. On the one hand, emphasis is upon the evangelical approach. Missionaries are carefully trained in a college or seminary in a thorough knowledge of the Bible. Gospel songs and literature are characterized by an evangelistic ferver. There is a certain note of urgency manifested in all branches of activity. All other phases of missionary work are subsidiary to the presentation of the Gospel Message. Immediately following the war of 1939-1945, about two-thirds of those coming to India belonged to this group.

Missionaries who follow the second pattern, usually belong to missions which have been in India for a longer time and whose work is more widely

spread. They have studied theology along with sociology, psychology and anthropology and/or education, medicine and agriculture. They look to service for others which would meet the needs of the entire individual,—his spiritual and also his physical, mental and social life. Planning the mission program is on a long-range basis with less emphasis upon the immediate and more upon the future. Those of this second group often consider themselves as resource persons upon whom their Indian colleagues may call. They often hold advanced degrees from recognized institutions in America and in other countries.

Though the approaches of Christian Missions, as noted above, may not be the same, yet the constructive contributions all have been able to make in the lives of Indian people, both Christian and non-Christian, is a real witness to the fact that Christ is unique and when His principles are adequately practiced, the world becomes a better place in which to live.

The Jains

Origin. Jainism is the oldest personally founded religion in India. It arose in the 6th century B.C. and would have made more of a mark in India had not Buddhism started about 30 years after and occupied much of the stage in religious development which Jainism might have had. The founder was Mahavira, son of a Kshatriya raja of Magadha in modern Bihar. When his parents died, he became a *sadhu* and for the next years, preached his "Laws of Renunciation." Mahavira was a good organizer and by the time he died, he had gathered around him 14,000 monks, 36,000 nuns, 59,000 laymen and 58,000 laywomen. However, numbers of Jains do not number more than a million and a half now and they are much like Hindus. Brahmans officiate at religious affairs. Hindu heroes including Ram and Krishna are also Jain heroes. The sacred book of the Jains is written in Prakrit.

Beliefs. According to Mrs. Stevenson, Jains believe that all life is born in four places forming a swastika: the lowest is hell, the next lower includes all living things except humans, the next is where people live and the highest of all is the home of gods and demons. All living things are divided according to the number of lives they possess. Vegetables are both one and two-souled. Fruits are only one-souled and may be eaten. Potatoes, onions, beets and carrots, on the other hand are two-souled and cannot be eaten. Disease germs are in the same category with humans. Pain can be inflicted upon air and water, therefore one should not snap his fingers nor swing a fan. Seventeen great crimes are listed, the greatest of which is the taking of life. One carefully avoids stepping upon insects or permitting them to be burned in the flame of a fire. The next greatest crime is being dishonest. "A man who cheats in this life may be born a woman in the next."[1] A low caste man who takes good care of animals might be born a high caste man next time.[2]

[1] Mrs. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 121. [2] *ibid*, p. 183.

Laymen take vows to avoid five faults: never kill an animal (and the planning to kill one is the same); never exaggerate nor be false to anyone; never steal; always be chaste, even in thinking; and never take more than what is due.

Stricter vows are taken by Jain ascetics who must beg daily food and confess daily to the guru, never destroy anything, be honest, never steal, be chaste and have no dealings with a woman, and love no person nor thing.

The ideal life is that of an ascetic who knows no revenge. Love and hate are both forms of attachment and should be abandoned. Religious principles include the observing of *ahimsha* or non-injury to life; *nirvana*, the goal of all living; *karma*, the doctrine that one reaps what he sows; transmigration of souls, that in the next rebirth is conditioned by the sum total of actions in the present life.

Other points. The temples of the Jains are well-constructed with elaborately carved pillars. A three story Jain temple seen in the Punjab was made largely of marble porchs, open on three sides. The image of the god and the shrine were on the second floor. Here, shoes were removed. Above this was a cupalo where a brush was kept to clear away insects in a gentle manner so that they would not be injured. In the area near the beautiful Jain temple in Calcutta is a pond full of sacred fish where one gains merit by throwing something to the fish. Jains do not mind having Europeans approach the holy of holies at their temples if they remove their shoes. At Mathura is located one of the oldest temples, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. There is a great stupa and the legend is that it was constructed by the gods. Jain temples are sometimes placed on the crests of hills and at other times grouped close together. At Mt. Abu some 2,000 temples are constructed in this manner. Other temples are built in widely separated places such as Benares, Ahmedabad, Ellora and Ajmere.

Jains often dress in white. Sometimes they wear masks to prevent air from being injured when inhaled. Others wear spiked shoes to avoid killing insects. Most Jains live in western and southern sections of India. They were not driven out by Muslims as was Buddhism because after their clergy had been killed, lay leaders carried on with their rites. Jainism is a religion of pacifism. Finally, they do not believe in a God who created the universe. There was no power higher than man. This led to many disputes with Hindus during the earlier centuries of Jainism. There was no great response to this doctrine by the people of India.

Buddhism

The founder of this religious sect flourished from about 560 to 480 B.C. Buddha was born in a Kshatriya rajah's family near Gorakhpur, U.P. There are miraculous elements connected with the birth. When he was grown, he married but grew disgusted with the luxurious life of the palace. When about thirty years of age, while on a pleasure drive, he is said to have seen for the

first time, an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a *sadhu*. He began to ponder on the meaning of life and as a result decided to leave his wife and his newborn son and his succession to the throne and become a *sadhu*. For 45 years he travelled and preached and from that beginning sprang a religion of some 150,000,000 adherents.[1]

Early in his career as a *sadhu*, Buddha went to Sarnath near Benares where five pupils joined him. Here they lived in a forest. Later his friends are said to have left him. On that day, while sitting under a bo or pipal tree at Buddha Gaya a vision came to him in which he solved to his own satisfaction, the cause and cure of evil. He reasoned that all living involved suffering and suffering came from desires. If all desires ceased, then there would be no suffering. Thus one's aim should be to do away with desire and to forget one's surroundings. Complete devotion is found in a state of trance. Buddhism also included the Hindu doctrines of *karma* and transmigration. One of the best known Buddhist doctrines is that of "The Noble Eightfold Path" in which all should live moderately in accordance with right belief, aspiration, speech, action, livelihood, endeavor and thought.[2]

Growth of Buddhism. Two hundred years after the time of Buddha, this religion was having a profound effect upon the people of India. It greatly influenced the leaders of the great Mauryan empire of which Chandragupta was the first historical emperor in India. His grandson, Asoka (250 B.C.), whose wheel is represented on the Indian flag, became a patron of Buddhism. He sent missionaries to convert the people to Buddhism. He founded monasteries and hospitals at his own expense and advanced religious doctrines such as obedience to parents, kindliness to children, mercy to inferior animals and stressed the virtures of generosity, tolerance, charity, the suppression of anger, passion, cruelty and extravagance.[3]

Chinese travelers to India reported hundreds of Buddhist temples scattered throughout the country. The excavations in Sind reveal a Buddhist period. The religion was carried to Ceylon, Burma, China, Tibet and other countries by traders, along about 600–800. A.D. In Burma, for example, Buddhist teachers came from Ceylon after traders did and brought a more pure form of the religion. In Burma the "Golden Age of Buddhism" during which 25,000 pagodas were erected at Pagan, was from A.D. 1000 to 1100. When Muslim invaders came to India, they destroyed temples, idols, and priests and those connected with the temples. As a result, Buddhism practically disappeared from India, the land of its birth.

Buddhist Sites in India. Buddhist stupas and caves containing carvings are scattered throughout the country. Stupas built of bricks are usually placed on platforms. They house the relics of the saint, including hairs from the head of Buddha. Some stupas are domed and form columns forty or fifty feet high. Others are a few feet square and are decorated with a series of

[1] Hume's estimate.
[2] Hume, R., *The World's Living Religions*, pp. 62-63.
[3] Sinclair, D., *History of India*, p. 35.

stone umbrellas, one above another. Some stupas are approached by large, beautifully carved archways as at Sanchi.

Sarnath is probably the most important Buddhist shrine in India today. It is located about seven miles from Banaras. At one side is an extensive area of ruins. That spot used to be a large monastery for monks. On top of the building was a stupa which once had a stone umbrella. Near it is an Asokan pillar with inscriptions. This is not far from a large domed stupa some 80 to 100 feet high. Nearer the present road is a new Jain temple with a veranda on all sides, containing replicas of gods. On one side of the road is a large library and near it a residence for monks who study there. Not far away is a building for Chinese monks. Across the road is a modern temple depicting the life of Buddha in a large square room with 15-foot walls where Buddha sits upon a platform. In front is an open veranda. Around the room are the paintings of Buddha by a Japanese artist. The temple was made possible by a wealthy American lady. Near this temple is a Chinese shrine and rest house. This place is well worth a visit by travellers in India.

The Ellora Caves, are a good illustration of the works of Buddhists in olden times. There are about 34 caves in all, stretching along cliffs for two miles. They are carved out of solid rock. Only a third of the caves are Buddhist, while a larger number, including the ancient temples near the center, are Hindu and a small number at one end of the two-mile stretch are Jain caves. A broad motor road winds below the cliffs where the caves are found. The Buddhist caves are of two kinds. Most of them are one story where monks lived but approximately every fourth one is a double-storied affair containing a statue of Buddha.

The Ajanta Caves, not far from the Ellora Caves, southeast of Bombay, are somewhat similar. There are 29 caves in all, most of which are Buddhist. They also are carved out of a rock cliff for a distance of a mile. They are situated approximately a quarter of a mile above the bed of a river. These caves are noted for their ancient paintings and murals. Many of the caves were just large enough for a monk to rest on a short stone bed. The enterances to these caves are small and the interiors are dark. Two or three much larger caves are U-shaped with a platform in the center and pillars all around the edge. One is a huge room with pillars twenty feet high and with carvings on the walls. The interior is blackened and an underground stream furnishes water. Several hundreds of years ago Buddhist devotees used to spend their lives here in contemplation.

Active Buddhism is better seen in Burma than in India. There most of the population is Buddhist. Many pagodas rise in honor of Buddha and statues of Buddha are found on every hand. They may be small ones, housed in a space two or three feet square, or they may be of great size such as the reclining Buddha at Pegu. The center of religious activity in Rangoon is at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The guilded spire rises above the city and is the first object one sees as he comes up the Irrawadi River. A long series of stairs

bring one to the base of the pagoda. Shops line the stairs which one must climb barefooted if he is to go to the top. Numerous shrines and small pagodas line the four sides of the central structure. Offerings of flowers and flickering tapers indicate where people worship on that particular day. *Ponjees* or priests have shaved heads and wear the saffron robe. Statues of Buddha are seen in varying poses. Those with his hands resting on his lap indicate meditation. A hand raised with the first two fingers joined indicates argument. Outstretched palms stand for charity, while an outstretched palm with fingers apart drives away fear. Hands brought together stand for preaching. Throughout the city are quarters where *ponjees* live and where they teach Buddhist boys. All boys at one time or another, must offer themselves as a candidate for the priesthood. After a few days they may again return to civil life. Education was once in the hands of the priests who have done much to develop a literate population. The erection of a pagoda is the epitome of good works. One does not secure much merit, however, in keeping someone else's pagoda in repair, so many of them are now in ruins. A conspicuous point on a ridge or a hill is a place often chosen for erecting a pagoda. Most are whitewashed and the spire is covered with gold leaf; they can be seen from a great distance. Mandalay hill has a series of steps to the top and shrines every hundred feet. The Arakan Pagoda in Mandalay has an entrance bordered by shops. Within the walls are numerous bells and statues while the main shrine is at the center, fronted by a spacious platform where numerous pilgrims come to pray. Active Buddhism is in evidence on all sides in Burma. In India most external influences have passed away though many of the concepts of Buddha still remain.

The Sikhs

Origin. The Sikhs developed as a reform group which protested against certain aspects of Hinduism. The founder was Nanak Shāh, a Kshatriya who lived in the sixteenth century at the time when the Moghal king, Bābar, flourished. Nanak Shāh traveled a great deal, to Egypt, Tibet, Ceylon and to Mecca. As a result he felt that all Hindus should be able to sit down together and eat with one another. He now became known as Guru Nanak. Nine other gurus, or teachers, followed him. All of them opposed caste, were tolerant of other religions, believed in one God, and taught that Sikhs should be known for their good works. At first the organization was pacifistic, but when the tenth *guru* took charge, he instituted militarism, an emphasis which the Sikhs have followed ever since. The tenth *guru* led a large army; both Hindus and Muslims attacked him but neither defeated the Sikh. Even the great Moghal, Aurengzeb, was unsuccessful against them. This gave the Sikhs great prestige and many flocked to their banner. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that the British overcame them. Today the Sikhs are permitted to carry a sword when other communities are not allowed to do so.

Beliefs. The Granth Sahib is the sacred book of the Sikhs. Copies of this volume are kept covered in the *gurdwara* (church) on a raised platform at the front of the room. When approaching or leaving the room, one's back must never be turned to the book. In the Granth Sahib are hymns written in a number of languages. English might have been included had it been available when the Granth Sahib was compiled. A quotation or two from it reads as follows: "Nanak, he who forsakes him the Lord seeks another. . . . Oh, Nanak shall suffer. . . . The Lord can be observed through the spiritual Guru. . . . He shall be the best in the Divine Court who does not walk in the path of sin. . . . The gracious Lord is helping us in this world and in the next." In describing the characteristics of God we have these words: "He is pervading the whole universe. He is without fear. He is without enmity. He is an immortal Being. He is not subject to birth. He is self-born and is self-existent. He is the remover of darkness and is merciful." Sikhs believe in Christ as a human savior and not as a Divine Savior for the saying is, "He who calls himself 'God' will go to hell."

Practices. When young men and women at the age of 14 or 15 make a vow to keep the laws of the Sikhs, they are baptized. At a special service in the *gurdwara*, five specially selected persons conduct the service. There is no priestly class among Sikhs nor any head of the church. They believe that no living Sikh will ever become a *guru.* Therefore the leaders of ritual are simply selected from among members of the congregation. Sweetened water is placed in an iron cup and is sprinkled on the hair and the eyes of the individual being baptized. The rest of the water is sipped by those present. A meal follows in which all eat together, thus removing any chance of untouchability. Those who have now been baptized and those who conducted the service and belong to the congregation are "Brothers of the Golden Cup." From this time on the five K's are observed. The hair is not cut, an iron bracelet is worn on the arm, a short undergarment is put on, a comb is placed in the hair and a sword is worn at the side. Today some Sikhs do not observe all of these requirements, especially the first and the last one.

Religious services are held once a week, often on Sunday, although prayers may be conducted any day of the week. Members of the congregation gather and sit on the floor facing the *Granth Sahib* and the reader. Men sit on one side of the room and women on the other. The worship is simple. Hymns are sung and a portion of the scriptures is read. As one comes in, he usually offers a coin which is placed on the floor in front of the Granth Sahib. Special services are conducted during the days of the flag-changing ceremony in September. All the members come then and the yearly subscription list is made up for the support of the *gurdwara* and the rest house connected with it. In honor of those who give a large subscription, the *Granth Sahib* is taken out in procession and members of the congregation follow through the streets of the bazaar. The *gurdwara* is open to all, including Europeans. Anyone may enter, provided he removes his shoes and covers his head. The Sikhs make no

distinction between men and women. Women may conduct services; a mother may conduct the marriage ceremony of her own children if desired. The Sixth Guru said that "woman is the conscience of man", according to Teja Singh of Kalsa College, Amritsar[1] and therefore women may take part in any of the rituals of the church.

Sikhs must be baptized before they are married. Marriage is optional and usually occurs between the ages of 18 and 22. The amount expended on marriages is moderate. Usually a man has only one wife though Sikh princes often have more. Divorce is practically unknown. If the parties find that they are incompatible there may be separation but no divorce.

Amritsar is often thought of as the city of the Sikhs because of the beautiful Golden Temple situated there. Part of the structure is covered with gold leaf which glistens in the sun. It is situated in the center of an artificial lake where the reflections can be seen on all sides. At the time of special celebrations, when the structure is lit with small oil lamps at night, the Golden Temple is extraordinarily beautiful.

Though there is little distinction among Sikhs, those who are sweepers and who become Sikhs are called "Mazbi Sikhs." One of our students was well acquainted with a Mazbi Sikh family in Montgomery District, Pakistan. He describes a funeral service. About 6 p.m. a conch shell was sounded, indicating that an old man had died. At the home of the deceased person a group of people gathered, the men sitting on one side and the women on the other. The women were crying and one woman was tearing hair from her head and her scalp was bleeding.

The oldest son now wrapped the body in several sections of white *khaddar* cloth. The man was very old and the family was rejoicing that he had been permitted to live to a ripe old age. A procession formed and four men, including the son, carried the body on a bamboo stretcher. Women walked at the end of the procession. About half way out, the stretcher was placed on the ground and several women fell upon it and wept. They could not go on and the men proceeded alone beside an ox cart bringing wood. When they arrived at the *ghat*, the body was placed on a burning pyre and the logs from the ox cart were placed above the body. The son poured a tin of kerosene over it and as the flames leaped higher, the men sat down to wait. During this interval, the son passed sweets to all. About 9·30 the skull was bashed in by the son and the spirit was let out. Not long after the group returned to the village.

Death ceremonies among the Sikhs are much like those of Hindus. Sometimes bodies are not burned when people die of smallpox and other causes.

The Sikh community is a growing one. Emphases on inter-dining and common worship appeal to the more educated Hindus, some of whom are joining the ranks of the Sikhs.

[1] Lecture at the Mussoorie *gurdwara*, 1948.

The Parsis

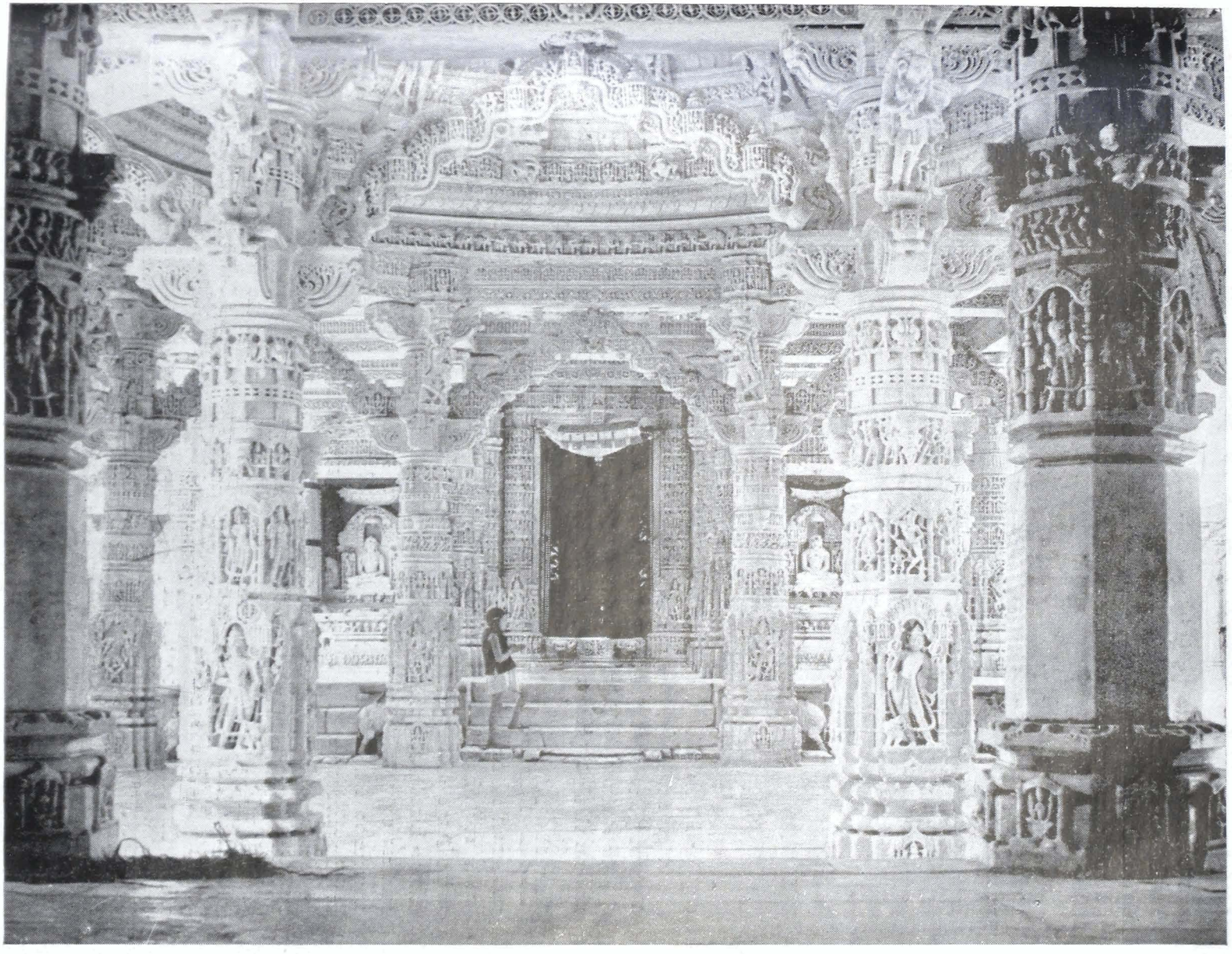
When the persecution of the Zoroastians began in Persia, a little group of followers fled from their native province of Pars and came to India. They brought with them a fire from their sacred temples and this has been rekindled from the 13th century on. The "Parsis," as they were called, settled in Gujarat, north of Bombay and the Hindus permitted them to remain if they fulfilled several conditions including the wearing of a certain kind of hat. The Parsis have faithfully carried out these conditions and today wear a distinctive hat. When the village of Bombay developed into a city, most of the Parsis moved to Bombay where they handle a large proportion of the business of that city.

The Parsis are a very exclusive group. They are said to be the world's worst missionaries, for one can come in contact with them many times and never once will they mention their religion. Parsis will not intermarry with any other group so for the last 100 years their numbers have remained practically the same,—a little over 100,000. Only the children of parents who are both Parsis are considered Parsis. Should a Parsi man or a Parsi woman marry a non-Parsi, all of their children are outside the pale. Parsis go to extremes to prevent any of their number marrying non-Parsis. In their social contacts, however, numbers of Parsis are very liberal. They accept Europeans in their company and invite them to dine in their homes.

The moral and social code of the Parsi is very high. They have the highest per cent of literacy among any group in India. The figure for the Parsi women is almost has high as it is for men. Because of their charity, Parsi communities have few paupers and there is never a Parsi prostitute in Bombay. They have established many hospitals, a thing unknown until recently among Hindus and Muslims, and have given large sums to charity. Parsi women have never been behind the veil and these men and women have been some of the highest spirited citizens of India, doing much to improve their country. Many of them are wealthy; the wealthiest families in Bombay are Parsis. Much of their wealth has come through a monopoly in the liquor trade, large property holdings and their work as merchants.

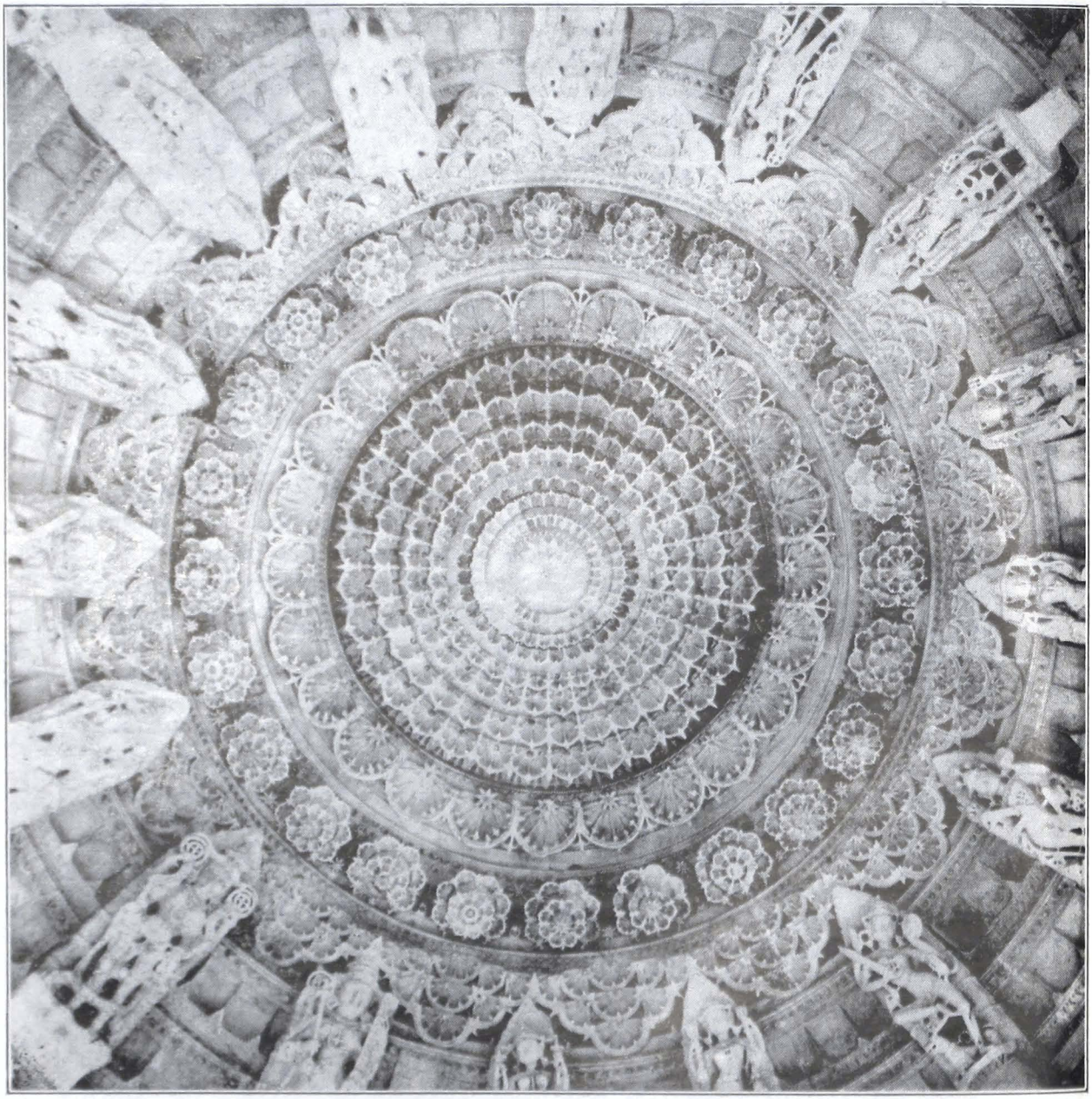
The founder of the Parsi religion was an earnest, humble man named Zoroaster, (1000 B.C.) who preached in spite of much discouragement. He was credited with supernatural qualities. From the age of fifteen, he had devoted his life to religion, living a life of complete self-sacrifice, except for a short time when he tried to be the king. During the first ten years of his preaching, he made only one convert, but in his later years he converted not only the king but all his court and after this he became well known. After his death, although he claimed to be nothing more than a man, his followers claimed that he was a prophet.

The Parsis resent being called "fire-worshippers." They point out that the sacred fire, found in many parts of India, is to them a symbol of their god



Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

JAIN TEMPLE, MT. ABU



Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

CEILING CARVINGS, AT A JAIN TEMPLE, MT. ABU

who is a deity of light, purity and grateful warmth, called "Ahura Mazda." The sacred fire is kept in beautiful temples to which devotees come for prayers, and repeat, "I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zoroaster, one who hates the devils and who obeys the law of Ahura." Some of their religious duties are almsgiving, good treatment of the good, good thoughts and good works. Thus the religion is a practical and not an ascetic religion.

The Parsi believes that the elements water, fire, earth, and air are sacred and does not wish to polute them. The dead are therefore placed in the towers of silence according to a precise ritual. These towers are usually found near temples and have round walls, built up about 20 feet which no one can look into, and over which airplanes are not supposed to fly. Inside this circular building are three sections, the floors of which all slope toward a deep well in the center. The bodies of men are placed in a niche in the outer circle, women in the center and children in the inner one. Should all the niches be filled, the older remains are removed and put into the central well until the well is completely full when the tower is abandoned and a new tower constructed. Residents near the towers are requested not to frighten away vultures. Priests feed them so that at the time of death, vultures may be present to pick clean the skeleton. Special drainage prevents contamination of the earth. In olden days the following practice was observed. Near the gate as the corpse is being brought in, a dog gazed into the face of the deceased. If the dog whined, the soul of the dead was thought to have departed in peace. If the dog did not whine, a corpse bearer (considered an outcaste) probably beat the dog until it did.

The Parsis believe that in the end good will triumph and when the final resurrection occurs the wicked will be punished. Hell is an age-long misery for liars. There will be a final testing by glowing fire and purification by molten metal. Future saviors are expected at stated intervals and they will all be descendants of Zoroaster and, like him, of virgin birth.

The original fire is now at Urdwara near Navsari, just north of Bombay. It is here that young Parsi men train for the priesthood. They begin at about the age of 18 and attend the classes of instruction for three years. They are then attached to a temple. There is no fixed salary and it is a life work from which no one resigns. Priests may marry. They conduct worship at the temple. Worshippers cover their heads and go through ablution ceremonies washing their eyes, hands and faces. Shoes are removed at the entrance of the temple. They donate alms and sandlewood when the service is over.

The thread ceremony is also conducted by the priests. Girls at the age of seven to nine years old and boys from nine to eleven, prepare for it. For a month priests or heads of families teach prayers, and the code of ethics especially to return good for evil. On the day of the ceremony, friends are invited and they give presents to the candidate and to his or her parents. Then they proceed to the temple where the ceremony takes place in the main

hall. The priest first administers a bitter drink and betel nut. The mother then bathes the candidate in holy water. A white muslin shirt and the string of sheep's wool is put on, a symbol of cleanliness and purity. The candidate is then taken onto a raised dias and prayers are said. There follows a feast, either in the garden of the temple or at home.

CHAPTER VIII

Culture

Architecture

Ancient. The oldest examples of architecture have been those unearthed in the excavation of the ancient cities in Sind and the Punjab. The buildings were square and built up with false arches. The sunbaked bricks were of the highest order. Streets of the cities were wide and straight and provision was made for a complete system of drainage.

Buddhist. (About 200 B.C. to 200. A.D.) This architecture is represented by caves, stupas and monoliths. Places such as the Ellora and the Ajanta caves have been carved out of the solid rock. The interior rooms are often huge and here are found numerous inscriptions and carvings of Buddha. Mounds, such as the ones at Taxila, have revealed stupas. These Taxila stupas were square platforms built up from the ground from one or two to several feet high. Some of them have a stone pillar in the center on which were a number of stone "umbrellas." On the four sides of the stupas were often found tiers of exquisite carving, representing Buddhas, persons, animals. Other stupas are domed and are from 50′ to 80′ high. There were monoliths, rocks and sometimes pillars, with carvings usually which were pillars of Asoka. Most of these are traced back to the great Indian ruler who was greatly influenced by Buddhism. Asoka was suddenly converted from his cruel way of ruling and became very humble. He ordered many inscriptions of his just decrees and of his ideas of living to be made and had them placed at the busy crossroads where all people might read them. Many of these pillars and rocks today are not at modern crossroads but are in the middle of the jungle.

Dravidian. (About 300 B.C. to 1000. A.D.) Practically all the great buildings of the Dravidians are found in South India. The great Pagoda at Tanjore is a good example. Later examples are seen in Madura, Vellore and other places. The temples have a small inner shrine built in the form of a square. The great towers are square and slope in towards the top. There are tiers upon tiers of ornamental carvings. These and the Jain carvings are among the most intricate in India. These carvings depict gods and goddesses and incidents connected with their lives. The pillars of these buildings are examples of sculpture at its highest.

Jain. (About 900 to 1100. A.D.) Jain architecture most resembles Dravidian construction. There is a false dome and high and tapering walls with horizontal beams. The upper third of the temple is usually smooth. In Jain centers such as Mt. Abu, there are many Jain temples built up on hilltops, very close to one another. There are widely scattered examples of this archi-

tecture, indicating that the Jain community was once much more extensive than it is now.

Moghal. (About 1500 to 1800. A.D.) Most of the examples of Moghal work are found throughout North India. Wherever the Muslims set up an empire, they erected mosques and minarets, tombs and palaces, using the true arch and often the more ornamental arch like an inverted lotus leaf. The roof was often bulb-shaped and many arcades were used along verandas. Mosques were often situated on the highest point in the city and frequently constructed of materials from demolished Hindu temples. At Banaras the first objects one sees are the tall black minarets of a mosque constructed on the site of a Hindu temple. Tombs usually are square platforms with horseshoe-shaped arches on each side and a bulb-like dome. Some have verses of the Koran inlaid around the arch but otherwise quite plain. The forts and palaces are massive structures. Forts have high walls of surprising thickness, usually constructed of red sandstone. Palaces were made of sandstone too, but more frequently of white marble. The most noted Muslim building is the Taj Mahal at Agra. In recent years, buildings have been influenced by western ideas but in some of the Indian States palaces are modern examples of the Moghal type of architecture.

Indian Sculpture

Dr. Malcolm Pitt[1] affirms, when discussing sculpture, that this branch of culture is one of the most dramatic in India. The Hindus are the great contributors to sculpture. From the Hindu scriptures, representing their philosophy of life, one reads that man can be more than just man. This is summed up in the words, "There is nothing of significance other than things of the spirit." When Hindu sculptors take a piece of stone, how do they express these spiritual values? It is done through symbolism. One of the best illustrations is of the singing Siva in his "Cosmic Dance." The four hands of this figure represent the number of functions to be performed. One right hand holds a drum which stands for sound or creation. The other right hand, by its position, indicates "preservation." The left hand in a half moon gesture, with the thumb and fingers representing a flame, means "destruction." The second left hand, which points at the left foot in the elephant gesture is the hand from which all of the god's graces flow. The little creature on the right foot is the Ego or Self and it is the Ego which must be stamped out. The face of Siva is serene. The third eye in the center of the forehead shows that Siva sees more than we do. Other representations of Siva sometimes have cobras around his arms and neck. The idea that the snake represents endless life, is a widespread one. The snake sheds its skin and goes on living. When one "kills it," the snake does not seem to die at once. The snake is supposed to have stolen immortality

[1] Pitt, Malcolm, Class Lectures, 1948.

from man and now knows the true secret of immortality. It is then natural to represent the snake in company with Siva.

The first carvings of the human form were done by Buddhists. Their figures greatly resembled work of the Greeks who emphasized perfection of the human form. While Western artists introduced the supernatural by means of angels and halos, Indian artistry moved in other directions. Buddha is depicted as having a knot on the head which symbolizes his enlightenment. Yogas today hold that enlightenment of knowledge occurs at the same place on the head. Indian sculptors tried to symbolize the spiritual in physical terms.

Earliest sculpture is known from the excavations of Mohenjodaro. These people did plastic molding of seals and figures which usually represents humans but occasionally includes deities. These seals show an advance type of script. They knew about nature and accurately depicted animal life. Trees are large and crude.

In the Mauryan period, more than two thousand years after the Mohenjodaro, Buddhist carvings were in evidence. Many of them showed previous lives of Buddha. There were friezes of animals and birds on stupas erected over the relics of Buddha.

The Classical Period includes the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Most of the work was in friezes. The third dimension was introduced. Importance of figures was shown by increase in size. Floral designs were now used, the most important being that of the lotus flower. From the 6th to the 8th century, most carvings were in bas-relief. Many of them were done in caves like those at Ajanta, Ellora or Elephanta near Bombay. Much detail was now added. Gestures represented certain attributes. Buddha with his hand up and palm outstretched, indicated fearlessness. Hindu carvings took on fantastic forms. Gods often had numerous hands and heads which was an attempt to show different positions that a god might take, not that he actually possessed these additional members.

In South India, somewhat later, bronzes were wrought. During the medieval period, from A.D. 1000 to about A.D. 1800, some influences came in from the west. Indigenous work, however, is still being carried on by certain families whose origin is obscured by the past. A new temple being erected in Agra is being done by a family group. Their skill is superb. Friezes representing plants and shrubs with their flowers and fruit, are as accurate and as artistic as anything one can expect to see.

Indian Music

In order to appreciate Indian music, Dr. Malcolm Pitt feels that one must first understand its composition. Later, appreciation develops. Modern Indian music, heard over the radio and in the cinema, is popular music and not the genuine type which is heard under the patronage of Indian royality. True Indian musicians do not put on concerts; they play their music in the courts.

The two mediums of musical expression employed are melody and rhythm. Indian music has no provision for harmony as has Western music. The scale in both Indian and Western music is made up of seven notes (sa, re, ga, ma, ta, dha and ni). In addition there are five sharps, each of which may be further sharped to a double sharp or flatted. These notes are not, therefore, quarter notes for their intervals vary and they follow the natural law of physics, based on exact number of vibrations. With the introduction of these ten additional notes, Indian music has 22 notes in its scale. Western music has set major and minor scales while the Indian arrangement is any combination of 72 different outlines or *rāgs*. There are six main *rāgs* but variations occur in them all. This is attained by following a mold or *thāth* which skips certain notes in the ascending or the descending scale or both. The Bhopāli *Rāg*, for example, has five notes in the ascending and the descending scale with "mā" and "ni" omitted. The Sarang *Rāg* always has "gā" and "dhā" omitted. The *rāg*, then, is a melody mold providing the notes from which the tune is based. A strong characteristic of Indian music is that these prescribed notes are strictly adhered to with never any change to another *rāg*, but the melody is never the same. A premium is laid upon a musician's ability to improvise between the set notes and so the artist never plays the same melody twice. The 72 *thāth* or mold notes are memorized but there is no such thing as memorization of a melody. Thus the Indian musician is not only a performer upon his instrument but is a composer as well.

The second element in Indian music, besides melody, is rhythm. It is said to be a more natural one than the common Western 3-4 or 4-4 time. Rhythm is taken from one's own body and is based on the more rapid heart-beat, a slower series of footsteps and finally, upon breath intervals. In Indian music it is not uncommon to find all three tempos being used at once, thus causing a rhythm which is much more flexible than that of Western music. Rhythm is introduced by means of drums, hand clapping, castanets and the like. One of the commonest arrangements is of Indian 4-4 time as follows:

dhā dhā din nā	(emphasize dhā; clap on 1st 3)
dhā dhā din nā	(same as above)
tā tā tin nā	(empty beats—no claps)
dhā dhā din nā	(same as first line)

Another common time is the 6-8 count:

dhā din nā, tā tin nā (emphasize dha; tā is empty)

Two drums are commonly employed to produce the tempo. They furnish the beat[1] (tāl) and add an element not found in Western music called the "drone sound." The drone and sometimes the 5th interval, continues throughout the entire selection and may be carried by the drums or, when

[1] Sherring, Victor, Class Lectures, 1948.

instruments are used, one or more strings which vibrate continuously. When unused to the drone sound, this element is usually distracting because one is unfamiliar with Indian music and is too conscious of it. After a time, the drone becomes less noticeable as one concentrates more upon the improvision which is taking place.

Drums are usually classified as male and female drums. The female voice of the right hand drum is tuned to the first or main note of the selection to be rendered. The drum is hit on the rim to produce a clicking sound. The drum is composed of parchment and a center, black in color, of wax, glue and ground mental. This gives the high voice required. The male drum, played by the left hand, is struck with the fingers and palm of the hand which contact the center, making the heavier sound. Rhythms often are as follows:

/ . . . / . . . / . . . / . . .

or

/ . . / . . / . . / . .

In all, a good musician may exhibit some 32 combinations of drum beats.

Another feature of Indian music is that emotions are assigned to each *rāg* and one must know how each tastes (*rāsā*) in order to be an expert musician. These rags are related to nature, which means that only certain ones may be played at specific times of day, or year or occasion. Dawn songs are often devotional and forenoon songs are expressions of faith. The most stirring songs are those played from midnight to early morning. Should a *rāg* be played at the wrong time it would be contrary to nature. Should a forenoon song be played at midnight, this would be equal to a contest between the sun and moon. However, if the musician is truly great, he will be able to produce the effect of midnight at noon through the medium of his music.

Rāgs are also used at specific times. The "*Dipāk Rāg*" signifies fire or something dangerous. Snake charmers use a certain ragini (female *rāg*), to "charm" snakes. The "Bhairava *Rāg*" is good for the liver because its vibrations are related to the vibrations of the liver; thus music has a theraputic value. Other rags are directed toward animals, time, plant life, stars and other objects. Some *rāgs* are complete in fifteen or twenty minutes. Other *rāgs* may last for the space of three hours.

A common music instrument is the *sitār* or gourd with seven strings. The *dil ruba* has as many as 22 strings but only one string is played. The remaining strings are tuned to the first one and all produce synthetic vibrations as the song is being played. Both are operated something like a cello.

The mythical origin of music is accredited to Brahma. A legend says that there once lived in the Caucasus mountains a strange bird called the "*Dipāk-lāta.*" Its beak had seven openings which produced the first original notes of the basic *rāgs*. The *Dipāk-lāta* lived for a thousand years and when it was dying, it fell into a state of ecstasy. It gathered a pile of combustibles

from its surroundings and danced about them. Suddenly the bird hit upon the seven notes of the *Dipāk Rāg* and everything went up in fire. The bird committed *sati* by plunging into the fire. After a time, an egg was created out of the ashes and a new bird was born. This also lived a thousand years. Then a third bird appeared. Thus, the legend says, music originated.

Modern Indian music, such as the selections used to accompany Indian moving pictures, is often as much as three-fourths Western music. The influence of Western music, including harmony, has been very great in recent years, so much so that one rarely hears the true music of India. Another difficulty in understanding the genuine music of India is that it is written in a notation form which only a few thousand people understand. One hopes that the ancient music of India will not disappear for it is based upon an ingenious system of true laws of the physics of sound. Those advocating emphasis on modern music in India are many. It was of interest to note that during 1948 there was much discussion as to a national anthem for India, one which could be so arranged that military bands could play it in Western harmony.

Groups of so-called "musicians" who travel about with a conglomeration of instruments and strike up the "noise" on feast days and at weddings, render almost no music and little more than rhythm. Sometimes at funerals, *Pack Up Your Troubles* and *Yankee Doodle* have been used. At weddings *John Brown's Body, Oh How I Like to Get Up in the Morning*, and *Marching Through Georgia* were heard. Finally, wedding selections included *Auld Lang Syne, Bicycle Built for Two, Dixie* and *There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight*. These noisy occasions seem to indicate that there is a desire on the part of some people for this medium of expression, though one would hesitate to call it music.

Dramatics

Indian dancing is entirely composed of solo or folk dances. Solo dancing is often accompanied with attendants and always with string instruments or drums. Position of hands is of supreme importance and the movements represent attitudes, often of humans attracting attention of the gods. Movements across the stage are slow and deliberate. Most of the background and scenery is left to the imagination of the audience.

Group dancing varies in all parts of India. In Malabar, a travelling group of dancers called *Kathakali*, dance at the birth celebration of a child. The story is told through music and actions; there are no words. The actors, who are always men, wear rice paste masks. Gods and good people are represented by blue faces; people who were good, by large noses; those who were bad, by brownish-red masks; those who were neither good or bad, by white faces. Dances are also used to affect cures and to appease the gods.

The Peacock Dance seen in Gujarat occurs after the crops are harvested. The dancers wear peacock feathers and colorful costumes. The men form an inside circle and move in opposite directions. Music comes from gourds

covered with a lizard skin, drums and wooden clappers. The dancing lasts until the audience throws in money.

The Hanuman Dance is enacted by six men with drums who continue for four or five hours.

The Mohurrum Dance is often done by 12 Muslims dressed in white, wearing red turbans. It is a monotonous dance of about fifteen minutes duration and resembles a Big Apple.

The Lota Dance is seen in Gujarat. It is performed by women with water pots on their heads. The length of the dance is about ten minutes during which time the performers hop and skip in rhythm. The time is kept by clapping of hands and the singing of unison songs.

The Stick Dance is being revived in Bengal at Ushagram. The participants hold a short stick in each hand and to the accompaniment of drums, and with increasing rhythm, move around in opposite directions, hitting first their own sticks and then those of a person opposite.

The Muriya Dance is probably a very old type of dance and the performers belong to this Austroasiatic group of people living in Bastar State, Central Provinces. The men and women gather in an open square of the village. Twenty or thirty women lock arms and form a semicircle. The first woman holds a cane topped with a cluster of metal bells. With the cane she sets a slow, even tempo while all take short sidesteps and move around in a circle. The unison foot movement of the women is very effective.

Inside the circle move six or eight men carrying huge drums. Each wears an elaborate head-dress consisting of bison horns and numerous strings of *cauri* shells which practically hide the face. The beat of the drums is the most outstanding feature. They start with slow, deliberate tempo. Then the time is gradually accelerated and at the right moment, the time is doubled, thus attaining a wild, rapid tatoo. The sound is most stimulating to those who dance and for those who look on. After the climax, one or two drums continue a slow beat, then others join in and the performance is repeated. This will continue for an hour or more. The dancers in the center constantly wag their heads back and forth and at critical moments, will lunge at dancers or onlookers as though they were bison attempting to impinge someone on their horns.

The Angami Naga Dance takes place in every village along the last of February. Often parties from one village go visiting to another village and after their performance, are well fed. These Naga dances of Assam last about five days at a time when there is little work in the fields. The dress of the dancers is a very elaborate costume, decorated with black and white hornbill feathers, red paint. The dancers gather in the center of the village forming one or two circles. All sing together and shuffle forward. The music is in a minor cord and is augmented from three sources: the women furnish high shrieks; the boys add the intermediate notes; the men give the low, heavy notes. This

dance is very strenuous. It is preceded by five minutes of warwhoops, then the dance begins. Every so often the dancers drop out for a swig of rice beer. They re-enter the dance, jump into the air, knock their heels together, dance until the next drink and so continue all night until they are knocked out and fall to the ground insensible. Sometimes these dances continue in different villages for a month. The Naga dances are unique and colorful and the men who perform have perhaps the finest physiques of any people in India.

Modern Indian Dancing is of the classical type. There are a number of excellent performers on the Indian stage today. Perhaps the best and the widest known are Uday Shankar and Ram Gopal. They have traveled around the world and their audiences have been captivated by their performances.

Literature

The opening up of intellectual India to the West has been of recent origin. It has been through the medium of the translation into English of books of ancient Indian literature. Very little has been recorded about ancient Aryan India. For what we have we must depend upon the oldest known writings as found in the Vedas.

Vedas. (2000-1000 B.C.)[1] The Vedas were four books written in the Sanskrit language said to have been sent down from the god Brahma and communicated to holy men called *rishis.* Among the Aryans who invaded India and slowly pushed their way over northern India and along the Ganges, were certain families skilled in the framing of hymns to be sung at various rites. From these hymns has been compiled the best known Veda consisting of 1028 lyrics, called the Rig-Veda. The songs are addressed to the forces of nature and various gods and goddesses, the most commonly mentioned of whom are *Agni* the Fire-god, *Surya* the Sun-god, and *Indra* a Hindu Thor. The other three Vedas were written later and in these, the above three deities form a triad like that seen in Hinduism today in Brahma the Creator, Siva the Destroyer and Vishnu the Preserver.

The Brahmanas. (About 1000-800 B.C.) The Brahmanas are handbooks of elaborate ritual, written for the priesthood. Much of the material deals with rules and regulations to be observed at times of sacrifice. The origin of sacrifice is explained. Brahmans officiated at these rites and they soon became to be regarded as a medium of communication between men and gods.

The Upanishads. (About 800-600 B.C.) This group of writings illustrates philosophic speculation at its height. Men began to ask, "What am I?," "Whence have I come?," and pondered upon the questions of life and death. A number of separate schools of philosophy arose. In theory, salvation lay in a complete absorption in Brahma. Practically philosophical knowledge was

[1] Hume, R., *The World's Living Religions*, pp. 21-30. There is a great deal of disagreement on the dates when Hindu literature was compiled. These suggested by Hume are only approximate.

added to by the method of Yogas which induced trances at seances thus promoting a breathless contemplation upon the absolute Brahma.

The Laws of Manu. (About 250 B.C.?) If one asks Hindus today why certain things in their society are so, the probability is that they will quote as their authority *The Laws of Manu*, which is the highest authority among several codes in Hindu law. It may have been edited by a number of writers or possibly by one individual called "Manu." It is a code drawn up for the whole Hindu community and especially for Brahmans. Through the influence of Manu, caste laws became crystalized. These regulations are readily observed in Hindu society today.

The *Laws of Manu* also form the basis of caste. From the god Brahma sprang four castes: the Brahmans, or priests from his mouth; the Kshatriyas or warriors from his shoulders; the Vaishays or farmers from his thighs and the Sudras or servants from his feet. The ideal life for a Brahman was first to be a student attendant upon a teacher, then to marry and to head a family, then to renounce life and become a hermit and finally to become a wandering *sunnyasi.* Other laws set up the *rajah* as a divine ruler; levied taxes on land, production, sales; designated a village headman to collect taxes; instituted a justice as determined by the *rajah* in which Sudras suffered heaviest and Brahmans scarcely at all, depending on one's social position. These laws also subordinated women and prohibited widow remarriage.[1]

The Bhagavad Gita. (About. 1 A.D.) The Gita, also called "The Lord's Song" or "Song of Songs" is a dramatic poem in which the chief character is Krishna. Reincarnation or transmigration is pointed out as the great goal to be desired, and the message to the caste Hindus is "Do your caste duty, and trust your God for the rest of your salvation."[2]

Sri Aurobindo Ghose, a modern Hindu divine, shows how the Gita advocates a strenuous effort on the part of man to achieve self-realization. Everything is not left to God. D. N. Sharma feels that the Gita first emphasizes the necessity of having full faith in God and then one's deeds and actions become meaningful.

The Epics. (About A.D. 250.) The *Epics* are the best known of Hindu literature. It is estimated that over half of the books sold from the bookshelves today, deal with the *Epics.* The two books are the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata.* The first is a heroic poem consecrated to the service of God in the form of Vishnu.[3] It features Ram, the ideal man and Sita his wife, the ideal woman. Smith feels that the story is largely mythical rather than historical, but many Hindus would not agree. Every year at Dussera ("Dussera" standing for "10," "head" and "defeat," or the time when Rawan, the tenheaded demon was defeated by Ram), Ram Lila is observed in which the poem is re-read and dramatized before throngs of listeners who come to the temple to hear it.

[1] Sinclair, D., *A History of India*, pp. 14-17.
[2] Hume, R., *op. cit.*, p. 30. Many disagree with Hume on his summary of the *Gita.*
[3] Smith, V., *Oxford History of India*, p. 27.

The Mahabharata tells of a war between cousins. The Pandavas were five brothers of one family and the Kauravas were about 100 brothers of another family. Krishna is said to have joined in the struggle with the Pandavas who were acknowledged to be in the right and after a mighty battle near present Kurukshetra, the Pandavas triumphed. The value of the Epic is that it describes the state of society in India at that time and is one of the few records of a period which is mostly blank on the pages of Indian history.

The Puranas. (About A.D. 200-300.) The Puranas, about 18 in number, were collected over a long period of time. They are a compilation of tales about Krishna as well as a treatment of subjects such as mythology, philosophy, history and religious law. From the *Puranas* a few authentic dates in early Aryan history may be found.

Later Literature includes several main periods. There is the Rajputana literature of 1175 to 1340 in which bardic chronicles stressed religious ideals. About A.D. 1400 the inception of Rama worship occurred. From A.D. 1500 the Moghal kings were the patrons of literature and writing developed a great deal. An outstanding poet of the 16th century was a Kanauji Brahman, Tulsi Das, 1532–1624.[1] Of the 20th century poets Rabindranath Tagore was the most versatile, while an outstanding prose writer is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Art

Historians of Indian art say that for quite a period prior to 1900, i.e. 1700–1900, there was little progress made in this field of culture. However, numerous references point to a revival of Art which has taken place in the 20th century. Where there was very little interest shown or where few artists existed, now we have school upon school. Indian Art has had a decided revival and we hope that this branch of culture will continue to flourish.

Percy Brown, in his little book *Indian Painting*, points out that the origin of art occurred in prehistoric times. Records in caves in Raigarh State in Central Porvinces and Mirzapur, United Provinces give proof to this statement.[2] He roughly divides the periods of Indian Art into the following: Early, Buddhist, Medieval, Mogul, Rajput and Modern.

The mythical origin of art is said to be that the god Brahma taught a king how to bring life back to his dead son by painting a picture of the son. When the portrait was completed, the boy came back to life, but the god of death, Yama, would not give him up. In this legend, the king is the artist and Brown points out that probably princes engaged in early painting. A reference in the *Vinaya Pithak*, a writing about 400 B.C. mentions a king having a picture hall. The *Epics* refer to mural paintings. A story of the Epic period tells of a Princess Usha who dreamed of a beautiful youth. She called a maid-of-honor named "a picture" to paint the pictures of important gods and great men of the time. When Usha saw the picture of Krishna's

[1] Durant, W., *Story of Civilization.*

[2] Brown, P., *Indian Painting*, pp. 15–16.

grandson, she knew that he was the picture in her dream, and they were married. Some think that early painting must have orginated in the courts of kings.

From earliest times, Indian painting seems to have followed six principles of art: (1) The knowledge of appearances through a study of nature, figures, landscape and architecture; (2) Correct perspective in measure and structure; (3) Effect of mind on the body; (4) Gracefulness and beauty; (5) Truth; (6) Artistic manner in using brush and color and using a sound technique.[1] An ancient book gives a number of theories on painting. One was that gods and kings should be drawn in large proportion while ordinary individuals were to be much smaller. Hair of kings and gods should be painted a "heavenly blue". Women should be young, modest and drawn in an upright position.

The Buddhist Period—from A.D. 50 to A.D. 700. This period in India seems to have drawn much from China which had similar artistic principles as did India. It is said that "wherever Buddhism prevailed, skilful religious artists were found." Buddhist priests probably illustrated their religion with pictures rather than words, possibly giving rise to the origin of temple banners around shrines covered with pictures, rather than words as they are now. There is an Indian record as early as A.D. 67 of bringing pictures from China. As the earlier period of Indian art flourished under kings, so this period flourished under priests.

Some of the earliest examples of Buddhist art are found in the frescoes of the Ajanta caves. These artists, who mainly draw people, clothe their characters in Buddhist-like contemplation. They included head-dresses and jewelry. Symbolic flowers, birds and deities were portrayed. Pictures such as that of langur monkeys show that these early people were masters of excellent style.

The Medieval Period—A.D. 700 to 1600. Brown says "with the decline of Buddhism in India in the 7th century, the art appears to have come to a complete standstill, and for nearly a thousand years, except for a few Jaina book illustrations of the 15th century, there is not a single specimen of Indian painting revealed to us."[2] Some call these the Dark Ages but it is not explained why art should have ceased while other branches of culture continued to flourish. There are numbers of blank pages in the history of India about which we have no record. However, Indian archæologists are beginning to dig up buried cities, not only those of great antiquity but also those of more recent date. It is hoped that through these excavations, we shall find examples of Indian art and culture, hitherto lost to us.

Moghal Period—1550 to 1800. Here again, art flourished under the patronage of kings. One, Binzed, along about 1492, was claimed to be the greatest of all artists. The paintings of this period were realistic and showed people and scenes from court life. These pictures were rather small and so are called "Moghal miniatures." Their outlines are called "calligraphic" (beautiful handwriting). There is delicate shading. Many of the pictures of royalty showed a golden halo. The character of individuals was often revealed

[1] Brown, p., *ibid*, p. 20. [2] *ibid*, p. 38.

through expert workmanship. Very often stencils of important personages were made and used over and over again. Most of the portraits drawn were of complete profile. Not all the Moghal work was portrait painting. Jehangir was a keen naturalist. Whenever rare birds or animals were brought in, he had a painting made. Many of his hunting scenes were recorded in order to preserve their memory in a permanent form.

Rajput Period—1550 to 1900. Along with the Moghal art there was a Hindu art which is grouped under the title of "Rajput." These pictures usually showed some aspects of Hindu life or something of the spiritual world of gods and goddesses. There were pictures of occupations, travel, bazaar scenes and everyday life. Then there are scenes from ancient writings, pictures of divinities such as Shiva, Vishnu, Rama and others. Schools of artists grew up whose methods of painting could be identified, one from the other. Such were the Jaipur and the Kangra school. All the artists in the Kangra school were killed in the earthquake of 1905.

Modern Period—1900 on. The foundations of modern art extend back many years before 1900 when the occupation of painting was continued in certain families from father to son. Up to 1900, nothing much different than old style pictures made their appearance. However, art since the turn of the century has begun to thrive. Now, forty years later, one can say that there has been a great revival in Indian art.

Many of the more attractive modern pictures in bright reds, blues and yellows depicting scenes in everyday life, come from the now well-known Calcutta School of Art. Cousins says that the school was founded in 1901 by E. B. Havell. Of Havell, Cousins continues, "he turned the attention of his students to their native sources, and so kindled the genius of one student who was destined to succeed Mr. Havell as principal, and to inspire the new school of Bengali painters—Abanindranath Tagore, nephew of the great poet."[1] In Havell's book, *Indian Painting and Sculpture*, one can see that Indian painting was definitely on the up grade. Today, the schools of art are located in cities,—Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Madras, Madura, Lucknow. One exception is the best known school, located in village atmosphere at Santiniketan. The names of Indian artists are becoming prominent. Two of the most outstanding are Abanindranath Tagore and D. P. Roychawdri of South India.

In a gallery of Indian art, many of the scenes depicted represent either mythical characters and actual individuals, or something from the world around him—life of people or their creations such as temples, palaces, images, cities. There are some pictures showing a direct influence from the West. On the whole, Indian pictures are rather small. They are often on individual subjects which a lone student may study at his leisure. Lines are flowing and colors are delicately blended. A cumulative folder of Indian Art is a helpful way of collecting authentic illustrations on this subject.

[1] Cousins, J. H., *The Renaissance of India*, p. 61.

CAPTER IX

Indian Leaders

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941)

Undoubtedly, the Tagore family is the most famous in Bengal if not in India. Rabindranath's grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore, lived at the time of Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj sect of Hinduism. After Roy's death, Tagore carried on the sect. He visited England and was well received. During his lifetime the Tagore family ran heavily in debt, but the son, Maharshi, Rabindranath's father, paid back all that was owed. Rabindranath was the youngest of 14 children, born May 6th, in Calcutta in 1861. When only a few years old, his mother died and he was brought up by the servants. He never wore shoes or stockings until he was ten. He was sent to school but he couldn't fit in, so his father arranged for his education at home through tutors. He was a frail boy and kept much within the walls of their large Calcutta home. From earliest years, his brothers and sisters encouraged him to write. Much time was spent observing people in Calcutta streets and writing about them. His father at times took him out of Calcutta to Bolpur, and later to Amritsar and to the Himalayas. Very early he began to write of the out-of-doors.

Rabindranath's brothers were well known as a philosopher, an artist and a civil servant. His nephew, Abanindranath, is one of Bengal's foremost artists. By 1880, Rabindranath was an original poet. At the age of 23 he married and for 17 years he looked after his father's estate at Shailada. Here he wrote a number of good plays. He had tried law in England but did not like that. Later he tried politics but wasn't enthusiastic about that either. Following an urge to improve society, he founded in the village of Bolpur in 1901, Santiniketan—"The Abode of peace." He started with half a dozen students; today his school is known throughout the world. Twenty years later, he separated his school and his projects in social uplift and founded Sriniketan, one of the cleanest villages in India.

Tagore was very active in politics during the proposed Bengal Partition of 1905. Later he resigned from politics and retired to meditate and to improve education. His attempt to reorganize the Adi Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta was not a success. In 1913 he went to England where he found himself famous as a man of literature and was awarded the Nobel Prize. The next year he was given a knighthood and lectured in the United States and in Japan. Five years later, during political disturbances, Tagore resigned his knighthood. He did much writing and travelling. From 1937 to 1941, Tagore had poor health. Just before an operation in July, he dictated a poem on *Death*. This was his last work. Tagore has been called a writer, painter,

song writer, musician, philosopher, educator, lecturer, journalist and orator. Among his many works these are some of the most famous: 1912, *The Gitanjali*; 1917, the play *Sacrifice*; 1917, *Cycle of Spring*; 1924, *Gora*; 1931, *Religion of Man* (2,000 songs).

Tagore did all his writing for the first fifty years in Bengali. From then on, much of his work was in English. He loved the people among whom he lived and in giving his life for others, he found it.

One of the most quoted works of Tagore is the *Gitanjali.* In the following lines, Tagore preaches the gospel of labor:

> "Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee!
>
> He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil! . . ."

More often Tagore identifies himself with the universe in various moods. This is one of joy:

> "The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures.
>
> It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers.
>
> It is the same life that is rocked in the ocean-cradle of birth and of death, in ebb and in flow.
>
> I feel my limbs are made glorious by the touch of this world of life. And my pride is from the life-throb of ages dancing in my blood this moment."[1]

From a poem of three paragraphs called "Vocation" the first paragraph reads:

> "When the gong sounds ten in the morning and I walk to school by our lane,
>
> Every day I meet the hawker crying, "Bangles, crystal bangles!"
>
> There is nothing to hurry him on, there is no road he must take, no place he must go to, no time when he must come home.
>
> I wish I were a hawker, spending my day in the road crying, "Bangles, crystal bangles!"[2]

Short portions which have a great deal crowded into a sentence or two are gathered together in *Stray Birds*:

[1] Tagore, R., *The Gitanjali*, sections 11 in part and 69.

[2] *idem*, R., *The Crescent Moon*, "Vocations."

"It is the tears of the earth that keep her smiles in bloom."
"I cannot choose the best. The best chooses me."
"These little thoughts are the rustle of leaves; they have their whisper of joy in my mind."
"Man is a born child, his power is in the power of growth."
"God expects answers for the flowers he sends us, not for the sun and the earth."
"The bird wishes it were a cloud. The cloud wishes it were a bird."
"The trees, like the longings of the earth, stand a-tiptoe to peep at the heaven."
"You smiled and talked to me of nothing and I felt that for this I had been waiting long."
"Man does not reveal himself in his history, he struggles up through it."
"We come nearest to the great when we are great in humility."
"Life is given to us, we earn it by giving it."
"God says to man, I heal you, therefore I hurt, love you, therefore punish."
"Chastity is a wealth that comes from abundance of love."
"The mist, like love, plays upon the heart of the hills and brings out surprises of beauty."
"Let life be beautiful like summer flowers and death like autumn leaves."
"How far are you from me, O Fruit?" "I am hidden in your heart, O Flower."
"The noise of the moment scoffs at the music of the Eternal."
"The hills are like shouts of children who raise their arms, trying to catch stars."
"The roots below the earth claim no rewards for making the branches fruitful."
"Let me think that there is one among those stars that guides my life through the dark unknown."
"They hated and killed and men praised them. But God in shame hastens to hide its memory under the green grass."
"Night's darkness is a bag that bursts with the gold of the dawn."
"Those who have everything but thee, my God, laugh at those who have nothing but thyself."
"The stream of truth flows through its channels of mistakes."[1]

M. K. Gandhi (1869–1948)

This outstanding Indian leader was born in a family representing a *baniya* group of the Kshatriya caste. For three generations, his ancestors had been prime ministers in several Kathiawar States and his father, for some time, was prime minister of Rajkot State. The father was married four times and

[1] Macmillan & Co., *Collected Poems and Plays of Rabindranath Tagore*, pp. 287–318.

Gandhiji was the youngest child of the 4th wife. The father had had very little formal schooling, was not very much interested in religion nor was he very rich. Gandhiji's mother, on the other hand, was a very devout Hindu and often fasted. The son was born October 2, 1869 at Porbandar, near Ahmedabad. Here he went to school where he claimed that he was nothing more than a mediocre student. At twelve, he started to high school. During these years he was very shy and avoided the company of other children. "Books and lessons were my sole companions," he said.[1]

In order to save on expenses, the family decided to have the three sons married at the same time. Gandhiji was only 12 and his wife was the same age. The marriage occurred and he was at once thrust into adulthood. As a result he lost a year at school. When he returned, he again took to his books. He got himself excused from sports for he said, "I disliked school sports, and had never taken part in any exercise."[2]

When starting the English language, Gandhiji felt completely at sea. However, he liked Sanskrit and other Indian languages. At one time, Gandhi stated, "It is now my opinion that in all Indian curricula of higher education there should be a place for Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English, besides, of course, the vernacular. . . . I am sure learning all these languages would not be an irksome task but a perfect pleasure."[3]

Later on a friend tempted him to eat meat after which he was very much ashamed. He has been a vegetarian ever since. About this time, Gandhiji's father became ill. Competent doctors pointed out that a minor operation would be required. The father refused and grew weaker until he died. Not long afterward, when discussing the future, a friend suggested that Gandhiji go to England for study in law. This was arranged and he went to Bombay. He was persuaded to wait until after the monsoon, during which time, a relative tried to dissuade him from breaking caste by going to Europe. Under difficulties, Gandhiji stuck to his resolve and on September 4, 1887 he sailed for England. He had a white flannel suit made and upon landing, was greatly chagrinned to find that he was the only one in white. Being a vegetarian, it was some time before he had a square meal. Added to this, he was homesick. A friend, Dr. Mehta, met him and pointed out that while in England, one should learn to understand English life and customs. Gandhiji bought an expensive top hat, signed up for courses in French, elocution and dancing. He found that he had made a mistake in using this method to learn English culture and gave it up. He moved to an inexpensive place where he got his own meals. Later a girl paid attention to him but he finally pointed out that he was already married. From time to time he came in contact with Christians who discussed religion with him. He did not care for the Old Testament but the Sermon on the Mount whetted his appetite for religious

[1] Andrews, C. F., *Mahatma Gandhi : His Own Story*, p. 22.
[2] *ibid*, p. 29.
[3] *ibid*, p. 33.

reading. Meanwhile, he kept up with his studies in law and when he passed his final examinations, returned to India.

Gandhiji felt that his wife should now learn to read and write and become more modern. He was not very successful in reforming her. Then he came to grief in Bombay over a "Sahib incident."[1] He didn't seem able to get any start in Bombay in the practice of law. Finally a firm wrote asking for a lawyer to go to South Africa for a year at a salary of 105 pounds. He accepted the offer and went. The first thing Gandhiji ran into was color prejudice. He refused to take off his turban in court. Indians were called "coolies" or "Sammy" and he became a "coolie lawyer." When wishing to go to Pretoria he found that though he could buy a first class ticket under difficulty, he would have to ride in a third class carriage. This he refused to do. "Should I fight for my rights," he thought, "or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case. It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was only superficial. It was only a symptom of the deep disease of color prejudice. I would try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardship in the process."[2] As a result, Gandhiji stayed in Pretoria a year which "was a most valuable experience. . . . Here it was that I had opportunities of learning public work and acquired some measure of my capacity for it. Here it was that the religious spirit within me became a living force and here too I acquired a true knowlegde of legal practice. . . ."[3] During this time both Muslim and Christian friends tried to convert him. Speaking of this he said, "Though I took a path my Christian friends had not intended for me, I have remained forever indebted to them for the religious quest that they awakened in me."[4]

In 1896, Gandhiji returned to India during which time he wrote a pamphlet on the conditions of Indians in Natal and criticized the three-pound head tax on indentured labor, designed to keep more Indians from coming to South Africa. When he returned to Natal the next year on the *Courland*, with his family, officials had decided not to let him land. The boat was kept in quarantine for 23 days. Finally when he came ashore, he was escorted by the police. A mob formed and after being slapped and kicked and nearly fainting, Gandhiji wondered whether he would live to tell the tale. A mob surrounded his client's house and were for burning it down. Only with difficulty did the authorities disguise the party which made their escape. Gandhiji, however, stayed on in South Africa. During the Boer War he worked as a recruiting officer for a group of Indian ambulance workers. Among them, 37 were later decorated by the government.

During the Zulu rebellion, the word *satyagraha* (truth plus firmness) was first coined and practised. In opposing the three-pound poll tax on Indians, many Indian women courted arrest. They and Gandhiji and some Europeans

[1] Andrews, C.F., *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*, p. 90.
[2] *ibid*, p. 98.
[3] *ibid*, p. 114.
[4] *ibid*, p. 126.

were jailed for a short time. Finally after 17 years of service, Gandhiji and his family sailed for England, just as the war began. In December of 1914, ill health caused him to return to India; it was too cold in England. It was then that Gandhiji considered joining the *Servants of India Society*. Gokhale, the organizer and founder, urged him to do so but the members were not in agreement. He finally withdrew his name, retaining the members of the Society as his friends. In 1915 the idea of an *ashram* became a reality. During the next two years he championed the cause of abolishing the indenture labor system. When Lord Chelmsford refused to consider it, Gandhiji traveled from Calcutta to Karachi, stirring up public opinion in favor of his resolution. At a War Conference in 1918, Gandhiji attended and for the first time at such a meeting, spoke in Hindustani.

Over the Rowlett Act in 1919, Gandhi conceived the idea of *hartal* which he instituted in Delhi, Bombay and Amritsar. Casualties resulted. Gandhi did not understand the potency of a mob for when police authorities tried to point out that when a mob goes mad no one can control it, Gandhiji simply replied, "The people are not by nature violent, but peaceful," and left it at that.[1] From now on, the life of Gandhiji became more or less an open book. Andrews ceases his narrative, but from other sources we can trace the chief events of the next years:

From 1920, Gandhiji became the leading figure in the Congress Party, which aimed first at Dominion Status and by 1927-29 at complete political independence from Great Britain. In 1931, Gandhiji attended the second of three Round Table Conferences held in England and upon his return, instituted civil disobedience. He was jailed along with many of the Congress members. In 1934, Gandhiji retired from politics in order to take up social reform. In this field Gandhiji made a great contribution. He worked with sweepers, adopted a "harijan" girl as his own daughter, and later permitted his son to marry a Brahman girl.

1935 is noted for the inception of the India Act. Shortly after that, at the provincial elections, occurred the formation of Congress Ministries. For a year or two the future leaders of India began to have their first real experience in shaping the government. It was about this time that Gandhiji tried to secure more rights for the common people in the Indian States. He started in Rajkot and met with a degree of success. Then came the great war and when India was declared to be a belligerent, and the seven provincial Congress ministries resigned, for they felt that India had not been consulted on this point. At the Ramgarh Congress in 1940, there was only one resolution: "The Congress considers the declaration of the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this war, as an affront to them, which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. . . . Congress-

[1] Andrews, C.F., *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*, p. 307.

men and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material."[1] As a result, a new type of civil disobedience began. This time, only tried and tested Congress members, selected by Congress officials, were to offer themselves for arrest. This was carried out over the whole country in an orderly manner.

At the same time, a radical branch of Congress was beginning to make its presence felt, under the leadership of Subhas Bose from Bengal. This culminated in the election of Bose as the President of Congress. Gandhiji took immediate action, came back into politics, and ousted Subhas Bose. This was rather a serious rupture in the Congress party. Meanwhile, acts of violence throughout the country, and especially in Bengal and Bihar, began to be reported. Even the leaders with level judgment became more outspoken until it looked to the ordinary observer that the government was being threatened. On August 9, 1942, Congress leaders were arrested. There followed many unfortunate incidents which continued into the winter months. During the next year or so, Congress leaders were withdrawn from political life. The Muslims increasingly asked for "Pakistan" and political progress came to a standstill. Gandhiji successfully carried out a fast for several weeks in February 1943, for he felt that blame for acts of violence during this period should not rest upon Congress.

During this stage of the war, when Japan moved from one success to another, the British felt it most necessary to keep close check on Congress activities which might jeopardize the chances for an Allied victory. Consequently, Indian political leaders remained in jail for many months. In February 1944, Kasturabai, Gandhiji's loyal wife, died. Her passing had a noticeable effect upon Gandhiji who was released from confinement at Birla House in Poona, in May of that year. He now became the chief spokesman for the Congress Party. Jinnah and the Muslim League advocated the idea of Pakistan with increasing vigor. There followed a series of deadlocks between Gandhiji and Jinnah over the question of partition. When Britain offered India complete independence, the difference between Hindu and Muslim leaders was finally resolved. Early in 1947, Congress accepted the principle of division. The Hindu Mahasabha, a group of conservatives who advocated Hindu rule for India, felt betrayed. They openly sought to do away with Congress leaders. In spite of real danger, Gandhiji and his colleagues continued their program. When a war between Muslims and Hindus threatened to overwhelm the city of Calcutta, Gandhiji fearlessly journeyed to Bengal and, overnight, brought peace and calm to the people. When a similar situation developed in Delhi, Gandhiji welded all communities together. On the evening of January 30, 1948, while on his way to prayers, Godse, a young Hindu Mahasabhaite, shot Gandhiji dead. Thus passed a man whom many call "The Father of His Country."

[1] *Indian Year Book, 1941–42*, p. 886.

Begum Hamid Ali (1883–)

Shareefah Tyabji was born in Somerset House, Bombay, on December 12, 1883. She was the daughter of Abbas and Amina Tyabji, a well-known Muslim family of Bombay and Baroda. Abbas Tyabji was a judge in the High Court. Amina Tyabji was the founder of a Muslim Girls' School in 1894. Shareefah's early life was spent in Baroda city where she attended a small Railway School up through the sixth grade. From then on her education was in the hands of tutors with whom she studied Urdu, Persian, Gujarati, English and all subjects usually taught in high school. In addition she learned Indian and European music, including the veena and piano, drawing and painting and first aid and nursing.

At the age of about sixteen, a vacancy occurred in the Railway School where she had studied. Shareefah was prevailed upon to accept the post and was encouraged to do so by both her father and mother, though professional teaching at that time was regarded by most Indians and especially Muslims as unbefitting the better class Muslim girls, most of whom were kept in *purdah*. This was indicative of the independent spirit fostered by the Tyabji family and encouraged in their children.

In 1907 Shareefah attended her first Congress meeting and became greatly interested in social reforms and in the Harijan uplift movement. In 1908 Shareefah married her cousin, Hamid Ali. He was a graduate of St. Xavier's College, Bombay and of Cambridge University. During his four years at Cambridge, Hamid Ali had the distinction of having received record marks in German and French among all who had passed the I.C.S. examination up to that time. In 1903, while in London, he worked for the competitive Indian Civil Service examination and was successful. His first appointment, the following year, was in Sind, then a part of Bombay Presidency. Hamid Ali was in Sind from 1904 to 1914. 1908 was the year of his marriage. In 1915 he was appointed Assistant Collector in Bombay and then District Commissioner in Sind from 1918 to 1927. As District Commissioner he lived from 1929 to 1932 at Alibagh, Kolaba District, Bombay Presidency and then at Satara until 1937 when he retired. The Hamid Alis then came to Southwood, their Mussoorie home, where they spent many summers. During the winter months, extensive travelling was done throughout India. One can scarcely think of Begum Hamid Ali apart from her husband. Hamid Ali's younger brother is Salim Ali the noted Indian ornithologist.

Though she spoke readily of the accomplishments of her brilliant husband, the Begum Sahiba was somewhat reluctant to tell much of her outstanding contribution to social welfare and the raising of the status of women. The Begum Sahiba started nursing centers in each of the districts where they were stationed. At Larkana the Mrs. Hamid Ali Maternity Home has now become a hospital. She organized classes for village men and women and instructed them in cottage industries, sanitation, better housing, better methods of

agriculture, the recording of their rights as land owners and the consolidation of small land holdings.

In 1926 she was a founding member of the All-India Women's Conference and has been an office-bearer ever since. The next year she founded branches of the A.I.W.C. in Bombay Presidency and several of the larger cities and in 1940 was honored by being asked to be the presiding officer.

Begum Hamid Ali was one of the three Indian representatives to the Round Table Conference in London in 1933 and gave evidence on the status of women in the New Constitution. The next year she was a representative to the World Conference of Women held in Istanbul. In 1937 she again represented India at the Women's Conference in Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia. In 1933 and in 1937 the Begum Sahiba was in Geneva where she and her colleagues secured the acceptance of their point that no non-Indian woman might represent India. She backed the 1939 Delhi resolution calling for a revision of the marriage laws in India and has worked a number of years for equal rights for women. In 1947 and 1948 she was a delegate representing India on the Status of Women's Commissions of the United Nations at Lake Success in the United States.

In Mussoorie, the Begum Sahiba has also been active. She organized the Mussoorie Art Circle in 1939 of which she is President. Monthly meetings include lectures, discussions and exhibitions on all phases of fine arts. She helped to organize the Mazdoor Seva Sangh in Mussoorie. This group has worked for the uplift of dandy and rickshaw coolies of the city by holding reading classes, making available a dispensary and in improving their living quarters and their rates of pay. The Mussoorie Gardening Association has been one of her chief interests. Flower, fruit and vegetable shows are held several times a year. The government of United Provinces has recognized the group and has given it support. Prohibition of the use of liquor is another interest.

Hamid and Begum Hamid Ali are a perfect host and hostess. They entertain Indians of all communities and Europeans with the utmost ease. Their home contains many valuable books on a wide variety of subjects. Their garden is a show place. The Begum Sahiba is notably successful with roses and vegetables. Truly the Begum Sahiba can be considered one of the outstanding and progressive women of India.

Bhim Rao Ambedkar (1890?-)

The Ambedkar family were Mahar untouchables from the Ratnagiri District, Bombay Presidency. The father had a government job, working as a messenger to villages at the salary of Rs. 30 a month. Bhim Rao was born after several other children. His mother died in this childbirth and so Bhim Rao was brought up by a crippled aunt, who spoiled him. At about four, he made a train trip to visit his father in the district. The cartmen would not permit him or his father to sit in the cart as they were outcastes. Neither would Brahmans give them water or food.

Bhim Rao attended a village primary school but had to sit on the gunny sacks outside the school and here learned to read and write. The family moved to Satara where he went to middle school and finished part of high school. Discrimination against him here was not so severe. Then the family moved to Bombay where he began work as a government servant. While in high school age, he married a village girl. After attending Elphinstone High School, he went on to Elphinstone College, being the first untouchable to go there. The father tried to get Bhim Rao to give up his college work as people were threatening his life for they said, "Outcastes are getting out of hand." However, he loved college, and he was so outstanding that the Gaekwar of Baroda aided him with a substantial scholarship. He had acquired some debts, so paid part of his scholarship for his debt and lived more cheaply. He then went abroad to study economics, backed financially by the Gaekwar.

Ambedkar went to U.S.A. where he studied at Columbia University in New York City. He had no money for clothing nor society so spent much of his time in the library at Columbia. John Dewey was his favorite professor. In time he earned his Ph.D. degree at Columbia and wrote a text: *The Problem of the Rupee.* After this he went to London where he studied law. Later he toured Europe and then, in the '20's, he came back to Bombay and Baroda.

At Baroda there was no house for an outcaste of his educational standing, in which to live. The caste people were against him so he went to live in a Parsi hostel and took a Parsi name. Finally a crowd drove him out of this hostel, and almost broken-hearted, he went back to Bombay. He wanted to practice law, but the caste men, who made up the lawyers' association, would not let him in. His main job seemed to be pleading cases for outcastes. This took most of his time and he became very interested in his own people. He organized the sweepers and tried to win for them better housing, better wages and a real degree of self-respect. He organized a political party which he called "Independent Labor Party." In time he became the Principal of the Law College in Bombay, a position which an outcaste had never before occupied. He worked hard; he omitted all social functions. His books were his friends. Everywhere he went, he was continually reminded that he was an outcaste. When Europeans came to India on commissions, however, they usually selected Ambedkar to represent the outcastes.

Twice Ambedkar attended the Round Table Conference in London. Congress had boycotted the first one. At the second, Gandhiji claimed to represent *all Hindus*; Ambedkar said that he did not. This was their first clash. Upon their return, outcastes paraded against Gandhiji. The Congress organized the Harijan Seva Sang but Ambedkar refused to join it.

At the 1935 Yeola Independent Labor Meeting, Dr. Ambedkar said, "We were born untouchables; we will not die untouchables." By this many thought that he meant a change of religion was to be made. The Sikhs came to Bombay and set up a college for untouchables. The Muslims and the Christians came too. However he made no step to join another religion. He

was now often addressed as "Doctor Sahib" or "Baba Sahib". In July 1942, he named a member of the Viceroy's War Council and later, on the Executive Council."[1]

Ambedkar was the outstanding leader at the great conference for Mahar and other outcaste groups in Bombay in 1945. He was accorded a great welcome at Bombay Central station when he arrived from New Delhi. The emblem of Buddha hung over the main platform and Ambedkar pointed out that although few were Buddhists in India today, many of the ideas of Buddha were still present and were worthy to be followed. In 1948, he married a Parsi doctor from Bombay. The following year he became a Buddhist.

The responsibilities of Ambedkar at New Delhi grew increasingly heavy. When Independence came, he was asked to work on the new constitution. As Law Member of the Governor-General's cabinet, Ambedkar had the major responsibility of writing, re-writing and of piloting the new constitution through the Constituent Assembly. The Indian Constitution is his greatest gift to his country.

Ambedkar's interests have been his love for books, his wide reading and his plans for new types of Governments. He has an excellent library and invests all he can in books. He studied the Philippine scheme of government very closely. On the whole, Ambedkar's life is largely free from bitterness even when others still remind him that he was an outcaste. He loves beauty and good pictures and animals, especially his pet dogs. He has a fondness for beautiful flowers. He frames bits of poetry which especially appeal to him. Ambedkar has lived a lonely life for his first wife died early. He has been a pioneer, blazing his way to positions of high authority where outcastes had never been before. The debt of gratitude owed to him by his own people is enormous.

Mahomed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948)

Mahomed Ali Jinnah was born on Christmas Day into a Muslim Khoja family at Karachi. He was the first son in the family whose father was a wealthy merchant. The father, however, chose law for his son rather than business. Until 1892, he went to school in Karachi. In 1892 he was sent to England where he had his first contact with the Indian Nationalist Movement. He spent four years in England and upon his return, was admitted to the bar.

Jinnah went to Bombay to practice and during those first years, 1897–1900, he had some difficulty in getting a start in law. After meeting Mr. Macpherson, who was a great help to him, he became more and more successful. Jinnah was a brilliant orator with an ambition to become a Muslim Gokhale. In 1906 he made his first speech at the National Congress. Four years later he was elected to the Supreme Legislative Council, and since then, has taken a very active part in politics. He was instrumental in bringing the Muslim League and Congress together, from 1915, and during the years from 1921 to

[1] A Lecture by Mildred G. Drescher.

1926, both organizations met in joint sessions. However, an attempt to draw up a constitution for Congress and the Muslim League ended in a permanent rupture. The Round Table Conferences led to a series of misunderstandings, the divisive elements being centered around The Nehru Report of Congress and The Fourteen Points of Jinnah.[1]

In 1924, Jinnah was elected President of the Muslim League and from then on he was annually chosen to head that organization. The idea of Pakistan may have grown out of the Fourteen points although the word was not coined until 1940 and that aim was not an overwhelming one until after 1944. When partition occurred, Jinnah became Governor-General of Pakistan. He was given the title of "Qaid-e-Azam" which means "Great Leader."

Jinnah's moral standards, especially in regard to honesty, were very high. During his last year in office he removed the head of the Sind government because of corruption. He was able to obtain a following which included more than 95 per cent in the Muslim League. After little more than a year as the head of Pakistan Jinnah died, on September 11, 1948 and was buried at his new capital city, Karachi.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949)

When Her Excellency The Governor of the United Provinces, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, visited Woodstock School in July 1948, she returned to pay her respects to the school which one of her daughters had attended some 30 years before. The impromptu yet eloquent oration which she delivered before the assembly, her excellent command of the English language, and her good humor, entirely won our hearts.

Temporarily appointed Governor of the United Provinces on August 15, 1947, her approach to politics was far from casual. A few months in office showed that Mrs. Naidu was a first-class leader, and she received a permanent appointment as Governor of the province. This was the first time that an Indian woman had held such a responsibility. Though she was reported to have said that she was as "a bird in a gilded cage," this was far from the truth. Mrs. Naidu was a person of vast experience in leadership and more than knew her way about.

Mrs. Naidu's maiden name was Chattopadhyaya. Her father's home was in Hyderabad City. He had gone to Europe for his education where he had received his doctor of science degree. Back in Hyderabad State, he founded the Nizam's College in the capital city. Mrs. Naidu began learning English at the age of nine. Three years later she passed her matriculation examination for Madras University. Her interest in poetry was growing and she was now writing. In 1895, at the age of 18, she entered King's College in London and then went to Girton College, Cambridge, where she received her degree. It was here that Edmund Gosse greatly influenced her and encouraged her to write on Indian themes.

[1] *Great Men of India, Times of India and The Statesman*, p. 369ff.

In 1898, she returned to India and married Dr. G. R. Naidu, whom she had admired before going to Europe. The Naidus had four children of whom Lilamani attended Woodstock. One of her sons is a journalist in Hyderabad. Several volumes of Mrs. Naidu's poetry were published including *Bird of Time*, *The Golden Threshhold* and *The Sceptered Flute*. Her work in this field brought her election to the Royal Society of Literature in England.

When Gandhiji initiated his non-cooperation movement in 1919, he found a ready response in the heart of Mrs. Naidu. She left her home and traveled up and down the country, arousing people to action through her matchless oratory. In 1924 she carried her campaign to Africa. Next year she was elected President of the Congress Party. Because of her *satyagraha* activities, she was lodged in jail several times. In 1931 she attended the Round Table Conference in London. When many Congress leaders were imprisoned in 1942, Mrs. Naidu was among them. This was her last sentence. Since then she has successfully carried difficult administrative work for which she was well fitted. She took a prominent part in the discussion with the British Cabinet Mission in 1946 which eventually led to Indian independence, and to her appointment as Governor of the United Provinces. Anyone who knew Mrs. Naidu will remember how she instantly made one feel at ease. The breadth of her knowledge on a great many subjects was enormous. Her record as a public leader was a brilliant one.

The last few months were difficult ones because of ill health but she would not give up. Had she not written:

"Shall Spring that wakes mine ancient land again
Call to wild and suffering hearts in vain?
Or Fate's blind arrows still the pulsating note
Of my far-reaching, frail, unconquered throat?
Or a weak bleeding pinion daunt or tire
My flight to the high realms of my desire?
Behold! I rise to meet the destined Spring
And scale the stars upon my broken wing!"

When Indian spring came again (February) in 1949, in the midst of a busy life, this brave soul was released and the whole world paused to do her honor.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–)

The first Premier of independent India is well-known throughout the world. His forceful, well-written books have won for himself a large circle of friends. Among these books is his *Autobiography*, published in 1936.[1] Nehru points out that his parents were Kashmiri Brahmans. His noted father, Motilal Nehru, was born in 1861 in Agra. His mother was Swarup Rani Nehru. Motilal was a judge in the high court at Allahabad and it was in

[1] Nehru, J., *Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography*, 1936.

Allahabad on November 14, 1889, that the Nehrus' only son was born. The first daughter, Vijailakshmi, was born about eleven years later, followed by a second daughter, Krishna. Jawaharlal thus grew up as an only child and experienced what he described as a lonely childhood. His education was carried on within the home by governesses and tutors. The father was a great admirer of the English and his son early learned the English language. A Hindu *pandit* was not very successful in teaching him Sanskrit.

At the age of ten, the family acquired the Anand Bhawan estate. Jawaharlal was especially fond of the swimming pool. In 1905 the family went to England where Jawaharlal entered Harrow. After a few months, his family left him there and he came to like the school. His chief interests were politics and aviation. Upon leaving Harrow to go to Trinity College, Cambridge, he received a prize for the excellent school work he had done.

As a student at Cambridge he took a science course, majoring in chemistry, geology and botany. He was greatly interested in people and books. He was a member of the debate society. His three years at Cambridge "were pleasant years, with many friends, and some work and some play and a gradual widening of the intellectual horizon."[1]

In 1912, Nehru was called to the bar. That year he returned to India and joined the High Court at Allahabad. Four years later he married Kamala and they spent several months in Kashmir. Their only child, Indira was born in 1918.

From 1919 on, Gandhi became a great influence in Nehru's life. Motilal threw in his lot with the Congress cause as did his son. From 1921, Jawaharlal began a series of prison experiences which continued at intervals until 1945. During this period his noted books were written including *Glimpses of World History*, and *Discovery of India*, 1946.

The imprisonment in 1923 brought both typhoid and typhus and a long period of weakness. For two subsequent years, while out of prison, he acted as chairman of the Allahabad Municipality. Already his wife's health was not good, so from 1926 to 1927 the Nehrus lived in Switzerland. Motilal was president of Congress in 1928 and the next year at the Lahore Congress session, Jawaharlal was elected to that position, one of the youngest ever to be so honored. 1930 was a year of political tension, and that year and the following year many Congressmen were arrested, including Motilal Nehru who was taken with a fatal fever and died February 6, 1931. From 1932 to 1935 Jawaharlal was in prison most of the time. His wife was sent to Europe once more in search of health and her husband was released from prison and was able to spend a few months with her before she died.

The year 1935 is noted for the passage of the Government of India Act in which the British liberalized the political administration in India. When elections were held in 1937, the Congress Party had remarkable successes,

[1] Nehru, J., *Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography*, p. 19.

winning seven of the eleven Provinces. This progress was short-lived for all resigned when war was declared without consulting Indian representatives. The Cripps Mission early in 1942 failed. Non-cooperation was renewed and the arrest of many thousands of the Congress Party followed. Nehru was arrested at this time and not freed until March 28, 1945. The Liberal Party replaced the Conservative Party in Britain and offered India its Independence. Lord Mountbatten came to India as the last Viceroy, and when he became the first Governor-General on August 15, 1947, he appointed Nehru as Premier. Rajahgopalachari succeeded Lord Mountbatten, and Nehru continued as Premier. The last of 1946 and early 1947 were critical months for Nehru. Should India become a Hindu or a secular state? Nehru threw all of his weight in favor of the latter; his success was a great personal triumph, and India was the beneficiary. Then came Independence and gigantic problems which only a super-statesman could have handled the way Nehru did. At the Dominion Conference in London in 1948, Nehru was not prepared to state what the future relationship between India and the Dominions would be. A year later, Nehru proposed the status of a federal republic within the commonwealth and this was accepted. Meanwhile the new constitution for India was taking form. Nehru was the giant among Indian statesmen. He gave direction for the establishment of a republic. He drew many elements of the Congress Party together through his forceful personality. He worked tirelessly for the good of the common man of India. History will record Nehru as a man, like Washington, who built a solid foundation for India in those first critical years in Independent India.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (1900–)

Swarup Kumari Nehru was the second child of Pandit Motilal and Swarup Rani Nehru. She was born at Anand Bhawan, in Allahabad on August 18, 1900. The elder child was Jawaharlal who was eleven at the time. The father was a judge in the high court and a successful lawyer. He was able to afford the very best for his children including a highly qualified governess who looked after Swarup and was with the family for a number of years. The Nehru daughter learned English at an early age and was well instructed by those in charge. When seven years old, a little sister named Krishna was born. By now Jawaharlal was in school in England and Swarup did not come to know him well until later. At the age of five, she had traveled to Europe with her parents, which was an education in itself.

Back in India, the Nehru home became a hub of activities. The children were constantly meeting people of note. It was not long after Gandhi's trip from England to India, that he began to make his presence felt. He greatly influenced the Nehrus in the cause of Indian nationalism. Motilal took his elder daughter with him on numerous trips. In 1915 she attended her first Congress meetings which she said emphasized the social aspects more than anything else. The wedding of her brother, the next year, was an outstanding

event in the Nehru household. Vijaya Lakshmi, as she was now known, and her sister-in-law, Kamala, became close friends.

From 1919 political affairs were foremost in the lives of Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru. Vijailakshmi took increasing interest in nationalism along with the men-folk of her family. However, she also had other interests including love. She was married on May 10, 1921 to Ranjit Pandit, a journalist from Kathiawar. Before his death 22 years later, however, Mr. Pandit was better known as a botanist and horticulturalist. The first of their three daughters, Chandralekha, was born in 1924. The next year the Pandits spent some time in Europe. Upon their return to India, their second daughter, Narayantara was born. Three years later their last child, Rita, completed the family circle. When Rita was less than three years old, Mrs. Pandit was separated from her children by a jail sentence, for a whole year. This experience was not an infrequent one; the whole Nehru family suffered thus.

Mrs. Pandit's administrative responsibilities began in 1935 when she was elected to the Allahabad Municipal Board. When the Congress Party took over the government of United Provinces in 1937, Mrs. Pandit became a Cabinet Member as Minister for Local Self-Government. From then on she has been in the public eye.

1938 was the year in which Mrs. Pandit decided to enter her daughters in Woodstock School in Mussoorie. For three years Mrs. Pandit was a well-known figure in Landour. Among the many responsibilities as Minister, Mrs. Pandit was in charge of the Red Cross Society, she opened playgrounds and instituted health schemes for women and children, she improved village wells and in many ways attempted to safeguard public health. The heavy responsibility of preparing for the crowds who attended the Kumbh Mela at Haridwar, fell to her. It was not an easy task which Mrs. Pandit had to perform. In 1939, she made another visit to Europe, just before the war broke out. When it did, and all the Congress government officials resigned, Mrs. Pandit was among them. Throughout the war, Mrs. Pandit experienced a series of arrests and imprisonments. It was now that her husband died. He too had been in prison a great deal. During those last years he spent some time on his farm in Almora where he carried on his horticultural experiments. In 1943, Mrs. Pandit had bid her two elder daughters farewell when they left for the United States to continue their college education. After these lonely months, Mrs. Pandit decided to go to the United States also. The next spring, 1945, she attended the San Francisco Conference, unofficially, where she became well known throughout the country for her statement that India should become independent. Upon her return to India in 1946, she was showered with honors. Mrs. Pandit was asked to lead the India delegation to the United Nations Assembly in the fall of 1947. It was the following spring that she addressed her Landour friends at Woodstock School, telling of some of her American experiences. Shortly afterward Mrs. Pandit was appointed Ambassador to Russia where she served for one year. Within this period, her two

elder daughters were married. Narayantara became Mrs. Schgal on January 2, and Chandralekha became Mrs. Mehta on April 11, 1949. Two months later Mrs. Pandit was appointed Ambassador to the United States of America.

We at Woodstock follow the events in the life of Mrs. Pandit closely because we feel that she is one of us. Her eldest daughter graduated from Woodstock School in 1940 and her other two daughters also spent three years here. In spite of those earlier years of frustration, we now find that Mrs. Pandit has become the "first lady" in independent India.

CHAPTER X

Hindu Caste and Customs

The word "caste" has become synonymous with the word "Hindu." It is a system which has preserved the identity of Hindus for over two thousand years. Caste restrictions were used to prevent intermarriage, interdining and social equality with other castes. Caste today is still a strong force among the orthodox and the rural people of India. Some modern Hindus, however, have placed the weight of their influence against caste restrictions with a result that they have achieved a marked response, especially among those in educated circles. Temples were opened to low castes. Inter-community dining has been encouraged.

Among the masses, the caste system cultivates strong family and community allegiances within one's own group. The economic system within caste practically guarantees a job for every boy while aged people are cared for within the family group until death. At the same time, the system tends to stifle initiative. There is a tendency to say, "what was good enough for my father is good enough for me". A premium is laid upon conformity rather than on originality. Caste rules regulate all aspects of life and one must be careful lest he offend.

Origin of Caste

We are not quite sure just how caste originated. The system probably developed over a long time as traced in Hindu literature. In explaining the origin of caste, many Hindus turn to *The Laws of Manu*, and quote that all castes originated from the god Brahma. From his head came the Brahmans, from his chest the Kshatriyas, from his thighs the Vaishas, and from his feet the Sudras.

Nesfield has a theory that Hindus became high or low caste according to the type of work they did. They orginally formed guilds in which the silver workers, for example were higher in caste than the iron workers. This theory can be only partly right for one finds farmers, for example, some of whom are Brahmans, some Sudras and others Outcastes.

Senart thinks that caste orginally must have begun by the formation of clans and races in different parts of the country. As their numbers increased and they began to live in closer proximity, laws were drawn up which protected each clan and helped it to retain its identity. As one looks at the facial features of caste men as well as the physique, one notes that not all individuals of a caste look alike, which would cause us to saek elsewhere for a complete explanation.

Risley contends that the caste origin was probably due to a difference in color and that a lighter group set up strict taboos against associations with those

of darker groups. The Aryans, when they came in, probably drew up laws to prevent intermarriage with dark Dravidians. Just as caste men vary in physique, so they vary in color.

Ibbetson and Stanley Rice have another theory, that in the beginning tribes were followers of totems as were the people of Mohenjodaro. Men of certain totemic groups could marry women of certain other ones. This practice is carried on today among the Austroasiatic groups such as the Santals.

We may conclude then that these theories are partially right, and that probably all these factors helped to bring about caste.

Caste and Geography

The farther south one goes in India, the greater the hold caste usually has on the people. For example, take the treatment of outcaste people by those belonging to high castes. In Assam, where the background of those who live there is largely Mongolian, outcaste children are freely admitted to schools. Little distinction is made in regard to wells. An exception, of course, occurs in the Manipur valley where the inhabitants only recently became Hindus and where they are very strict. In the Punjab, actual contact with scavengers brings pollution. A lowcaste farmer moves in society with almost no restrictions but there are definite ones for the sweeper. United Provinces has the largest number of outcastes. Wells are often set strictly aside for certain castes. In Bengal, where many outcastes became Muslims when Islam swept into the country (some 40,000,000), caste restrictions are more numerous than in the United Provinces. In Bombay Presidency, dress of outcastes is limited, and there are regulations about building a house. Seldom does the lowcaste possess land. Things have changed now but in 1900, in Belgaum District, sweepers had to wear spitoons around their necks and drag a tail of leaves behind them to brush away their footprints in order not to pollute the road for Brahmans. Pollution could be carried through the air in Malabar and Travancore. At night low caste people had to call out to warn caste men of their presence. If a high caste approached from within eight to thirty-two yards, he was contaminated. Outcastes had to use a series of little bypaths when Brahmans were on the main road. Boys took hours trying to go a short distance to school. Fortunately things are changing and caste regulations among the educated people are less and less observed. Sometimes caste restrictions held in obeyance, may be freshly called into practice as was the case in Travancore about 15 years ago. A large number of outcaste threatened to become Christians and to prevent them from doing so, caste restrictions were imposed which had the desired effect on about two-thirds of the group.

Caste and Daily Contacts

In Bazaars. When outcastes go to the bazaar, they are not allowed inside a shop but stand in front and do their buying. Articles to be purchased are usually laid upon the ground rather than passed from hand to hand. After a lowcaste person has touched the article, it cannot be returned. Money is thrown rather than placed in one's hand. Should an outcaste become seriously injured as a result of an accident, few high caste men would offer to render first aid to him.

Wells. Wells have been a source of caste discrimination. They are often built by wealthy landowners who need water for their own families. They do not want lowcastes to use their well because of their dirty habits or because they are not literate or in the same social strata. Men servants of the wealthy family may draw the water. Men who go to shops or offices may draw water for their own use. They may bathe at the well and carry home a full jar when they return.

In the villages it is usually the women who draw most of the water. Women will not bathe at the well, however, unless they are very old. Wells are the village social center. It is a recognized place when boys and girls may meet and get acquainted. There is no possibility of two young people of the opposite sex going for a walk; this is strictly taboo.

There are instances of unfair treatment at wells. O'Malley tells that during the famine of 1919–1920, when the wells of the Deccan Marathas dried up, they took over the wells of the untouchable Mahars and refused to let the Mahars use their own wells. They had to collect what muddy liquid trickled past after the Marathas had watered their cattle. This was an extreme case. Usually there are several different wells in the village. If the outcaste's wells dry up first, they have to wait near wells of higher castes to see if any one will be kind enough to draw them some water. There seem to be little difficulty in places where water comes from taps, but outcastes are excluded from common tanks and wells. In Baroda in 1931, the outcaste constructed a well, but the high castes felt that it was too close to them and would not let them use it. They laid a 500-foot pipe, but were still refused possession.[1]

Temples. In more populous centers, Hindus have numbers of temples, many of which have not yet been opened to high and low caste alike. Though modern times have brought changes, through the influence of Gandhi and others, discrimination is still shown. When devotees come to a larger temple, open to all castes, different caste groups arrive at the temple at different times. In the smaller places, a front room is often set aside for outcastes. When they bring their offering to the god or goddess, they usually cannot present it directly as do high caste people, but hand it to a priest who does it for them.

Temples are places of social contact between friends and young people of

[1] O'Malley, L. S. S., *Indian Caste Customs*, p. 47.

the same caste. This is one of the few places where young people may meet and become acquainted. There is no special day each week when people gather. These worship days are usually especially designated in advance. Several of them come all at once during the celebration of Holi, Dussera and Diwali while others are scattered at intervals throughout the year. They total somewhere between about 40 to 60 days a year. Worship is an individual matter. When one is in trouble or when a special request is to be made, a person may visit the temple any day of the year. Women who desire children may often worship at a shrine to Kali. Following a catastrophy or an epidemic, special offerings may be made to the gods by individuals or by a community.

Schools. In the past, practically all teachers were men and Brahmans. The pupils in Indian schools were boys of the higher castes. Christians opened their schools to girls and low caste children. Now that compulsory primary education has been introduced from 1949, there is not so much discrimination against children according to their caste. Twenty years ago, the story was different. When Pickett made his survey of Christians in mass-movement areas he found untouchables compelled to sit on the veranda day after day with no help from the high caste teacher. One boy attended a government school for two years and never once was he allowed to sit with a class nor to receive personal instruction.[1] In other schools, the children were so humiliated by the teacher's railing and frequent undeserved punishment that the children wouldn't go to school any more. In 1931 in Baroda, an outcaste woman was beaten because she dared send her son to school. In the same year in Madras, upper caste people did everything to get untouchable children out of school. They threw the children's parents out of work, refused to give them food and expelled them from their houses. Finally, separate schools were opened for outcaste children.[2]

Today many more teachers are non-Brahmans. Some are from low caste groups and this fact makes it impossible to continue to discriminate against innocent children as was done not long ago. It may be added that the demand for women teachers is great. Many women teachers have been trained in Christian schools where discrimination is considered unethical and this factor is having its affect today.

Hospitals. Hospitals were at first almost unknown except for Christian, Parsi, and government institutions. In these early institutions, which introduced common wards and like treatment for all, one at first found few high caste patients. Now these taboos have largely disappeared. Caste people do not object to being cared for in a common ward in a Christian hospital. They no longer refuse medicine nor do they mind being looked after by Christian nurses, whom high castes consider to be outcastes. High caste patients pay their fees, receive treatment at Christian hands and then go to their Hindu temple to give an offering and be purified after their hospital experience.

[1] Pickett, J. W., *Christian Mass Movements in India*, p. 73.
[2] O'Malley, L. L. S., *Indian Caste Customs*, p. 150.

Travel. Another area in which discrimination has all but disappeared, is among travelers in trains and buses and trams. At one time, outcastes were forced to occupy places on top of buses but now, if people ride there, it is no longer due to caste restrictions but to inadequate travel service. Seats in trains are based on ability to pay. Occasionally a wedding party, which occupies most of a compartment, will attempt to keep out other castes but with the crowded conditions on trains, they are seldom successful.

Hindu Family Customs

The Joint Family. In olden days joint families numbered a hundred or more and the organization was like that of a clan. The oldest man was head of the family and the oldest women controlled all her juniors. There was much love shown in the family, especially towards children. In the joint family, all of the earners brought their wages to the head of the family and this in turn would be dealt out to all the family as needed. The joint family was the rule; now it is the exception. It is unusual to find as many as a hundred living together under one roof. More often one finds ten or fifteen. A modern tendency is for the newly married couple to set up an establishment of their own, but this is not very widely practised outside of educated circles. In the old days the joint family was a protection against thieves and robbers at night. Gathered behind thick walls, the family was safe. In times past many invaders came to India. Later Muslims conquered much of the country. For safety's sake, strong walls presented themselves to the enemy; the family activities centered on the courtyard. The family guaranteed that everyone would receive a living, whether young or old, handicapped or defective. In spite of frequent quarrels, there was much respect and reverence shown in the family.

Children. Indian parents are fond of their children. In hill villages it is not uncommon to find the father at home, sitting on the veranda, caring for a child while the mother is gathering grain from a nearby field. One does not often see a parent slap or spank a child; it is done orally in language and tone which leaves no doubt as to the reason why. Young babies are fed as soon as they cry and are late in being weaned. A baby who cannot suckle usually dies, especially a village child, for there is little way of preparing milk in that unhealthy environment. When twins are born and are both sexes and when the economic level is too low, one sometimes dies. More often it seems to be the girl baby though no study has been made on this point. Babes in arms are often carried on the hip of an older brother or sister. It is surprising how active these children can be in their games as they tote the young one around.

Usually there is a gradation of activities for a child to do as soon as the age of six or seven is reached. About the first is tending someone's baby. The next is to shepherding the livestock belonging to the family. Soon there is field work to do or something connected with the family occupation. Then there is grain and water to bring and wood to gather or dung cakes to make.

Every little pittance the children can earn is counted on. In former days, this was one of the most frequent arguments by ignorant villagers for not being interested in school. To send the child away that long would mean the loss of a few pice a day. What was good enough for themselves was good enough for the children. There is not much distinction made between boys and girls until about seven years old. From then on, the girls do more of the home work while the boys are working outside in the fields or village.[1]

Both boys and girls are loved very much by their parents, but from the moment of their birth, a distinction is made. This is due to economic more than to physical reasons. At the birth of a son there is great rejoicing but at the birth of a girl the fact is merely announced. The parents know immediately that the boy is going to stay in the home and will provide for them in their old age. He can carry out the religious rites, and will carry on the family name. The girl can do none of these things. Already she is "someone else's property." She will grow up and go out of her home to live in that of her husband. Should he die she still belongs to the household of her husband. This is why there is such a great difference in regard to the birth of a girl or a boy. Both may be loved equally by their parents but the parents count on the future of the boy. In ancient days the oldest male was the priest of the family. Now the Brahmans are the priests but the boy carries on rites which honor dead ancestors, and it is he that gives his aged parents the honorable burial which they so much desire.

The dowry system is one of the main reasons why boys and girls are not prized equally. In many Hindu families a certain amount of the family property must be offered to the groom's family when the daughter is married. If there should be three sons and one daughter, for example, then the property is divided about equally. Three-quarters of the amount stays with the boys in the family, and about a fourth or equivalent goes with the girl to the family of her husband. The girl's parents may give it in money, jewelry or clothing. The groom's family may demand a certain amount and if this is not forthcoming, the wedding is off. Sometimes the argument continues up until a few minutes of the ceremony. A larger sum is offered for a high school graduate than for a middle school pass. If the prospective husband has a graduate degree, a still greater sum is required. This arrangement does not hold true in places like the Himalayas or sections of the Punjab or Sind, where girls are scarce. The parents of the groom will give an amount for a girl. Around Mussoorie the hill people feel that it is less expensive to make an initial outlay for a wife than it is to hire a servant, for she can work in the fields for nothing.

The girl who has left her home after her marriage, may not always remain in her husband's home. Often there is an arrangement whereby she spends months at a time in her parents' home until a child is born. Sometimes the

[1] Some common girls names are: Shanti, Pulmani, Jai Devi, Kamala, Chand, Lila, Tara and Indera. Boys' names are Rajah, Punna, Sher Singh, Ram Gopal, Mohan Lal, Amrit, Ashok.

whole family will return to the wife's home and stay for a while, during which time, food is provided by the girl's parents. The visit may be returned and then the husband's parents provide food for daughter-in-law's relatives. After a number of years, if no child is born, the first wife may be set aside and additional ones taken.

Marriage. In the average Hindu family, marriage is taken for granted. It is planned and arranged quite early. Among some low caste groups an arrangement for marriage may be made before or soon after birth; among others the promise is given before the children are ten years old. This agreement is considered a binding in many cases and that is why a large number of child widows used to be officially recorded in the ten-year census. Should the boy die, the girl was not supposed to marry again. This practice is now being discouraged. The age has been set by law at 15 and 18 though not all persons honor it.

The betrothal ceremony is an important one. It takes place when the astrologer consults his horoscope and sets the time. The most popular months for it are February and March, September and October. The time of day for the commencement of the ceremony is after four or five o'clock a.m. The groom leaves his house and goes to that of the girl. He is escorted by a group of men relatives who are elaborately dressed but not as much as the groom himself who sometimes rides on a horse. There are enthusiastic if not melodic bands which strike up the music. The dowry is often fixed at this time. Brahman priests repeat *muntras* in the presence of the couple and the the assembled guests.

A few weeks or even months after the betrothal ceremony, a time is set for the bride to visit the family of her husband-to-be. The bride may not yet have met either the members of the groom's family nor the groom himself, for the marriage arrangement may have been made by a go-between.

The wedding ceremony is the highlight in the life of most Hindu couples. Usually there are five days given over to proceedings. The first day is the henna day on which the hands and feet are decorated. The second is the gift day. The girl owns all that is given to her that day. The third day is the wedding day, foretold and fixed by means of the horoscope. The actual ceremony is only about 20 minutes long, though there may be long delays before the auspicious moment arrives. A fire of coals some four feet across is prepared and the bride and groom sit near it. A number of priests chant *muntras*. The wealthier the persons, the larger the number of priests there may be. Then the couple holds hands and walk around the fire seven times. One could change his mind about being married when six and $\frac{3}{4}$ times around but not when the seventh round is completed. Sometimes the bride will now tie the end of her sari to the bridegroom's *pagri* or *dhoti* as they walk away. On the fourth day, flowers are thrown, conveying good wishes, as the bride goes to the bridegroom's house. On the first four days, the parents of the bride prepare a feast for the crowd. On the fifth day, the bridegroom gives

the feast which is supposed to be the biggest of all. The bride remains in the home of her husband.

Weddings among lowcaste people are often confined to one day. Some American guests in the Punjab arrived early at such a wedding. The bride was clad in a dirty sari. This was removed and the bride was publicly bathed by her relatives before a group made up only of women. Her hair was oiled and washed. Bright red clothes were given her; friends put on jewelry. A man came in and carried the bride from that room to another where they finished dressing her. More jewels were put on and lastly, her hair was combed. The women attendants sang during the process but the bride wailed. At the fire ceremony, one priest chanted a *muntra.* The couple walked around the fire seven times and touched their toes on a smooth stone as they went. A feast followed and the girl left with her husband.

Modern Hindu families make their marriage arrangements something as follows: Of a particular family of six children, three were girls and three were boys. The family couldn't afford an equal education for all so it was the three boys who were kept in school longer. They added a considerable amount to the family income. Altho two of the boys were older, all the sisters were married first. Arrangements were made first for the oldest girl. A husband was secured who was well educated and who was a member of the police. There was quite a difference in education and age between the two. The bride price was a good deal beyond the means of the family but by scraping together all they could, the marriage took place. Now the three brothers got together and presented their suggestion to their parents which was that the next two husbands should be on an educational level with the sisters and that boys be found who would be willing to accept a moderate bride price. These conditions were fulfilled and the marriages occurred. After several years the brothers agree that the second and third couples are much happier than the first. The high priced, well-educated man is fond of strong drink. Much of the time he is away from home and his wife worries a great deal. The brothers wish that their older sister could have been as happy as the other two girls. Two brothers tho in their late 20's, are unmarried. They have wanted to secure a college education first and get established in their work before they marry.

When the wedding ceremony is over and the bride is ready to go to the house of her husband's family, she usually weeps a great deal. In most cases, the girl has not traveled much and has seldom been away from home. As she weeps, she does honor to her home and parents by showing how reluctant she is to leave them. Sometimes the weeping is not too genuine. The girl has married for this life and the next. The man, however, may marry one or more other wives if he can afford it and if occasion demands, tho many have only one wife. In olden days, should the husband die, the wife was blamed. In order to escape such disgrace, she sometimes preferred to commit *sati* and join her husband at once in eternity, rather than bear the disgrace of being a widow.

Farquhar in his book[1] gives the origin of a number of social customs including early child marriage. In the earlier days when invading soldiers carried off women and girls, it was better to have the girl married and in *purdah* for they were not so readily captured. (In the disturbances of 1947 it did not seem to matter whether women were married or not.) The development of the idea of sacredness of life gradually came to be interpreted that an unmarried girl who had reached puberty, brought added sin to her parents with every step she took. At every menstrual period she was taking life by not being married. This was a great disgrace to the parents who did everything in their power to prevent it. Bridegrooms were arranged for well ahead of time and as soon as menses began, the final marriage would take place and she would go at once to the home of her husband.

There has been agitation from several sources for raising the age of marriage in India. The All-India Women's Conferences were one of the most influential groups in bringing about reform. In the early 30's the Sarda Act was passed placing the ages for marriage at 14 and 18. Many people opposed this legislation because the uneducated were not ready for the change. However this has been followed up and is the law of the country.

There is very little divorce in India for public opinion is against it. If no child or no son is born after a number of years, a wife may be set aside in favor of others. The status of the first wife in the household may remain unchanged or she may live separately but she is not free to marry anyone else. The lot of a replaced wife is not a happy one. If she has been sent away, her allowance may be most uncertain and often not far above the poverty line. There has been agitation whereby a very old man may not marry a very young girl. In a country where the role of a widow is such an unpleasant one, such marriages should be prevented.

Birth. The prospect of the birth of a child is gladly received. The mother shall have performed her duty especially should the baby be a son. The expectant mother is quite well looked after during these days. The mother does not prepare clothing and a baby basket as Western mothers do for fear of attracting the attention of a goddess who would bring bad luck. Arrangements are usually made to go to the girl's home for the delivery and for a relative or some family *dai* or midwife to attend her.

To the villager or uneducated Hindu, birth is unclean. Often the mother is kept in a dirty, dark corner for as long as seven days where she rests on a chārpai, covered with rags and clothing which can be thrown away. Entrances to the room are usually closed and a miserable, smoky fire makes the room almost unbearable. In former days the *dai* or midwife was ignorant and untrained. Government has improved this situation by requiring licenses of women who act as *dais*. A small fee or a *sāri* may be given to the woman for her assistance. There is quite an elaborate birth and purification ceremony

[1] Farquhar, J. N., *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 96.

which one goes through. This varies a great deal with the different castes and may last several days. Not much care seems to be taken of mother and child; they get along the best they can. When the birth occurs, the actual minute is recorded for this has an important bearing on the baby's destiny as read by the horoscope. In later years it is not uncommon to find that the minute is remembered but the year of the birth is forgotten. Following a birth of a son, a feast is given. Occasionally in these days, one is also given for girls.[1]

Two names are often given to a child. One is his private name which few ever know and the other is his common name. The practice may come from belief that one is in the constant presence of evil, unseen spirits, which can in some way take possession of an individual should his real name be known. For this reason a boy may be given a girl's name or some such appellation as "garbage," "radish," or "*galti*" (mistake). (Three brothers once bore the anglicized names of William, Billiam, and Killiam!) Charms and armlets are placed around the neck of a child to keep away the evil spirits. Sometimes one sees a string of coins being used for this purpose.

Among the educated classes, an increasing number of child-births are taking place in hospitals. A record was kept in a Christian dispensary in regard to the number of children born and living. In Muslim and Hindu families of that rural area it was common to have had more children who had died than had lived. The Christian families had much better records. The rate of infant mortality is still appalling and much remains to be done among the people of this country.

Death. The expectancy of life in India is about the lowest in the world. While countries like New Zealand, Sweden and the United States have rates ranging in the 60's, India's total is in the upper 20's. One reason is that infant mortality is so high. Another reason is that the economic level is so low. J. W. Pickett found that more babies die in families where there are already several children in the family. Still another reason is the inadequate care given at child-birth when 200,000 mothers are estimated to die each year. Another reason has already been mentioned in regard to babies who are feeding problems and usually do not survive more than the first few weeks. When a baby dies, it is wrapped in a white sheet. The father carries it in his arms to the burning *ghāt* or the river. Here it is often buried in the sand or floated down the river. Scarcely any ceremony is used.

Should a young mother of the household die, there is usually a simple ceremony and the body is usually cremated. If the woman was old and has completed a useful life, there is often a feast and much rejoicing. Just before death a person is taken from the bed and placed on the ground. Some believe that the spirit of the person will wander between heaven and earth and that it

[1] A number of American missionaries reacted adversely to the Hindu custom of celebrating for a boy baby and doing little or nothing when a girl baby was born. In their families some of them reversed the process and gave a feast only when girls were born in order to show that more importance should be attached to the birth of a daughter.

cannot get to the other world if not lying on the ground. When death has come, the body is washed and wound in a number of sheets according to the wealth of the family. The covering for a woman is often red. The body is laid to rest with the feet pointing south. Then it is placed on a bamboo platform or litter and men of the family carry the body, feet first, towards the burning *ghāt*. Mourners, composed of relatives and friends, follow in procession. Sometimes women follow for a certain distance behind but they turn back and only men assemble at the burning *ghāt*. A contractor supplies the necessary wood and the body is placed on the burning pyre with more wood placed above it. Sweepers are given some of the clothing which bound the body. The nearest relative lights the fire and after some time, breaks the skull to release the spirit of the dead person. After this the company goes home. Mourning for a stated length of time may take place and one who is commemorating the death will eat only one meal a day.

The death of a father of a household is borne with great grief. The preparation of the body is much like that above only white sheets are used for men. The nearest male relative takes charge of the ceremony and is usually the one who observes the fast. It lasts for 12 days. The head and face are shaven and new, white clothing is worn. The rest of the family also wears white. The one carrying out the fast may go only to the burning *ghāt*. On the third day he may again go to the *ghāt*, along with friends, and collect any remaining bones and send them to the river Ganges. Some of the ashes may be collected and sent to distant members of the family who hold a ceremony and cast them into a nearby river. He then returns home where he sits for long periods at a time, rather scantily clad, praying for the dead. After 12 days, the season is brought to a close with a feast. The white clothing is discarded and given to a sweeper and ordinary clothing is again worn.

The lot of a widow is one of the hardest in India. Sometimes she is accused of having been the cause of her husband's death. Her husband's relatives can make it miserable for the widow for the rest of her life. She must remove her jewelry and wear a black *sāri*. While on a pilgrimage, elderly widows may have their heads shaved. Sometimes there is little change in her family relationships. Others may be sent away to some sacred place to join a band of widows or give her life to prostitution. Modern reforms have greatly improved the lot of the widow. Remarriage is now encouraged, especially for young widows who may have never lived with a husband.

CHAPTER XI

Community Organization

The Village. There are so many different types of villages in India that it would be difficult to find the most typical one. A village, selected at random, is located about thirty miles from the Ganga River in United Provinces. It is well off from any main road and is one of the 700,000 villages found in this country. One approaches the village on a small path leading through fields; during the wet season one must wade through water to reach it. This village is almost self-contained like many others and it is no calamity to be cut off from everywhere during the wet season. The village latrine is made up of open spaces in the fields round about. The sun beats down upon irregular rows of houses with mud walls. From time to time, a strong wind stirs up a great amount of dust. There are about 200 houses containing some 800 inhabitants. The double-story dwelling belongs to the headman; it is placed on a slight elevation. Sewage is disposed of in the streets of the village and the sun dries it. Hookworm and other diseases cut down the efficiency of the workers. Near the center of the village is a large well where the women come to draw water. A *pipal* tree has grown out of the side of the well and two others near by furnish shade for those who visit the well or for those who sit along the stones and talk. Not far along the main path is a small white shrine at the edge of a tank full of green water. Several women are washing their clothing while a man is there taking a bath. Dogs lie asleep in the road in the sunshine while small children and babies play in the road in front of their houses. Most of the men are at work in the fields, and as it is near midday life seems to be moving at its slowest tempo.

Up to 1950, few villagers could read or write. They have traveled little and their conversation is mostly made up on topics relating to buying and selling, crops and cultivation and items of personal interest. There is little change in the village year after year, so the daily round is fairly monotonous. Life in many of the villages is about what it was 1000 years ago. The high spot of the week is usually bazar day and in the month, a religious festival or wedding. Going to court, gambling, evading the money lender or petty stealing furnish variety on the shadier side of life.

Most of the inhabitants of the village are farmers whose holdings are often infinitesimal and scattered here and there. Darling estimated that in the Punjab, 23 per cent of the peasants owned less than an acre of land; 33 per cent, from 1 to 5 acres; 20 per cent from 5 to 10 acres and 24 per cent over 10 acres.[1] He also pointed out that about 80 per cent of the people were in debt, averaging about Rs. 463 each.[2] Farming methods are primitive.

[1] Darling, M. L., *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 3. [2] *ibid.*, p. 4.

They have livestock but the cows give almost no milk. Lack of education and knowing how to improve, keeps them on the poverty line.

Very little money is ever seen in the villages because work is paid for in kind. The shoemaker takes his wages in dry stores, food supplies or work done for him by a blacksmith, barber or woodworker. Wealth is often measured by the fullness of grain baskets, copper dishes or jewelry. Son follows father in his work, and each worker will have his designated clientele.

Most of the debts are unproductive; about five per cent are productive debts. Among the latter, seed has been bought or new land purchased or some investment made which in time will bring in a profit. The non-productive debt is money paid out on weddings, law suits, gambling and the like. When the villager needs ready cash, he goes to the money-lender who charges interest ranging from 15 to 75 per cent. If ignorant, the written contract may be falsified; an unscrupulous landowner may make the man pay the whole debt two or three times. Debts are inherited and so are passed on from generation to generation. Debts are a curse to the Indian villager.

Despite these unhappy conditions, the people usually seem to be care-free and cordial. Christians and non-Christians will invite one into his courtyard. One or more sides are the simple dwelling rooms of the members of the family while opposite, provision is made for the cattle and other livestock. The living rooms are usually neat and tidy. There is little furniture except the low bed or *chārpai.* There may be woven baskets in which grain is stored. Earthen jars, metal cooking or serving dishes and plates, and a few simple tools are among the other things one finds. The family dress is simple for many peasants have but one change of clothing. Tea is often offered to a visitor; it is thick with sugar and milk is added. If you are on a special errand, many other subjects are first discussed and only after due time does one come to the main point. In conclusion, all rise and leave is taken. Your host usually accompanies you some distance and then both hands are brought together, palm to palm, as one nods and says good-bye. Christians have learned to shake hands which is a foreign custom. Towards evening, people return from their work in the fields. Herds of cattle file along the village street, each turning into the gate of its own courtyard either from force of habit or with a member of the family who has been herding them. At dusk the cow-dung fires are lit and the smoke hangs like a thick white curtain ten or fifteen feet from the ground. As darkness gathers, a group of men will gather near a small wood fire and pass their water-pipe around the group as they relate incidents of the day. The women are busily preparing the main meal of the day over glowing coals on their kitchen floor. The meal will soon be ready but the men will eat first and the women last. After dark, most people are settled behind barred doors. For fear of spirits or of evil doers, people do not move around much after dark. Young children and babies are still heard. Their hour for going to sleep is irregular. Dogs often guard the village during the night hours. Long before

dawn, some women have already risen and are grinding the grain for the oncoming day.

Panchāyats. All local government work, such as recording deaths, marriages and births and the collection of taxes, is usually in the hands of a headman of the village, appointed by the government. All other local caste questions and disputes are usually settled by the *panchāyat* or "council of five." This group may number five but often has more than that. There is such a group for each caste. In the larger villages this will mean possibly four or five castes each with a *panchāyat.*

A *panchāyat* is often called during a wedding or funeral feast when all the important men are present. Then there may be special summons through the barber. At fixed occasions, usually at the time of a special festival, the *panchāyat* meets. The procedure is like that of a trial. All the evidence is oral and usually all the head men agree on a case. A sentence may not be carried out at once and an offender may be outcaste first. When a special *panchāyat* is called, there may be a feast and this is expensive.

The usual authority of a *panchāyat* extends over cases, according to Blunt, as follows: breaches in the law of eating, drinking and smoking; breaches in the marriage law including seduction, adultery, refusing to marry, refusing to send the wife to the husband at the proper age, desertion of the wife and marrying a widow; breaches in customs at feasts or in trades; for killing a cow or dog or cat; for insulting a Brahmin or cases of assualt or debt. The most common punishment is outcasting temporarily or permanently. Fines range from buying sweetmeats all around to an expensive feast for the Brahmins.[1]

The *panchāyat* is becoming more common. Tribal groups almost entirely have this form of local government. Sometimes the appointed headman is the village judge. In affairs outside the domain of the local group, representatives of the government take these cases to court. It has been said that the village loves nothing better than a law suit.

Religious Life. The village family group often have a common shrine in their house. A little food and marigold flowers are offered. The Hindu can be distinguished by the clothing he wears, the lock of hair at the back of his head, the sacred cord, draped over the left shoulder and sometimes, marks placed on the forehead. In times of stress, when these external marks are removed, it is difficult to tell a Hindu from anyone else. The village shrines are along the side of the road or under a sacred tree. Worship is conducted whenever the individual feels a need for it. In times of epidemics and sickness, death, famine or drought, the shrine is visited more often. There are many names for gods and goddesses. In the Mussoorie hills most shrines seem to be to some incarnation of Vishnu or Siva. A few shrines are erected in honor of a saint or a *sādhu.* An annual fair is conducted in connection

[1] Blunt, *Caste System of North India,* pp. 115–16.

with some shrines and at that time money is raised for the upkeep during the coming year.

Cities. In 1931, only about eleven per cent of India's population lived in cities. This figure may be compared with France with 49 per cent, U.S.A. with 60 per cent and England with 80 per cent. In a ten-year interval, from 1921 to 1931, the number of cities and towns with a population over 5,000 increased from 2,300 to 2,500. There were 39 cities with populations over 100,000, in 1931. In the next fifteen years, however, rapid changes took place. The war period found Indian cities growing rapidly. In the 40's, cities continued to expand. A comparison from the *census* of the population of Indian cities over 200,000 may be of interest:

1931			1941		
1. Calcutta	...	1,500,000	1. Calcutta	...	2,108,000
2. Bombay	...	1,100,000	2. Bombay	...	1,490,000
3. Madras	...	647,000	3. Madras	...	777,000
4. Hyderabad	...	467,000	4. Hyderabad	...	740,000
5. Delhi	...	447,000	5. Lahore	...	671,000
6. Lahore	...	430,000	6. Ahmedabad	...	591,000
7. Rangoon	...	400,000	7. Delhi	...	522,000
8. Ahmedabad	...	314,000	8. Cawnpore	...	488,000
9. Bangalore	...	306,000	9. Amritsar	...	391,000
10. Lucknow	...	275,000	10. Lucknow	...	387,000
11. Amritsar	...	265,000	11. Howrah	...	380,000
12. Karachi	...	263,000	12. Karachi	...	360,000
13. Poona	...	250,000	13. Nagpur	...	300,000
14. Cawnpore	...	244,000	14. Agra	...	285,000
15. Agra	...	230,000	15. Benares	...	263,000
			16. Allahabad	...	260,000
			17. Poona	...	258,000
			18. Bangalore	...	248,000
			19. Madura	...	239,000
			20. Dacca	...	213,000
			21. Sholapur	...	213,000
			22. Srinagar	...	207,000
			23. Indore	...	204,000

One can expect further change when the census of 1951 is published. Following the post-war crowding of cities came Independence and partition. Lahore, Karachi and Dacca, like Rangoon, will not appear in the list of Indian cities. Great changes will be noted in the population of Delhi.

Mixed population. People of mixed parentage mostly live in cities. Europeans have married Indian wives or Indians have married European wives. The sense of security and belonging, possessed by the parents, does not automatically extend to succeeding generations. There is a double cultural

"pull" which produces the feeling of uncertainty. There may be difficulties in maintaining a higher standard of living than one can hope to afford, and this may lead to feelings of inferiority. A job may follow the passing of an examination and should one fail, little else seems open and a defeatist complex may develop. These feelings are not entirely the fault of the individual who himself is in the midst of this double cultural pull and finds it difficult to look ahead. There are many among these numbers who have attained security but for even these, the path contains more difficulties than those who inherit a single pattern of culture. In past years, the tendency in India was for members of both Indian and European communities to pass by those of mixed parentage. This is different than the United States where those with negro and white blood automatically belong to negro society. Again the pattern differs in New Zealand or Hawaii where Maori-Scot and any combination in Hawaii is acceptable. With the coming of independence, members of this "in-between" group who remained in India have declared that they will identify themselves with India and the Indian people. Many of the younger generation who were not willing to take this step, left the country during 1946-1950 for other countries in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It should be added that in one industry, girls of this community have been extremely successful and that is in the production of moving pictures, where they can claim many of the leading actresses and some of the actors in this newly developed branch of dramatic art.

Problems. Transient labor is a characteristic of Indian urban society. Men will work for a certain number of months and then return to their village. Village conditions are so different than those in the city that the problem of new arrivals adjusting to their new environment is a constant one. Overcrowding is an outstanding evil. A survey in Bombay revealed 15,000 one room apartments, 12 by 15 feet with more than 20 people living in them. There were 79,000 which housed from 10 to 19 people. Further, there were over 250,000 with from 6 to 9 people living in them. The death rate is estimated to be four times higher than that of London. The congestion gives rise to the problem of divided families. A man often leaves his family in the village and joins a society where there are twice as many men as women, and where he has to live an unnatural life in a strange environment. The problem of delinquent children in the city is great. The beggar problem is a constant one. The care of mental and physical defectives is inadequate. Crime increases in such surroundings. There are those who lie in wait for the man who has just drawn his pay and who are expert at separating him from his purse. Middle men also take his money. The incident is told of a sweeper in United Provinces who earned the magnificent sum of Rs. 7 per month. He heard that in Calcutta, he could get 40 rupees a month so he went to Calcutta and got himself a job. When he received his pay, one middle-man demanded a tip and another and another until he finally had just eleven rupees left. With the difference in the standard of living, this sweeper did not even receive as much as he would have in his village. It is heartening to note

that some of the sweepers got together in 1940 and 1942 and demanded better conditions and that their lot has improved since then.

Modernizing Influences. There are advantages in living in an Indian city. Many of the educated people live in urban areas. The city offers electric lights, running water, quick transportation, newspapers, radio programs, talkies, business opportunities and a university education. Industries are practically all centered around certain city areas. A great variety of goods is sold by city merchants.

The people in an Indian city are a heterogeneous group. All sorts of costumes are seen on the streets. Numbers of people represent foreign countries as well as many places in India itself. The city is a place where one may escape from the stigma of caste as found in the village.

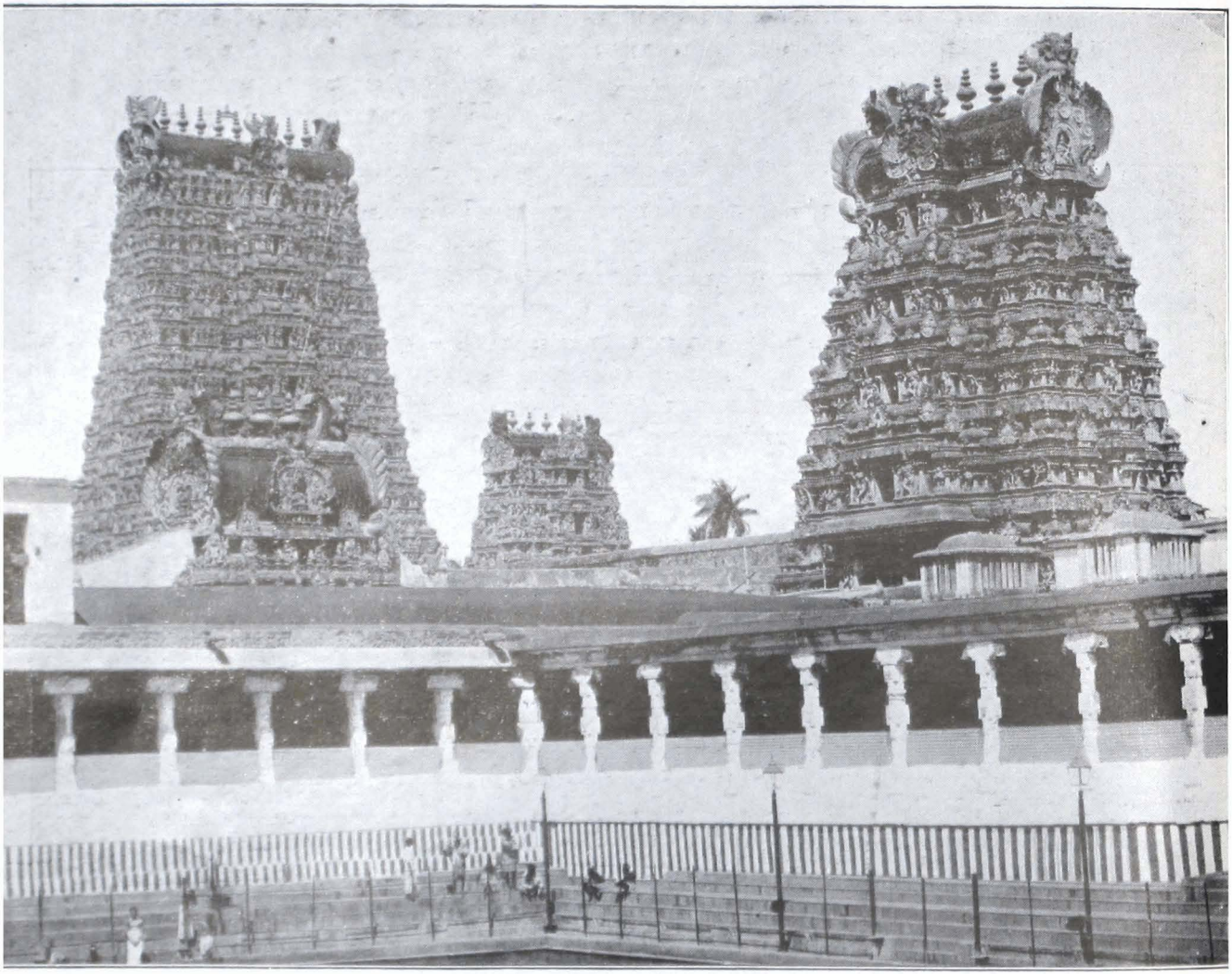
The Indian city contains a curious mixture of the ancient and the modern. An ice-cream cart will detour around a buffalo team in the road while a brahminy bull gazes into a window full of the latest lingerie. The electric bus gets blocked by a two-wheeled cart. Signs may be carried on a two- or four- sided wooden frame by individuals walking underneath it or there may be neon advertisements. The buildings are a combination of various sorts of architecture. Main roads are usually broad and winding; side streets thread their way through a jumble of narrow walls. The sun throws its heat along unshaded avenues but around the corner is a green park. The noises and the smells of an Indian city are unique and are more easily experienced than described. Each city, however, has an individuality all its own and a few will be considered in more detail.

Bombay. When one sails into the beautiful Bombay harbor and the shoreline draws closer, the Taj Mahal Hotel is the most conspicuous building one sees. The ship ties up at Ballard pier and the foreigner is impressed by at least three things—the miniature size of the goods trains on the nearby siding, the people dressed in white and Indian house crows. Soon there are other things too. Everyone and everything seems to walk down the middle of the road, and one wonders how it is possible to drive a car in such confusion. The victorias drawn by miniature ponies, are from a page in a picture book.

The city dates back some 500 years when it was a series of small malarial islands inhabited by a few fishermen. It became a Portuguese possession in 1534 and then British in 1661 when it had a population of some 10,000. In 1668 the East Indian Company rented Bombay for a sum of ten pounds. Much of the old city was destroyed by fire in 1803 but a new city was begun. A railway line was constructed (G.I.P.) in 1853 and American cotton was replaced by Indian cotton in 1861-1865. Bombay now became the cotton city of India. The Gateway of India was erected in 1911 when the King and Queen of England visited India. The city has grown until it extends some 20 miles northward from the lighthouse to Mahim Fort and beyond. The city is like a saucer and when a heavy rain occurs, traffic in the center of the city is halted. Much of the lower part of Bombay has recently been

Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

ROADSIDE BAZAAR



Courtesy, *The Treasure Chest*

DRAVIDIAN TEMPLE AT MADURA

reclaimed and filled with modern apartment houses. Marine Drive is flanked by palm trees and gardens. Malabar Hill is another noted residential section. The Great India Peninsula railroad station is at Victoria Terminus near Crawford Market in the business section of town. The Bombay, Baroda and Central India railway comes in at Bombay Central, closer to the crowded section of Byculla. Victoria Gardens are farther north beyond which is the mill area of Parel and others. The Mahim causeway leads to outlying areas such as Bandra, Santa Cruz and Juhu, along the Arabian Sea. The city is full of modern business houses, restaurants and theatres. Bombay is the center of the Indian movie industry. B.E.S.T. buses and trams serve the city through its efficient scheme of electrification. The Tata interests own the Taj Mahal Hotel, the Tata Air Lines and several large hospitals. Much of the business of Bombay is conducted by Tata and other Parsi firms.

Calcutta. On the eastern side of India lies Calcutta, its former capital. In order to reach it from the Bay of Bengal, ships have to travel several hours up the Hoogley River. Soundings are taken every few minutes for the sands are constantly shifting. Larger boats must wait until high tide. The jute industry of the country lies along the banks of the Hoogley. Boats dock at Outram Ghāt or other places not far from Fort William. In 1690, the East India Company acquired rights to "the little group of villages on the mud flats of the Hoogley." Fifteen years later, the total population had risen to 15,000.[1] Fort William was erected in 1716. From these small beginnings, Calcutta continued to flourish.

From Outram Ghat one passes through Eden Gardens near Government House through the spacious *maidān* or park to Esplanade and Dharamtala Streets. At right angles, along the edge of the park is Chauringhi Road on which many of the larger business houses are located. Victoria Memorial and the Cathedral are in the park. New Market is just off of Chauringhi to the west. The leading banks and the Post Office are centered around Dalhousie Square beyond which is the great bridge connecting Calcutta with Howrah. Several medical schools and universities are located in Calcutta. The Museum is well known. Kalighat, the Jain Temple, Dum Dum airport and the botanical gardens in Howrah are places often visited. Calcutta appears to have less European influence than Bombay. The streets are more congested. Bombay is more of a shipping center while the business interests of Calcutta cover a wider range. Calcutta may still be called the "industrial capital" of the country.

Delhi. It is impossible to think of Delhi and New Delhi separately as they are rapidly growing together. Old Delhi was founded about 950 years ago and has been the capital city of a number of empires. Some of the outstanding buildings date from about A.D. 1300. The present cities are about

[1] Dunbar, G., *India*, Vol. II, pp. 335-7.

the seventh and eighth ones to be built there. The Red Fort is near the Old Delhi station. Within its enormous walls of red sandstone one finds the Pearl Mosque and structures built of marble where the famous Moghul kings lived. On an imposing site a short distance away is the Juma Musjid, the largest mosque in India. Chandi Chauk is the principle street in Old Delhi where the ivory palace and other noted shops are located. A wild, desolate part of the city is known as the Ridge. Here numbers of famous battles were fought. Beyond the Ridge are the spacious grounds of Delhi University. Still further are the government agricultural farms.

New Delhi, a few miles to the east, was carefully laid out by Sir Edwin Lutyens. The main government buildings were erected in the 20's—the Secretariates, the Council Chamber and Government House. King's Way and Queen's Way and many other broad avenues connect one part of the city with another. Connaught Circle houses many of the leading business firms. Foreign countries have their embassies in modern structures throughout the city. The lawns, parks, avenues and buildings represent a thriving capital which is becoming more and more prominent in the affairs of the world today.

CHAPTER XII

Government

Ancient Government

The idea of a King probably originated from the rule of the patriarch. From earliest times the right of a King to rule has been based upon divine authority. It also depends upon his strong arm, strategy, efficient army, political intrigue and fortunes of war. The *Rigveda* shows that the king at coronation swore to support his people and if he opposed them, he lost all his accumulated merit for the next world. The *Rigveda* called him "protector of the people."

The *Mahabharata* states that the loyalty of the people should be like passive obedience. The king was to be elected and assisted by a council made up of 31 caste men and one outcaste. In the *Laws of Manu* a further development of government was noted when the principle was accepted that in return for taxation, protection was to be guaranteed. From about A.D. 200 on, the State was considered owner of all the land. Because of the custom of kings keeping a large harem, there always seemed to be room for doubt as to which child would rule in his father's stead. Thereupon, intrigue in the royal households was rife. There was suspicion of all motives and an elaborate spy system was established. Even the favorites of the king were shadowed and reports were made from time to time. Throughout these early ages, careful checks were made on finances. Then for centuries, very few writers mentioned political developments. There was a succession of strong man governments up to the coming of the Muslims.

Two early Indian rulers that we do have records of, however, are Chandragupta (about 300 B.C.) and his famous grandson, Asoka (273–232). Chandragupta set up a vast empire and initiated the Maurya dynasty. Asoka continued to extend the empire which reached from the Khybar to a short distance south of the Kistna River. In a war against the Kalingas, Asoka was appalled at the loss of life among his enemies. From that time he was greatly influenced by Buddhism and recorded many edicts on iron pillars and on stone. From these we get our most complete picture of government in ancient India. Gradually the expenses of the court were reduced and order was brought about. Among his Laws of Piety were the following: no animal slaughter for sacrifice, reverence of parents, non-injury to living things, no disputes, self-mastery, toleration and performance of good deeds. Numerous positions, like that of Censors, were filled by elections.[1]

During the Moghal period and after, Indian law was divided in two groups—Hindu and Muslim. Both of these systems claimed divine origin.

[1] Joshi, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 14, 17, 19, 81, 147.

The basis of the Hindu law was the *Shāstras*; the basis of the other the *Korān*. Government at this time in North India was under the domination of one strong Moghal leader after another, beginning with Babar (1483–1530) and Humayan (1512–1584) then Akbar (1542–1603), Jahangir 1629 and Shahjahan (1592–1666) and finally Aurengzeb (1619–1707). At the same time there were numerous Hindu kingdoms over various parts of India, some of which for a while were brought under Muslim rule and others which were practically untouched.[1]

Coming of European Government

With the advent of the Europeans, the government of India began to change. The Portuguese made their influence felt from 1498 to about 1600 after which the French and English appeared on the scene. The East India Company organized in 1600, set up its first factory at Surat in 1612. The growing power of the French and English led them eventually into a mortal combat during the eighteenth century from which the English emerged victorious. Clive (1756–60) was the first to establish a firm British rule in India. He was followed by Warren Hastings (1772–75) who became the first Governor-General of India appointed to this position by an act of Parliament. Until this time the police power was entirely in the hands of the zemindars. In 1793, Cornwallis (buried near Benares) organized the police power as a part of the government. A succession of strong Viceroys followed. English law was not begun until 1773. From that time on, for about sixty years, the law was greatly confused until its codification in 1833. Trade and laws governing trade were all in the hands of the East India Company from 1600 to 1773, when the appointment of Hastings was made. Gradually the British rose to be the paramount power in India.

British Administration During the 19th Century

One of the contributions made by the British was a universal language—English. At first it was the policy of the government to encourage only the basic language, Sanskrit, and those languages growing out of it. It was not until David Hare and Mohan Roy established their *Hindu College* in 1816 that English was first used. After this, the demand for English greatly increased. Carey and others set up the first missionary college two years later. Then in 1835, based on Macauley's recommendation, government began to encourage English as a medium of learning.[2]

Another department set up about this time was Posts and Telegraphs. This was officially begun in 1833. A hundred years later there were over 100,000 postal officials and about 24,000 post offices throughout India. Also in 1833 the future civil and military administration in India was set up. At this time the Governor-General became the first Viceroy, responsible only to

[1] See *Great Men of India*, pp. 440–50. [2] *India Year Book, 1934–5*, p. 362.

the Crown. He was aided with a Council of high English officials, each responsible for a definite part of the Administration.[1]

Experimental railroads were begun in 1845. A number of short runs were constructed, two of which were a line from Calcutta to Raniganj, a distance of 120 miles on the E.I.R. and a 33-mile line on the G.I.P. from Bombay to Kalayan. Then in 1853, Lord Dalhousie suggested the present railway system. Six years later the government let a contract for 5,000 miles of line to eight companies, five of which are operating today and three of which were merged in other companies.[2]

The British government moved through a series of military campaigns, each with success. There were the Afghan Wars of 1841-42, the Sikh Wars of 1845-50 and the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. Following the Mutiny, in 1858, an Act of unusual interest was passed, in which the entire interests of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown. Three years later Sir John Lawrence organized the military system which India has today. The High Court System was established; justices were appointed by the Crown. Juries were required in High Courts, but not in civil courts. High Courts were courts of appeal from the lower superior courts and a decision here was final except when a case was appealed and taken to England. Lower in order were sessions courts, district courts and lastly civil courts. Under the police act, a provincial police system was set up, administered by local government. The District Superintendent of Police had full authority and was on a level with the District Magistrate. Both of these were subject to the Inspector-General of Police, controlled by the Home Department. The Criminal Investigation Department was not organized until 1902.

In the villages and towns were the *thānas* or local police headquarters. Here the people came with their complaints. All offences under penal laws were recorded and investigated; others were noted in a separate book. Investigation was without charge; if a case were established, the case was supposed to be conducted without charge. One *thāna* may have been the closest one in 50 miles. In cities the Police Commissioner was responsible for law and order. There were about 200,000 policemen and 10,000 *thānas*. Each year they investigated about 6,000 murders, 4,000 robberies, 25,000 cattle thefts and 175,000 other thefts. They tried about 750,000 cases and convicted about 500,000 a year. The jail population was about 100,000. In jails there were workshops and some industry which did not compete with the established markets. The government conducted reform schools for young offenders. Usually sentences were fines or a short time in jail. For serious offences, transportation for life or hanging was pronounced.[3]

Types of crimes which were most often dealt with fell into seven groups: 1. Petty stealing, such as grain from fields and fodder, in which the government is not able to do much. 2. Professional gambling, also very hard to

[1] *India Year Book. 1934-5* p. 64. [2] *ibid* p. 674. [3] *ibid* p. 462.

check and stop. 3. Stealing and selling of women with which the government usually follows a hands-off policy. 4. Arsen, the burning of others' property. 5. Decoity, such as digging into a house, highway robbery, the carrying of illegal firearms. This was an offence against government. 6. Fighting and murder. If a bone is broken or if a man was in hospital longer than ten days the case went to government. Violent deaths and murders in some areas were not uncommon. The practice of carrying loaded *lāthis* was one reason. Frequent and prolonged litigation was another. Very often the cause of the quarrel seemed trivial. A landmark might have been moved a few feet during the night and the next day, during a quarrel, a man was killed. 7. Illicit manufacture of liquor; these cases were handled by the government.

There are a number of circumstantial causes of crime, the five most common ones being: poverty, which leads to stealing; oppression by landlords; bribery and injustice such as forcing men into quarrels; customs such as inadequate marriage arrangements which bring together incompatibles; crowded and unsanitary living conditions.

Agents for dealing with crime might be classified under government and church. Among the former are the government courts and judges. There are also the C.I.D. men. The Christians, led by missionaries, try to settle differences outside of court whenever possible. They often deal with domestic affairs which the government will not touch. There are Christian *panchāyats*, church courts and pastors, all of whom try to promote peace among the Indian community.

The year 1885 is notable, for it saw the birth of the Indian National Congress. There was actually another group which started two years before but they soon joined forces. Mr. A. O. Hume was one of the prime movers of the party and it was founded with three aims: to gather all the different political parties into one organization and to bring about national unity; to promote all types of social uplift; to promote better relations between England and India with the view that India be more adequately represented in the government. A few years later, the aim to expand the Legislative Council was successfully carried to England and embodied in the Act of 1892 by which the Council was increased and liberalized.

Political Developments of the 20th Century

Perhaps the first event which began to weld together the various groups of Indian politicians was the proposed Partition of Bengal. Back in 1874 Assam had been separated from Bengal, and although Assam then contained three Bengali sections, Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar, there was little said. But when it was proposed to transfer Chittagong from Bengal to Assam, Hindus and Muslims arose in protest. Their reasons were based on injury to Mother Earth because of the division and because this area was really Bengali. Rabindranath Tagore was one of the leading spokesmen. As a result the scheme was suspended, but it had paved the way for a more united India.

The Muslim League was founded in 1906. The group was made up of educated English-speaking Muslims. They divided in 1928 when Jinnah became prominent. The idea of "Pakistan" was conceived about 1930 at Cambridge, England but was not pushed as a goal until after 1942.

The most glorious *Durbar* which India has ever seen was held in 1911-12. The King and Queen of England landed in Bombay on December 2, following which the King was crowned Emperor of India. The capital of India was moved from Calcutta to Delhi. For the next few years government ran rather smoothly except for the differences in Bengal over the singing of a national hymn, *Bande-Mataram*, which starts, "I salute the mother of us all, the Motherland." This difference tended to strengthen the unity of the India Congress Party. During the First World War, many Indians were sent outside India where they had their first intimate glimpse of Western life. One of the effects indirectly traceable to this source was the uniting of Hindus and Muslims and the evidence of more independence of thought. England promised to liberalize India's government because of the help given by India in the war.

The functions and powers of government had grown over a long period of time and that a restatement was needed. The government claimed a share in the produce of the land, which some felt to be unjust. Government also regulated irrigation, police, education, medical work and sanitation, sale of liquor and drugs and forest lands. The government had a monopoly on salt, opium, railroads, posts and telegraph and the issuing of money. In 1919 the Montagu-Chelmsford report was put into law. Three Presidencies and seven provinces, including Burma, were set up. The government was to be administered partly by a governor and council appointed from England and partly by others appointed by the governor. The work of the government was divided into reserved and unreserved powers. Among the reserved powers which government retained were: control over finances, defence of India, civil and criminal law, customs, taxes, commerce and trade. Indian leaders protested that they were not really given a fair share in the government.

Protests against the government were especially acute in the Punjab. Unfortunately at this time of stress, the Amritsar Incident occurred in which people, who were forbidden to hold meetings, gathered in a square and were fired upon by troops. A number of people lost their lives. Gandhi now became the leader of the Indian Congress Party and advocated non-violent non-cooperation, though some of his followers resorted to violence. In 1921 the *swarāj* program was begun; it promoted the wearing of *khaddar* and the manufacture and use of *swadeshi* or Indian-made goods. Two years later, Lord Reading doubled the salt tax without consent from the Legislative Assembly and made Indian leaders feel left out of government partnership. Government wished to improve relations so an English Commission was formed which came to India to study the situation.

India protested that the Simon Commission was entirely British and Congress renewed non-cooperation. Later Gandhi was arrested and sentenced

to six years, but was released. In 1929 Gandhi advocated Dominion Status but prospects for immediate fulfilment were not bright. Gandhi now used his influence to try to break the government monopoly on salt by a march to the sea in Gujarat. At this time he was again arrested but following a fast, was released. The British Government tried to bring about an understanding and in the next two years held three Round Table Conferences in England. Gandhi attended the second one which broke down over the communal question. Civil disobedience was renewed and about 75,000 Congressmen were imprisoned. Gandhi endured a 21-day fast and was finally freed. In 1934 civil disobedience was suspended and the following year Gandhi resigned from Congress to devote his time entirely to social uplift. He worked with sweepers, advocated intercommunal dining, temple entry, adopted an outcaste girl as his daughter while his son, a Kshatriya, married a Brahman. Many orthodox Hindus protested at some of his acts, but Gandhi had a vision which he consistently followed.

Final Years of British Rule

Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 and on until 1935, the Central Government was made up of two bodies headed by the Viceroy and his cabinet. The Viceroy and seven Cabinet or Executive Members of Council were appointed by the Crown for a term of about five years. These Members held the portfolios of Education, Health and Land, Home, Finance, Commerce and Railways, Industries and Labour and Law. The Viceroy was in charge of Foreign Affairs.[1] These members formed a cabinet which met with the Viceroy once or twice a week. The majority ruled when there was a division of opinion but could be overruled by the Viceroy. All these Members along with others, formed a total of 60 which made up the Council of State (34 elected members). The President was a nominee of the Viceroy.

Then there was the Legislative Assembly or the Indian Legislature, made up of 144 members, 105 of whom were elected. They held their position about three years. This body elected its own President. Transferred powers under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act gave to Provincial governments control of medical, public health, most of the educational, public works, agricultural, excise and industries departments. The Provincial Governments were made up of the Governor appointed by the Crown along with a small Executive Council which varied in the Provinces (two in Bombay, four in Madras) and Ministers (two in Bombay and three in Madras). The Indian Legislature was formed usually for a period of three years. Bills introduced in either house had to pass the other house and have the signature of the Viceroy. If necessary bills were held up by the legislatures the Viceroy had the power of declaring that the bill was for the safety and interests of British India and could then be put in force.

[1] *Indian Year Book, 1934-5*, p. 71.

In 1934 a White Paper was issued containing the proposals for a new constitution which was to be an All-India Federation made up of the Provinces of British India and any Indian States that wished to join. The next year the Government of India Act was passed. It was the longest bill ever put through the British Parliament. The Act, in theory, gave full Provincial autonomy with partial responsibility at the Center; the Constitution was supreme; the Federal Court interpreted the Constitution and all Constitutional changes were vested in the British Parliament.[1] Again there were "reserved" subjects, retained by the British. Also, the Viceroy and Governors had the power to veto bills, and Indians felt that there was little final authority vested in the legislatures. Representatives from the Indian States were nominees of the maharajahs and did not represent the people as in other federal governments.

Under the new Act, the King was to be represented by the Viceroy. The Central Government was now made up of two chambers, the Council of State was increased to a total of 260 members,—156 from British India and 104 from Indian States. Office was for nine years, a third retiring after every three years. Of the 156 from British India, 150 were elected and 6 appointed. The 150 were divided with 75 general seats (Hindu), 49 Muslims, 6 other castes, 4 Sikhs, 6 women, 7 Europeans, 2 Indian Christians and 1 Anglo-Indian.

The House of Assembly or Federal Assembly now had 375 members of whom 250 were to be from British India and 125 from Indian States. The 250 members were divided on the same lines as the Upper Chamber.

By the same Act, Provincial Legislatures were also created. A bi-cameral system was set up in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam where there were both a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. In the Punjab, Central Provinces, North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind, there was a single house, the Legislative Assembly. Representation was on the same lines as the Central Government. The total number in all Provincial Legislatures in 1935 included 808 Hindus, 482 Muslims and 41 classified under "Women".

Joshi in commenting on this form of government said that such a parliamentary form works well in England where there is a majority rule and where the minority for the time being, accepts majority rule, where parties are divided upon broad and not sectional interests and where political opinion is mobile. With none of these factors present in India, the way to a successful federal government will be a peculiarly difficult one.[2]

In the first Provincial elections, the Congress Party won a majority in seven of the eleven Provinces. These officials, at the most, had only two years of brief experience in governmental administration when an unfortunate situation arose which caused most of them to resign. War was declared in Europe and without consulting Congress officials, India was declared by the British to be a belligerent. This was resented by many Indian political leaders

[1] See Joshi, *Indian Administration*, Ch. 3. [2] Joshi, op. cit., p. 69.

and as a result, civil disobedience was renewed. Selected people throughout India volunteered for arrest and practically all of the Congress leaders were again thrown in jail. The Viceroy appointed a Defence Council and enlarged his Council. The British Parliament voted to prolong the life of the Indian Legislative Assembly indefinitely, as long as war continued. The British Government went ahead and organized India's defence without the cooperation of Indian leaders.

By the time the war was over, some Indian leaders were advocating complete independence from Britain. Relations between Hindus and Muslims were not happy and when Jinnah and others of the Muslim League began to work for Pakistan, animosity between the two communities grew.

Perhaps the most important outcome of the war was a promise by the British Government of Dominion Status for India. In 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with this offer. During March and April he conferred with Indian leaders, urging them to accept this proposition. At first it seemed as though this might be done but finally the talks fell through over the question of defence of India which the British Government wished to control. A reaction against the British set in, culminating in "Direct Action Day" on August 19th, 1942. Gandhi, Nehru and many others were arrested. A good deal of government property was destroyed.

Lord Wavell followed Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy. His first problem was to cope with the Bengal famine in which between a million and two million people eventually perished. He had great hopes of bringing about British-Indian political harmony but was disappointed. When the Liberals took over the government in Britain, and Lord Mountbatten became the last Viceroy, the offer of freedom for India was made. The country was at first stunned and then jubilant. Machinery was at once set in motion to draw up a new form of government. This difficult assignment was marred by a series of deadlocks between the Hindus and the Muslims over the issue of Pakistan. Finally in May 1947 the Congress Party gave in to the Muslim League. June 2, 1947 was the fateful day when the announcement was expected whether to divide or not to divide. If the latter, Muslims declared that they were ready to fight it out. The decision was to create two Dominions instead of one and this was done on August 15, 1947. The tricolor of the new Indian flag flew above the capital. The British promised to withdraw by the middle of the following year but plans were speeded up at such a rate that this was accomplished several months in advance.

With the sudden departure of the British, conditions between the Dominions deteriorated until there occurred a partial genicide. Some several million were said to have lost their lives and many more were uprooted and thrust into a totally strange environment. The initial duty of the new governments was to care for all these displaced persons. It was now that teams of Christian workers, both Indian and foreign, along with government personnel, came to the rescue. It was estimated that 80 per cent

of the lady nurses at the great Kurukshetra camp were Christians. As a neutral community, the Christians were able to help both sides. Lord and Lady Mountbatten and many other government officials gave of their time and energy to help in that great emergency. From this terrible beginning, the Dominions quickly recovered. Within a few months time, things were on the up grade. Gandhiji, more than any other one person, brought together the warring factions. Even in death (January 30, 1948) his influence continued to be a powerful uniting force in India.

The major work of the government has been to draw up a new constitution. The Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar, piloted much of the constitution through the Legislative Assembly. While this work was under way, the last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten handed his post over to the Governor-General-elect, Rajahgopalacharia. At the conference of Dominion leaders in London in 1948, the Indian Premier, Jawaharlal Nehru, stated that India would not yet sever its connections with the Commonwealth. A year later, Nehru's suggestion that India become a sovereign Republic within the Commonwealth, was accepted. India's political development has been more rapid than most people had thought possible. The statesman who has given direction to development in his usual farsighted way is Pandit Nehru. He is the "Father of the modern Indian Republic."

CHAPTER XIII

Changing India

Industrial Development

The Second World War taught India at least two things about industry. In the first place it emphasized the need for it and in the second place the war helped India to begin to acquire the "know-how." This does not mean to infer that there was no organized nor unorganized industry in India before the war. India has long been noted for her arts and crafts. She has also been known, during the past fifty or one hundred years for her organized industries such as cotton and jute mills, her steel mills, locomotive shops and gun carriage factories. But as Masani points out in his book *Our India*[1] this country has many untapped resources. It is not knowing how best to utilize them, which has been the difficulty. But even this difficulty is being overcome today. For example, during the war, a large number of Europeans worked in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore. Part of their task was to train Indian successors when the Europeans would leave. It is not surprising, four years later, to read in the press that the first airplane has been assembled by Indian workers. Another example is seen in the policy of the government of India which selects promising young men and sends them to America and Europe for technical training. A large group of students on our boat were going to the University of Michigan to study chemical engineering. Soon after the war the Bhore plan was proposed for the further organization of industry. Although India has been primarily an agricultural country, the war gave such an impetus to industry that no one can doubt that the future for Indian industry is bright. One sees constant reference to new plans such as harnessing unused water power to produce electricity. The dam to be built across the Jumna above Dehra Dun is only one scheme in an extensive plan to encourage Indian industry.

Unorganized Industry

Mussoorie has a few local industries. The making of canes and walking-sticks is one of the more interesting. Bundles of rough sticks are brought in on mule back from Tehri State. These sticks are burned over a charcoal fire, scraped, filed, carved and polished into the finished product. Along the roads of the bazaar one often sees crude rope being made. Hemp or branches of the *bimal* tree are put in stream beds to rot. When the fibres are ready, they are twisted into long, yellow strands. Below the bazaar, a kiln is operated where limestone is produced and is used for whitewashing and building. There are several flour mills where grain is ground. Out among the hills, farmers

[1] Masani, M., *Our India.*

used a cleverly devised water mill. The force of the water turns the heavy stone wheels which effectively grind their grain. In the bazaar are the usual silver-smiths, watch-makers, tinsmiths and others who make their living by working with their hands.

Arts and Crafts Shops. The government has been instrumental in promoting local industry by bringing products together in an arts and crafts shop where they may be sold. Here one finds articles priced from a few annas to several hundred rupees. One section may display seed elephants, pins, brooches and animals carved from bone or ivory. In another section are brass and copper vases, trays, bowls, plates and lamps. The textile section may be more extensive with its varied examples of *swadeshi* cotton or woollen goods in attractive colors. Or it may be a section in silks with beautiful *sāries* from Banaras, done all over in gold thread. There may be a silver section with the Lucknow village pattern or the delicate Kashmir tree of life design.

Local Industries. Some industries are carried on locally by a whole community. The Sadhs in Farrukhabad, United Provinces, make cotton prints. Their art may have been imported from Italy about 300 years ago. In one section one hears the tap, tap of wood carvers, chiseling designs on blocks of wood. In another place one sees the blocks dipped in dye and pressed upon cloth. The black is usually put on first and then another block used for red, green and yellow designs. Yards and yards of cloth lie between the workers who sit crosslegged on the ground. Then the material is washed and dried. Bedspreads, table covers, pillow tops, all are folded away and placed on shelves to be sold. There is little attempt to advertise their work through window displays. There is usually enough demand so that advertising is unnecessary. The village of Ferozabad, also in United Provinces, has only one main road but most of the people in the shops on either side are engaged in the making of bangles or glass bracelets. This is quite an art and is fascinating to watch. Another place where a great deal of handwork is done is in Srinagar, Kashmir. Some dealers have factories where hair rugs are matted and sewed with colorful designs. There are woollen and cotton embroidery, *pashmina* ring shawls and woodcarving. Sheep skins are transformed into warm jackets. Other dealers sell coats of lapin, fox, leopard, marten or lamb skin. Some of the most exquisite designs are wrought in silver with the result that Kashmir tea sets are in great demand.

Small Widely-spread Industries. The silver-smiths are located in most cities throughout the country. They sit on the floor of their shop and transform their alloys into puzzle rings, nose rings, earrings, finger rings, bracelets, anklets, brooches and pendants. Some jewellers work with semi-precious stones. Hawkers from Bhutan sometimes have good things in copper, amber and jade. The tin and iron workers turn out little stoves, tin cans, pipes, tea kettles. They are fairly good at copying patterns. In fact it is said of the handworkers in a local bazaar that they can mend almost anything.

On the plains, the most universal hand industry is spinning. Gandhi greatly encouraged this industry for social reasons. Most poor people have only the clothing they wear and he urged them to invest their leisure moments in the making of more garments so that they would not feel so limited in their wardrobe. Some wealthy Indians, realizing what Gandhi was driving at, made vows that they would wear nothing but *khaddar* or cotton cloth in order to lessen the gulf between themselves and their poorer brothers. Many are able to spin as they walk. Then there is a simple wheel which women use in front of their houses. In the larger cities and in certain places like Imphal, Assam, weaving is carried on by castes or encouraged by government. When connected with caste, spinning and weaving is *the* industry of the group. Government directs handcrafts among its jail populations. Baroda jail is noted for its cotton prayer rugs of bright colors. Saharanpur jail makes matting so extensively used under rugs in houses in Mussoorie, while Fatehgarh, U.P. makes attractive carpets. Another industry is the magical moulding of earthen dishes on the potter's wheel. With a long twist the heavy wheel revolves on a horizontal plane a few inches off the ground. The worker sits crosslegged, places his lump of clay in the center of the wheel and begins to mould the moist mass. The water pot or plate rises out of nothing and is shaped with deft fingers, cut at the base with a cord and placed on one side in the sun to dry. Later these articles may be baked. Woodworking, in its ancient form, included very little furniture. This was changed with the coming of Europeans to India. Some places like Saharanpur, continue to carve out chanar and jungle patterns and assemble them into screens, boxes, stands and bookends, but most of the woodwork now is chairs, beds, tables, stands, clothes-presses, cupboards and other heavy furniture. One of the oldest types of handwork is making articles from stone. In the Hardwar bazaar one finds rather nice vases, bowls and plates of medium or of small size, turned on lathes. In Agra one finds replicas of the Taj done in soapstone. Most of the stone work, however, is connected with temples or mosques. Carving in Jain and Hindu temples as seen at Mt. Abu or Madura, reached a high degree of excellence. Inlay with precious stones like that at the Taj or Delhi Fort, although European of origin, shows original design and fineness.

Mission Industries. Some of the Indian industries have been encouraged or sponsored by Christian Missions and missionaries. There is the Bidar inlay work in the Deccan. Ebony work is carried on by the Baptist Mission in Orissa. Fine needlework comes from the Kalimpong Homes. Darned net and Indian dolls come from South India. Katpadi, near Madras, has textile work and shops which produce beautiful rosewood furniture. Basket-weaving was started in a village near Allahabad. These, along with training in tailoring, woodwork, bookbinding, motor and machine repair, are encouraged by various Missions.

Organized Labor. This branch of industry, according to the Census of

1931, accounts for about 5,000,000 of the 26,000,000 connected with industries. Of Indian industry Sir Frank Noyce in the book *Social Service in India* says in his chapter on "Industrial Labour," "to the newcomer from Europe, the most striking features of Industrial life in India are the predominance of three industries: the spinning and weaving of cotton and jute, with engineering and metal works; the importance of the seasonal factory; and the absence of a permanent factory population."[1] These three industries are concentrated in surprisingly small areas. Almost all the cotton factories are located in Bombay, with a few at Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Cawnpore. Similarly, practically every jute factory is on the Hoogly River. Engineering and metal works are more widely scattered. The Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Bengal Iron Company are both in Bengal while the Mysore Steel Co. is at Bhadravati. Ordnance factories are mostly in Bengal with one in C.P. and Bombay Presidency. Railway workshops are in Bengal, U.P., Bombay and the Punjab. There are coal and iron mines in Bengal and Bihar. Electrification, which lights up most large places, is creeping into rural areas. The success of the Tata scheme south of Bombay has given impetus in this line. Communication such as trunk roads, railroads, post and telegraph service were put in by government for military reasons almost a hundred years ago.

Smaller Organized Industries. Industry is a comparatively recent comer to the Indian scene. Orchard in her article in *Asia*[2] gives some illustrations which are typical of the growth of this phase of industry. In 1890, a Brahman opened a little bicycle shop in Bombay. In 1904 he began to deal in plows. Six years later he was making his own plows at the rate of 200 a year. After the war his work prospered and now he makes over 30,000 plows a year. He sent his sons to the United States for training and his plant is prospering. Then in Calcutta an ambitious man first hawked cooked rice around the streets of that city. He and his family were peasants from rural Bengal. He was good at mathematics and did a little speculation. In 1921 he went into a small engineering shop and began to manufacture platform scales. In 1934 he built his own jute mill, equipping it with some foreign machines but with many others produced in his own shops. By 1939 he was working on plans for a motor car.

Of other industries one might mention those like the Western India Match Company at Bareilly which puts out about 3,000,000 matches daily, perfume factories found in the vicinity of Kanauj, U.P. or the Bombay film industry. Then there are plantations, the most important of which is tea. The level carpets of trimmed bushes in Assam gardens under shady, ground enriching trees, are worked by people from Central Provinces or farther away. Large drying sheds and packing houses spread over quite an area. In South India are plantations of coffee, tobacco and some rubber. Sugar factories, bordered by acres and acres of cane, are common sights in North India. *Gur*

[1] Noyce, F., *Social Service in India*, p. 276.

[2] Orchard, *Asia* Magazine for April 1940, pp. 212-216.

making is one of the industries simple enough to be carried on by tiny local presses. The juice, squeezed out by a simple arrangement of three wheels, is boiled and drained off while pulp is used for fuel.

War Industries. The United Nations–Axis War greatly stimulated industry in India. Where there were ordnance factories, now they have increased to such an extent that new cities like that near Jubbulpore, came into being. Parts of airplanes and ships were built in India where none were constructed before. The Indian Army has grown several-fold and equipment needed to furnish it employs thousands. There was no Indian Navy nor Air Force; now both are of considerable size. Indian products replaced European ones on the market. Charcoal burning engines were now manufactured; more Indian iron went into locomotives. The Cawnpore leather factory, which employed 1,500, now has over 17,000 employees. The Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, made paper from grass and bamboo, used sisal fiber, manufactured wooden dishes and tested many wooden articles used by the military organizations. In chemical research they substituted things cut off by the war. Derris tree roots mixed with kerosene was a new insecticide. Santonine for hay fever, obtained from an imported Russian ragweed, and ephedene, grown from a Chinese plant have been replaced by Indian articles.

During the war, Indian industrial contracts rose from Rs. 110,000,000 to Rs. 2,613,000,000. Their machine tool production rose 480 per cent. Four hundred drugs, formerly imported, were made in India. At the beginning of the war where there were no trained workers; India now had 50,000 of them.[1]

Problems. After World War I, there was general unrest among Indian laborers. Money depreciated but prices stayed up, making it almost impossible to secure food. Then a number of industries, begun during the war, could not compete in the world market against better established concerns and had to close. Following World War II, the purchase price of the rupee was again similar to that in 1919. The index of living stayed near 400 per cent, compared with a price index of 100 in 1939. The laborers were better organized in 1949 than they were in 1919. Laws for their protection had been enacted. A money-lender could no longer waylay a worker on the day he had received his pay, as he emerged from the factory. The years of 1933 and 1938 saw the introduction of favorable protective legislation. One of the greatest differences in the 30-year interval was the protection afforded to embryonic industries. High tariff duties now kept out a great deal of foreign material. A tax on steel parts for automobiles caused General Motors to try to use steel made and pressed in this country. The end result will be that India will gradually become more economically independent.

With the advent of the larger factory units, more has been done for the social uplift of the workers. The C.P. Manganese Ore Co. at Ukwa is a good example of what is done for the workers. The houses of the employees are

[1] *The Times* War Record Supplement, London, 1945, p. 32.

Photo by R. Alter

THE JUMNA BRIDGE AT ALLAHABAD

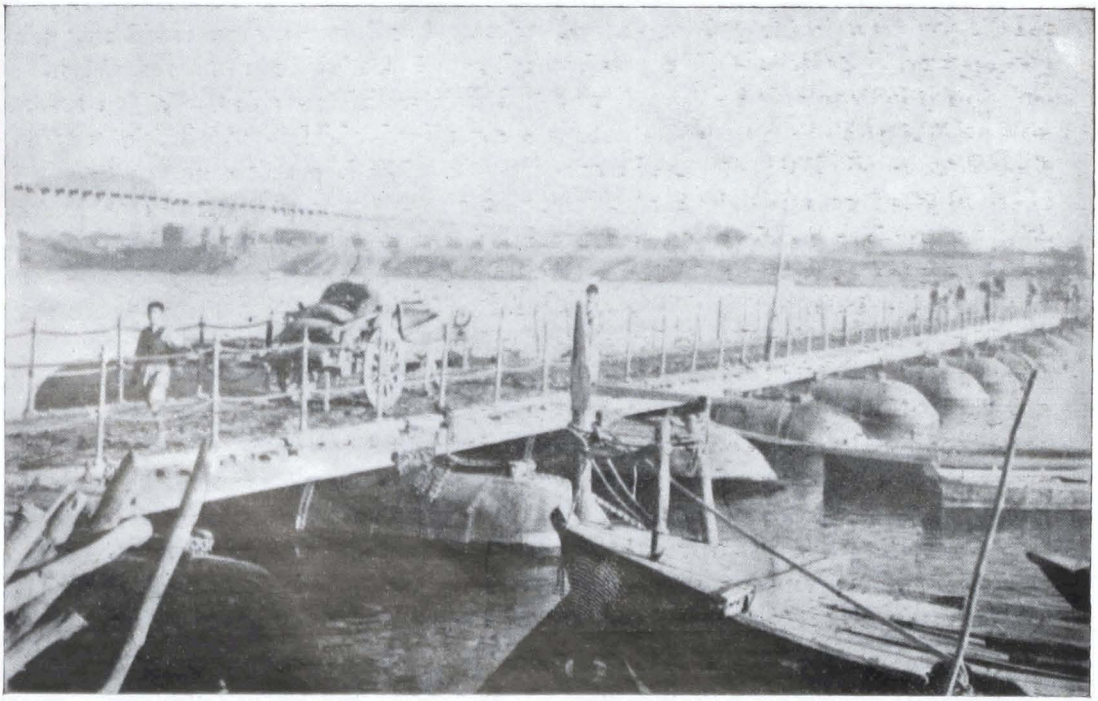


Photo by R. Alter

PANTOON BRIDGE ACROSS THE JUMNA AT ALLAHABAD

Photo by R. Alter

MODERN BUDDHIST TEMPLE AT SARNATH NEAR BANARAS

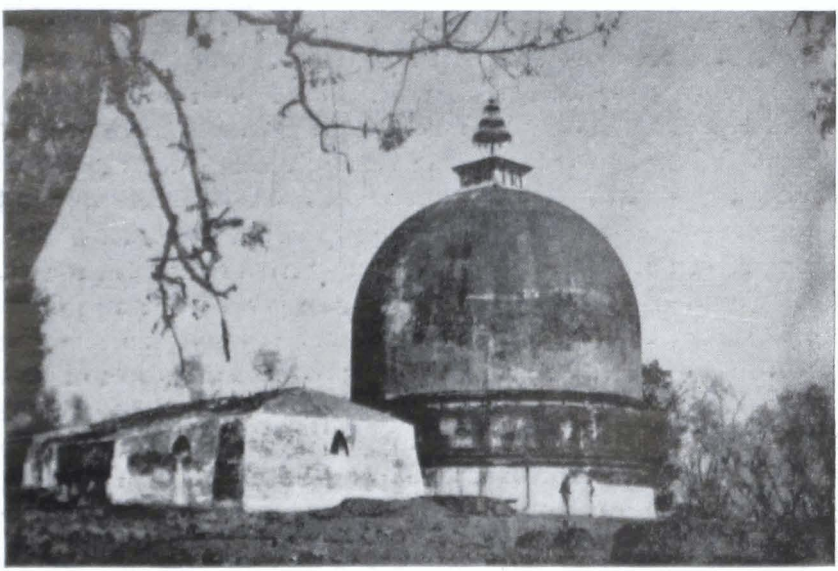


Photo by R. Fleming

STUPA AT KASIA NEAR GORAKHPUR WHERE BUDDHA ATTAINED NIRVANA

whitewashed and neat. There is plenty of space between the rows of buildings for washing and drying clothing and for children to play. A qualified doctor is in charge of the health program. The incidence of malaria in 1939 was 128 per cent. By 1948, through their mosquito-control program the figure was down to 13 per cent. During the ten-year period, the birth-rate has more than doubled while the death-rate has lowered. Sickness from all causes has been lowered by 40 per cent. The community bazaar day was arranged when workers were not required to report to duty and dealers in foodstuffs and clothing offered their produce at a lower rate on that day than on other days during the week. Wages for ordinary workers were between one and a half to two and a half rupees a day. Whenever a new strike of ore was found, local people rushed to Ukwa to be employed. A large crèche under the direction of a full-time nurse cared for babies of working mothers each day.

In Cawnpore, model quarters are rented to workers at a very nominal sum. Health is checked, babies are gathered at a crèche, and an athletic field and stadium are not far away. At the Northwestern Tannery, where the number of employees has risen from some 1500, ten years ago, to about 15,000, a full-time social worker is employed to head up activities for all the laborers. A few years ago, the office of a social worker was practically unknown.

At Kamaria, the worker's houses have running water and sanitary arrangements. Their walls are brick and they have tile roofs. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore has separate little apartments of two rooms and a kitchen for each family. The roads are broad and there is no crowding. In the Punjab where land has been reclaimed by irrigation, model villages have been erected. In numbers of places there is keen competition for the improvement of living quarters for workers.

Mention must be made of the Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay, set up in 1939. Two and a half years of advanced work is offered to about thirty graduate students. Graduates from this institution are serving in very responsible positions throughout the country. They are employed as advisers to government, rehabilitation officers, medical social workers, pyschiatric social workers, welfare officers in large business concerns or cities, and professors in universities. *The Indian Journal of Social Work* is published quarterly and contains excellent articles on all phases of social work, not only in India but also from many other countries. Other publications deal with the beggar problem, social disorganization, Indian students going to U.S.A., care of the unfortunate, problems of health and social surveys i.e., "Bombay Bus Drivers—Their Life and Work." This school is doing a supurb work under the guidance of Dr. J. M. Kumarappa. Men and women of various religious communities of India are represented at this institution. Those who have been trained here are making a most constructive contribution to the lives of people throughout the length and breadth of India.

Medicine in India

Health Problems. To the casual visitor in India the problem of the health of the people seems to be the most impossible one to deal with. One has only to stand by the side of a city or village street and note the hollow shoulders and chests, spindly legs, the pot bellies and the blind eyes of persons who pass by. A prominent Indian leader said that if someone could do something to improve the posture of the average man of the street, he would do India a great favor. Since the war it has been noted that the training in military service has done a great deal along this line.

The problems of sanitation are overwhelming. Think of one of the 700,000 villages with refuse heaps and sewage disposal down the main street, with swarms of flies everywhere and the public spitting, urination and defecation which creates health hazards on all sides. Note what water is drunk and where it comes from. It is little wonder that few children in village schools are free from intestinal infestations as checked by stool and lab reports. Gandhi stressed the necessity of bore-hole latrines as have many mission centers. This is one effective way to attack the problem.

Child marriage is another factor which mitigates against the health of the nation. Matings in India were usually consummated at the first signs of puberty and telegrams are sent to the home of the husband that his wife must now be sent to him. Only twenty years ago (1929) *The Report of the Age of Consent Committee* showed that 42 per cent of the girls in India were married before 15 years of age. Sir John Megaw estimated that 100 out of every 1,000 girl wives are doomed to die in childbirth and about 200,000 mothers die yearly.[1] The three principal causes for infant mortality in Calcutta are listed as congenital debility, premature birth, largely due to syphilis, and *tetanus neonatorum.*[2] In 1931, over 15,000 widows were listed, under the age of five years and over 4,000,000 girls under the age of ten were married.[3]

Another cause for a high death rate is poverty. India is a rich country in many ways, yet because of ignorance and lack of education, a great proportion of the population live at the starvation level. When the family income is a a few annas a day, neither the quality nor the quantity of food can be sufficient. According to Jathar and Beri, "general poverty make the people peculiarly non-resistant to diseases like malaria, plague and influenza. The low vitality of the Indian people explains the fact that at most ages, the expectation of life is lower than in European countries . . . the annual birth-and-death-rate are among the highest in the world; India occupies a position of unenviable preeminence among the civilized countries of the world."[4] To the above three diseases mentioned, one might add leprosy and tuberculosis which are directly related to low economic level of living. Mass vaccinations are now suggested to try to eliminate T.B. which claims 500,000 victims a year.

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, Part I, p. 97. [2] *ibid.*, p. 92. [3] *ibid.*, p. 224.
[4] Jathar and Beri, *Indian Economics*, p. 58-59.

The beggar situation in many of the larger cities is serious. Individuals with diseased and deformed bodies, expose themselves along city streets in hopes of receiving alms. Some children have been purposely deformed in order to bring in money from passersby. Lepers used to line Dharamtala Street, one of the main thorougfares of Calcutta as they asked for gifts. The beggar problem is one which has been tackled by the Tata Graduate School of Social Service. One of the graduates, John Barnabus, returned to his home city of Lucknow and began by renting a home where beggars might live. This developed into a detailed program of rehabilitation. Lucknow has now become a model city where begging is no longer the problem that it used to be.

Quack medicine is easily practiced in a country like India where most of the population have received little or no education. Such individuals are found on almost every train where they deceive the gullible public. From a pill book printed in Amritsar we learn: "Leprosy Cure:—An unfailing remedy for Leprosy of all kinds divide two tolas of the powder into 40 parts and take one part daily with honey and water mixed in proportion of 1 to 10." And "Elephantisis or Elephant Legs:—This dreadful disease is cured by our medicine. Ours is a double remedy . . . ." "Consumption:—This low incipient fever attacks the bones and reduces the body to its lowest ebb. Expert medical opinion has declared the disease as almost incurable. But whatever be their verdict we can confidently assure that our medicine will slowly but steadily cure the disease . . ." "Epilepsy:—This is the most dangerous and complicated disease, but our medicine which has been tried by many sufferers with great satisfaction will safely get rid of it. One pill a day is to be taken with honey early in the morning while empty stomach." Numerous remedies are included which have to do with the stimulation of sex desire in persons past middle age. Again these quacks prey upon ignorant people.

Another problem is the lack of trained doctors. There are now numbers of well trained men and women but they total only about one-tenth the number required for this country. Medical graduates are gradually increasing but as yet, large sections of the people have no access to medical aid when it is needed.

"Medical" Practices. Local doctors or *vaids* often practice medicine in a way which is difficult for some to understand. When some friends were passing through a village, a delegation from the headman's family came to ask that a patient be seen. They were led to a well-built house and on the veranda lay a man on a cot. He was thin and yellow and seemed to be in pain. On the lower right side of the abdomen were a series of raw burns placed there by the *vaid* who attempted to release the evil spirit within. It was so far to a hospital that it was useless to suggest adequate surgical care.

Even some individuals with doctor's degrees do not seem to use their knowledge an extreme case was of a doctor in a town, not far from a good hospital, who preferred to have his wife attended by a *dai* at childbirth. Infection set in and the case got worse. A Western doctor was called. The woman was found in a dark corner covered with dirty clothing. The patient's body was

a mass of infected sores from unsterile needles the husband had used when he found the case to be critical. The woman died. Such conditions provided a shock to those who hadn't expected to find them in the home of an "educated" doctor. A few years ago, one of our school children fell and broke an arm while skating in the rink. The teacher on duty took the child to the nearest bazaar doctor who poked the arm a bit, put on a splint and declared that the arm would soon be all right. When the school doctor examined the arm, a serious double fracture was found, requiring a number of X-rays and a cast.

In some places, such as among the Bhutans around Darjeeling, a small wooden "horn" with a plug in it is placed in the bed of a patient. The plug leaves a small hole open and when placed next to a patient, will draw the curious spirits into the hole. An attendant slyly plugs the hole, carries the "horn" into a field where the hole is unstopped and the evil spirit is released.

A local public health officer issued an order that a man in the bazaar should no longer sell frozen ice to anyone. When the District Commissioner heard about the case he questioned the public health officer as to his reasons. "Oh," replied the officer, "it is a well-known fact that ice in the mouth creates a draught down the throat by which the germs may more easily enter!"

Although the picture of health in India is a fairly dark one, most educated people are aware of many of the problems and are trying to do something about them. There is now a well-formulated government health program.

Dispensaries. In cities like Mussoorie, a part of the municipal health program is the maintenance of public dispensaries. People may receive medicines for a nominal fee while the poorer clientele may secure free aid. Dispensaries have played a large part in the total program of Christian medical service. In some places there are traveling dispensaries like those conducted in Central Provinces by the American Mennonite Mission. They go out once a week on their leper tour and stop at regular centers where well over a 100 cases will be treated. Of course a number of other sicknesses will be seen as well. By the end of the day the doctors wearily climb into the motor and drive 30 miles back home.

The Landour Community Hospital serves a stream of patients daily. They include servants, hill people from outlying districts as well as individuals living in the bazaar. The Baptist dispensary at Jorhat, where Dr. Kirby spent so many years has thousands and thousands of admissions a year. The Jumna Dispensaries in Allahabad have long filled a great need in that section of the country.

Most places make a small charge for services and materials given. Villagers usually prefer highly colored liquids and the more bitter, the better. They are much more willing to be vaccinated or to have an injection than they once were. Christian hospitals often have a Bible worker who sings *bhajans*, recites portions from the Bible or answers questions from those who wish to talk. It is heartening to learn how far some people come to secure reliable medical service. In a Central Provinces hospital, Bible women visit the

in-patients daily. At night there is a regular hour for showing pictures and giving lectures in public health. It is at this hospital where villagers are permitted to look through the microscope to view the "worms" in the water they were just drinking from the village pond. Here relatives of a woman in-patient were discovered serving her a freshly broiled rat. Upon investigation the practice was found to be quite common among certain castes.

Reference has been made to the leper clinics held along the roadside in C. P. There are also several Christian mission leper homes with several hundred occupants. These people care for their own houses, raise their vegetable gardens and live-stock and find many useful occupations under the supervision of Christian missionaries.

Public Health Service. The public health program is in charge of the government. The Officer of Public Health is an important one in a station like Mussoorie. Only well-qualified medical doctors are appointed here. The work of the Medical Officer is many-fold. He is responsible for the sanitary conditions of the city. He must see that meat is inspected daily and slaughter houses are screened and abide by a number of other regulations. He sees to the screening of foods in the bazaar. Sewers, garbage disposal and municipal sweepers are all regulated by him. Periodical testing of water is made, for he has to keep the water pure.

Quarantine regulations and everything that pertains to the regulations of epidemics is another type of work. Forms must be filled out and sent in regarding every contagious disease. Cases of smallpox or cholera of travelers and coolies must be reported in order to prevent spread of the disease. The city supports an isolation hospital. A corps of workers such as public vaccinators are employed. Others come to fumigate houses where cases like diphtheria have been attended.

Another field of activity is that of prevention of disease by education and propaganda. Every year at the municipal hall is held a Mussoorie baby show. This affair is very popular and it is an opportunity to get across a little information as well as a practical demonstration as to what can be done. Every little waif is dragged into the show and all expect a prize. One fat little fellow failed to get a prize one year and the father was very put out. Next year he did get one as he was not then overly fat. The father couldn't understand why he got a prize the second year and the child had only gained a pound in twelve months. Evidently "buniya" proportions is a mark of good health! Then there is a pre-natal clinic over in the bazaar run by an intelligent midwife. To raise the quality of midwives, they are now licensed. The clinic is a place where charts, pictures and much information may be seen or obtained at no expense. Then there are municipal clean-up campaigns with the placing of wastebaskets and urinals at convenient places. All this helps prevent disease and lengthens the life span.

Health centers are becoming more common. In some places health visitors are employed. They direct maternity care and child welfare work.

In the larger centers, babies of working mothers are gathered in crèches during the day. Baby folds care for abandoned or neglected infants and place children for adoption. The Warne Baby Fold in Bareilly has reared several hundred children. About twice as many girl babies are brought in as boy babies. A home making course has been developed for older girls who help at the above institution. All these efforts provide additional safeguards to life in India.

Schools of Medicine. There seem to have been at least three systems of medicine in India. One which is not heard of much today, is called the Yunāni school. Its practitioners work on the principle that illness is caused by evil spirits within the body and these are to be released by methods which they alone know. A second system, which is being popularized, is the Aiyurvedic school. Much is done in the use of herbs. Illnesses are roughly divided into ailments which are hot or cold. If a patient has a fever, he will never be given fruit juices, ice water or anything cold. Hot tea would be acceptable. The third school is that of Allopathic or Western medicine. Two common English degrees are granted: the M.B., B.S. (Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery) which is somewhat like the American M.D. degree and the L.M.P. (Licentiate Medical Practitioner). Those with the former degree are more in demand than those with the second degree. So far in India there are not nearly enough doctors to go around. In an institution at Haridwar, the Aiyurvedic and the Allopathic Schools of medicine were side by side. One of the officers of the institution pointed out that some patients preferred one type of medicine, especially those suffering from organic disorders but often those suffering from functional diseases would choose the other! It was unusual to find both schools so close together.

Hospitals are now much more numerous than formerly. They are usually run by government, missions or private individuals. The government school of tropical medicine in Calcutta is well known. The Tata hospital in Bombay and the Mission hospital at Miraj are two noted cancer centers. Good government hospitals are found in all large cities. Lady Harding Medical College for Women is in Delhi. Ludhiana and Vellore Medical Colleges are being sponsored by the Christian Medical Association of India. Women's Mission Hospitals are well known. An eye hospital of the highest order is carried on by Dr. Holland in Quetta, while the one in Moga is also widely known. Mission General Hospitals in Nadiad, (Gujarat), Azamgarh, Bareilly, Brindiban, Fatehgarh, Moradabad and other places are doing a fine work. Still other Mission hospitals located at Tilda, Bilaspur, Pendra Road and Mungeli in Central Provinces; Jobat and Ratlam in Central India; Bulsar, Gujarat; Ambala and Ludhiana in the Punjab; Kolar, and Mysore City in Mysore State; Shillong, Assam; Srinagar, Kashmir; the Madar tuberculosis sanatorium at Ajmer, Rajputana are others that are doing an excellent work.

When Government recently questioned a Mission hospital in United Provinces as to why they took Christian charitable cases and few non-Christians,

it was found, on checking through the past month that of a total of 24 such instances, 16 were Hindus, 7 were Muslims and only 1 was a Christian. This corresponded closely to the population ratio between these communities in that place. Christian medical institutions are not out to help only the Christian community; they extend their work to those in need with little regard to their religious affiliations.

The training of nurses is carried on in a number of centers. The course is a three-year one and rather thorough. Nurses train in Lahore, Ambala, Delhi and at most of the institutions mentioned above. Nurses may work in connection with a hospital or may take private cases. There is a lack of nursing sisters these days and this is a profession that might well be encouraged.

The work of a hospital is invaluable. We in Landour recall when there was no hospital here and when the Mussoorie one opened well after school began and closed a month and a half before we went down. We always hoped and prayed that we would have no serious accident among the pupils which would make it impossible for the patient to reach Dehra Dun in time. This feeling of uncertainty is greatly multiplied when one is assigned to a lonely station some distance from medical aid. To the uneducated peasant, however, the lack of trained medical workers is a thing of no concern. It would be too expensive, usually, to take a patient to a hospital than one would be to travel in a bumpy bullock-cart; one would break caste rules in doing so. The idea of *kismet* is often too strong to do anything for a patient who is seriously ill. If he is destined to die he will and often does.

The reputation of a hospital largely depends on the doctors in charge. When a patient whom everyone thought would die, lives, then the doctor has more patients from that section. A man in the Fatehgarh hospital who had been ripped open by a buffalo, came back whole and was a good advertiser. A boy got his hand mangled in a sugar-cane presser. They took him to the local pastor who hurried him 40 miles to the Mission hospital where the hand, except for two fingers, and the boy were saved. Many who would never have a chance are saved and cared for in the hospitals.

Sometimes patients would rather die than have an arm or leg removed. Certain seasons of the year are much better for entering hospital than others. On Hindu holidays, such as Dusera or Divali, the hospital will be practically empty. Should a patient die in one of the wards, instances have been known when everyone packed up during the night and disappeared.

Hospitals which provide living quarters for relatives who can prepare food for patients are much more popular than those which do not have this accommodation. At first, non-Christians objected to being placed in a common ward but now consent is given and if necessary, a purification ceremony at a neighboring temple will restore their standing.

Education

Of more than 350,000,000 people in India, in 1921, only seven per cent were literate. Ten years later, in spite of quite an effort, only eight per cent were literate. Then with the separation of Burma, the increase was only more than a half per cent. Of the total, about ninety per cent were men. It is said that one of India's greatest problems today is the task of increasing literacy. The principle of respect to the teacher is still powerful in India and this ought to be a help in the educational process.

Early Education

From the *Mahabharata* we have an inkling about early education in which four or five pupils gathered around a *guru* and learned to recite sacred verses. Siqueira says, "Education was meant to be a religious initiation: the teacher had to teach the pupil how to pray, to offer sacrifices, to perform his duties according to his stage of life."[1] In this type of learning, everything was memory work. After the third century B.C., Buddhist influence began to be felt. There are records of students gathering in numbers as large as 4,000 and and forming a group like the European medieval universities. Subjects were graduated and consisted of logic, grammar, mathematics, physical exercises and others. Then came the Muslim influence based on the Koran which said, "It is better to educate one's child than to give gold in charity."[2] There was elementary education for new converts. A number of Moghal rulers somewhat influenced education but it was Akbar who greatly encouraged education. In all its history, says Siqueira, Indian education remained personal and was based upon the family system.

The first English schools were those set up in the factory areas for the children of their employees. Soon after missionaries arrived, they established school and paved the way for government schools to follow. The first mission school was begun by the Baptists in 1793 in Bengal.

For centuries, informal education among the Hindus has been in the hands of the Brahmans. A pandit gathered together a few high caste children and arranged that their parents pay for their children's education in kind and see that the teacher was fed. The teacher on special days often received special gifts or a *dhohti*. During the year he may have received as much as Rs. 75. Once in a while there were low caste teachers who gathered about him a few boys but this was mostly a service of love for his own caste. The girls got their education in their homes. From early days they often had to look after younger children and when about six or seven, they often tended the cattle, made cakes of dung and straw, or did other required work. Girls were not permitted to attend schools for it was well known in olden days that girls and outcastes had no minds which could be developed!

[1] Siqueira, *Education of India*, pp. 5-6. [2] *ibid*, p. 6.

Growth of Education

In 1833, about one-sixth of the boys of Madras and one-eighth of the boys in Bombay were having some sort of education. However only about five and a half per cent of the people of India were literate. As early as 1816 Hindu College was established in Bengal which used as its teaching medium, English. A few years later the Sanskrit College was almost empty while the Hindu College was crowded. Little English-speaking schools began to spring up. There was a division of opinion among the English government officials in regard to education. Adam represented one school of thought which held that elementary school should be stressed. Another group felt that education should concentrate on oriental subjects through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic. Still another group felt that education was only for the few and if the upper classes were trained education would trickle down to the masses. Finally Macaulay in his Minute carried the day for education of the few. He said that Indians could learn English as well as Sanskrit or Arabic, that there were no adequate terms for science in Indian languages, that Hindus crowded into the Hindu College and deserted the Sanskrit College, that such a leader as Raja Roy had stated that western language was better.[1] Through the persuasion of Macaulay, unlogical as it was, British Government began to open higher institutions of learning with English as the language medium. In 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established. Admission to the Universities was through the Matriculation examination which was based on texts and learning artificial to the Indian environment. Because everything was in English, high schools were the tool of the Universities. All primary education was in the vernacular. The aim of high schools was to aid the pupil to master English in order to pass the examinations leading to the University. In 1882 a government commission suggested that high school candidates be divided into scholastic and non-scholastic groups, but it was not then carried out. When vocational education was proposed, there was such a strong caste feeling that to work with one's hands was degrading that the *Quinquennial Review* of 1912-17 pointed out: "95 per cent of the boys who pass through secondary schools follow the curricula prescribed by the Universities for the Matriculation examinations."[2]

Primary education in rural schools is usually conducted by District Boards. Until recently the headmaster received from Rs. 15 to 25 a month and an assistant from Rs. 10 to 12 a month. The building is often small with a three-foot strip of black paint which prevents oily head-marks showing on the wall. Pupils are set apart either by class or caste although numbers of teachers got from eight annas to one rupee extra each for teaching outcaste children. More formal schools are the government schools, directed by the government and visited periodically by the inspector. These are usually found in more populous centers. When the inspector comes, the school is usually crowded; at other times the attendance drops. Children often memorize entire books but when asked questions, seem greatly confused.

[1] Siqueira, *Education of India*, p. 6. [2] *ibid.*, p. 6.

Mission Schools

When European and American missionaries came to India, they set up three institutions side by side—a church, school and a hospital. Today missionary effort is largely confined to these three fields of activity. Missions have made two outstanding contributions to Indian education. Firstly, it opened schools to girls. Hitherto, from Rigvedic times education had only been for boys. Missions made no discrimination between the sexes. In recent times, when the girls studied in the higher classes, it was found that often those who came out first in their classes were girls. This convinced the male student population that girls did have minds and now girls' education, from primary schools through universities is taken for granted. The second great contribution was the opening of schools for outcastes. As many of the Christian group were originally outcastes, the caste Hindus watched the new mission schools with contempt if not interest. But as children passed through these schools and became the most literate individuals of the village, a new respect for the Christian began to develop. By 1852-3 it was pointed out that in mission schools there were 300,000 students compared to 30,000 in government schools.[1] Mission schools led the way but today Government schools have caught up to Mission schools in numbers.

Mission schools have made a great contribution in the experiments which they carry out. One of the outstanding schools is the Moga institution. Here the principle of "a child in the midst" is put into practice. Aims of this school are to improve methods of teaching, to train better teachers, to develop improved reading methods, to teach through the project method and to train pupils in self help. Here we find the second class constructing a model mud house as part of their arithmetic, health, reading and industrial arts program. The third class study marketing, agriculture, arithmetic, soils and other things through the planting and raising of their gardens. Literature consists of many well-prepared booklets where the vocabulary is introduced very gradually to the pupils and the words are often repeated. Literature here is written to correspond scientifically to the reading level. Over 85,000 books written in Urdu have been sold.

European Schools

Schools like Woodstock are run as a separate group called European schools. A government inspector visits these schools once a year and his staff check school accounts. After each visit, a full report is made, copies of which go to government and one to the school. The report discusses the strong and weak points of the institution and give suggestions for improvement. Schools recognized by government receive a government grant, carry a provident fund for staff, give traveling concessions for staff and pupils, offer Cambridge courses, teach required Hindi courses and abide by certain regulations intended

[1] Siqueira, *Education in India*, p. 54.

to promote the welfare of the school. Most of these schools are located in hill stations and are run by those who have had European training.

Educational Reorganization

Mrs. A. E. Harper of Moga reported that a study was made of the wastage of pupils in school. In 1931 for every 100 boys who entered schools, there were only 19 of those boys left in the fourth class in 1934. She found a number of reasons for this. One is the bad methods used in these schools. The first year is devoted to learning to sit still. Then they begin on multiplication tables, chanting them by heart and understanding nothing about them. There is no hand work, no nature study and no knowledge of the world around them. Then on through the middle and higher classes, the entire curriculum is made up of 75 per cent language. It wasn't until about 1918 that the Provinces began to pass compulsory school attendance laws for those between 6 and 10 or 11. Since then almost every Province has passed these laws but in 1935 only about five per cent of the children were actually attending school.

By 1937, Sargent stated that, there were 130,000 in college; 220,000 in high school and about 14,000,000 in primary schools. Of the latter, 72 per cent fell by the wayside before completing the fourth class. It is admitted that free, universal, compulsory education is the need, but there is no adequate plan for attaining this goal.[1]

In 1911 Gokale introduced the Primary Education bill and since then there has been a new emphasis on primary education. However, English education has continued to be popular and there is still a great prejudice against working with the hands.

One of the unique schools in India is Shantiniketan or Abode of Peace, started by Tagore near Bolpur, a hundred miles north of Calcutta. From a small Bengali school it has gradually risen to a University, granting the B.A. degree. Here Indian culture is emphasized. Pupils and teachers live a simple life holding their classes under the trees. Here is no room for caste and pupils do their own work. The forenoon is devoted to regular school subjects while the afternoon is given over to painting, dancing, music and games. Bells ring at the hour and pupils and teachers move about as they wish. Discipline is imposed from within rather than from without. One of the outstanding features is that the school is co-educational.

Another emphasis today is on Adult Education. Numerous organizations have been set up: Adult Education Series, lectures given by the Y.M.C.A.; Adult Education Committee in Bombay; The Government's Central Adult Education Committee set up in 1937; The Indian Adult Education Society and others now encourage this phase of education. A way to educate many illiterates in a short time was offered by Dr. Frank Laubach who first tried his scheme among the Moros in the Philippines. In five years, 70,000 of the

[1] Sargent, J., *Education, 1932-37.*

150,000 Moros could read and write. Dr. Laubach has come to India three times, in 1935, 1937 and 1938-9, applying his method to Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali and Hindi speaking areas where the idea is taking root. The primers used in the Laubach course are very simple ones. First there is a picture of an object and the Hindustani word just opposite. On the next page is another object with the word. This word will sound almost like the first. The word is repeated and put in large print. Then a sentence with the word is used and the word is often repeated. The first lesson is complete in ten or fifteen minutes. This keeps up the adult's interest and he goes away with the idea that he can learn to read. Very often at the first meeting a teacher would get an old woman to learn a word and begin to write it. When she had learned it, the necessary effect was created, for, if a woman could learn to read, why anyone could!

Perhaps the most ambitious educational scheme is the Warda plan which was started in 1937. It has been thought out and initiated by Gandhi who said that this type of primary education was to be adapted to village conditions. The support for such schools was to be entirely divorced from liquor taxes, the usual source from which school funds were derived. Gandhi saw on relation between liquor and schools. Gandhi felt that if handwork can be the core around which learning is built, then education will be successful. Such education would prepare for life instead of examinations and would tend to keep the educated in the villages. A large number of teachers are being trained now to go out and take charge of schools in the Wardha scheme. The Chetsinghs were in charge of two schools at Rusulia, Hoshangabad District and their experiment went on for two years. No fees were charged in this school. Pupils were rounded up out of the fields. Here they did gardening and weaving. Because weaving is required in Wardha schools and such a large amount of time is devoted to it, some have questioned the educational value of so much weaving. The Chetsinghs reported that their pupils turned to weaving with great interest. Here of course, inspiration was derived from their teachers and the Chetsinghs did a good piece of work at Rusulia. Their assistants were Wardha trained. The time has been rather short to draw conclusions on this type of education, but there are many possibilities in the Wardha scheme.

In a United Provinces government report of 1939, suggestions for educational reorganization included the following: the duration of school hours should be about five hours, a third of which should be devoted to handicrafts. In these schools, the old caste idea of refraining to work with the hands because it is degrading, will practically disappear. Throughout this period, education is to be correlated with life situations and forms of manual work. The medium of instruction for the first seven years would be Hindustani. The secondary schools would begin about 12 years of age and would include subjects such as languages, social studies, sciences, mathematics, art, domestic science, commerce and others. Coeducation would exist up until about ten years of age. In the secondary stage, English would now be taught. There would be less emphasis on basic crafts. Admission to secondary schools or "colleges" would follow

after completing the first five years course or the seven years course in the basic schools. Lectures would be largely replaced; libraries emphasized and extra-curricular activities would be encouraged. Parallel with the "colleges" would be vocational schools offering five years' work in engineering, medicine, industrial chemistry and other subjects. Throughout the secondary schools women's education would especially be encouraged. Twenty-five per cent of the teachers in the basic schools must be women and to promote the training of women teachers, it is proposed to pay higher salaries, give free living quarters, employ married couples where the women can teach and to award more scholarships to women. Examinations in these schools would be more of an objective type with both oral and written tests.[1]

A great change in the educational program occurred in the late 40's. During the war years not much progress was made. True the Sargent Report had pointed the way to some extent but other needs were placed first. In the first post-war years, leaders of the country were busily taking over the government from the British. An adequate framework of government had to be worked out and administered. With partition and the momentary chaos between the two Dominions, education seemed to be pushed into the back-ground. This proved to be untrue for deep-lying changes were not only contemplated but put into working order almost over night. One of the most drastic was in the proposal to finance education. The Indian government refused to link education with monies received from liquor taxes. The British had had this arrangement for many years. This was one of the chief arguments used against Congressmen who supported the principle of prohibition of alcoholic drinks. The thesis was that when the sale of liquor ceased, there would be little or no money for education. Just the opposite has been true. Prohibition has been widely introduced and great sums have been lost to India because of it. However, monies have been secured from other sources. Authorities went right ahead with their plan for universal, compulsory primary education. On January 1st, 1949, millions of children set their foot inside a schoolroom for the first time in their lives. Municipal governments sought out suitable buildings in which to house their schools. A more generous scale of pay was offered for teachers. A publicity campaign was carried out in rural areas by government and when the time came, children left their homes and their usual duties and went off to be educated. The development of universal primary education is only in its infancy but indications are that the Indian government has produced a lusty infant which is destined to grow and develop until the people of India are literate. Those who have seen the rapid development in only a few months, extend to the government their congratulations and best wishes for continued success in the years to come.

[1] See *Education*, August 1939, pp. 447-61.

CHAPTER XIV

Outdoor Sports

Team Sports

India excells in certain sports while in others India is below the level of many European countries. In men's field hockey India has made one of its best records. At the World Olympics in Los Angeles in 1932 only three teams entered for this sport . . . Japan, U.S.A. and India. In the first round, it will be remembered, U.S.A. rather easily eliminated Japan. In the finals, India trampled U.S.A. 24—1. This showed how well India knows this game. In 1948, India again won the Olympic hockey title. In the Western-Asia Olympics at New Delhi in 1934, India played Afghanistan and had little trouble in rolling up a good score. Boys' hockey is one of the major sports in European hill schools. Woodstock, however, has never had winning teams in this sport, perhaps because we devote more time to swimming, basketball, soft ball track and tennis, all of which would be more useful in America.

Another sport in which India excels is in polo or hockey on horseback. It is not quite clear where or when this game originated but China, India and Persia have been playing it for hundreds of years. Today more polo is played in India than in any other country. In the polo tournaments in England before the Second World War, Indian teams repeatedly walked away with the prizes. Jaipur and Kashmir boast of the best teams.

A number of team sports have been introduced from the West. In India is seen a good quality of tennis as well as soccer football, cricket, and volleyball. Annual tennis tournaments are held in many sections of India and names like Naresh Kumar and S. Misra are well known. India is becoming better represented in the tournaments at Wimbledon.

Olympic Sports have begun to be stressed in India. During the last ten or twelve years a start was made; now there are annual track meets in the larger provinces of India. One of the prime movers in Olympic Sports was Mr. E. W. Mumby formerly of Christian College, Lucknow. Growing out of his sports program in Lucknow has developed an All-India course which embraces advanced training in field sports, gymnastics, team games and wrestling. A camp is conducted annually from April to July at Sat Tal, Naini Tal District, U.P. In 1941, seventy men took the course. They were of various creeds and castes yet they worked, ate and lived together. Being a wrestler himself, Mr. Mumby has trained some very fine wrestlers including the All-India champion, Abdul Hamid. Mr. Mumby has organized and encouraged his program until Government has given a special grant that this work may be increased. Twice Mr. Mumby conducted a small team to the World Olympics. Although All-India records in field and track events are low, these records are being steadily improved from year to year.

Indigenous Sports

Many of the games seen in India are those in which the individual wins. On the floor in Agra Fort are light and dark flagstones, made by Moghal rulers who used living figures in their games of chess. Chess is an ancient game said to have come from India. A good player in a few moves can checkmate his opponent's king but ordinary players usually win their successes bit by bit. Parchesi, checkers and other similar games where stones are moved along chalk lines, are played by the common man in the streets. Young boys play simple stick games like *guli danda.* An excellent game of endurance is the popular game of *kabadi,* girls play a game called "*Ātā pātā*" which is like "Salt and Pepper." One of India's most picturesque games is badminton. Two to eight individuals may play and it is a game as much for women as men. The game may be as strenuous as one wishes to make it. Requiring more equipment than most other Indian games, it is usually seen played at clubs, hotels or among the wealthier classes. Badminton has become popular in the West.

Betting and Gambling

Horse racing is a popular sport throughout India and each large city has its own race course. Some splendid horses have come from India and probably those belonging to the Aga Khan are among the best known. Government however, has frowned on the practice of betting on horses. Card playing for stakes is limited by Government to two days during Diwali. At other times one can see a game in progress in almost any bazar. The game is often enlivened by playing a card upon the table with a resounding slap. Cock fighting and contests between partridges and other birds is found everywhere. Birds are trained with great care and men bet on the best bird. When one of the fighters runs away or is injured or killed, the other is declared the winner. The throwing of *cauri* shells is another way of betting. The game is to guess how many shells will be face up or down. Lotteries, crossword puzzles and other methods of "getting something for nothing" are popular.

Big and Small Game Shooting

Big game in parts of India is plentiful and usually includes tiger, panther, bison, buffalo, ibex, tahr and occasionally lion or elephant. Big game shooting is usually reserved for Indian Princes, wealthy sportsmen or government officials with a free pass. One of the chief forms of entertainment in an Indian State is to arrange a shoot for visiting dignitaries. There are several ways in which big game shooting is carried out. One way is by driving. A series of platforms or *machāns* are tied up in trees along a natural roadway for animals. The royalty and guests come out on elephants, in motors and sometimes on foot and ascend the trees well before the beat begins. At a distance of two or three miles a large group of villagers or beaters gather. The men are usually tenants who do the royal bidding but are not adverse to joining in

the hunt. The group will be directed by headmen who know every inch of the country and can guess accurately where animals are lying up. The beaters, armed with axes or spears, spread out in a long line. At a given signal the beaters let out a great yell and begin slowly moving toward the *machāns*, beating grass, bushes and trees as they advance. Should an animal be spotted a great shout goes up to prevent its breaking back through the line, as clever tigers often do. Driven down a watercourse or valley, the tiger, let us say, approaches the *machāns*. Stops in trees on either side of the shooters send the animal in the right direction by a little tapping of the tree. An unwary beast presents an easy target; the men with the rifles are usually good shots and the first to hit the animal claims the trophy. At the skinning the *chamars* appear. Some are very clever at their work. Many other lowcaste people crowd around hoping to get some of the meat.

Another type of shooting is by stalking. This much more difficult, dangerous and sporting. One usually engages a man of the jungle who knows how to follow an animal trail. He will take the sportsman to likely spots and then follow the tracks of a bison, for example, until a shot may be made. If stalking takes place in the Himalayas, a pair of good glasses is the first requisite. When once the game is spotted, the trick is to move within shot and be slightly above and to leaward. This is not at all easy when the ground is precipitous. Then after the shot is made, an ibex or tahr may fall several thousand feet where recovery is nearly impossible. Hunting in the Himalayas tests the stamina of the stoutest hunter.

Another common method of big game hunting for those who cannot afford a drive is to tie up a goat or young buffalo and sit over a kill. Very often news is brought in by shepherds or cowherders who have just missed an animal. The loss to the villager is a tragedy and he is anxious to see that it doesn't often happen. One gets into a *machān* well before dark and remains as silent as possible. When the magical hour before dusk arrives and the whole jungle is astir, even should the killer fail to appear, the sights of the birds and small animals which pass, make the stay in the *machān* well worth while.

By and large Indian sports are for those of the leisured classes. The common man is usually too involved in making a living to devote time to games.

Mountain Trekking. Devout Hindus look upon a trip to the Himalayas as an obligation they should fulfill if possible before they die. The route to the four sacred shrines, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Jumnotri are sometimes taken in one trip. This requires a good constitution and a considerable sum of money. Probably most feel that such a trip was well worth the effort for something happens to individuals who leave the beaten paths for those which lead to the eternal snows. Europeans make these trips not as a religious duty like the Hindus but for reasons such as the joy of hiking, visiting a new place, or for securing pictures of the majestic heights. Students at Woodstock School are encouraged to have the experience of such a trek

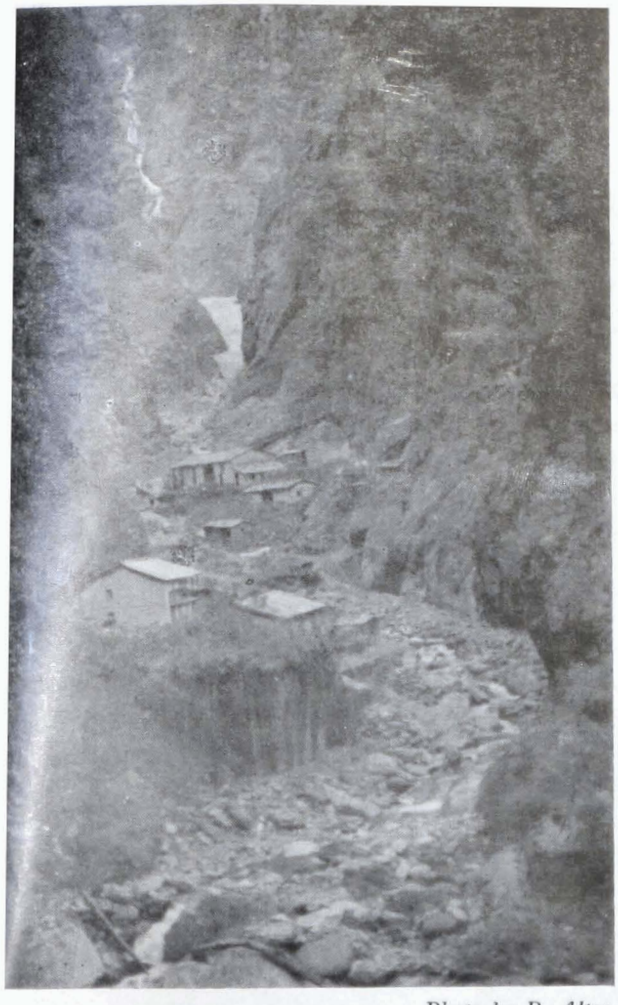


Photo by R. Alter

UMNOTRI VILLAGE WITH REST HOUSE IN FOREGROUND

Photo by R. Alter

A SHEPHERD AND HIS WIFE NEAR JUMNOTRI, TEHRI STATE

Photo by D. Hoffard

KEDARNATH PEAKS FROM KEDARNATH VILLAGE

before they leave the Himalayas. Some have visited one or more of the four places mentioned above. Others have traveled from Mussoorie to Simla, or to Dhodi Tal. Still others have visited Kashmir or have hiked out from Darjeeling. Many students hope to take some of these hikes and it is felt worth while to include a brief summary of several of them.

Mussoorie to Dhodi Tāl. In 1940 Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Bowers, Woodstock masters, made this trip from June 1st to June 10th. Two coolies carried sleeping bags and a basket with vegetables and tinned food. June 1, started at 4.30 p.m. and got 14 miles to Doggada where they slept in a school house. June 2, 6.30 to 6, 20 miles to Dharāsu via Deolsari. This was the most difficult part of the road, over two high ridges and down to a bungalow. June 3, Dharāsu to Uttarkashi, from 6 to 3, for 20 miles. Stayed in a forest bungalow. Uttarkashi was a rather large town where supplies except for fruit and vegetables were obtained. Passes were shown here. June 4, from 8 to 3, for 16 miles. It rained all day so the men stopped in a deserted cowshed for the rest of the day and night, eight miles from Dhodi Tal. June 5th, 6 to 11.30, reached Dhodi Tal. The last eight miles were wild and rocky. Waded through weeds and bushes up to the chest. Saw rhesus and langur monkeys and a deer. Rained all day. Used primus stove once. Not much luck fishing in the lake, only as large as Hanson Field. Needed grasshoppers, cicadas or worms. Kept dry in shed. June 6th, climbed five or six miles up to the snow line—about 16,000 feet. Mist but no rain. Took pictures. June 7th, 6 to 2. Did 24 miles down to Uttarkashi. June 8th, 6 to 2 for 20 miles to Dharāsu. June 9th, 6 to 2 for 18 miles to Deolsari. June 10th, to Mussoorie from 5 to 11 for 16 miles. Saw some pheasants from Uttarkashi upward. Young could fly.

A second group followed a somewhat different route to Dhodi Tal. In 1944, three Woodstock boys with the aid of one coolie trekked 195 miles in nine days. On June 9th, Malcolm McGavran, David Deobhankar and Hugh Macdonald left Mussoorie early. They marched via Magru and the upper Aglar valley, over a steep ridge of slippery pine needles, to do 22 miles their first day. They slept in a field near a spring and had rice, dhal and tea for supper. June 10th, Marar to Nakuri, from 6.30 a.m. to 8.20 p.m., a distance of 28 miles, via Dharāsu. It was a steep drop to the Bhagarathi River where it was hot. They lunched in a mango grove above Dharasu and slept that night in a grassy field. June 11th, Nakuri to Agora, via Gangori, from 6.20 a.m. to 6.15 p.m., a distance of 21 miles. They passed Uttarkashi early in the morning before permits were being seen. A hot day. Slept under trees. June 12th, Agora to Dhodi Tal, a distance of 20 miles. Hired a man to show them up the steep 4,000 foot climb to the plateau at about 10,000 feet. Had to cross several rotten bridges. Got into a hut which was not bad. Noticed the altitude—pains in abdomens. June 13, spent at Dhodi Tal. Felt better. Caught a fish. Saw a pintail duck. Got birch bark. Had soup, gur and tea for a change. June 14th, Dhodi Tal to Gangori, from 6.20 a.m.

to 5.30 p.m., a distance of 26 miles. Saw 12 Impeyan pheasants, two vipers and two musk deer below Dhodi Tal. Slept near river. June 15th, Gangori to Dharasu, about 25 miles, from 6.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. June 16th, Dharāsu to Tehri via Baldhari and Chan. Started at 5.30 and covered 29 miles. Slept in a garden. June 17th, Tehri to Khanatal, from 5.30 a.m. to 6 p.m., for 19 miles. The climb was up all the way and the road not much more than a goat track. Got a little Indian food at a village to supplement meagre diet. June 18th, from Khanatal to Mussoorie, from 6.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. for 21 miles. The trip was strenuous. Most coolies will not travel that far in a day nor do the hikers carry quite that much of a load. The coolie was a house-servant of one of the boys and more or less had to keep up with the group.

Mussoorie to Jumnotri. In 1941 Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Badley of the Woodstock staff planned a trip to Jumnotri, a 93-mile trek. June 5th, 3.30 p.m. was the time set for the start. Covered 13 miles to Bhawan but couldn't find coolies who had gone on ahead. June 6th, looked for coolies. Started to rain. Went on to Deolsari, over the ridge and to the hut at the bottom of the ridge where the coolies were discovered. Had had no food all day. Covered about 15 miles. June 7th, 6.30 to 10 p.m. via Dharāsu to Dunda. Swim in the river was ice-cold. June 8th, journey through a valley until noon and then ascended a ridge to the Jumna divide. Slept in a deserted shed populated with fleas. June 9th, 6 to 5. Reached the Hanuman *dharamsala*, which was again inhabited by insects. June 10th, 16 miles to Jumnotri, a small, rather disappointing place. Slept under pines. Coolies had warned them of exotic flowers which prevent breathing (altitude?). June 11th from Jumnotri via Simli onto another route to Dharāsu. Slept under pines. June 12th, down hill to Dharasu. June 13th, up at 5 and traveled until 10. Covered 35 miles and reached Mussoorie. "Memories—sudden, swift, noisy mountain streams, the thrill of a crystal clear pool so cold you gasp for breath, towering crags and sheer precipices, the soft whisper of rain on pine needles, the quiet curiosity of hill people, wind-swept rocks etched against the snow, sheltering ravines, unmatched grandeur of the Himalayas and the clean tang of life in the open, the lights of Mussoorie . . . " so wrote Mr. Badley.

The Pindāri Glacier Trip. Bishop C. D. Rockey with a party of six Woodstock hikers traveled to the Pindari Glacier in 1943. The trip lasted from June 4th to the 14th. On the 4th, the party went to Dehra and took the train for Bareilly, changing to the branch line for Haldwani. Arrived there on the morning of the 5th. Secured seats in a bus which drove 100 miles that day through the mountains via Gurm Pani towards Gurur. Stayed in a dak bungalow that night and drove on 15 miles early the next morning to Gurur. Arranged here for two pack animals to carry our loads. An easy 12-mile walk that day to Bageshwar on the Sarju River. The bungalow was spacious and all supplies could be obtained in the market. June 6th, 6 to 5, a distance of 23 miles. Reached the Loharkhet bungalow, via Kapkot, in the evening. Good swimming at Kapkot. June 7th, Loharkhet to Dwali about 20 miles.

It rained at Khati but at the bungalow we hired coolies in place of horses as the bridge further on was out. Followed the Pindar River, turning abruptly to the left. Some got lost in the river-bed but we all reached the comfortable Dwali bungalow together. June 8th, three miles to the Phurkia bungalow where we left our things and went up to the glacier seven miles above. Saw a number of Impeyan pheasants. Not many flowers. A constant roar of water. A snowplume over Nanda Kot peaks. Eight large waterfalls pouring from the higher mountains across the narrow valley. Slept the night at Phurkia. The stages of the return journey were the same. Why do some travelers seek the higher ranges of the Himalayas? Besides those reasons already suggested, another less tangible one was voiced by Kipling in "The Explorer" when he wrote:

"Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the Ranges.
Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go! . . .
Something lost behind the Ranges. Over Yonder! Go you there!"

INDEX

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HISTORICAL INDIA
Srinagar
Peshawar
Taxila
Jumnotri
Simla
Kedarnath
Harappa
Quetta
New Delhi
Haridwar
Mathura
Darjeeling
Mohenjodaro
Fatehpursikri
Kasia
Chitor
Jaipur
Kanauj
Udaipur
Sarnath
Mt. Abu
Sanchi
Shantiniketan
Marble Rocks
(Jubbulpore)
Ajanta
Ellora
Puri
Kanheri
(Bombay)
Bidar
Bijapur
Amaravati
Goa
Vijayanagar
Mysore
Tanjore
Cochin
Madura