

CENTENARY VOLUME

C. F. Andrews.

1871—1971

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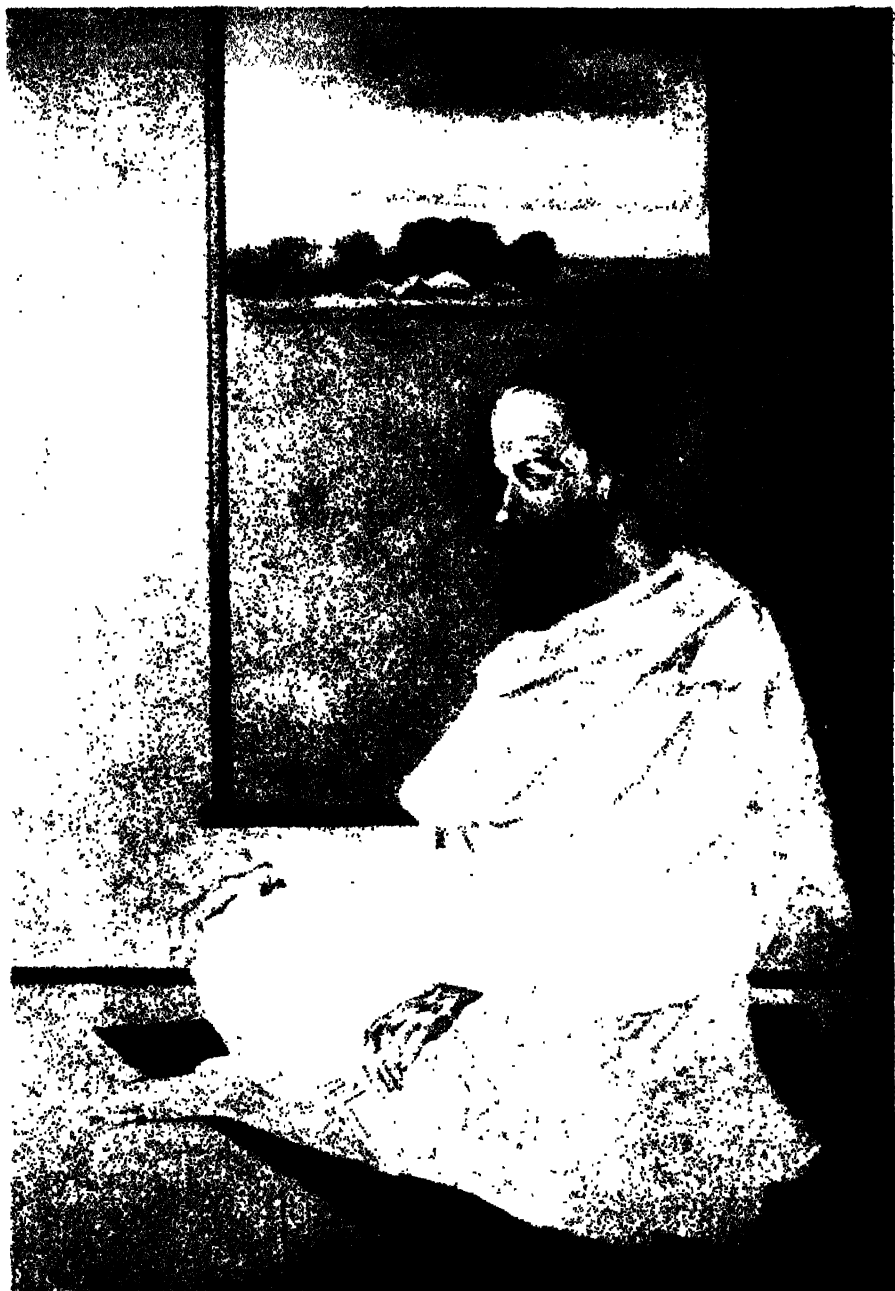
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DEENABANDHU ANDREWS CENTENARY VOLUME



TRIBUTES

ସୁଖୀନୀର ଡିଆଁ ହେଉ ପ୍ରାଣେଶ୍ୱରୀର
ଦେବକୁ, ଏକେଇ ଦୁଇ, ଡିଆଁ ନୟନୀର ।

প্রাচী দিন সন্ধ্যা ও সন্ধ্যা সন্ধ্যা,
 হে সন্ধ্যা, প্রহর সন্ধ্যা, সন্ধ্যা সন্ধ্যা।

ਸ੍ਰੀਮਦ੍ਰੇਣੁ ਭੋਗਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀਮਦ੍ਰੇਣੁ ਭੋਗਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀਮਦ੍ਰੇਣੁ ਭੋਗਾਰ,
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[illegible]

(১৯১৪ সালে শান্তিনিকেতনে দীনবন্ধু এন্ড্রুজের অভ্যর্থনায় রচিত)

রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

আমাদের প্রিয়তম বন্ধু চার্লস এণ্ড্রুজের গতপ্রাণ দেহ আজ এই মৃত্যুতে সর্বগ্রাসী মাটির মধ্যে আশ্রয় নিল। মৃত্যুতে সন্তার চরম অবসান নয় এই কথা বলে শোকের দিনে আমরা ধৈর্যরক্ষা করতে চেষ্টা করি, কিন্তু সাংসনা পাই নে। পরস্পরের দেখায় শোনায় নানা প্রকার আদান প্রদানে দিনে দিনে প্রেমের অমৃতপাত্র পূর্ণ হয়ে উঠতে থাকে, আমাদের দেহাশ্রিত মন ইন্দ্রিয়বোধের পথে মিলনের জন্যে অপেক্ষা করতে অভ্যস্ত। হঠাৎ যখন মৃত্যু সেই পথ একেবারে বন্ধ করে দেয় তখন এই বিচ্ছেদ দুর্বিষহ হয়ে ওঠে। দীর্ঘকাল এণ্ড্রুজকে বিচিত্র ভাবে পেয়েছি। আজ থেকে কোনদিন আর সেই প্রীতিস্নিগ্ধ সাক্ষাৎ মিলন সম্ভব হবে না এ কথা মনে নিতেই হবে, কিন্তু কোনোরূপে তার ক্ষতিপূরণের আশ্বাস পেতে মন ব্যাকুল।

যে-মানুষের সঙ্গে আমাদের প্রয়োজনের সম্বন্ধ তার সঙ্গে যখন বিচ্ছেদ ঘটে তখন উদ্ভূত কিছই থাকে না। তখন সহযোগিতার অবসানকে চরম ক্ষতি বলে সহজে স্বীকার করতে পারি। সেই রকম সাংসারিক সন্যোগ ঘটানো দেনা-পাওনার সম্বন্ধ মৃত্যুরই অধিকারগত। কিন্তু সকল প্রয়োজনের অতীত ভালোবাসার সম্পর্ক অসীম রহস্যময়, দৈহিক সন্তার মধ্যে তাকে তো কুলোয় না। এণ্ড্রুজের সঙ্গে আমার অযাচিত দর্লভ সেই আত্মিক সম্বন্ধই ঘটেছিল। এ বিধাতার অমূল্য বরদানেরই মতো। এর মধ্যে সাধারণ সম্ভবপরতার কারণ খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় না। এক দিন অকস্মাৎ সম্পূর্ণ অপরিচয়ের ভিতর হতে এই খুঁটান সাধুর ভগবন্তত্ত্বের নির্মল উৎস থেকে উৎসারিত বন্ধুত্ব আমার দিকে পূর্ণবেগে প্রবাহিত হয়ে এসেছিল, তার মধ্যে না ছিল স্বার্থের যোগ না ছিল খ্যাতির দুরাশা, কেবল ছিল সর্বতোমুখী আত্মনিবেদন। তখন কেনোপনিষদের এই প্রশ্ন আপনি আমার মনে জেগে উঠেছে, কেনেবিতং মনঃ এই মনটি কার স্বারা আমার দিকে প্রেরিত হয়েছে, কোথায় এর রহস্যের মূল। জানি এর মূল ছিল তাঁর অসাম্প্রদায়িক অকৃত্রিম ঈশ্বরভক্তির মধ্যে। সেই জন্যে এর প্রথম আরম্ভের কথাটা বলা চাই।

তখন আমি লন্ডনে ছিলাম। কল্যাণেশ্বর রটেনস্টাইনের বাড়ীতে সেদিন ইংরেজ সাহিত্যিকদের ছিল নিমন্ত্রণ। কবি ইয়েটস্ আমার গীতাজলির ইংরেজি অনুবাদ থেকে কয়েকটি কবিতা তাঁদের আবৃত্তি করে শুনিয়েছিলেন। প্রোতাদের মধ্যে এক কোণে ছিলেন এণ্ড্রুজ। পাঠ শেষ হলে আমি ফিরে যাচ্ছি আমার বাসায়। কাছেই ছিল সে-বাসা। হ্যাম্পস্টেড হীথের ঢালু মাঠ পেরিয়ে চলেছিলাম ধীরে ধীরে। সে রাত্রি ছিল জ্যোৎস্নায় স্ফাবিত। এণ্ড্রুজ আমার সঙ্গে নিয়েছিলেন। নিস্ততঃ রাতে তাঁর মন পূর্ণ ছিল গীতাজলির ভাবে। ঈশ্বরের পথে তাঁর মন এগিয়ে এসেছিল আমার প্রতি প্রেমে। এই মিলনের ধারা যে আমার জীবনের সঙ্গে এক হয়ে নানা গভীর আলাপে ও কর্মের নানা সহযোগিতায় তাঁর জীবনের শেষ পর্ব পর্যন্ত প্রসারিত হয়ে চলেবে সেদিন তা মনেও করতে পারি নি।

শান্তিনিকেতনের কাজে যোগ দিতে তিনি প্রবৃত্ত হলেন। তখন আমাদের এই দরিদ্র বিদ্যায়তনের বাহ্যরূপ ছিল যৎসামান্য এবং এর খ্যাতি ছিল সংকীর্ণ। সমস্ত বাহ্য দৈন্য সত্ত্বেও তিনি এর তপস্যাকে বিশ্বাস করেছিলেন এবং আপন তপস্যার অন্তর্গত বলে স্বীকার করে নিয়েছিলেন। যাকে চোখে দেখা যায় না তাকে তাঁর প্রেমের দৃষ্টি দেখেছিল। আমার প্রতি ভালোবাসার সপ্নে জড়িত করে তিনি শান্তিনিকেতনকে মনপ্রাণ দিয়ে ভালোবেসেছিলেন। সবল চরিত্রশক্তির গুণ এই যে কেবল ভাবাবেগের উচ্ছ্বাসের দ্বারা সে আপনাকে নিঃশেষ করে না, সে আপনাকে সার্থক করে দৃঃসাধ্য ত্যাগের দ্বারা। কখনো তিনি অর্থ সংগ্ৰহ করেন নি, তিনি ছিলেন অকিঞ্চন। কিন্তু কতবার এই আশ্রমের অভাব জেনে কোথা থেকে তিনি যে একে যথেষ্ট অর্থ দান করেছেন তা জানতেও পারিনি। অন্যের কাছে কতবার ভিক্ষা চেয়েছিলেন, কখনো কিছুই পাননি, কিন্তু সেই ভিক্ষা উপলক্ষ্যে অসংকোচে খর্ব করেছেন যাকে সংসারের আদর্শ বলে আত্মসম্মান। নিরন্তর দারিদ্রের ভিতর দিয়েই শান্তিনিকেতন আপন আন্তরিক চরিতার্থতা প্রকাশের সাধনায় নিযুক্ত ছিল এতেই বোধ করি বেশী করে তাঁর হৃদয় আকর্ষণ করেছিল।

আমার সপ্নে এশ্বজের যে প্রীতির সম্বন্ধ ছিল সেই কথাটাই এতক্ষণ বললুম কিন্তু সকলের চেয়ে আশ্চর্যের বিষয় ছিল ভারতবর্ষের প্রতি তাঁর একনিষ্ঠ প্রেম। তাঁর নিষ্ঠা দেশের লোক অকুণ্ঠিত মনে গ্রহণ করেছে কিন্তু তাঁর সম্পূর্ণ মূল্য কি স্বীকার করতে পেরেছিল? ইনি ইংরেজ, কেমব্রিজ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ডিগ্রীধারী। কী ভাষায় কী আচারে কী সংস্কৃতিতে সকল দিকে এর আজন্মকালের নাড়ীর যোগ ইংলন্ডের সপ্নে। তাঁর আত্মীয়মণ্ডলীর কেন্দ্র ছিল সেইখানেই। যে ভারতবর্ষকে তিনি একান্ত আত্মীয় বলে চিরদিনের মতো স্বীকার করে নিলেন, তাঁর দেহমনের সমস্ত অভ্যাসের থেকে তার সমাজব্যবহারের ক্ষেত্র ছিল বহুদূরে। এই একান্ত নির্বাসনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই তিনি প্রকাশ করেছেন তাঁর বিশুদ্ধ প্রেমের মাহাত্ম্য। এ-দেশে এসে নির্লিপ্ত সাবধানতার সপ্নে দূরের থেকে ভারতবর্ষকে তাঁর প্রসাদ বিতরণ করেন নি, অসংকোচে তিনি এখানকার সর্বসাধারণের সপ্নে সবিনয় যোগ রক্ষা করেছেন। যারা দীন, যারা অবজ্ঞাভাজন, যাদের জীবনযাত্রা তাঁদের আদর্শে গ্রীহীন, নানা উপলক্ষ্যে সহজ আত্মীয়তায় তাদের সহবাস অনায়াসেই তিনি গ্রহণ করেছেন। এ-দেশের শাসক সম্প্রদায় যারা তাঁর এই আচরণ প্রত্যক্ষ করেছেন তারা আপনাদের রাজপ্রতিপত্তির অসম্মান অনুভব করে তাঁর প্রতি ক্রুদ্ধ হয়েছেন, তাঁকে ঘৃণা করছেন তা আমরা জানি, তবুও স্বজাতির এই অপ্রস্থার প্রতি তিনি দ্রুতক্ষেপমাগ্ন করেননি। তাঁর বিনি আরাধ্য দেবতা ছিলেন তাঁকে তিনি জনসাধারণের অভাজনদের বন্ধু বলে জানতেন তাঁরই কাছ থেকে প্রমথ তিনি অন্তরের সপ্নে প্রার্থনা করেছেন। এই ভারতবর্ষে কি পনের কি আমাদের নিজের কাছে যেখানেই মানুষ্যের প্রতি অবজ্ঞা অব্যাহত সেখানেই সকল বাধা অতিক্রম করে তিনি আপন খৃষ্টভক্তিকে জয়যুক্ত করেছেন। এই প্রসঙ্গে একথা বলতে হবে অনেকবার আমাদের দেশের লোকের কাছ থেকেও তিনি বিরুদ্ধতা ও সান্দ্রস্থ ব্যবহার পেরেছিলেন, সেই অনায়াস আঘাত অপমানচিত্তে বহন করাও ছিল তাঁর পূজারই অঙ্গ।

যে-সময় এশ্বজ ভারতবর্ষকে আপন আত্মত্বকালের কর্মক্ষেত্ররূপে স্বীকার করে নিয়েছিলেন সেই সময়ে এ-দেশে রাষ্ট্রীয় উত্তেজনা ও সংঘাত প্রবলভাবে জেগে উঠেছিল। এমন অবস্থায় এ-দেশীয়দের মধ্যে আপন সৌহার্দ্যের আসন রক্ষা করে তিষ্ঠে থাকা ইংরেজের পক্ষে কত দৃঃসাধ্য সেকথা সহজেই অনুমান করা যায়। কিন্তু দেখেছি তিনি ছিলেন অতি সহজেই



With Rabindranath at Santiniketan

Behn. I am afraid it will
be a failure as he wants it
immediately and I cannot
write to order.

My stock hunt is going
out in three weeks to the
savannas in South Africa &
I am kind of itching to go.
I want to spend my studies
in my mind then I come
down to you. I hope to
reach you about the 1st
and am counting eagerly
the days. Mr. Burton is
with me and sends his
love with mine.

For affectionate friends
C. J. Andrews.

as at
Delhi.
Nov. 15.

My dear Friend,

Last night the news
came to me in two telegrams
that the Nobel prize had been
awarded to you, and I hurried
round at once to share the good
news with William Pearson & Mr
Rams & Mr. Leakey Sen. We were
all overjoyed at the recognition
of India and then still further
that our dear friend had been
so honored - the two boys
blending in me.

Dear friend, of all the

Letter to Rabindranath on his winning the Nobel Prize



With the Poet, Rathindranath Tagore and Pratima Devi



His first meeting with the students of Santiniketan

তার আপন স্থানে, তাঁর মধ্যে কোনো বিশ্বা স্বন্দ ছিল না। এই যে অবিচলিতচিত্তে কঠিন পরীক্ষার মধ্যে জীবনের লক্ষ্য স্থির রাখা, এতেই তাঁর আত্মিক শক্তির প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।

যে এশ্বদুজকে আমি জানি দুই দিক থেকে তাঁর পরিচয় পাবার সুযোগ আমার হয়েছে। এক আমার অত্যন্ত কাছে, আমার প্রতি সদুগভীর ভালোবাসায়। এমনতরো অকৃত্রিম অপরিণত ভালোবাসাকে আমি আমার জীবনের শ্রেষ্ঠ সৌভাগ্যের মধ্যে গণ্য করি। আর দেখেছি দিনে দিনে নানা উপলক্ষ্যে ভারতবর্ষের কাছে তাঁর অসামান্য আত্মোৎসর্গ। দেখেছি তাঁর অশেষ করুণা এদেশের অন্ত্যজদের প্রতি। তাদের কোনো দুঃখ বা অসম্মান যখন তাঁকে আহ্বান করেছে তখন নিজের অসুবিধা বা অস্বাস্থ্যের প্রতি লক্ষ্য না রেখে সকল কাজ ফেলে ছুটে গিয়েছেন তাদের মধ্যে। এই জনাই তাঁকে স্থিরভাবে আমাদের কোনো নির্দিষ্ট কাজে বেঁধে রাখা অসম্ভব ছিল।

এই যে তাঁর প্রীতি এ যে সংকীর্ণভাবে ভারতবর্ষের সীমাগত সেকথা বললে ভুল বলা হবে, তাঁর খৃষ্টধর্মের সর্বমানবের প্রতি প্রীতির যে অনুশাসন আছে ভারতীয়দের প্রতি প্রীতি তারই এক অংশ। একদা তারই প্রমাণ পেয়েছিলুম যখন দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার কান্সি অধিবাসীদের সংবন্ধে তাঁর উৎকণ্ঠা দেখেছি, যখন সেখানকার ভারতীয়রা কান্সিদেরকে আপনাদের থেকে স্বতন্ত্র করে হয়ে করে দেখবার চেষ্টা করেছিল, এবং যুরোপীয়দের মতোই তাদের চেয়ে আপনাদের উচ্চাধিকার কামনা করেছিল। এশ্বদুজ এই অন্যায় ভেদবান্ধিকে সহ্য করতে পারেন নি, এই সকল কারণে এক দিন এশ্বদুজকে সেখানকার ভারতীয়েরা শত্রু বলেই কল্পনা করেছিল।

আজকের দিনে যখন অতিহিংস্র স্বাভাভাবোধ অসংযত ঔন্মত্যে উদ্ভূত হয়ে রক্তপ্লাবনে মানব সমাজের সমস্ত ভদ্রতার সীমানা বিলুপ্ত করে দিচ্ছে তখনকার যুগের সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ প্রকাশ সর্বমানবিকতা। কঠিন বিরুদ্ধতার মধ্য দিয়েই আসে যুগবিধাতার প্রেরণা। সেই প্রেরণাই মর্তি নিয়েছিল এশ্বদুজের মধ্যে। আমাদের সঙ্গে ইংরেজের যে সম্বন্ধ সে তাদের স্বাভাভা ও সাম্রাজ্যের অতি কঠিন ও জটিল বন্ধনের। সেই জালের কৃত্রিমতার ভিতর দিয়ে মানুষ ইংরেজ আপন ঔদার্য নিয়ে আমাদের নিকটে আসতে পদে পদে বাধা পায়, আমাদের সঙ্গে অহংকৃত দূরত্ব রক্ষা করা তাদের সাম্রাজ্যরক্ষার আড়ম্বরের আনুষ্ঠানিকরূপে উদ্ভূত হয়ে রয়েছে। সমস্ত দেশকে এই অমর্যাদার দ্বন্দ্বসহ ভার বহন করতে হয়েছে। সেই ইংরেজের মধ্য থেকে এশ্বদুজ বহন করে এনেছিলেন ইংরেজের মনুষ্যত্ব। তিনি আমাদের সঙ্গে দ্বন্দ্বের উৎসবে বাসনে বাস করতে এলেন এই পরাজয়-লাঞ্ছিত জাতির অন্তরঙ্গরূপে। এর মধ্যে লেশমাত্র ছিল না উচ্চমণ্ড থেকে অভাগাদের অনুগ্রহ করার আত্মশ্লাঘা সম্ভাগ। এর থেকে অনুভব করেছি তাঁর স্বাভাবিক অতি দূর্লভ সার্বমানবিকতা। আমাদের দেশের কবি একদিন বলেছিলেন—

সবার উপরে মানুষ সত্য

তাহার উপরে নাই—

প্রয়োজন হলে এই কবিবচন আমরা আউড়িয়ে থাকি কিন্তু আমরা এই সত্যবাক্যকে অবজ্ঞা করবার জন্যে ধর্মের নামে সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্মার্জনীকে যে-রকম ব্যবহার করে থাকি এমন আর কোনো জাতি করে কিনা সন্দেহ। এইজন্যে বিদ্রূপ সহ্য করেই আমাকে বলতে হয়েছে আমি শান্তিনিকেতনে বিশ্বমানবের আত্মশ্রুগন্ধলী স্থাপন করেছি। এইখানে আমি পেয়েছি সমুদ্রপার থেকে সত্য-মানুষকে। তিনি এই আশ্রমে সমস্ত হৃদয় নিয়ে যোগ দিতে পেরেছেন

মানুষকে সম্মান করার কাজে। এ আমাদের পরম লাভ এবং সে-লাভ এখনো অক্ষয় হয়ে রইল। রাজনৈতিক উত্তেজনার ক্ষেত্রে অনেক বার অনেক স্থানে তিনি আপনার কর্মশক্তিকে নিয়োগ করেছিলেন, কখনো কখনো তার আলোড়নের স্ফারা আবির্ভাব করেছিলেন আমাদের আশ্রমের শান্ত বায়ুকে। কিন্তু তার ব্যর্থতা বদ্ব্যপ্তে তাঁর বিলম্ব হয় নি, এবং রাষ্ট্রীয় মাদকতার আক্রমণে শেষ পর্যন্ত আশ্রমকে বিপর্যস্ত হতে দেন নি। কেবলমাত্র তাঁর জীবনের ষা শ্রেষ্ঠ দান তাই তিনি আমাদের জন্য এবং সকল মানবের জন্য মৃত্যুকে অতিক্রম করে রেখে গেলেন,—তাঁর মরদেহ ধূলিসাৎ হবার মূহুর্তে এই কথাটি আমি আশ্রমবাসীদের কাছে গভীর প্রমথার সঙ্গে জানিয়ে গেলাম।*

* প্রবাসী। ১৩৪৭ বৈশাখ।

দীনবন্ধু এন্ড্রুজের মৃত্যুর পর শান্তিনিকেতনে প্রদত্ত ভাষণ—৫-৪-৪০

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The lifeless body of our beloved friend Charles Andrews is at this hour being laid to rest in the all-devouring earth. We try to steel ourselves to endurance in this day of sorrow by the thought that death is not the final destiny of life, but we find as yet no consolation. Day after day, in the countless familiarities of sight and speech, love, the nectar of the gods, has filled our cup of life to the brim. Our minds, imprisoned in the material have grown accustomed to depend on the bodily senses as their channels of communication with each other. When these channels are suddenly blocked by death, the separation is left as an intolerable grief. We have known Andrews for long years and in a rich variety of ways. Now we must accept our fate—never again will that dear human comradeship be possible. Yet our hearts grope yearningly for some assurance of hope and comfort in our loss.

When we are separated from a man with whom our relationship touched only the necessary business of life, nothing remains behind. We accept the ending of that relationship as final. The gains and losses of material and secular chance are subject to the power of death. But the relationship of love, infinite, mysterious, is not subject to the limitations of such material intercourse, nor cabined and confined in the life of the body. Such a rare companionship of soul existed between Andrews and me. Coming unsought, it was a gift of God beyond all price. No lesser explanation on the human plane will suffice to account for it. One day, as if from nowhere, from one who was till then a complete stranger to me, there was poured out upon me this generous gift of friendship. It rose like a river from the clear spring of this Christian Sadhu's devotion to God. In it there was no taint of selfishness, no strain of ambition, only a single-minded offering of the spirit to its Lord. The question in the *Kena Upanishad* came into my mind unbidden: *By whose grace was this soul sent to me, in what secret is rooted its life?*

Rooted it was, I know, in a deeply sincere and all-embracing love of God. I should therefore like to tell you of the beginning of this friendship. At that time I was in London, and was invited to a meeting of English men of letters at the house of the artist Rothenstein. The poet Yeats was giving a recitation of some poems from the English translation of my "Gitanjali", and Andrews was present in the audience. After the reading was over I was returning to the house where I was staying, which was close at hand. I crossed at a leisurely pace the open stretch of Hampstead Heath. The night was bathed in the loveliness of the moon. Andrews came and accompanied me. In the silence of the night his mind was filled with the thoughts of "Gitanjali". He was led on, through his love of God, into a stirring of love towards me. Little did I dream that day of the friendship in which the streams of his life and mine were destined to be mingled to the end, in such deep intimacy, in such a fellowship of service.

He began to share in the work of Santiniketan. At that time this poor place of study was very ordinary indeed in outward appearance, and its reputation was very small. Yet, its external poverty notwithstanding, he had faith in the spiritual purpose to which it was dedicated, he made it a part of the spiritual endeavour of his own life. What was not visible to the eye he saw by the insight of love. With his love for me he mingled a whole-hearted affection for Santiniketan. This, indeed, is characteristic of true strength of character, that it does not rest content with a mere outburst of emotion, but finds its own fulfilment in superhuman sacrifice for its ends. Andrews never amassed any wealth: his was a spirit freed from the lust of possession. Yet many were the times (how many, we can never know) when, coming to know of something the ashram lacked, he found, from some source, sufficient for our need. Over and over again he begged from others. Sometimes he begged in vain, yet in that begging he did not hesitate to humiliate that "self-respect" which is the world's ideal. And this, I think, was what attracted him with special force—that even through a weary time of poverty Santiniketan strove faithfully for the realisation of its inner vision.

So far I have spoken of the affection of Andrews towards myself, but the most unusual thing about him was his devoted love of India. The people of our country have accepted this love; but have they realised

fully the cost of it to him? He was an Englishman, a graduate of Cambridge University. By language, customs, culture, by countless links, the ties of birth and blood bound him to England. Family associations were centred there. The India which became the object of his lifelong devotion was far removed in manners and customs from his own physical and intellectual traditions. In the realisation and acceptance of this complete exile he showed the moral strength and purity of his love. He did not pay his respects to India from a distance, with detached and calculating prudence: he threw in his lot without reserve, in gracious courtesy, with the ordinary folk of this land. The poor, the despised, those whose lives were spent in dirt and ugliness—it was these whose familiar life he shared, time and time again, naturally and without effort. We know that this manner of life made him very unpopular with many of the ruling class of this country, who believed that by it he was bringing the Government into contempt and they became his bitter opponents; yet the scorn of men of his own race did not trouble his mind. Knowing that the God of his adoration was the friend of those whom society despises, he drew support and confidence from Him in prayer. He rejoiced in the victory of his Christian faith over all obstacles whenever by his agency any man, Indian or foreign, was freed from the bonds of scorn. In this connection it must also be said that he many times experienced unfriendliness and suspicion even from the people of our own land, and he bore this unmerited suffering undismayed as part of his religious service.

At the time when Andrews chose India as the field of his life work, political excitement and activity were at their height here. In such circumstances it can easily be understood how exceedingly difficult it would be for an Englishman still to maintain quiet relationships of intimate friendship with the people of this country. But he remained at his post quite naturally with no doubt or misgiving in his heart. That in this stern test he should have held unswervingly to his life purpose is in itself a proof of his strength of soul.

I have thus had the privilege of knowing two aspects of the nature of my friend Andrews. One aspect was in his nearness to me, the very deep love with which he loved me. This genuine, unbounded love I believe to have been the highest blessing of my life. I was also a daily

witness of the many expressions of his extraordinary love for India. I saw his endless kindness to the outcastes of this land. In sorrow or need they would call him, and he would hasten to their assistance, throwing all other work aside, regardless of his own convenience, ignoring his own ill-health. Because of this it was not possible to tie him down to any of our regularly organised work.

It would be a mistake to think that this generous love of his was confined within the narrow limits of India. His love for Indians was a part of that love of all humanity which he accepted as the Law of Christ. I remember seeing one illustration of this in his tenderness for the Kaffir aboriginals of South Africa, when the Indians there were endeavouring to keep the Kaffirs at a distance and treat them with contempt, and imitated the Europeans in demanding special privileges for themselves. Andrews could not tolerate this unjust spirit of aloofness and therefore the Indians of South Africa once imagined him to be their enemy.

At the present time when a suicidal madness of destruction seizes our race, and in uncontrolled arrogance a torrent of blood sweeps away the landmarks of civilised human society, the one hope of the world is in an all-embracing universal charity. Through the very might of hostility arrayed against it there comes the inspiration of the God of the age. Andrews was the embodiment of that inspiration. Relationship between us and the English are rendered difficult and complex by their attitude to the privileges of race and empire. An Englishman who in the magnanimity of his heart endeavours to approach us through this net work of artificiality finds his way obstructed at every step. To keep an arrogant distance between themselves and us has become a chief element of their pride of race. The whole country has had to bear the intolerable weight of this indignity. Out of this English tradition Andrews brought to us his English manhood. He came to live with us in our joys and sorrows, our triumphs and misfortunes, identifying himself with a defeated and humiliated people. His attitude was absolutely free from any suspicion of that self-satisfied patronage which condescends from its own eminence to help the poor. In this I realised his rare gift of spontaneous universal friendship.

This, finally, is what I would say to you who live in the ashram, in solemn confidence, at the very moment when his lifeless body is

being committed to the dust—his noblest gift to us, and not only to us, but to all men, is a life which is transcendent over death itself, and dwells with us imperishably.*

From the shrine of the West you have brought us living water ;
We welcome you, friend,
The East has offered you her garland of love,
Accept it and welcome, friend,
Your love has opened the door of our heart :
Enter and welcome, friend.
You have come to us as a gift of the Lord
We bow to him, friend.

—Rabindranath Tagore

(Written for the reception given to Andrews in April, 1914)

* Address at the memorial service at Santiniketan, 5. 4. 1940. Translation by Marjorie Sykes. From *V. B. Quarterly*, May 1940.

MAHATMA GANDHI

I

In the death of Rev. C. F. Andrews not only India but the humanity has lost a true son and servant. And yet his death is a deliverance from pain and fulfilment of his mission on this earth. He will live through thousands who have enriched themselves by personal contact or contact with his writings. In my opinion Rev. Charlie Andrews was one of the greatest and best of Englishmen. And because he was a good son of England he became also a son of India. And he did it all for the sake of humanity and for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. I have not known a better man or a better Christian than Rev. C. F. Andrews. India bestowed on him the title of 'Dinabandhu'. He deserved it, because he was a true friend of the poor and downtrodden in all climes.*

II

Nobody probably knew Charlie Andrews as well as I did. Gurudev was guru to him. When he went to South Africa, we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end. There was no distance between us. It was not friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. It was an unbreakable bond between two seekers and servants. But I am not giving my reminiscences of Andrews sacred as they are.

I want Englishmen and Indians whilst the memory of the death of this servant of England and India is still fresh to give thought to the legacy he has left for us both. There is no doubt about his love for India being equal to that of the tallest of Indians. Yes, he did say on his bed from which he was never to rise, "Mohan. Swaraj is coming. Both Englishmen and Indians can make it come if they will". Andrews was

* Statement, on April 5, 1940 from Sevagram (Wardha).

no stranger to the present rulers and most Englishmen whose opinion carries weight. He was known to every politically minded Indian.

At the present moment I do not wish to think of English misdeeds. They all be forgotten, but not one of the heroic deeds of Andrews will be forgotten so long as England and India live. If we really love Andrews' memory, we may not have hate in us for Englishmen, for Andrews was among the best and the noblest. It is possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both. The legacy left by Andrews is worth the effort. That is the thought that rules me, whilst I can contemplate the benign face of Andrews and what innumerable deeds of love he performed so that India may take her independent place among the nations of the world.*

RAMANANDA CHATTERJI

Most men profess some religion or other, but the number of those who practise what they profess is comparatively small. C. F. Andrews was a man and a brother who lived the faith which was in him. Now that he has left us, we and all the world are the poorer for his loss. But it is wrong to say he has left us. His memory and his example are undying and will continue to inspire all who knew him intimately and all others who may be able to realise what he was by reading what he wrote and knowing what others may write and speak about him.

He came out to India in mature manhood—in his 34th year. With what ideas of British rule in India he came to this country he has himself said in an article. The first personal influence which brought about a change in his attitude towards India and helped in the evolution of Andrews the lover and servant of India, Andrews the Deenabandhu, was that of the late Principal Susil Kumar Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Susil Kumar Rudra was a whole souled deshabhakta. I shall mention only one little fact about him here. He used to subscribe for two copies of the Bengali magazine Prabasi, one for his college and one for his personal use. He asked the Manager of Prabasi that the College copy should be addressed to the Principal, St. Stephen's College, and the personal copy to Babu Susil Kumar Rudra. It was an auspicious circumstance that Mr. Andrews came under the influence of such a true Indian. Though the two friends belonged to different races and continents, they were bound together by the deepest and tenderest spiritual affection. They were true brothers. Long after Susil Kumar Rudra's death, when his first grand-daughter was born, Mr. Andrews wrote to me triumphantly and challengingly, "I too, am a grand-father now!"—for he perhaps thought I was proud of my superiority to him in being the grand-father of my grand-daughters. I still remember too Principal Rudra's pained look at finding what scanty

creature comforts Mr. Andrews was contented with at Santiniketan, making a remark to the effect that "Andrews could have, if he chose, filled any gubernatorial office with ease and distinction."

Before Mr. Andrews joined St. Stephen's College it used always to have an Englishman as principal. It was mainly through Mr. Andrews' influence that the College authorities in England decided to appoint Susil Kumar Rudra as Principal. At present also an Indian holds that post.

Mr. Andrews writes in his book *The Inner Life* :

"Susil Rudra had lost his wife who had been all in all to him, soon after his youngest child had been born. He had never married again. His three children were still very young. Since I was a bachelor and had no thought of marriage, his children became very dear to me indeed, as if they were my own children, and we shared all joys and sorrows together. The abiding friendship that I had from the very first with Susil Rudra made all the difference."

Principal Rudra's was not the only influence which made Mr. Andrews an Indian by his own choice. He once wrote to me that he had to a great extent come to agree with Major B. D. Basu's views of British rule in India as expressed in his books thereon.

It may be stated here incidentally that the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland desired that Major B. D. Basu's historical works on British Rule in India should be published in America and Britain and that Mr. Andrews should be asked to arrange with some British publishers for their publication in Britain for, observed Dr. Sunderland, "Andrews has influence". Dr. Sunderland's opinion that "Andrews has influence" was correct ; for Mr. Andrews had arranged with a noted British publishing firm for the publication of Sunderland's 'India In Bondage' but the publication was stopped by executive order of the British Government. Mr. Andrews enjoyed the affection of Dr. Sunderland during his visit to America and considered the Indian edition of the latter's 'Origin and Character of the Bible' a 'valuable work'.

Mr. Andrews did not serve India and Indians from a height condescendingly. His constant endeavour was to become one with the people of India—particularly with the poor, the despised, the downtrodden. He

would wear the people's clothes and eat their food. This desire and its following up coupled with his ceaseless labours and constant travels wherever the cry of distress drew him, for which the Norwegian Indologist and Epigraphist Dr. Sten Konow used to call him the Wandering Christian, shattered his constitution, never robust. The Indian name Deenabandhu (Friend of the poor), given to him, was quite apposite. It is not intended in this article to tell the story of what he did for the disinherited and the humiliated either exhaustively or chronologically. But many occasions and episodes readily come to mind.

Mr. C. F. Andrews went in 1921 to Chandpur in Assam, where oppressed refugees from the tea-gardens, who were denied transport facilities, were dying in hundreds through a raging epidemic of cholera. He tried his best to rouse the sympathy of the Railways and Steamship Companies on their behalf, but failed. Later, he wrote a book entitled the "Oppression of the Poor", in which he told the story of the great Assam Tea Gardens strike. The following passage in it gives a true insight into Andrews' attitude to the poor:—

"How wonderful is this spring of freshness that ever wells up from the hearts of the poor! People have often called them the "lower classes"—as though the uneducated were also the unrefined as though the illiterate were also unlearned. But it is not so in truth. There is a wisdom and a refinement that come from the very suffering itself which the poor have constantly to bear. Who are we to despise them?

"There is always a fertile soil in the hearts of the poor which is ready to receive the good seed and to make it fruitful. . . . I do not believe that the religious and social revolution in India, which is now so close upon us, will be violent in its character. There is an innate love of peace in India that is not present in any other country. It is not in vain that the teaching of the Buddha permeated India for more than a thousand years. But while there may be no ultimate appeal to force and force alone, yet the misery of the conflict will be terrible indeed, if the present almost complete aloofness of the officials from the common people continues and if the same officials set themselves in final opposition to those leaders whose lives are lived among the people and who suffer with the people."

His and his friend W. W. Pearson's visits to Fiji and the agitation set on foot in consequence led ultimately to the abolition of the indenture system and to much improvement in the condition of the emigrant Indian labouring population there particularly of the women, who had been obliged to lead a life of shame. What part he took in the Indian struggle in South Africa has been narrated by Mahatma Gandhi and himself. He visited East Africa and West Africa on his errand of service and humanitarian mission. One episode connected with his South African work cannot be forgotten. Some leading Indians on one occasion wanted to separate their movement from that of the aboriginal Africans, considering the latter inferior to themselves. Mr. Andrews condemned such an attitude and in consequence came to be looked upon for some time as an enemy of the South African Indians!

He visited British Guiana also. What troublesome negotiations he undertook with the Government of India and what pains he took for the relief of the returned labourers stranded at Matiaboorz near Calcutta! How few of us even heard of his work for them!

When the woes of Champaran peasants living under Planter Raj was at their height, he was at their side. When Bihar groaned under the unforgettable earthquake, he did his best to help the people. Orissa is a particularly poverty-stricken province liable to suffer time and again from devastating floods. He laboured hard to find a permanent remedy after making painstaking investigations on the spot and wrote much on the subject. He worked also for famine relief in Orissa. Before the Assam Bengal Railway strike he tried to dissuade the employees from striking. But when the strike actually began and numerous workers found themselves in a helpless condition, he along with other noble souls came to their rescue.

In consequence of the serious and widespread inundations in North Bengal two decades ago, he co-operated with the relief workers. The particular step with which his name is specially associated is the purchase and use of a tractor for tilling extensive tracts in the inundated region, as the agriculturists there had lost their plough-cattle. S. Satish Chandra Das Gupta writes in the Bengali "Rashtravani" how one morning at 7 a.m. Mr. Andrews came from Patisar to the Atrai relief centre walking the distance of 7 miles and, after getting his suggestion of a tractor accepted,

talking all the while standing, trudged back again to Patisar another seven miles without taking any refreshments.

The number of persons whom he had helped individually and the reasons and ways of helping them are too many and various to be described at length, nor has anybody sufficient knowledge of these matters. For it was really true in his case that his left hand did not know what his right hand did.

During his visits to the colonies mentioned above he laboured chiefly to do away with discriminatory measures against Indian residents there. But occasionally he rendered other service also. During his visit to Australia he secured favourable conditions for the entry of Indian students into Australian Universities.

Generally he concerned himself with only the humanitarian aspects of Indian and Indo-British problems, avoiding taking direct part in political movements, perhaps the only exception being the active part he took with other professors of Santiniketan in the stormy days of the non-cooperation movement in severing the connection of the school there with the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination. There is a reference to this fact in Rabindranath Tagore's article on him, as also in a letter written by Mr. Andrews. But though he thus generally avoided Indian politics, he made it quite clear that he wanted India to be independent at the earliest possible opportunity. He added the following postscript to his article on "The world outlook to-day—India" in the last February number of this Review, page 156: *

"In order to avoid any wrong impression let me add that I entirely agree with Prof. Seeley, when he says that 'prolonged submission to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration'. I quote from memory. The emphasis there is on the word 'prolonged'. Every year that now passes in India, without the removal of the foreign yoke, is undoubtedly an evil. It is likely to undo any benefit that may have been derived before. This was my main thesis in a series of articles which I wrote, in 1921, called 'The Immediate Need of Independence'. where I emphasised the word 'immediate', and I hold fast to every word which I then wrote. Nearly twenty years have passed since that date and hope

* Modern Review, 1940

deferred has made the heart sick. Things in India have deteriorated, as Prof. Seely prophesied, and the evil is rapidly increasing. This agony of subjection is eating like iron into the soul, and the strain must be relieved at once."

Mr. Andrews wanted friendship between India and Britain as between equals. This he desired in the interest of Britain as well as of India because he was a great patriot, greater than any British Imperialist. He was one of the heralds of a new age, which is still a dream,—an age of international amity, human brotherhood, including Indo-British friendship. Some sentences from his article on Dadabhai Naoroji may be appropriately quoted here:—

"These issues which were faced by Dadabhai still affect East and West alike, and they are bound up with the future of the whole human race. If Asia and Europe can truly find a common meeting place in India, then the organic unity of mankind in the near future may not after all be an empty dream. But if, on the other hand in spite of a hundred years or more of close contact, these ties become hopelessly broken, then a blow would be dealt to human-brotherhood from which our civilisation could not lightly recover."

In the course of the last message which he dictated to Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty after his second operation, which proved fatal, he said:

"God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts, namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am laying my life in his hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknowledged in my books—this supreme gift of friendship, both in India and in other parts of the world."

That he had so many loving friends was a blessing indeed both to him and his friends. But that he had so many of them was due mainly to his own wonderful capacity for friendship and his inexhaustible heart affluence. He could and would continue to be a friend in spite of indifference, slights, or even unfeeling unfriendly action on the part of the other party.

Two of his most eminent friends are known to all, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore. They have both written of him feelingly after his death.

He addressed Rabindranath Tagore as his "Gurudev". That implies more than friendship. His sentiment toward the Poet was more than that toward a friend and a spiritual preceptor. It partook of the sacred character of woman's love of her beloved in its singlemindedness, its constancy, and its devotion and ardour. To be near the Poet was one of the supreme joys of his life.

Mr. Andrews loved his pupils and they loved and trusted him. He encouraged them to think independently and fearlessly and to serve their fellow-countrymen in all possible ways.

He had the genuine spirit of renunciation and detachment of true sannyasis, though he did not smear his body with ashes or wear ochre-coloured robes. He had no attachment to earthly belongings. The riches of the spirit were his most precious possessions. The Poet once told me playfully in his presence, "Ramananda Babu, if you have anything which you wish to lose, you may lend it to Andrews!" Mr. Andrews protested against this suggestion in the same spirit.

He wielded a facile pen and wrote many books but did not enjoy the profits derived from them. The money went to some deserving cause or institution or other, his friends supplying his needs.

There are some fundamental differences in the outlook on life and in the opinions of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, though they are great friends. That Mr. Andrews could love and respect both and earn the love and esteem of both shows the breadth of his intellectual outlook, his liberalness and his large-heartedness. These qualities and his 'tolerance' (a word which I use in the absence of a better one) enabled him to have sincere friends among men of all religious communities. A great Musalman friend of his was Munshi Zakauallah of Delhi, whose memoir he contributed to this journal.*

His reverential affection for 'Baro Dada'—Dwijendranath Tagore, the Poet's eldest brother, was a most engaging feature of his character. I could tell much of how this affection found expression, but space forbids. I will mention only one small incident. One day going to have his usual tea with the old sage, Mr. Andrews bowed down to him touching his feet, and asked as usual: "How do you do, Baro Dada?" That day the old sage was in an excitable mood, having read something in the papers

* Modern Review.

which went against the British Government or people. So his response was to the effect that unless all Britishers were driven from India there would be no peace in the country! Mr. Andrews was not at all upset, but took it quietly. The sage regained his composure in a minute and went on chatting with Mr. Andrews as on other days. Relating this incident afterwards to Baro Dada's grandson, the famous musician Dinendranath Tagore, Mr. Andrews said: "I say, Dinoo, your grandfather is terrible!"

Mr. Andrews came out to India as a missionary professor of a college and was for years known as the Rev. C. F. Andrews. But after some years he gave up the word Reverend before his name. That showed that he was no longer creed-bound and orthodox. Moreover, he did not like a certain kind of Christian Missionary mentality and some missionary methods, against which he wrote openly. But he preached the Christ Ideal by his life far better than numerous orthodox clergymen, and, hence, when a Hindu first suggested that his initials stood for "Christ's Faithful Apostle", it was at once generally accepted as a right interpretation and has continued to be so. Mr. Andrews once wrote to me that he had come to appreciate some of the late Pandit Mahesh Chandra Ghosh's criticism of some Christian theological views.

Some of the ways in which he served India have been enumerated above. The credit for these services, he would often give to the Poet's or Mahatama's suggestion or direction, not to his own initiative.

While in India he had spent most of his time in its northern parts, particularly in Bengal. But latterly he had been spending much of his time in the South and getting acquainted with all that is good in the character and culture of the people of that part of the country.

It was not possible for British imperialists and Anglo-Indians (old style) to like and appreciate a man like Charles Freer Andrews. Hence, naturally very few Britishers, except the requisite small number of clergymen, attended his funeral service in the cathedral performed by that true and pious Christian, the Lord Bishop and Metropolitan. At the cemetery also the large crowd consisted almost entirely of Indians of all communities. The Lord Bishop, a few Clergymen and a very few lay Englishmen were present there and listened reverentially to the

burial service. There the bier was borne to the graveside by seven gentlemen, all of whom were Indians, six being non-christians.

It is to be hoped a day will come when even British imperialists and Anglo-Indians will understand that a great good fortune and proud privilege it was for them to be represented by a man like Charles Freer Andrews.

In writing the two foregoing paragraphs we must not be understood to claim that we have really appreciated Mr. Andrews' ideals, sacrifice and services better than his countrymen. There has been no such adequate appreciation on our part.

It is a great privilege of men of independent countries that their minds are not always preoccupied with their own wants and grievances—we are speaking of ordinary times of peace, not of these terrible days of war in Europe—but that they can have some real active sympathy with other people less fortunate than themselves, and they have also the freedom of movement all over the world, including the British Dominions and colonies, which we Indians have not. Mr. Andrews made the fullest use of this privilege in a spirit of fraternal service. In serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here. But whatever the spirit in which he acted we should always gratefully remember our debt to him for what he was and what he did.

It was characteristic of him that, while dictating his last message in excruciating pain after his second operation, he did not forget the people of the war-torn countries. Said he:

"While I had been lying in the hospital, I trust that my prayers and hopes have not been merely concerning my own sufferings, which are of the smallest importance to-day in the light of the supreme suffering of the whole human race. I have prayed every moment that God's Kingdom may come and His will may be done on earth as it is always being done in heaven".

বিধুশেখর ভট্টাচার্য

শান্তিনিকেতনকে যে কয়জন অসাধারণ ব্যক্তি শান্তিনিকেতন করিয়া তুলিয়াছেন অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেব তাঁহাদের অন্যতম। সেখানে আমি বহু লাভ করিয়াছি, বাহা না হইলে আমার জীবনের গতির এমন হইবার সম্ভাবনা ছিল বাহা আমার বস্তুত কল্যাণের জন্য হইত বলিয়া মনে করিতে পারি না। আমার ঐ সমস্ত লাভের একটি প্রধান হইতেছে অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেবের সঙ্গ। শান্তিনিকেতনে না থাকিলে ইহা আমার হইত না। ইহা আমার পরম সৌভাগ্যের ফল।

অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেব ছিলেন সমগ্র ইংরেজ জাতির সদগুণ সমূহের মূর্তি। তাঁহার দিকে তাকাইলে ইংরেজ জাতির প্রতি শ্রদ্ধায় হৃদয় আনত হয়। তিনি ইংরেজ জাতির মধ্যে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন সত্য, কিন্তু তিনি ছিলেন তাহার অতীত। যদি কোনো জাতির নামে তাঁহার জন্মের কথা উল্লেখ করিতে হয়, তবে বলিতে হয় তিনি বিশ্বমানব জাতিতে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন।

আমাদের শাস্ত্র বৈষ্ণবের লক্ষণের কথা বলা হইয়াছে, যেমন বৈষ্ণব হইবেন নিজে অমানী, কিন্তু মানদ, শান্ত, তিতিক্ষু, কারুণিক, ধীর ইত্যাদি। ইহাই যদি হয়, তবে আমি বলিব অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেব ছিলেন ভারতবর্ষের দৃষ্টিতে পরম বৈষ্ণব।

অপর দিকে তিনি ছিলেন পরম খ্রীষ্টান। লাহোরে জালিয়ানওয়ালাবাগের ভীষণ কাহিনী এখনও সকলের মনে স্পষ্ট রহিয়াছে। সেই সময় পঞ্জাবে কী ঘোর অত্যাচার হইয়াছিল তাহাও জানা কথা। তখন সেখানকার লোকেরা ভয়ে থরথরি কম্পমান। পঞ্জাবের বাহিরেও কেহ সাহস করিয়া কিছু প্রতিবাদ করিবার সাহস পায় নাই। একাকী রবীন্দ্রনাথ তখন সরকারের দেওয়া 'স্মার' উপাধি পরিত্যাগ করিয়া প্রতিবাদ জানাইয়াছিলেন। ইহার কিছুদিন পরে সরকারী অনুসন্ধান আরম্ভ করা হয়। স্বতন্ত্রভাবে অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেবও গ্রামে গ্রামে ঘুরিয়া অনুসন্ধান করিতেছিলেন। ঐ সময়ে তাঁহার সঙ্গে ছিলেন আমার প্রাণেশ্বর ও স্নেহাস্পদ বন্ধু, আমার প্রিয় 'ভজনানন্দ ভাই সাহেব,' করাচীর গ্রীণরুদয়াল মল্লিক মহাশয়। গ্রামের লোকেরা এতই আতঙ্কগ্রস্ত হইয়াছিল যে তাহাদিগকে কেহ কিছু বলিবার সাহসই করিত না। তাহাদিগকে বৎসামান্য কিছু খাইবারও দিতে পারিত না। একদিন কোনো গ্রামে একজন শিখ অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেবের অনুরোধে নিজের প্রতি অত্যাচারের কথা আর গোপন করিতে না পারিয়া কেবল নিজের দেহখানিকে নন্দ করিয়া দিল। অ্যাম্ভুজ সাহেব তাহার দেহে আঘাতের চিহ্ন দেখিয়া তাহার পায়ে লুটাইয়া পড়িলেন আর জোড়হাতে তাকে বলিতে লাগিলেন “আমি সমস্ত ইংরেজ জাতির হইয়া প্রার্থনা করিতেছি, তুমি ক্ষমা কর, তুমি সমগ্র ইংরেজ জাতিকে ক্ষমা কর।” এ কথা উক্ত মল্লিক মহাশয় আমাকে বলিয়াছিলেন।

অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব বিশ্বের কল্যাণের জন্য নিজেকে বিলাইয়া দিয়াছিলেন। নিজ-পর বান্ধি তাঁহার ছিল না। তাঁহার ছিল “বসুধৈব কুটুম্বকম্”। সত্য ও ন্যায়ের জন্য তিনি অপ্রিয় করিয়াও আত্মীয়ের উপকার করিতেন, যদিও আত্মীয়েরা তাহা বর্জিত না। একটা ঘটনার উল্লেখ করি। ভারতের বাহিরে ভারতীয়দের কল্যাণের জন্য অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব এত চিন্তা, এত কাজ করিয়া গিয়াছেন যে, বলিবার নহে। আমার মনে হয় স্বয়ং ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে এমন কেহ এ পর্বন্ত করেন নাই বা করিতে পারেন নাই। এই কার্যেরই উদ্দেশ্যে তিনি একবার পূর্ব আফ্রিকায় গিয়াছিলেন। সেখানকার প্রবাসী ইউরোপীয়েরা একজোটে কোনো কোনো বিষয়ে এমন ব্যবস্থা করিতেছিলেন যে, তাহা সেখানকার আদিম অধিবাসী ও ভারতীয়দের নিতান্ত ক্ষতিকর হইত। অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব সেখানে ইহার তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করেন। ইহাতে সেখানকার ইংরাজেরা অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের উপর অত্যন্ত ক্রুদ্ধ হন। তাঁহার নিজের কাছে আমি শুনিয়াছি, এই সময়ে এগারো বারো দিন ধরিয়া দিবারাত্র তিনি রেলগাড়িতে ভ্রমণ করিয়াছিলেন। ক্রুদ্ধ ইংরেজরা তাঁহাকে গাড়িতে এই সময়ে নানারূপে অপমান ও নিৰ্যাতন করিয়াছিল, কেহ কেহ গাড়িতে উঠিয়া তাঁহার দাড়ি ধরিয়া টানিয়াছিল। কিন্তু খুঁটান অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ তাহাতে একটুও বিচলিত হন নাই কোনো প্রতিবাদ করেন নাই, নিঃশব্দে তাহা সহ্য করিয়াছিলেন। এ ঘটনা সেই সময়ে খবরের কাগজে প্রকাশিত হইয়াছিল। তিনি শান্তিনিকেতনে ফিরিয়া আসিলে আমি যখন তাঁহার কাছে ইহা উল্লেখ করি, তখন তিনি একটু হাসিয়া বলিয়াছিলেন, উহা কিছই নহে।

অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের সত্য, দম, তপ, তীতিষ্কা, ত্যাগ ইত্যাদি দোঁখিয়া আমি তাঁহাকে যথার্থ ব্রাহ্মণ বলিয়া মনে করিতাম। ব্রাহ্মণ দুই রকমের বর্ণব্রাহ্মণ বা জাতিব্রাহ্মণ, আর গুণব্রাহ্মণ। বাঁহারা কেবল বর্ণে বা জাতিতে অর্থাৎ ব্রাহ্মণের বংশে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়া ব্রাহ্মণ বলিয়া পরিচিত হন, তাঁহারা বর্ণব্রাহ্মণ বা জাতিব্রাহ্মণ। সমাজে ইঁহারা খুব হয়ে। এখনো অনেককে বর্ণব্রাহ্মণ বলা হয়, যদিও বাঁহারা অনেকে বর্ণব্রাহ্মণ বলিয়া অবজ্ঞা করেন তাঁহারা কম বর্ণব্রাহ্মণ নহেন। ইঁহাদিগকেই ব্রহ্মবন্ধু বলা হয়। ব্রহ্মবন্ধু শব্দের তাৎপৰ্য এই যে, নিজে অর্থাৎ নিজের গুণে ব্রহ্ম অর্থাৎ ব্রাহ্মণ নহে কিন্তু কোনো বস্তুত ব্রাহ্মণ তাহার বন্ধু বা জ্ঞাত, কোন বস্তুত ব্রাহ্মণকে যে নিজের বন্ধু বা জ্ঞাত বলিয়া পরিচয় দেয় সেই ব্রহ্মবন্ধু। বৃন্দেব ইঁহাদিগকে ভো বা দী বলিতেন। অর্থাৎ বাঁহারা নিজের গুণে ব্রাহ্মণ বলিয়া পরিচিত হইতে না পারিয়া লোকজনকে ডাকিয়া বলে যে ‘ওহে, আমি ব্রাহ্মণ’ তাহারা ভো বা দী। অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব ছিলেন গুণব্রাহ্মণ, বস্তুত ব্রাহ্মণ, আমার চোখে ব্রাহ্মণের ব্রাহ্মণ। তাই আমি তাঁহার পায়ের ধূলি লইয়া প্রণাম করিতাম। আমি ইহা সকলের সামনেই করিতাম, গোপনে নহে। অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের মহত্বই আমাকে ইহা করাইয়াছিল। হঠাৎ একদিন দেখি অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব আমার পায়ের হাত দিয়াছেন। আমি বিস্মিত ও মুগ্ধ হইয়া হাত ছাড়িয়া লইলাম, কিন্তু হৃদয়ে তাঁহার মহত্বের একটা গভীর রেখাপাত হইল। আমি থাকিতে পারিলাম না। আমারও হাত তাঁহার পদ স্পর্শ করিল। সেই হইতে আমাদের নমস্কার পদ্ধতি এইরূপ হইয়াছিল।

অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের চরিত্রের মহত্ব ও মাধুর্য কত গভীর ছিল তাহা যে একবার তাঁহার সৎস্পর্শে আসিবার সৌভাগ্যলাভ করিয়াছে, সেই বৃন্দিয়াছে। তাঁহার হৃদয় করুণার ও প্রেমে ভরা ছিল। সেখানে দম্ভ-দারিদ্র-কন্ট সেইখানেই অ্যাণ্ড্রুজ—জাতিব্যাধিনিবিশেষে। তিনি সকলকেই কোল দিতেন, বড়ো-ছোট, উচ্চ-নীচ, ধনী-দরিদ্র এ ভেদ তাঁহার কাছে ছিল না। তাঁহার

কাছে যে ব্যক্তি যে-কাজ লইয়া উপস্থিত হইয়াছে তাহারই তিনি তাহা করিতে চেষ্টা করিয়াছেন। তা তাহা খুব বড়োই হউক আর খুব ছোটোই হউক। এজন্য আবশ্যক হইলে বড়লাটকে তিনি ধরিতেন।

ভারতবর্ষ তাঁহাকে দীনবন্ধু বলিয়া তাঁহার চরিত্রের একটা দিককে উপযুক্ত রূপে প্রকাশ করিয়াছে। ভারতে দীনের সংখ্যা কম নহে। তাহারা তাঁহার মধ্যে বস্তুতই এক বন্ধুকে পাইয়াছিল। অ্যাপস্টল সাহেবের অভাব সমগ্র বিশ্ব অনুভব করিবে। আমাদের সৌভাগ্য তাঁহাকে আমরা নিকটে পাইয়াছিলাম, আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্য তাঁহাকে আমরা হারাইলাম। ঠিক কুড়ি বৎসর পূর্বে আমি তাঁহার একটি প্রশস্তি লিখিয়াছিলাম, আজ নিম্নে তাহা দেওয়া হইল :

সম্পদং স্বল্পমুপাগতাং পুরো, মন্যসে নন্দ তুগায় লীলয়া।
 স্বেচ্ছোর্যাসি পদনবিপৎততিং, মালিকামিব নবাং বিভর্ষাহো ॥ ১ ॥
 ত্যজ্যসে যদি জনৈনিজৈরপি, ছিদ্যসে কুবচনৈশ্চ মর্ম স্দ।
 পীড়্যসেহধ সততং যথা তথা, সত্যম্পমপি নোৎসজস্যহো ॥ ২ ॥
 নাথনে কিমপি নাম কাম্যতে, দীনদৈন্যদলনে ধৃতং ব্রতম্।
 দম্ভকরং জনহিতায় কুব্ধতা, খিধ্যতে ন কলয়াপি চক্ষয়া ॥ ৩ ॥
 সাধুনা জয়সি ভন্ন সাধু যৎ, প্রীয়সে শ্বিষ্যতি চাপি সন্ততম্।
 কুপ্যতেহপি নহি কুপ্যসি ভ্রমে, হপ্যেবমেব চরিতং তবাম্ভুতম ॥ ৪ ॥
 একতঃ সূচিরবাসতঃ স্বয়ং, দৃষ্টমগ্র তব যৎ স্বচক্ষুষা।
 চিন্তয়ৎ তদখিলং নিরন্তরং, চিন্তমস্য মম বিস্মিতং পরম ॥ ৫ ॥
 বাচ্যমন্যাদিহ কিং বিচারন্, বেষ্ম্যহং মনসি সূক্ষ্মদৃষ্টিং খলদ।
 ব্রাহ্মণোত্তমন্তরা স্বমেব মে, নেত্রয়োঃ পতসি ভারতেহধুনা ॥ ৬ ॥
 তাং স্বদীপ্তঘনবাহুবন্ধনাম্বেলগোম্ভবসুখাবগাঢ়তাম্।
 বিস্মরেন্ নন্দ কথং মনো মম, হ্যং নমামি শিরসা সূহৃদ্বর ॥ ৭ ॥

শান্তিনিকেতনম্

১৯৭৭ বি. স.

চৈত্র শুদ্ধ শ্বিতীয়া

প্রবাসী, টৈজ্য ১০৪৭

MAHADEV DESAI

I

When I saw C. F. A.—that is how many of his friends referred to him, some called him Charlie, and I latterly had come to address him as Barodada, none of us who were nearest to him ever referred to him as Deenabandhu, which name, however appropriate, never seemed to stick to him—a few weeks ago at Calcutta recovering from his first operation, I had a fear that, though he had been restored to us, he was not likely to be with us for long. And yet his loss creates such a terrible void that it seems impossible to reconcile oneself quite to the inevitable. A friend who writes to me a letter of sympathy, knowing what the loss means to me, says I must be feeling as though I had lost my dear father. Quite true. But though I am young enough to have been his son and he had a venerable beard, it was quite impossible to regard him as a father. In fact it was impossible to look up to him as an elder or anything else. For he was friend to all—the oldest and the youngest, the richest and the poorest, the highest and the humblest. When he sat down with my boy to read Kubla Khan and mingled his mirth with his own, when he sat down with Gandhiji to discuss Dominion Status or Independence, or with Dr. John Mott to discuss Gandhiji's attitude to Christianity, there was in him the same childlike innocence and simple regard for truth. I remember vividly the early morning when twenty-two years ago I was introduced to him by Gandhiji. From that moment his overflowing affection and friendliness made it impossible to look up to him.

When thirty-six years ago he decided to come to India, there were friends who remonstrated with him. He had won a triple First and was a Cambridge Don. If he stayed at home, he might one day be venerated as the seniormost Professor of History in Cambridge, or if he entered politics he might one day be Prime Minister. He would not be moved

from his resolve. "India calls" were the two words he uttered with such deep conviction that it silenced all remonstrance. When two or three years ago friends found that he was feeling the effects of a none too robust health and approaching age, they asked him to settle down in a quiet spot in England and give more fruits of his pellucid pen to the world, he said 'no', he could not think of settling anywhere else but India. When the Surgeon who performed the two operations on him suggested that he should go to England or Europe and have the Second operation there, he resolutely said 'no'. He knew that Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla, who bore all the expenses of his prolonged illness, would gladly bear those of an air-flight and operation at 'home'. But how could he leave his real home? "Whatever happens to me", he said, "must happen here". I do not know an Englishman who loved India more, and who has served India better. That was not because of an emotional impulse—there were perennial wells of emotion in him, but nobody made the choice of his vocation out of emotion—but because he knew India, went on with the years knowing her and loving her more and more, he knew the wrong that his countrymen had done to India, consciously or unconsciously, and he had resolved to atone for it. He was a tapasvi in the true sense of the term.

It was a triple atonement. The first was by a conscious endeavour everyday of his life to wipe out the reproach of 'superiority' attaching to Englishmen. The second was by slaving for India—the flood-stricken and the famine-stricken and the earthquake-stricken at home, and the oppressed Indian in South Africa and Kenya, in Fiji and New Zealand, in Trinidad and Tanganyika. The third was by opening the eyes of his Missionary brethren to the rich spiritual heritage of India, which they had ignored, misunderstood and even misrepresented, and by showing them the true way of Christ. I do not know that he made any Christian convert, but I know that he had won the hearts of millions, and hundreds are shedding silent tears over the loss of their guide, philosopher and friend.

And he had the richest equipment for the sacred mission of atonement he had undertaken. He had ahimsa in a larger measure than most people I have known. He had woven into his life the principal attribute of the Bhakta of the Gita—who paineth none, and who is pained by none. The very mention of the Beatitudes made him beam with serene

joy, giving one the impression that the joy was the reflection of the light that comes from an observance of them. I have not yet come across a better exemplar of the Biblical proverb—a soft answer turneth away wrath. All this gave him the strength to bear the Cross that everyone must bear who is on the strait and razor-edged path of tapasya.

And don't I know the terrible weight of that Cross? The proud regarded him as an outcaste, the wise laughed behind his back saying he was a simpleton full of sob-stuff. But his humility and single-minded devotion to the cause would never dismay him. He bore all insults, humiliations, snubs, sarcasms with a smile. If Dr. Grenfell of Labrador set a supreme example of physical endurance that all servants of humanity have to possess, C. F. A. set a supreme example of mental endurance.

But he was not a man easily to take a denial. No task was too mean or humble for him. He would run errands, take a note to the Viceroy, or to an erate official who was in no mood to yield. But on most occasions he succeeded in appealing to the human side of people and worked wonders. In South Africa he worried General Smuts time and again. When the Final Agreement was about to be signed came a wire to Gandhiji saying Kasturba was seriously ill. But Gandhiji refused to go until the Agreement was signed by General Smuts. Charlie ran to Smuts who was deeply touched, signed the Agreement, and released both to go to Durban. At the time of the last Yeravda fast of August 1933, he worried Sir Reginald Maxwell at all hours of the day and night until the final release of Gandhiji. In 1932 during the Premier's Award Fast, he was now with Lord Halifax, then with Sir Samuel Hoare, then with Mr. Mac Donald, and saw that there was not moment's delay in announcing the decision. On countless other occasions he took upon himself the mission of peace and worked at it without regard for the result. And I have seen him not only running errands, but ready to do the most tiresome clerical jobs like copying, revising typescript, etc. 'His soul was like a star, and on himself the lowliest tasks did lay.'

Not that he did not err. He was very human indeed and made plenty of mistakes, but no one knew how to make better amends. He had a kind of 'will to believe' which often landed him in scrapes out of which he found it difficult to extricate himself. He came across blackmailers who some times found him an easy victim, but he had the joy

of Hugo's Bishop who was happy to have lost his candlesticks. 'Better to be deceived than to deceive'. sings Kabir ; 'to be deceived yields joy, to deceive is a sure source of misery.'

II

On three or four occasions I saw him during the convalescence before the fatal second operation, and everyday, after the second operation, for a few minutes every morning and evening. On the first occasion when I met him after he had emerged from the first operation, he said: "Last night was a night of peace and bliss. Somehow the Beatitudes which I like most did haunt me. What came upon my mind again and again as a never-to-be effaced memory were some parts of the Gospel of St. John and the last nineteen verses of the second Discourse of the Bhagawadgita. They are still there with me. And oh, it was bliss to have Bapu here Yesterday".

On the second occasion he said: "This has been a miracle, this recovery. And yet how we fret unnecessarily!" With the faith of one who believed with the Apostle that 'the very hairs of our head are all numbered', he said: "Not one day more or one day less than He feels it right that I should live. To know this is a benediction." And with this he hugged me in a close embrace, muttered some words I could not hear, and then said: "Let us to-day have the great Upanishad prayer: From the unreal, lead me to the Real ; from darkness, lead me to Light ; from death, lead me to Immortality".

On the third occasion he said: "Let me unburden myself of one or two things that have been pressing on my mind. You know the little doctor who has been so good to me. He wants an autographed photograph of Bapu, and I have promised it to him. You must remember to get him that." I asked for his name, but he did not know. He asked me to call the nurse. She was not quite sure, but she promised she would find out. When she gave me the name, I had to leave Calcutta. But I said: "I shall see that he gets it." Then he said: "And now there is another thing. You know our friend gave me Rs. — for Palestine work. I was to have gone there. Twice I had very nearly gone, but could not actually go, though I have been doing work for the Jews off

and on. Anyway the money was unused, when as you know — approached me with her troubles, and I gave her half of it. Now there is a little money that I have in the bank which can go to make good this loss. Please explain this to our good friend and tell him I can return the whole amount if he so wishes, otherwise if he permits I can give the small amount to my sisters. But ask Bapu what he thinks. In any case do write to the friend. I had no right to use his money as I did, and it worries me."

On the last occasion he was full of the Ramgarh resolution, he said he knew that victory was sure to come, and he begun immediately to discuss the European Situation, but I stopped him from exerting himself. Then he said. "I have been thinking more and more of the Gita. What a capital idea it is—the one of man's eternal war with evil. There are wars on the physical plane and we know them. But there are mightier wars on the spiritual plane which we have to be unceasingly fighting."

One can thus see the atmosphere that he had created around himself and the thoughts and prayers that occupied his mind. On the day of the second operation an hour before the ordeal I saw him. I gave him Bapu's and Rajkumari's messages and the prayers of us all. He beamed. Then he smiled and said: "They have shaven off my beard and moustache. All clean gone!" I said: "You will remember that Gurudev also had to lose his and was none the worse for it." Then he said: "Whatever happens to me, Mahadev, don't forget that little doctor. Bapu's autographed photograph for him!" If Socrates would forget the cock he owed, then would C. F. A. forget his debt to the doctor. I am ashamed to say that I had not carried the photograph with me, but now his debt shall be paid. But he was already feeling the effect of the medicine he had been given, and so he said: "Now I go to sleep with my God."

Then everyday I saw him with the Bishop of Calcutta, but we rarely engaged him in a talk. "It is a blessing to have you here", he would say, and just close his eyes, or sometimes he would ask the Bishop to pray. He knew that a dear friend Dr. Paton had, like me, gone from farther South to be with him during the ordeal. He used to see him with the Bishop and me, but had not the strength to talk with me. So on the evening before the last he called me and said: "I hope to be better to-morrow and to be able to talk to Paton. Tell him." But it was not to be. Those

indeed were the last words I heard from his lips, for on the last day he was in a semiconscious condition. But there were no groans or signs of pain on his serene face which when he slipped into the Eternal showed the stamp of the 'Peace that passeth all understanding.'

III

Though he tramped about like a wandering Jew and was here, there and everywhere, he found time for writing numerous books. As early as 1908 he declared that "few things have pained me more than the false and oncsided picture given of the Hindu religion" by some of the Missionaries, and accuses the church in India of "an un Christian lack of sympathy with what was good and noble". (North India—Hand books of English Church expansion) He implores the Missionary to shed his superiority and his 'Sahibhood', and tells them: "As those who desire to be one in heart and soul with the people of the land, we must not expect or even wish them to approximate to our standard of living, but must continually expect and wish ourselves to approximate to theirs". "Their is", he adds, "a vernacular of thought and habit and temper to be learnt as well as a vernacular language". But he still talks in this book of rich additions to the faith. That phase did not last long. Came the years of fruitful companionship with the late Shri S. K. Rudra and the Poet and Munshi Zakaullah. He studied the Upanishads, left the Cambridge Mission, and associated himself closely with the Poet's work. In a beautiful monograph on Munshi Zakaullah he described how he, a devout follower of Muhammad, sat together from day to day adding to each other's spiritual treasure, but without thought of either converting the other to his faith.

In his What I Owe to Christ, which may be called his spiritual testament and which was his ripe fruit of years of experience, he declares his final faith: "Such an intimate and devoted companionship between a Christian Missionary and a Mussalman, without the least thought of conversion, was by no means common at that time. There might have been some danger of misunderstanding on the part of other Mussalmans. But Susil's (Rudra's) friendship at this point stood me in good stead, for he was well known all over Delhi as having no sympathy with proselytising

methods, and I too soon came to share with him that character. Susil Rudra and the leading Indian Christian in Delhi expressed the strong opinion that silent influence carrying with it the fragrance of a true Christian life was worth all the propagandist teaching in the world. . . 'Charlie', Susil would say to me, 'I find it difficult sometimes to read St. Paul's Epistles. He is like you Englishmen—always trying to force someone to his own point of view and 'compassing sea and land to make one proselyte'. Christ himself is free from such forceful methods to obtain success."

The son of a Fundamentalist father, he had started life by declaring that he could not possibly believe in eternal punishment, and that it was no longer possible for him to receive the Holy Communion side by side with the parents, and he ended up with the faith quoted above, declared a few years ago.

In politics, too, he had had a difficult inheritance. His father held firmly to the view of India as "a British possession" whose destiny had been entrusted by Providence to the British. "At times", he confesses, "it became painfully evident how deep the fibres (of this inheritance) had gone, and how hard it was to eradicate them completely". But a few years in India were enough to make him stand out for full freedom from the foreign Yoke. In his book on Munshi Zakanllah, he summarizes some of the discussions he used to have with the Munshiji. "Don't you see", he would say to him, "we have no intervening power in our own country? Does not the presence of an intervening power in India only stir up greater strife? Have not the two communities got to settle their own differences without the interference of an outside party?" Then he says: "I had very often spoken to him of the evils I saw to be inherent in foreign rule; and I had put forward very strongly the idea that India should govern herself independently, and not to be tied any longer by the strings of a Government many thousands of miles away. This anomaly of the foreign and distant administration had always seemed to be preposterous".

But his outstanding contribution was an essay on Independence wherein he made out a strong plea for a declaration of Indian Independence. He exclaims that it can brook not a moment's delay and bases his thesis on two fundamental maxims of Seeley in his Expansion of

England. "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration", said Seeley. "This is a terrible fact of history to be faced", said C.F.A. "Any further remaining in a state of dependence within the British Empire would appear to mean an increasing measure of national deterioration. We must therefore, awake and shake ourselves free." Then there is the second maxim which drives us Indians on the horns of a dilemma: "To withdraw the British Government from a country like India which is dependent on it, and which we have made incapable of depending on anything else, would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes, and might possibly cause the most stupendous of all conceivable calamities". This, he declares, is the vicious circle—perpetual dependence, perpetual subjection, perpetual dependence! India must shake herself free, Gandhiji had given the mantra, and complete non-co-operation with the foreign rule in a non violent manner is the only remedy. "The sentence about subjection", said C.F.A., "ought to be written on the heart of every Indian with all the humiliation it implies. Until the humiliation is more deeply felt, there is no hope" of the remedy being applied.

It was the death of this unique friend of India that Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians—Indian and English—had assembled on the 5th of April to mourn at the St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta. The servants and bearers and chauffeurs who enquired daily about his health knew that it was a friend of the poor who had passed away, and they too shared the grief of the rest.

Sevagram

Harijan April 13, 1940

AMRIT KAUR

With his unique career at Cambridge of which University he was a triple first and his facile pen, he was told by an eminent divine that he was throwing away a brilliant future in the Church of England by coming to India, "The highest office here can be yours with your rare gifts." The simple answer given was, "India calls". And India never ceased to call him, while he loved his own country with a rare devotion. I always felt he was happiest in Indian homes and how many that have loved to have him and minister to him will miss one who through all these years has been such a loyal friend.

His death has left an aching void which it will not be possible to fill. Rarely are Englishmen able to identify themselves as he did with those whose interests seemingly or from the material point of view conflict with England's.

'Requiescat in Peace' and may the fragrant memory of a dedicated life enable us to give ourselves in greater and greater measure for the service of suffering humanity.

Sevagram 5-4-40

MEMORIES AND STUDIES

আশ্রমবন্ধু সি. এফ. এণ্ড্‌জ

অজিতকুমার চক্রবর্তী

গত এই ফাল্গুন আমাদের আশ্রমে দিল্লী কলেজের অধ্যাপক রেভারেন্ড সি. এফ. এণ্ড্‌জ অতিথি হইয়া আসিয়াছিলেন এবং আমাদের সঙ্গে এক সপ্তাহকাল যাপন করিয়াছিলেন।

ইনি ভারতবর্ষে নয় বৎসর আছেন কিন্তু এতদিন পর্যন্ত এ আশ্রমের সঙ্গে তাহার কোন যোগই ছিলনা। অথচ এই সাত দিনে আমরা অনুভব করিলাম যে ইনি কেবলমাত্র আমাদের আশ্রমের হিতৈষী নহেন, এখানকার আদর্শ ও কর্মের সঙ্গে ইহার অন্তরতর যোগ ঘটিয়াছে। ইহাকে আমরা আমাদের প্রতি সহানুভূতিশীল দূর অতিথিমাত্র মনে করিতে পারি নাই, ইহাকে বন্ধু ও সহযোগী মনে করিয়া আমাদের ভিতরে গ্রহণ করিয়া লইয়াছি।

ইংলন্ড প্রত্যগত ব্যক্তি মাত্রই অবগত আছেন যে উদার ও সৌজন্যপূর্ণ ব্যবহারে বিলাতবাসী ইংরাজের সহিত এদেশবাসী ইংরাজের কোন তুলনাই হয় না। যে ইংরাজ নিজ দেশে স্বাধীনতার আবহাওয়ার মধ্যে বাস করিয়া মনুষ্যমাত্রকেই উদারভাবে গ্রহণ করে এবং পাছে তাহার আচরণে লেশমাত্র অভদ্রতা কোথাও প্রকাশ পায় এজন্য সর্বদা সশঙ্কিত ও সতর্ক হইয়া থাকে, সেই ইংরাজ ভারতবর্ষে পদার্পণ করিবার অনতিকাল পরেই দেখিতে দেখিতে গায়ের রং পরিবর্তনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কেমন করিয়া যে এণ্‌গলোইন্ডিয়ান নামক রূপান্তর লাভ করিয়া বসে, তাহা আমাদের ধারণার অগম্য। অবশ্য ভারতবর্ষে স্বিজ হইবার দেশ; আমাদের পিতামহগণ স্বিতীয় জন্ম লাভ করিয়া স্বিজ হইবার অভিলাষী হইতেন, অতএব স্বিজন্দের বীজাণু সম্ভবত এখানকার হাওয়ার মধ্যে বিস্তর পরিমাণে ছড়াইয়া আছে। না হইলে স্বাধীনতাপ্রিয় ইংরাজ এখানে আসিয়া প্রভুত্বপরায়ণ শক্তিমদগর্বিত ইম্পেরিয়াল্ ইংরাজ হয় কেমন করিয়া?

এদেশে ইংরাজের এণ্‌গলোইন্ডিয়ানহে নবজন্ম লাভ করিবার প্রধান কারণ,—এখানে ইংরাজের সহিত আমাদের সম্বন্ধ প্রায় আপিস আদালতেই ঘটে, যেখানে তাহারা প্রভু। সামাজিক মেলামেশার ক্ষেত্র এ দেশে অত্যন্ত সঙ্কীর্ণ,—নাই বলিলেও অতীতি হয়না। এ দেশে সে রাজা এবং আমরা প্রজা বলিয়া এণ্‌গলোইন্ডিয়ান ইংরাজের আমাদের গায়ের উপর এমনি করুণা ছুঁড়িয়া মারিবার ভাব, যে সেটা যে ব্যক্তির এতটুকু আত্মসম্মান আছে তাহাকে আঘাতের মতই বাজে। তাহার ভাবখানা যেন এই :—ইহারা আমাদের প্রজা, অতিশয় কৃপাপাত্র—ইহাদের কাজকর্ম আমাদের সামান্য একটু উৎসাহবাক্য পাইলেও ইহারা কৃতার্থ হইয়া যায়! কিন্তু সেই ইহারাই যে তাহার সমকক্ষ হইতে পারে, একথা স্বপ্নেও মনে করা এণ্‌গলোইন্ডিয়ানের পক্ষে শক্ত। সুতরাং এদেশে যাহারা নিজের সম্মান বাঁচাইয়া চলিতে চায় অর্থাৎ যাহারা বান্ধবিকই প্রস্থেয় লোক, তাহারা এণ্‌গলোইন্ডিয়ানের নিকট হইতে “শত হস্তেন” দূরে থাকাই বাঞ্ছনীয় মনে করে। আর যাহারা তাহাদের কৃপাকটাক্ষ ও পিঠাপাড়ানকে হাতে স্বর্গলাভ বলিয়া আহ্বাদিত হয়, সেই

পৌরুষবর্জিত বিদূষকজাতীয় মানুষদের সঙ্গই ইহারা দুর্ভাগ্য ক্রমে অধিক লাভ করে এবং তাহাতে ইহাদের রুদ্রতা, অশিষ্টতা ও প্রতুষ লালসা অপরিমিত রূপে বাড়িয়া যাইতেই থাকে।

এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব দীর্ঘকাল ভারতবর্ষে আছেন, অথচ তিনি কোনমতেই আপনাকে এই এংলোইণ্ডিয়ানকে রূপান্তরিত হইতে দেন নাই। তিনি পাদ্রী বলিয়াই যে এমন হইয়াছে এমন কথা মনে করিতে পারি না। কারণ ভারতবর্ষের পাদ্রীদের মধ্যেও এংলোইণ্ডিয়ান মূর্তির অভাব নাই। ইহা তাঁহার স্বাভাবিক শক্তিবশতই ঘটিয়াছে। তিনি ভারতবর্ষকে অশ্রম্মা না করিয়া তাহার আধুনিক সকল দৃগর্গতির মধ্যেও তাহার যথার্থ সত্যটিকে দেখিতে পাইয়াছেন। এজন্য ভারতবর্ষের সম্বন্ধে তাঁহার আশার অন্ত নাই। তিনি ইহার সকল সাময়িক আন্দোলনের চাপল্য ও ক্ষণিক উজ্জ্বাসের পশ্চাতে ইহার সেই অন্তর্নিহিত চিরন্তন সত্যের উপরে দৃঢ় প্রতিষ্ঠা, আশায় ও আনন্দে পরিপূর্ণ সুমহৎ ভবিষ্যৎকে অত্যন্ত সূনিশ্চিতরূপে দেখিতে পান।

রামমোহন রায় হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া এদেশের আধুনিক সকল বড়লোক ও সকল ছোটবড় অনুষ্ঠান ও আন্দোলন সম্বন্ধে ইহার সঙ্গে আলোচনা করিয়া আমি এই কথাটিই বিশেষভাবে হৃদয়ঙ্গম করিয়াছি। ইনি আমাদের জাতির প্রতি প্রত্যাশাবান, ইনি কখনই তাহাকে পশ্চিমী চশ্মায় অন্যান্য ক্ষুদ্রাচলিত মিশনরীর মত বিকৃত করিয়া খর্ব করিয়া দেখেন না। যে সকল ক্ষণস্থায়ী আন্দোলন ও উদ্যোগ যেন বদ্বন্দ্বদের মত কেবল উপরেই ভাসিয়া উঠিতেছে, তাহাদিগকেই সম্বন্ধে রাখিয়া ইনি আমাদের দেশকে বিচার করেন না—এদেশের “হৃদয়-সিন্দূতলে” যে “নূতন মহাদেশ” পলে পলে সৃষ্ট হইয়া উঠিতেছে, সেই গভীর গোপন নিঃশব্দ লোকের সংবাদ ইনি সম্পূর্ণরূপে অবগত আছেন। আমি তো মনে করিতে পারি না যে ভারতবর্ষকে ভারতবাসীর মত ভাল না বাসিলে তাহার এই বর্তমানের মধ্যে তাহার সেই সুদূর ভবিষ্যৎকে নিশ্চিত বিশ্বাসের সঙ্গে চিনিতে পারা আদৌ সম্ভব হয় কিনা। দেশের ভবিষ্যৎকে যে অবিশ্বাস করে আমাদের মধ্যে এমন কোন দেশভক্ত আছেন যিনি তাহাকে নিঃসংশয় করিতে সমর্থ?

আমি বলিয়াছি যে আমাদের আশ্রমের সঙ্গে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের নয় বৎসরকাল যোগ হয় নাই, কিন্তু এখন তিনি যে আমাদেরই একজন, এই কথা আমরা বিশেষ করিয়া অনুভব করিয়াছি। সহসা এরূপ হইবার কারণ কি? অবশ্য আশ্রমগুরু, রবীন্দ্রনাথের সহিত ইহার ইংলণ্ডে সাক্ষাৎ ঘটিয়াছিল এবং তাহাকে সেখানে ঘনিষ্ঠভাবে জানিবার সুযোগ ইনি লাভ করিয়াছিলেন। কিন্তু যদি কেবলমাত্র কবির প্রতি অনুরাগবশত ইনি আশ্রমকে আপনার জিনিস মনে করিয়া থাকেন, তবে আশ্রমের সঙ্গে তাঁহার সে যোগকে কখনই প্রাপ্যতঃ যোগ মনে করিতে পারিব না। শব্দ কবির কাব্যকে বাহারা আদর করিয়াছে কিন্তু কবির জীবনের গভীর আকাঙ্ক্ষা ও সাধনাকে বাহারা উপলব্ধি করে নাই, বাহারা জানে না কি একটি মণ্ডলপথে জীবনকে উৎসর্গ করিয়া কি একটি ত্যাগে তাহাকে পরিসমাপ্ত করিবার ইচ্ছা কবির এই আশ্রম-সাধনার মর্মের মধ্যে রহিয়াছে, তাহারা রসপ্রস্টা কবিকে যথেষ্ট ভক্তি করিলেও তপস্বী কবিকে কখনই সম্যক-রূপে বুঝিতে পারে নাই। অবশ্য একথা ঠিক যে কবির কাজ কখনই কেজো লোকের শব্দক-কাজের মত নয়, সে কাজের সঙ্গে কেজো লোকের হিসাব মিলিবে না। কবির কাজ কেবলমাত্র প্রয়োজন সাধন নয় সেই সঙ্গে একটি অমৃত জোগাইবার আরোজন থাকা চাই। সকল বড় প্রয়োজন সাধনকে কলের মত করিয়া তুলিবার দিকে পৃথিবীর বারো আনা কেজো লোক অধুনা

নিষ্পত্ত রহিয়াছে, কেহ এ কথা বলে না যে প্রয়োজনকে আনন্দের মধ্যে পরিপূর্ণ করিয়া দেওয়া দরকার, কাজকে বিরামের অঙ্গীভূত করিয়া তোলা আবশ্যিক। কিন্তু তথাপি কাজ কাজই, তাহা জীবনের জিনিস, তাহা সুকঠিন ত্যাগ ও একনিষ্ঠ সাধনার অপেক্ষা রাখে। আর সে অংশে তাহার শৃঙ্খল মাত্র কবিত্ব হইতে স্বাভাব্য আছে। তাই বলিতেছি, যে, কবির কাব্যের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বাহারা তাঁহার বর্তমান জীবনের সাধনাকে না জানিয়াছে তাহারা আগ্রহের সঙ্গে সম্পূর্ণরূপে একীভূত হইতে পারে না।

নয় বৎসর কাল এশ্বজ্ঞ ভারতবর্ষকে নানারকমে জানিবার চেষ্টায় ছিলেন, তিনি সংস্কার-মুক্ত দৃষ্টিতে ইহার অন্তরের মধ্যে দৃষ্টান্তরূপে করিবার আয়োজন করিতেছিলেন। তাঁহার প্রাশ্নাধিকার সকল সমিৎ আহৃত হইয়াছিল, সকল অর্থ একে একে জড়ো হইয়াছিল, বজ্রকুণ্ড প্রস্তুত হইয়াছিল, কেবল অপেক্ষা ছিল একটি অগ্নির—এক মূহুর্তেই বাহা সমস্ত বজ্রায়োজনকে সার্থক করিয়া দিবে। এদেশের জাতীয় প্রদীপের সলিতার অগ্রভাগে যে সাহিত্যের আলোটুকু জ্বলিয়াছে, সেখান হইতে যে তাঁহাকে সেই অগ্নি সংগ্রহ করিতে হইবে এই কথাটি নয় বৎসর পরে হৃদয়ঙ্গম করিয়া তিনি এত অল্পকালের মধ্যেই এই সামান্য অনুষ্ঠানের সঙ্গে এমন করিয়া আপনার হৃদয়কে গাঁথিয়া দিয়াছেন।

ইনি পাত্রী ও ধর্মপারায়ণ ব্যক্তি। ইতিমধ্যে একদিন আগ্রহের সকল অধ্যাপকের সঙ্গে পরিচয় উপলক্ষে এক সন্ধ্যা সম্মেলনীতে ইনি আপনার জীবনের কয়েকটি কথা সরলভাবে বিবৃত করিতেছিলেন। ইঁহার পিতা ধর্মবাজক ছিলেন, তাঁহার কিছু সম্পত্তি এক ট্রাস্টের হাতে ছিল। সেই ট্রাস্ট একসময়ে হঠাৎ ফাঁকি দিয়া তাঁহাকে তাঁহার প্রাপ্য সম্পত্তি হইতে বঞ্চিত করিলে তাঁহার পিতা খুবই সাংসারিক ক্রেশের মধ্যে পড়িলেন। কিন্তু যেদিন সেই দারুণ সংবাদ তিনি প্রথমে জানিলেন, সেদিন পারিবারিক উপাসনায় যে ব্যক্তি তাঁহার সর্বনাশ সাধন করিয়াছে, তাহারই কল্যাণের জন্য তিনি ঈশ্বরের কাছে প্রার্থনা করিলেন। তিনি আইনের শরণাপন্ন হইলেন না। বালক এশ্বজ্ঞ নিজের চেষ্টায় বৃত্তি সংগ্রহ করিয়া অধ্যয়ন করিতে লাগিলেন। স্কুলজীবন শেষ না হইতেই তাঁহার মনে অকস্মাৎ ধর্মজীবনের জন্য ব্যাকুলতা ও প্রবল আত্মজালান উদ্দীপিত হইয়া তাঁহাকে অশান্ত করিল। তারপর স্কুলজীবন শেষ করিয়া কেম্ব্রিজ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে তিনি ছয় বৎসরকাল অধ্যয়ন করিলেন—সেখানে তাঁহার কর্মের সুবিধাও হইয়া গেল; কিন্তু সেই সুখের ও আরাগতির জীবন তাঁহার ভাল লাগিল না। তিনি দরিদ্রদের মধ্যে কাজ করিবার ব্রত গ্রহণ করিলেন এবং চার বৎসর কাল দুরন্ত পরিশ্রম করিয়া স্বাস্থ্য ভগ্ন করিয়া পুনরায় কেম্ব্রিজ-প্রত্যাবর্তন করিলেন। আবার সেই দরিদ্রদিগের সেবার কাজে ফিরিয়া যাওয়া সম্ভব হইল না। ইঁহার কিছুকাল পরে, তাঁহার মন ভারতবর্ষের দিকে ঝুঁকিল। সেন্ট ট্রিফেন্স কলেজের একজন অধ্যাপকের সঙ্গে আলাপ হইতে সেইখানে যাইবার আকাঙ্ক্ষা তাঁহার মনে প্রবল হইল। তিনি ভারতবর্ষে আসিলেন, কিন্তু কর্ণারোগ বাধাইয়া তাঁহাকে এক বৎসরের মধ্যেই ফিরিয়া বাইতে বাধ্য হইতে হইল। তারপর ডাক্তারের নিবেদন শুধুও ছয় মাস আবার পরীক্ষা করিয়া দেখিলেন বলিয়া পুনরায় তিনি চলিয়া আসিলেন এবং প্রায় নয় বৎসর কাল এই অধ্যাপনায় নিষ্পত্ত আছেন। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের বৎসরে তিনি ভারতবর্ষে আসেন, তখন ইংরাজের সঙ্গে ভারতবাসীর খুবই মন-কষাকষি সম্বন্ধ চলিতেছিল। কিন্তু তিনি বলেন যে, তিনি বারবার খুব

আশার সঙ্গে এই আন্দোলনকে দেখিয়েছেন এবং ইহা যে ভাবী ভারতবর্ষের নবজীবনের সূত্রপাত, ইহা তিনি স্পষ্টই উপলব্ধি করিতে পারিয়াছিলেন।

কিন্তু ভারতবর্ষকে এণ্ড্রুজের এত ভাল লাগিল কেন? আমাদের সকল চেষ্টার ভিত্তি যে ধর্মের দ্বারা সৃষ্টি এবং এ যুগে রামমোহন, মহর্ষি দেবেন্দ্রনাথ প্রভৃতির তপস্যাই যে এক আশ্চর্য সাহিত্য শিল্পকে এ দেশে সম্ভব করিয়াছে—এই কথাটি তিনি বন্ধিতে পারিয়াছেন। ধর্মের সঙ্গে সাহিত্যের এই সকল প্রকার অনুষ্ঠানের এমন এক অঙ্গাঙ্গী যোগ ইহা তো পশ্চিমদেশেও ঘটে নাই। এই সংখ্যারই এক প্রবন্ধে ইউরোপের মণীষী অয়কেনের আধুনিক সভ্যতা সম্বন্ধে এক রচনার সারমর্ম প্রকাশ করিয়াছি, তিনি বলিতেছেন,—“জীবনের উপকরণের ও বাহ্য অবস্থার উন্নতির দিকে আমবা সম্পূর্ণ মনোযোগ ও প্রয়াসকে প্রয়োগ করিয়াছি বটে কিন্তু আসল জীবনটাকেই হারাইতে বসিয়াছি, বাহিরে আমাদের কাজ যত বৃহদাকার হইয়া উঠিয়াছে, অন্তরে আমাদের দারিদ্র্য ততই গভীর হইয়াছে।”*** “এত অশ্রান্ত নড়াচড়া ও স্তম্ভপাকার কাজ সত্ত্বেও সকল চেষ্টাই যে লক্ষ্যহীন—ইহাতেই আধুনিক সভ্যতাকে এত বিপদসঙ্কট ও ভীষণ করিয়াছে।** অতএব এক্ষণে সমস্তই যেমন আছে তেমনি রাখিয়া একটু আধটু অদলবদল করিতেই যে আমাদের সমস্যা মিটিয়া যাইবে একথা আমি মনে করি না—মানব প্রকৃতিকে ভিতর হইতে উন্নত করিয়া তুলিতে হইবে। সেইজন্য ধর্মের প্রয়োজন সকলের চেয়ে বেশি।” বস্তুত এইজন্যই “গীতাঞ্জলি” পশ্চিমে এত সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে—কবির অন্যান্য কাব্য ইহার তুল্য সমাদর লাভ করিবে কিনা সন্দেহ। পশ্চিমের সাহিত্য জীবনের সকল বিচিত্র দিক খুব একটি গভীর এবং বৃহৎ প্রকাশ লাভ করিয়াছে, কিন্তু যে অধ্যাত্ম রসে তাহারা বিচ্ছিন্ন না হইয়া এক ও সমগ্র হইতে পারে, জটিল না হইয়া সরল হইতে পারে, সেই বসতম রসটি সে সাহিত্যে, অন্যান্য সকল রসের মত উৎকর্ষ লাভ করে নাই। পশ্চিমের ভোগ এবং প্রাচীর ত্যাগ, পশ্চিমের বহুত্ব ও জটিলতা ও প্রাচীর সরল একা ও গভীরতা, পশ্চিমের বিজ্ঞানবোধের বিক্ষিপ্ততা ও প্রাচীর অধ্যাত্মবোধের আনন্দের সমগ্রতা—এই দুয়ের এক অপূর্ণ সামঞ্জস্য আধুনিক বাংলার কবির কাবোর মধ্যে দেখা গিয়াছে বলিয়া তাহা রসিক সমাজে এত শ্রদ্ধা ও আদরের অধিকারী হইয়াছে।

এই সাহিত্যিক সূত্রে ইংরাজের সঙ্গে আমাদের সম্বন্ধ আরও নিকটতর হইবে এই আশ্বাস এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের নিকট হইতে লাভ করিয়া আমরা আশান্বিত হইয়াছি। একথা বন্ধিযাছি যে এ দেশের মধ্যে বিধাতার কাজ চলিতেছে। আমরা তাঁহার অভিপ্রায়ের কথা কতটুকুই বা জানি! তাই এই সকল ব্যাপারে আমাদের গর্বিত হইয়া চঞ্চল হইয়া বেড়াইলে চলিবে না—আমাদের বিনষ্ট বিনীত হইয়া তাঁহার কাজ বাহাতে আমাদের মধ্যে কোন ব্যাঘাত না পায় এবং আরও সফল হইতে থাকে এজন্য সর্বদা প্রস্তুত হওয়া প্রয়োজন।

আশ্রমের ছাত্রদের ইনি দুই দিন কিছু কিছু বলিয়াছিলেন। একদিন সকল ছাত্রের সাধারণ সভায় ইনি আপনাকে তাহাদের বন্ধু বলিয়া জানান এবং এই আশ্রমকে যে তিনি অত্যন্ত আপনার বলিয়া মনে করেন ও শ্রদ্ধা করিয়া থাকেন তাহাও বলেন। তারপর একদিন বয়স্ক ছেলেদের সভায় তিনি ইংল্যান্ডের বিদ্যালয় ও সেখানকার পুরাতন ছাত্রগণ বিদ্যালয় ত্যাগের পর নিজ নিজ বিদ্যালয়ের সঙ্গে কিভাবে যোগাযোগ করে সে সম্বন্ধে খুব চমৎকার একটি বক্তৃতা প্রদান করিয়াছিলেন। ইংল্যান্ডের বিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রগণ সর্ববিধয়ে বিদ্যালয়ের আদর্শকে অক্ষুণ্ণ



After his first arrival in India



At Santiniketan

রাখিবার জন্য আপনাদিগকেই দায়ী বলিয়া মনে করে, অধ্যাপকদিগের সে সম্বন্ধে কোন দায় আছে এ কথা ভাবেনা। ছাত্রদের অধ্যয়ন, ক্রীড়া, চারিত্র, ধর্মোৎসাহ, বিবিধ হিতকর অনুষ্ঠান সকলদিকে বাহাতে আদর্শ না খর্ব হইয়া পড়ে এবং উন্নতি ক্রমাগতই ঘটিতে থাকে, সে বিষয়ে ছাত্ররা, বিশেষত বলস্ক ছাত্ররা সবদাই সচেতন থাকে। এইজন্য নিজ বিদ্যালয়ের প্রতি একটা শ্রদ্ধা ও অনুরাগ সকল ছাত্রের মনে এমন দৃঢ় হইয়া যায় যে যখন তাহারা বিদ্যালয় ত্যাগ করিয়া যায় তখনও বিদ্যালয়ের নামেই তাহারা পরিচিত হয়। অমুক ছাত্র ইটোনিয়ান বা হ্যারোনিয়ান—এমনি করিয়া কালেজেও তাহারা বিদ্যালয়ের পরিচয়কেই বহন করিয়া লইয়া যায়। এই ভূতপূর্ব ছাত্রগণ যেখানেই যাক তাহারা একটি সম্মিলনী করিয়া বিদ্যালয়কে সাহায্য করিবার চেষ্টা করে। ছাত্রজীবনে অবশ্য খুব বেশি অর্থসাহায্য করা তাহাদের পক্ষে সম্ভবপর নহে, কিন্তু তথাপি সাহার যতটুকু সাধ্য ততটুকু বিদ্যালয়ের জন্য উৎসর্গ করিতে সে বিমুখ হয়না। প্রতি বিদ্যালয়ে একটা ‘মিশন’ থাকে। দরিদ্রদের মধ্যে গিয়া কাজ করিবার, তাহাদিগকে সাহায্য করিবার ও তাহাদের মধ্যে ধর্ম ও নীতি প্রচার করিবার অনুষ্ঠানকেই মিশন বলে। সেই অনুষ্ঠানকে পুষ্ট করিয়া জাগাইয়া রাখিবার ভার এই ভূতপূর্ব ছাত্রগণই গ্রহণ করে। বিদ্যালয়ের সাম্বৎসরিক তাহারা আসে এবং তাহাদের মধ্যে যে সকলের চেয়ে পুরাতন ছাত্র সেই সভাপতিত্ব করে এবং বিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রদিগকে বক্তৃতার দ্বারা উৎসাহ প্রদান করে। তাহারা সে সময়ে আসিয়া আপনাদিগকে পুনরায় ছাত্রদের মত করিয়াই অনুভব করিতে চায়। নূতন ছাত্রদের সঙ্গে তাহাদের ‘ম্যাচ’ খেলা হয় এবং তাহাতে ‘ওল্ড বয়েজ ক্যাপ’ তাহারা উপহার দেয়। পুরাতন ছাত্ররা পরাজিত হইতেই ইচ্ছা করে এবং প্রায়ই হারিয়াও থাকে—কারণ, তাহারা নানাস্থান হইতে আসে বলিয়া তাহাদের মধ্যে খেলার একটা বৃহৎসংখ্য ভাব থাকে না। কিন্তু যদি তাহারা জয়লাভ করে, তবে তাহারা দূর্ভাগ্যবান হয় এবং মনে করে যে বিদ্যালয়কে তাহারা যেভাবে সৌখিন্য গিয়াছিল, বিদ্যালয় সে অবস্থায় নাই। অন্ততঃ খেলার দিক দিয়া তাহার অবনতি ঘটিয়াছে।

তারপর ইংলন্ডের বিদ্যালয়ের প্রধান বিশেষত্বই ধর্ম ও নীতিশিক্ষা। প্রত্যেক বিদ্যালয়ের সঙ্গেই ধর্মমন্দির আছে, যেখানে প্রত্যহ উপাসনা হয়। ছাত্ররা এ বিষয়েও আদর্শ রক্ষা করিতে আপনাদিগকেই দায়ী মনে করে। যদি কোন বিদ্যালয়ে ধর্মভাব শিথিল হইয়া যায়, তবে দেখিতে দেখিতে সকল বিষয়ে সেই বিদ্যালয়ের অবনতি ঘটিতে থাকে।

এশুদুজ বলিলেন যে, আমাদের আশ্রমে এই প্রকার নানা অনুষ্ঠান আছে দেখিয়া তিনি অত্যন্ত আনন্দলাভ করিয়াছেন। বাহাতে এই অনুষ্ঠানগুলি ছাত্রদের চোঁটায় আরও বলশালী হইয়া ওঠে সেজন্য তিনি ছাত্রগণকে উৎসাহিত করিলেন।

একদিন তাঁহাকে লইয়া সকল ছাত্র কোপাই নদী দেখিতে ভ্রমণে গিয়াছিলেন। সেখানে তিনি ছোট ছেলেদের একটি গল্প শুনাইলেন ও সামান্য উপাসনার পূর্বে ‘প্রেম’ সম্বন্ধে একটি সুন্দর উপদেশ দিলেন। সেই উপদেশের কথাটি সংক্ষেপে বলিয়াই তাঁহার কথা শেষ করিতে চাই।

তিনি বলিলেন যে প্রেম, এই মধুর কথাটিকে যদি কোন জিনিসের সঙ্গে তুলনা করিয়া বন্ধন যায় তবে তাহা সূর্যালোক। সূর্যালোক যেমন শূন্য ও নির্মল,—সমস্ত বিশ্বের প্রাণকে সে যেমন বিকশিত করিয়াছে,—আমাদের জীবনলোকে প্রেমও তেমনি প্রাণপ্রদ ও পবিত্র জিনিস। যদিচ সূর্যালোককে শূন্য দেখায়, তথাপি শিশির বিন্দু বা আকাশের বাষ্পকণার ভিতর দিয়া

সূর্যালোক যখন যায়, তখন তাহার মধ্যে আমরা রামধনুর আশ্চর্য বর্ণবৈচিত্র দেখিতে পাই। তখন প্রধানত তিনটি বর্ণ লক্ষ্যগোচর হয়,—বর্দিত তিমির অন্য বর্ণও আছে। একটি নীল, একটি সোনালী বা পীত, ও একটি গভীর রক্তবর্ণ। প্রেমের মধ্যেও এই তিনবর্ণ দেখা যায়। প্রেমের নীলবর্ণটি কি? ইংলণ্ডে এক প্রকার পদুম আছে, বাহা গন্ধমাদুর্বে ও শোভার অন্য সকল পদুমকে পরাজিত করিয়াছে। অথচ তাহা এমনি নম্র এমনি মাটির সঙ্গে মিশিয়া থাকে যে তাহাই তাহার সৌন্দর্যের প্রধানতম কারণ হয়। সে পদুমটির নাম ভায়লেট্। প্রেম তাহার মত দীন ও নম্র।—কোথাও যদি প্রেম দেখ, অথচ দেখ যে সে আপনাকে সকলের নীচে রাখে নাই, তাহার মধ্যে দীনতা নাই তবে সে প্রেম নয় জানিবে। প্রেমের সোনালী বর্ণটি কি? সোনা যেমন খাঁটি—তাহাকে আগুনে পুড়াইলে সে যেমন উজ্জ্বলতর হইয়া উঠে—প্রেম তেমনই খাঁটি, তেমনই সত্য। জীবনের সহস্র বিপত্তি সহস্র পরীক্ষার মধ্যেও যথার্থ প্রেম-বস্তু কখনই ম্লান হইবে না, তাহার সত্য স্বিগুণতর উজ্জ্বল হইয়া উঠিবে। সেই অম্লান সত্য প্রেমের পীতবর্ণ। আর প্রেমের রক্তবর্ণ আমাদের হৃদয়ের বর্ণ। তাহা আত্মবিসর্জন এবং তাহাই প্রেমের প্রেচ্ছরূপ। প্রেম আছে অথচ আপনাকে সম্পূর্ণরূপে উৎসর্গ করা নাই—আপনাকে বিদীর্ণ করিয়া সমস্ত ত্যাগ করিয়া সার্থক হইবার বেদনা নাই—ইহা কখনই যথার্থ প্রেমের লক্ষণ নহে। এইবার এই তিনবর্ণ যখন জীবনের মধ্যে মিলিয়া যায়, তখন তাহার সেই মিলিত রূপটিকে কেমন দেখি? ঠিক যেমন এই সূর্যালোক—এমনি শুভ্র, পবিত্র, পরিপূর্ণ। এই প্রেম—এই মিশ্র কথাটি—ছাত্রদের কাছে তাহার বিদায়ের বাক্যরূপে তিনি রাখিয়া যাইতে চান—এই কথা বলিয়া এঞ্জেল তাহার সুন্দর উপদেশটি শেষ করিলেন।

আমিও এইখানে তাহার সম্বন্ধে এই কথাটিই শেষ কথা বলিয়া এ প্রবন্ধ সমাপ্ত করিতে চাই। তাহার সমস্ত জীবনের ও কাব্যের মূল উৎস এই একটি কথার বদ্বা যায়। মৃত্যুহারের মাঝখানে একটি ইন্দ্রনীল মণি যেমন সমস্ত হারটিকে আপনার দ্যুতির দ্বারা সার্থক করিয়া দেয়, তেমনি এই একটি জিনিস এই প্রেম,—সাহিত্যানুদ্রাণ বল, দেশানুদ্রাণ বল, সমস্ত গুণকেই বাঁধিয়া তুলিয়া আপনার মাধুর্যের দ্বারা সুন্দর ও শুভ্র করিয়া তোলে। ইহাদের জীবনের নিকটে আসিলে এই কথাই বারম্বার মনে পড়ে।

তত্ত্ববোধিনী পত্রিকা

চৈত্র ১৮০৪ শকাব্দ

১৮ কল্প ২ ভাগ

দীনবন্ধু

সুজিতকুমার মৃধোপাধ্যায়

“আতুর জনের শিয়রে বসিয়া
জাগিব রাত্তি,
অনাথের নাথ স্বামীহারাদের
হইব সাথী।
“দীন দরিদ্র নিঃস্ব জনের
করিব সেবা,
সংসারে হায়, অসহায়দের
দেখিছে কেবা!
“সেবায় আমার ফোটে যবে কারো
মুখেতে হাসি,
হৃদয়ে আমার উছলে তখন
যে সুখরাশি,
তাই তো অমৃত! স্বাদ লভি তার
জীবন ধন্য।
তার কাছে ওই নীরস মোক্ষ
অতি নগণ্য!” —বোধিসত্ত্ব

দীনবন্ধু এংলুজকে আচার্য বিধুশেখর শাস্ত্রী বলতেন—“বোধিসত্ত্ব”। স্বপাক ভোজ্যী, আচারনিষ্ঠ শাস্ত্রী মহাশয় “এংলুজ সাহেবের” পা ছুঁয়ে প্রণাম করতেন। বলতেন—“ঠুঁকে মনে করি আমি ব্রাহ্মণ! বোধিসত্ত্ব!”

বেদজ্ঞ ব্রাহ্মণ, বোধি শাস্ত্রে সুপণ্ডিত শাস্ত্রী মহাশয়ের মূখে, আমি বহুবার একথা শুনছি। এবং বহুবার এংলুজের চরণে মাথা নোওয়াতে দেখিছি।

সেই সর্বজন প্রণম্য পদতলে বসে বাল্যকালে ইংরেজ শিক্ষার সৌভাগ্যলাভ করেছিলাম।

১৯১৭-১৯ সাল। বয়স তখন বারো কি তেরো! বছরখানেক তখন ইংরেজি ধরেছি। ইংরেজি পড়াতে লাগলেন এংলুজ এবং রবীন্দ্রনাথ।

এংলুজ বাংলা প্রায় জানতেনই না। যদি বা দু একটা কথা বুঝতে পারতেন, বলতে একেবারেই পারতেন না। সেই এংলুজের কাছে ইংরেজি শিখিছি যারা, সেই আমরা, ইংরেজি প্রায় জানিই না। বলতে একেবারেই পারিনা।

অথচ ক্লাসে যাই রোজ, পড়তে লাগে ভালো, বুঝতেও খুব অসুবিধে হয়না।

ছোট ছোট বাক্যে, অতি সরল ভাষায় তিনি আমাদের পাঠ শিক্ষা দেন। এত সহজ, সরল ইংরেজি খুব কম শিক্ষককেই বলতে শুনোঁছি।

তার মৃত্যুর মধ্যে এমন একটি শিশুসুলভ মিস্টোতা, এমন একটি সুমধুর হাসি ফুটেতো যে আমরা ভুলেই যেতাম আমাদের বয়সের পার্থক্য। তিনি যেন আমাদের সমবয়সী সাথী।

“বেদকুঞ্জ” ছিল তখনকার শান্তিনিকেতন আশ্রমের একটি প্রেস্ট কুঠী। সেই কুঠীতেই এংড্রুজকে থাকতে দেওয়া হয়েছিল। তার সেবক, রাঁধুনী, বা বাবুচি ছিল—“জহরী”।

এংড্রুজকে সে ভালোবাসতো এবং সযতনে সেবা করতো।

এংড্রুজের একবার মারাত্মক কলেরা হয়। বাঁচবার আশা ছিলনা। শুনোঁছি, তার জন্য গোর পর্যন্ত খোঁড়া হয়ে গিয়েছিল। কিন্তু তিনি বেঁচে যান। সেই সময় তাঁকে যারা প্রাণপণে সেবা করেছিলেন—তাঁদের একজন হলেন—এই “জহরী”। আর একজন সেকালের বয়স্ক ছাত্র—কালিদাস দত্ত।

এংড্রুজ সারাজীবন এঁদের কথা গভীর স্নেহ ও কৃতজ্ঞতার সহিত উল্লেখ করতেন।

বিশ্বজেন্দুনাথের “মৃগীশ্বর”, রবীন্দ্রনাথের “উমাচরণ”, “সাদু” ও “বনমালী”র মত এংড্রুজের “জহরী” ছিল একান্ত অনুগত সেবক।

ধার্মিক প্রভুর সঙ্গে থেকে “জহরী”র ধর্মভাবও জাগ্রত হয়েছিল। সে তার সারাজীবনের সঞ্চিত অর্থ দিয়ে, ভুবনভাঙায় যে ঈদগা করিয়ে দেয়, তা আজ তার, বোলপুর ও ভুবনভাঙা গ্রামের সহধর্মীদের সর্বজনপরিচিত উপাসনাস্থল।

শৈশবে, বোধহয় মাত্র বছর দুই আমরা এংড্রুজের কাছে ইংরেজি পড়ার সুযোগ পাই। কেননা, এংড্রুজ স্থায়ীভাবে শান্তিনিকেতনে থাকতে পারতেন না। তাঁকে প্রায়ই দেশ বিদেশে ছুটে বেড়াতে হতো। বিশ্ব যাকে ডাক দেয়, বিশ্বভারতীও তাঁকে আটকে রাখতে পারেনা।

ঐ বছর দুই তাঁর সঙ্গে ঘনিষ্ঠভাবে মিশবার সৌভাগ্য লাভ করি। তিনি আমাদের সুহৃদ, বন্ধু ও আত্মার আত্মীয় হয়ে যান।

আমাদের তিনি কি শ্রদ্ধা পড়িয়েছেন! আমাদের মত বালকদের দিয়ে তিনি ইংরেজি নাটকও অভিনয় করিয়েছেন। এর মধ্যে “শারদোৎসব”-এর ইংরেজি “Autumn Festival”-এর কথা আমার বেশ মনে আছে।

তারই তত্ত্বাবধানে, শৈশবে, এরূপ একটি ইংরেজি নাটকের অভিনয় করে আমরা প্রশংসা লাভ করি।

আমরা ভাল করেই জানতাম—এংড্রুজ বাংলা জানেন না। একদিন আমাদের সকলকে সচকিত করে এংড্রুজ আবৃত্তি করে বসলেন—

“দুঃখের বরষায়

চক্কের জল যেই

নামল

বক্কের দরজায়

বন্ধুর রথ সেই

ধামল।...”

গীতালি, শ্রাবণ, ১৩২১।

তিনি বলছিলেন—“গুরুদেবকে আমি একবার একটা গ্রীক ছন্দ শোনাই। সেই ছন্দ শুনলে তিনি তৎক্ষণাৎ এই কবিতাটি লিখে ফেললেন!”

দীর্ঘ বাহ্যিক-তাপস্য বছর আগের কথা বলছি—সম্ভবত ঠিকই বলছি—এ তাঁরই মুনোপাধ্যায় শোনা এবং আশা করি এখনও স্মৃতিভ্রম হয়নি।

ভাবার কথা ছেড়ে দিলে আমাদের “এন্ড্রুজ সাহেব” চালচলন, বসনভূষণ সবই ভারতীয়দের সঙ্গে বা আমাদের বাঙালী ছাত্রদের সঙ্গে একাত্ম হয়ে গেছিলেন। ধূতি, পায়জামা ও পাঞ্জাবীই ছিল তাঁর বসন এবং খন্দরই ছিল তাঁর ভূষণ। অন্য আশ্রমবাসীদের মতই তিনি নগ্নপদে ঘুরে বেড়াতেন।

একদিনের একটি দৃশ্য আজও চোখের সামনে ভাসছে।

সাধারণ পাকশালায় পাশের রাস্তা দিয়ে এন্ড্রুজ চলেছেন। পিছনে পিছনে একদল শিশু ভিড় করে চলেছে। ব্যাপার কি! চেয়ে দেখি—এন্ড্রুজের মাত্র একপায়ে চটি, অন্য পায়ে চটি নাই!

পায়ে ক্ষত হওয়ায় ওষুধ দিয়ে “ব্যান্ডেজ” বাঁধতে হয়েছে। বিবাক্ত হবার ভয়েই চটি পরতে হয়েছে। কিন্তু অন্য পায়ে তো ক্ষত নাই, সে পায়ে কেন চটি পরবেন?

আত্মভোলা এন্ড্রুজ চরিত্রের বৈশিষ্ট্য এই ঘটনাটি হতে কতক বোঝা যাবে।

বাল্যের আর একটি দৃশ্যের কথা ভুলি নাই, জীবনে কোনদিন ভুলবো না।

যিশুর জন্মদিনে, সন্ধ্যায়, এন্ড্রুজ মন্দিরে উপাসনা করতেন :

উপাসনার মধ্যে সমাহিত এন্ড্রুজ তাঁর শৈশবে ফিরে গেছেন। মার কাছে তিনি যিশুর জীবনকাহিনী শুনতেন। শিশুদের চিত্তমগ্নকারী রূপকথার মত সেই কাহিনী।

ইংলণ্ডের এক শিশুর মার কাছে শোনা বিচিত্র চরিত্র কথা বাংলা দেশের শিশু আমরা শুনলাম।

দেশ বিদেশের ভেদাভেদ ভুলে গেলাম। সেই কাহিনীর মধ্যে যিশুকে আমরা আপন করে পেলাম।

আমাদের মনে হলো, যিশু যেন “এন্ড্রুজ সাহেব-”এর মতই কোনো মানব! অমনি তাঁর শিশুর মত দুটি চোখ! অমনি তাঁর মধুর হাসি! অমনি তাঁর বর্ণ ও বেশ!

আমরা যেন প্রতিমার মধ্যে দেবতাকে প্রত্যক্ষ করলাম।

শান্তিনিকেতন ব্রহ্মচর্যাশ্রমে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব

(১৯১২-১৯১৯)

কালীপদ রায়

১৯১২ সালের কথা, গুরুদেব তখন বিলেতে। এই বছর মে মাসের শেষ সপ্তাহে গুরুদেব বাংলা গীতাঞ্জলি এবং নৈবেদ্য থেকে কতকগুলি বাছাই কবিতা ইংরেজিতে তর্জমা করে নিয়ে বিলেত রওনা হলেন। জাহাজে বসে আরও কতগুলি কবিতা অনুবাদ করেছিলেন। এবারকার গুরুদেবের বিলেত যাত্রা ছিল যেন সাহিত্যের দিক থেকে এক বিজয় অভিযান। লন্ডনে সাহিত্যিক জগতে গুরুদেব রবীন্দ্রনাথের উপস্থিতি যে প্রচণ্ড এক বিস্ময়ের ঢেউ তুলেছিল তাতে কোন সন্দেহ ছিল না। সুদূর ইংল্যান্ডের সেই সব খবরগুলি গুরুদেব এবং কালী-মোহন বাবুর চিঠির মাধ্যমে শান্তিনিকেতনে আমাদের কাছে এসে পৌঁছত। আমার পরিষ্কার মনে আছে যে আমরা ছেলেরা প্রত্যেকটি বিলোতি ডাকের দিনে অত্যন্ত আগ্রহ সহকারে দূরুর বেলা আহ্বারের কেবল পরেই সন্তোষ মজ্জমদার মাষ্টার মহাশয়ের কাছে মোহিত কুটীরে গিয়ে জড়ো হোতাম বিলেতে গুরুদেবের খবর জানবার জন্যে। সন্তোষবাবু তখনকার দিনের বিভিন্ন মাষ্টার মহাশয়দের কাছে লেখা গুরুদেবের চিঠিগুলি সংগ্রহ করে প্রত্যেকটি আমাদের পড়ে শোনাতেন। সেই সময়ে প্রতি সপ্তাহে এই বিলোতি ডাকের দিনটির জন্যে আমরা উদ্গ্রীব হয়ে অপেক্ষা করতাম। তখন গুরুদেবকে কেন্দ্র করে সে যে কি এক আনন্দ, বিরাট আশা এবং উদ্দীপনার মধ্যে আমাদের আশ্রম জীবন কেটেছিল এখন তা স্মরণে বিস্ময়ে অভিভূত হতে হয়।

এই বছরেই জুন মাসের এক রবিবারে ইংল্যান্ডের স্বনামধন্য চিত্রশিল্পী উইলিয়াম রোদেনষ্টাইনের হ্যামস্টেডের বাড়ীতে গ্রেট ব্রিটেনের রাজকবি রবার্ট ব্রিজেস, প্রখ্যাত সাংবাদিক হেনরি নেভিনসন, এইচ. জি. ওয়েলস্ প্রমুখ বড় বড় ইংরেজ সাহিত্যিকদের এক ঘরোয়া বৈঠক বসে। সেখানে গুরুদেবের উপস্থিতিতেই সুবিখ্যাত আইরিশ কবি উইলিয়াম ইয়েটস্ গুরুদেবের উপরোক্ত কবিতার তর্জমাগুলি একটির পর একটি আবৃত্তি করেন। অচিরে এই তর্জমাগুলি সংকলন করে ইন্ডিয়া সোসাইটির উদ্যোগে ইংরেজী গীতাঞ্জলি প্রকাশিত হোলো। এই গীতাঞ্জলি তখন সারা বিশ্বে সাহিত্যিকদের মধ্যে অভূতপূর্ব এক আলোড়ন সৃষ্টি করে, ফলে এই বইটির উপরেই রবীন্দ্রনাথ ১৯১০ সালে বিশ্বের শ্রেষ্ঠ সাহিত্যিক হিসাবে নোবেল পুরস্কার প্রাপ্ত হন।

রোদেনষ্টাইনের বাড়ীতে সোদিনকার সেই বিস্ময়জন সভায় এণ্ড্রুজ এবং পিয়ার্সন দুজনেই উপস্থিত ছিলেন। এই সভায় ইয়েটস্ কতক গীতাঞ্জলির কবিতা পাঠে উপস্থিত অন্যান্য স্মৃতিবৃন্দের মতনই এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবও সর্বশেষ মূগ্ধ হয়েছিলেন। সারবান উবর ক্ষেত্র বীজ বপন করার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তার পূর্ণ প্রাণশক্তি শাখা-পল্লবে, ফলে ফলে যেমন পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে ওঠে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের জীবনও তেমনি গুরুদেবের জীবন ও চরিত্রের আদর্শে নতুন ভাবে

প্রস্তুতিত হয়েছিল। বিশ্বজনীনতার ভাব প্রসূত এক অভূতপূর্ব আধ্যাত্মিক প্রেরণা লাভ করে এশ্বরুজ সাহেব সেদিন এমন অভিভূত হয়ে পড়েছিলেন যে সেদিন থেকেই তিনি গুরুদেব রবীন্দ্রনাথের একজন প্রধান এবং একনিষ্ঠ ভক্ত হয়ে পড়েন। এর পূর্বে রবীন্দ্রনাথের সঙ্গে এশ্বরুজের পরিচয় ছিল না সেইদিন থেকেই গুরুদেবের সঙ্গে এশ্বরুজ সাহেবের এক আত্মিক যোগ স্থাপন হোলো। এ বেন চৈতন্য মহাপ্রভুর সঙ্গে নিত্যানন্দ ঠাকুরের মিলন। একেবারে গুরু এবং ভক্ত শিষ্যের যোগ। সেই আত্মিক যোগ আমরা তাঁদের উভয়ের মধ্যে আমরণ বজায় থাকতে দেখেছি। এই প্রসঙ্গে ১৩১৯ সনে ২রা আশ্বিন (ইং সেপ্টেম্বর ১৯১২ খৃষ্টাব্দ) গুরুদেব বিলেত থেকে শান্তিনিকেতন ব্রহ্মচর্যাশ্রমের তখনকার সর্বাধ্যক্ষ শ্রদ্ধেয় জগদানন্দ রায়কে একখানি চিঠিতে লেখেন—

“এশ্বরুজ সাহেবের সঙ্গে অল্প কয়দিনে আমার বিশেষ একটা হৃদয়তা হয়েছে। চমৎকার সহৃদয় লোকটি। * * * তাঁরা (এশ্বরুজ এবং পিয়ারসন) অক্টোবরের মধ্যেই ভারতবর্ষে ফিরবেন।”

ভারতবর্ষে ফিরে এই বছরে ডিসেম্বর মাসে পিয়ারসন সাহেব শান্তিনিকেতন আগ্রমে এসে ঘুরে গেছেন। তার ঠিক তিন মাস পরে ১৯১৩ সালের ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসে এশ্বরুজ সাহেব শান্তিনিকেতনে এলেন। এখানে আসবার কিছু আগে থেকেই আমরা তাঁকে আমাদের ইংরেজীর অধ্যাপক হিসাবে পাবার জন্য উদগ্রীব হয়ে বসেছিলাম—কেননা এই সময়ে গুরুদেব লন্ডন থেকে তারিখহীন এক চিঠিতে আমাদের তখনকার ইংরেজীর ভারপ্রাপ্ত অধ্যাপক নেপাল বাবুকে লিখেছিলেন—

“এশ্বরুজ সাহেব হয়ত এতদিনে আপনাদের ওখানে গিয়েছেন। যাতে তিনি সমস্ত শক্তি দিয়ে কাজ করতে পারেন কোন বাধা না পান সেদিকে দৃষ্টি রাখবেন। আমাদের মধ্যে যে সমস্ত ব্যাঘাত আছে সেগুলি তাঁর মধ্যস্থতায় কেটে যাবে—এইটাই আশা করি। বাইরের দিক থেকে প্রীতির জোয়ার এসে পড়ায় আমাদের ভিতরের দিককার সংকীর্ণতা কেটে যাবে। আমরা যখন আপনাকে ছোট করে জানি তখন ছোট হয়ে যাই। বাইরের পূজার সাহায্যে আমাদের বিদ্যালয়ের বড় পরিচয় আমরা লাভ করতে পারব।”

এই চিঠির সামান্য কয়েকদিন আগে কি পরে গুরুদেব অনুরূপ আর একখানি তারিখহীন চিঠিতে জগদানন্দ বাবুকে লিখছেন—

“আমার বোধ হয় প্রয়োজন হলে এশ্বরুজ সাহেব ছুটি পর্যন্ত তোমাদের সঙ্গে থেকে কাজ করতে পারেন।”

সেন্ট ষ্টিফেন্স কলেজের ইংরেজীর প্রধান অধ্যাপক এবং কেম্ব্রিজ মিশনের ধর্মযাজক রোডার্ড সি. এফ. এশ্বরুজ, দিল্লীর এক বিরাট ব্যক্তিত্ব সম্পন্ন লোক, উপরন্তু তিনি ছিলেন একজন বড় কবি এবং সাহিত্যিক। এখানে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে যে এই সময় এশ্বরুজ সাহেবের একটি মহত্ব এবং অসাধারণ ত্যাগের কথা মাস্টার মহাশয়দের মাধ্যমে আমরা শুনছিলাম। ঘটনাক্রমে দিল্লীতে সেন্ট ষ্টিফেন্স কলেজের অধ্যক্ষের পদ খালি হলে কেম্ব্রিজ মিশনের কর্তৃপক্ষ এশ্বরুজ সাহেবকে প্রথমে এই কলেজের অধ্যক্ষ পদে নিয়োগ করেন। অগ্রাধিকার বলে অধ্যাপক সূচীল রুদ্দের ঐ পদটি পাওয়া উচিত ছিল। যদিও অধ্যাপক রুদ্দ খৃষ্টধর্মাবলম্বী ছিলেন কিন্তু ভারতবাসী কালো সম্প্রদায়ের লোক বলে কর্তৃপক্ষ তাঁর দাবী উপেক্ষা করে শ্বেতাঙ্গ

হিসাবে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবকে ঐ পদে নিয়োগ করেন। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব অত্যন্ত তেজস্বিতার সঙ্গে খৃষ্টান মিশনারীদের এই ব্যবস্থার কঠোর প্রতিবাদ করেন এবং তাকে অধ্যক্ষ পদে নিয়োগ করার প্রস্তাবটি প্রত্যাখ্যান করেন। তিনি বলেন ধর্মের মধ্যে বর্ণ কৌলীন্য হেতু কোনো ভেদনীর্তি থাকা কেবলমাত্র অনায়াস নয় ঘোরতর পাপ। কলেজের অধ্যক্ষের পদটি তিনি গ্রহণ ত করলেনই না উপরন্তু রত্ন মহাশয় যাতে সেন্ট স্টিফেন্স্ কলেজের অধ্যক্ষ হতে পারেন তার জন্যে আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করেন। শেষ পর্যন্ত কেম্ব্রিজ মিশনারী কর্তৃপক্ষ এণ্ড্রুজের চাপে পড়ে অধ্যাপক সদৃশীল রত্নকে দিল্লীর সেন্ট স্টিফেন্স্ কলেজের অধ্যক্ষের পদে নিয়োগ করতে বাধ্য হন। এইরূপে দিল্লীর এই বিখ্যাত ঐতিহ্যপূর্ণ মিশনারী কলেজটিতে এই সর্বপ্রথম একজন ভারতীয় খৃষ্টানকে সর্বাধ্যক্ষের পদে নিয়োগ করা হোলো।

এ হেন একজন মনীষী এসে আমাদের কী ইংরেজী পড়াবেন আমরা তো ভেবেই কূল পেতাম না। এদিকে যেমন আমরা নিজের খুব গৌরবান্বিত ও ভাগ্যবান বলে মনে করছিলাম, অন্যদিকে কোতুলমিশ্রিত একটা সংশয়ও মনে জেগেছিল এই ভেবে যে এম, এ, ক্রাশের ছাত্রদের ইংরেজী পঠনে অভ্যস্ত এত বড় পণ্ডিত ও জ্ঞানী একজন ইংরেজ অধ্যাপক সামান্য স্কুলের ছাত্রদের কী ইংরেজী পড়াবেন? আমরা কতটুকুই বা তাঁর পড়ানর মর্ম বুঝতে পারব।

যা হোক সমস্ত চিন্তা এবং সংশয় দূর হল যখন সত্য সত্যই এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব সশরীরে এসে হাজির হলেন আমাদের মধ্যে। এবারে কিন্তু তিনি স্থানীয়ভাবে থাকতে এলেন না, কেননা তখন পর্যন্ত তিনি দিল্লীর সেন্ট স্টিফেন্স্ কলেজের অধ্যাপকের এবং ধর্মযাজকের পদ থেকে মুক্তি পাননি। প্রথমবারে তিনি আমাদের সঙ্গে সপ্তাহখানেক ছিলেন। আমার বেশ মনে পড়ে প্রত্যহ দিনের বেলা মাষ্টার মহাশয় এবং ছেলেদের নিয়ে চলেছে তাঁর আশ্রম পরিভ্রম। কখনও বা বেড়াতে যেতেন আশ্রমের অনতিদূরে পারুল বনে। একদিন গেলেন সুরুলের কুঠি বাড়ীটি দেখতে। এই কুঠি বাড়ীটি গুরুদেব বিলেতে থাকতেই রায়পুরের জমিদার লক্ষপ্রতিভ ব্যারিস্টার সত্যেন্দ্রপ্রসন্ন সিংহ উত্তর কালের লাট সাহেব লর্ড সিন্হার কাছ থেকে অল্পদিন আগেই কিনেছিলেন।

সেদিন এই কুঠি বাড়ীটিকে কেন্দ্র করে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের সঙ্গে কর্তৃপক্ষ স্থানীয় মাষ্টার মহাশয়দের অনেক আলোচনা শুনছিলাম। কত জল্পনা কল্পনা চলছিল তখন এই বাড়ীটি নিয়ে। এটি মেয়েদের জন্যে একটি পৃথক বিদ্যালয় হবে, না আশ্রমের জন্য হাসপাতালে রূপান্তরিত হবে, না শান্তিনিকেতনের গোশালাটি এখানে স্থানান্তরিত করে বিরাট কৃষি খামার সহ পৃথক একটি পঞ্জী সংগঠন কেন্দ্র সেখানে খোলা হবে। এই সব বিচিত্র পরিকল্পনার কথা শুনতে আমাদের খুবই ভাল লাগছিল। তবে আমরা সেদিনে সবচাইতে বেশী আনন্দ পেয়েছিলাম যখন ছেলেরা এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের ফরমাইস মত একটার পর একটা গীতাজলির বাংলা গান গেয়ে তাঁকে শোনাল। বাংলা না জানলেও তাঁর মৃদু দেখে বেশ বোঝা যাচ্ছিল যে তিনি গানের ভাষা ও সুরগুণী খুবই উপভোগ করছেন।

সন্ধ্যায় উপাসনার পর বিনোদন পর্বে তিনি আমাদের শোনাতেন অতি সহজ এবং প্রাজ্ঞ ইংরেজী ভাষায় বিলেতে গুরুদেবের সাহিত্য অভিধান ও সদ্য প্রকাশিত ইংরেজী গীতাজলির বিষয়। আমরা তখন নিতান্ত বালক হলেও এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের ভাষণের মধ্যে এইটুকু বেশ উপলব্ধ করতে পেয়েছিলাম যে তিনি সমালোচকের দৃষ্টি দিয়ে গুরুদেবকে সাহিত্যের নিক্তিতে ওজন



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করে কিছু বলেননি, যা বলেছিলেন সেটা একজন ভক্তের আবেগ এবং আন্তরিকতাপূর্ণ প্রার্থনা নিবেদন। বৃক্সে পেরেছিলাম যে বৃহত্তর জগতের সামনে গুরুদেবকে খুব বড় করে শ্রদ্ধামাত্র কবিরূপে নম্র, মহামানব রূপে তুলে ধরতে চাইছেন। অবশ্য এতে গুরুদেব খুবই সন্তোষিত বোধ করছিলেন। এই সময়েই পূর্ব কথিত চিঠির আর একস্থানে দেখি নেপাল বাবুকে লিখেছেন— “এশ্বর্য সাহেব বোধ করি তাঁর প্রীতির আবেগে আমার পরিমাণ বাড়িয়ে লোকের কাছে ধরছেন। এতে আমি বড় লজ্জা বোধ করি। * * * আমি কবি কিন্তু গুরু নই এ কথা বলে বলে আমি হয়রান হলাম—দয়া করে এ কথাটা আপনারা গ্রহণ করবেন এবং এশ্বর্য সাহেবকেও আমার এই পরিচয়টা সমজিয়ে দেবেন।”

সত্যাহকাল যাবত এশ্বর্য সাহেব শান্তিনিকেতনে আমাদের মধ্যে থেকে দিল্লী ফিরে গেলেন। তাঁকে মালা চন্দন দিয়ে বিদায় সম্বর্ধনা জানানো হলো। ক্ষতিমোহন বাবু শ্যামকান্ত এবং জয়রাম নামে দুটি মারাঠী ছাত্র নিয়ে সমবেত কণ্ঠে বৈদিক মন্ত্র আবৃত্তি করলেন। দীনবাবু ছেলেদের নিয়ে গাইলেন

“বিশ্ব সাথে যোগে যেথায় বিহারো
সেইখানে যোগ তোমার সাথে আমরা।”

বিদায় সম্ভাষণে এশ্বর্য সাহেব বললেন অচিরে তিনি আগ্রমে ফিরে আসছেন স্থায়ীভাবে আমাদের মধ্যে বাস করবার জন্যে। তিনটি সঙ্কল্প নিয়ে তিনি এখানে আসবেন। সঙ্কল্প তিনটি হল—

- (১) গুরুদেবের বিরাট বাংলা সাহিত্যের অতুল সম্পদ ইংরেজী অনুবাদের মাধ্যমে বৃহত্তর জগতের সামনে তুলে ধরাই হবে তাঁর পরবর্তী জীবনের প্রথম এবং প্রধান কাজ।
 - (২) শান্তিনিকেতনের এই অভিনব প্রতিষ্ঠানটি গুরুদেবের আদর্শে গড়ে তুলবার কাজে তিনি হবেন তাঁর অন্যতম সহায়। এই বিদ্যালয় পরিচালনার গুরু ভার একা গুরুদেব বহন করছেন। এই ভার লাঘব করে তাঁকে তাঁর যা মথার্থ কাজ সেই সাহিত্য সৃষ্টির অবিচ্ছিন্ন অবকাশ করে দেওয়াই হবে তাঁর অন্যতম কাজ।
 - (৩) তাঁর শেষ সঙ্কল্পটি হলো এই যে সারা বিশ্ব ভারতবর্ষের দুর্গত এবং দরিদ্র অসহায় মানব যে অনায়াস এবং অত্যাচারে নিপীড়িত হচ্ছে তাদের দুর্দশা লাঘবের এবং তাদের সর্বপ্রকার মণ্ডলের জন্য তিনি তাঁর সমস্ত অবকাশ অকাতরে ব্যয় করবেন।
- এই তিনটি ব্রত তিনি উদ্যাপন করবেন তাঁর বাকি জীবন ধরে এই শান্তিনিকেতনে থেকেই। শান্তিনিকেতনই হবে এখন থেকে তাঁর ‘Second home’।

এরপর এশ্বর্য সাহেব খুব অল্প দিনের জন্যে বিবাহের আগ্রমে এলেন আট মাস পরে ২০শে নভেম্বর গুরুদেব নোবেল পুরস্কার পাবার পর। এশ্বর্য এবার শান্তিনিকেতনে এলেন ঠিক সেই দিনটিতেই যেদিন কলকাতা থেকে বড় বড় সাহিত্যিক, নেতৃবৃন্দ, বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান-অনুষ্ঠানের প্রতিনিধিগণ, অধ্যাপক, বুদ্ধিজীবী, হিন্দু, মুসলমান, ইংরেজ প্রায় ছ’শ লোক হাওড়া থেকে একখানি স্পেশাল ট্রেনে শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে আশ্রমক্ষেত্র সমবেত হয়েছিলেন রবীন্দ্রনাথকে তাঁর নোবেল পুরস্কার প্রাপ্তিতে অভিনন্দন জানাতে। সেদিন আগ্রমের ছেলেরা নানা রঙের গ্যাদা এবং পশ্চ ফুল দিয়ে সুন্দর ভাবে আশ্রমক্ষেত্র সাজিয়েছিলেন। আমার বেশ মনে

আছে আমরা ছোটরা চারিপাশের সাঁওতাল পল্লীগাউল থেকে প্রচুর গাঁদা ফুল সংগ্রহ করে এনে ছিলাম। আমাদের চাইতে বঁরা একটু বড় তাঁরা আরও দূর দূর গ্রামের পুকুর থেকে প্রচুর শ্বেত ও লাল পদ্ম তুলে এনে জড়ো করেছিলেন। বড় ছেলেরা সাজিয়েছিলেন, খুব ছোটরা গেঁথেছিল ফুলের এবং আত্মপঙ্কজের মালাগাউল। আত্মকুঞ্জের মাঝখানটিতে পদ্মপাতার ঢাকা দুটো বেদী করা হয়েছিল আর তার চারিপাশ ঘিরে মৃকুল দে, মণি গদ্যুত, সম্ভোষ মিত্র, সুধীর মিত্র, যতীন দাশ প্রভৃতি তখনকার দিনের আর্টিস্ট ছাত্রদের নিয়ে ক্রিতিমোহন বাবু পদ্মগড়ির আত্মপনা দিয়েছিলেন। এই বেদী দুটির একটিতে বসান হয়েছিল সৈদিনকার অনুরূপানের সভাপতি আচার্য জগদীশচন্দ্র বসুকে অন্যটিতে বসান হয়েছিল গুরুদেবকে। সভার সূচনাতে বেদগানের পর ডাক্তার প্রাণকৃষ্ণ আচার্য মহাশয় দাঁড়িয়ে করজোড়ে ছোট্ট একটু প্রার্থনা করলেন। তারপরেই দীনুবাবু আগ্রমের ছেলেদের নিয়ে গাইলেন—“বিশ্ব বীণা রবে বিশ্বজন মোহিছে”। কলকাতা থেকে আগত মহিলাদের মধ্যে কেউ কেউ একক এবং সমবেত কণ্ঠে গাইলেন। সভাপতি আচার্য জগদীশচন্দ্র রবীন্দ্রনাথের হাতে অভিনন্দন পত্রটি তুলে দিয়ে একটি ছোট্ট ভাষণে রবীন্দ্রনাথের প্রশংসা গাইলেন। তারপরেই কিছুক্ষণ ধরে চললো বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান থেকে উপহার, অভিনন্দন এবং বক্তৃতা পালা। বক্তাদের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন ভাষার বক্তৃতা দিতে দেখেছিলাম। এঁদের মধ্যে জনকরেক ইংরেজও ছিলেন। একটি সাহেবকে খুব জোর গলায় প্রাচ্যের এবং প্রতীচ্যের মিলনের কথা উল্লেখ করতে শুনছিলাম। যতদূর মনে পড়ে এই সাহেবটি ছিলেন কলিকাতার সেন্টপল্‌স্‌ ক্যাথিড্রাল মিশন কলেজের অধ্যক্ষ হল্যান্ড সাহেব। সব শেষে অভিনন্দনের প্রত্যুত্তরে গুরুদেব এক নাতিদীর্ঘ ভাষণ দিয়েছিলেন। সৈদিন তাঁর কণ্ঠে একটা অভিমান মিশ্রিত স্কোন্ডের সুরের আভাষ যেন পাচ্ছিলাম। তিনি যা বলেছিলেন তার মর্ম হচ্ছে “এতদিন আমার লেখা আমার দেশের লোকদের অনেকের কাছেই উপহাস পরিহাসের বস্তু ছিল। সেগাউল এতদিন দেশের কাছ থেকে কঠিন সমালোচনা এবং বিদ্‌ব্দুপ কুড়িয়ে এসেছে। বিদেশের কণ্ঠপাথরে তার মূল্য বাচাই হবার পর আমার দেশের লোকেরা আজ এসেছেন আমাকে অভিনন্দন জানাতে। বঁরা আজ আমাকে অভিনন্দিত করতে এসেছেন তাঁদের সম্মানার্থে তাঁদের প্রদত্ত অভিনন্দন আমি গ্রহণ করলুম কিন্তু অন্তরের সঙ্গো নয়।”

গুরুদেবের অভিভাষণের সময়েই সভার মধ্যে মৃদু গুঞ্জন ধ্বনি শোনা গিয়েছিল। সৈদিনকার গুরুদেবের উজ্জিত সমাগত রবীন্দ্রানুরাগী ও রবীন্দ্র বিশ্ববী ভক্ত ও অভক্ত সকলেই বেশ কন্‌দ্বয় হয়েছিলেন বলে মনে হয়েছিল। অভ্যাগতদের জন্য সৈদিন আগ্রমের পক্ষ থেকে প্রচুর জলযোগের ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল। জোড়াসাঁকোর ঠাকুরবাড়ীর নাম করা কারিগর এসে মৃদুখোচক মিঠাই মন্ডা প্রস্তুত করেছিল এবং আমাদের আগ্রমের প্রধান ঠাকুর সতীশ গাঙ্গুলী মহাশয় তাঁর দলবল নিয়ে তৈয়ারী করেছিলেন সিঙাড়া কচুরী ইত্যাদি নোনতা খাবার। অপরাধিত কমলা লেবুরও ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল। সভার শেষে সকলে অভিমান করে জলযোগ না করেই সোজা বোলপূর স্টেশনে গিয়ে অপেক্ষমান স্পেশাল ট্রেনে উঠে বসে রইলেন। আগ্রমের আদ্যবিভাগের ছেলেরা ঘাড়ে বয়ে নিয়ে গিয়ে সেই সমস্ত মিঠাই মন্ডা সিঙাড়া কচুরী এবং দশ বার টুকরি কমলালেবু স্পেশাল ট্রেনের প্রত্যেক কামরার ভাগ করে তুলে দিয়ে এলেন। তখন শুনছিলাম ঘোরতর রবীন্দ্র বিশ্ববী কয়েকজনকে সভার সামনে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকতে দেখে গুরুদেব এত বিচলিত হয়ে পড়েছিলেন যে শেষ পর্যন্ত নিজেকে সামলাতে পারেননি।

এদিকে গদ্রুদেব সভাভঙ্গের পর তাঁর চিত্ত চাম্পল্য উপশম করবার জন্যে একাকী এসে মন্দিরের সামনে ঘুরে বেড়াচ্ছিলেন। এশ্বজ সাহেব সেটা লক্ষ্য করেছিলেন। তিনি আস্তে আস্তে এসে গদ্রুদেবের দৃষ্টি পায়ে দুই হাত রেখে তাঁকে প্রণাম করলেন। গদ্রুদেবের বিক্ষিপ্ত-চিত্ত তখন বৃদ্ধি চেয়েছিল এইরকম একজন দরদারী সঙ্গ। তিনি এশ্বজকে অত্যন্ত আবেগের সঙ্গে জড়িয়ে ধরলেন। এশ্বজ সাহেব বাংলা না জানলেও এইটুকু বুঝেছিলেন যে সভায় একটা কিছু ঘটন ঘটে গেছে যার জন্যে গদ্রুদেবের মন কিছুটা বিচলিত হয়ে পড়েছিল। তাই সহানুভূতি দিয়ে গদ্রুদেবের মনের ভার লাঘব করার জন্যে এগিয়ে এসেছেন। শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে স্থায়ীভাবে বাস করবার অনুমতি এশ্বজ গদ্রুদেবের কাছে চাইলেন সেই সময়। গদ্রুদেবের সঙ্গে এশ্বজ সাহেবের সৈনিক বৈশীক্ষণ আলোচনা হতে পারেনি কেননা কলকাতায় বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদ গদ্রুদেবকে অভিনন্দন জানাবার জন্য এক বিশেষ অনুষ্ঠানের আয়োজন করেছিলেন। ঐ অনুষ্ঠানে যোগ দেবার জন্য কলকাতার অতিথিদের সঙ্গে সেই সম্মান্য একই ট্রেনে তাঁকে শান্তিনিকেতন ছাড়তে হল।

এশ্বজ সাহেব আরও দুই একদিন আমাদের সঙ্গে শান্তিনিকেতনে থেকে অবশেষে দিল্লী ফিরে গেলেন। যাবার সময়ে বলে গেলেন, এইবারে দিল্লীর সমস্ত বন্ধনের গ্রন্থি ছেদ করে তিনি অতি স্বল্প শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে তাঁর নতুন জীবন আরম্ভ করবেন। কিন্তু এবারেও এক নতুন বাধা অপ্রত্যাশিতভাবে এসে তাঁর স্বল্প শান্তিনিকেতনের কাজে যোগদান করায় বিষ্ময় ঘটলো।

১৯১৩ সালে গদ্রুদেবের সম্বর্ধনার কিছু আগে থেকে আরম্ভ করে এই পৌষের উৎসবের শেষ দিনটি পর্যন্ত আমাদের আশ্রমের ছেলেরদের খুব একটা কর্মব্যস্ততার মধ্যে কেটেছিল। এই সময় দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকাবাসী ভারতীয়দের প্রতি সেখানকার শ্বেতাঙ্গদের অমানুষিক অত্যাচার চলছিল। গান্ধীজি তখন দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় ভারতীয়দের নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেছেন। তিনি সেখানে ভারতীয়দের নাগরিক অধিকার প্রতিষ্ঠা করবার জন্য সত্যাগ্রহ আন্দোলন শুরুর করলেন। বহু সত্যাগ্রহীর সঙ্গে গান্ধীজিকেও দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার সরকার কর্তৃক কারারুদ্ধ এবং নিষ্ঠুরভাবে প্রহৃত হতে হয়েছিল। কয়লার খনিতে এবং শ্বেতাঙ্গ মালিকদের আখের বাগিচায় ভারতীয় শ্রমিকদের উপর অত্যাচারের সীমা ছিল না। এই অত্যাচারের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমাদের আশ্রমেরও কিছু করণীয় আছে মনে করে ঘন ঘন ছাত্র সভার অধিবেশন বসতে লাগল। এ যেন যুদ্ধের সময় পাল্লামেটের অধিবেশন। বক্তৃতার ধুম পড়ে গেল। অবশেষে শ্রমের নেপালচন্দ্র রায়ের সভাপতিত্বে ছাত্রসভার মূল অধিবেশনে অনেক আলোচনা এবং তর্ক বিতর্কের পর স্থির হলো যে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় গান্ধীজির সত্যাগ্রহ আন্দোলন যাতে সাফল্যমণ্ডিত হয় তার জন্যে আমাদের সামর্থ্য অনুযায়ী অর্থ সাহায্য করতে হবে। ছাত্র সভার পক্ষ থেকে একটি তহবিলও এই উদ্দেশ্যে খোলা হলো। এই তহবিলে টাকা সংগ্রহের জন্য আমরা সমস্ত ছেলেরা কি বড় কি ছোট সকলে এক যোগে কাজে নেমে পড়লাম।

পক্ষকাল যাবত আশ্রমের সমস্ত ছাত্র এবং অধ্যাপকেরা ঘি এবং চিনি খাওয়া থেকে বিরত থাকলেন। এই ভাবে ঘি ও চিনি যা বাঁচল তার মূল্য বাবদ বিদ্যালয়ের কাছ থেকে কিছু অর্থ পাওয়া গেল। কুয়া খুঁড়ে, নতুন একটি রাস্তা তৈরী করে, এই পৌষ উৎসবে যাবতীয় ব্যবস্থাপনার দিন-মজুরের কাজ করে এমন কি বোলপুর্ন স্টেশনে গিয়ে কুলি হিসাবে উৎসবে

আগত অতিথিদের মাল বহন করে এবং অন্য নানা কাজে কঠোর কায়িক পরিশ্রম করে তার মজদুরী বাবদ আরো কিছু অর্থ সংগৃহীত হল। ছেলেদের সংগৃহীত এই সমস্ত অর্থ একত্রিত করে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা সভ্যাগ্রহ তহবিলে জমা দেওয়া হল। যতদূর মনে পড়ে এই ভাবে প্রায় তিনশত টাকা এই তহবিলে সংগৃহীত হয়েছিল।

এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব তখন দিল্লীতে সেন্ট স্টিফেনস্ কলেজ এবং কেম্ব্রিজ মিশনের সঙ্গে সমস্ত সম্বন্ধ ছিন্ন করে শ্বেতাঙ্গ সম্প্রদায়ের অনেক ব্যক্তিগত এবং কটু সমালোচনা মাথায় করে শান্তিনিকেতনে স্থায়ীভাবে আসবার জন্যে সবে প্রস্তুত হয়েছেন, এমন সময়ে কংগ্রেসের মহারাষ্ট্রীয় নেতা গোখেল মহোদয় দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকাবাসী ভারতীয়দের সংগ্রামের কথা দেশবাসীকে জানাবার এবং তাদের সাহায্যের জন্যে অর্থ সংগ্রহ করার উদ্দেশ্যে দিল্লীতে এসে উপস্থিত হলেন। এই উপলক্ষে আয়োজিত সভায় গোখেলের বক্তৃতা শুনে এণ্ড্রুজেরও এ বিষয়ে কিছু করার ইচ্ছা হল। তিনি গোখেলকে জানালেন যে দরকার হলে তিনি দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় যেতে প্রস্তুত আছেন।

গান্ধীজীকে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় সাহায্য করার জন্যে এবং সেখানকার শ্বেতাঙ্গদের সঙ্গে আপোষ আলোচনার মাধ্যমে যাতে একটা সম্মানজনক মীমাংসায় উপনীত হওয়া যায় তার চেষ্টা করার জন্যে গোখেল তখন এণ্ড্রুজকে অবিলম্বে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা অভিমুখে রওনা হতে অনুরোধ করলেন। এই ঘটনার অল্পদিনের মধ্যে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব তৃতীয়বারের জন্যে শান্তিনিকেতনে চলে চলেন। গুরুদেবের কাছ থেকে বিদায় ও শ্রুভেচ্ছা নিয়ে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় যাত্রা করবেন এই ছিল তাঁর অভিপ্রায়।

এই সময় আশ্রমে খুব একটা মজার ঘটনা ঘটেছিল। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে ছেলেদের দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় ভারতীয়দের সভ্যাগ্রহ আন্দোলনের সাহায্যকল্পে অর্থ সংগ্রহের উদ্দেশ্যে এরকম কঠোর কায়িক পরিশ্রম করতে দেখে বিস্ময়ে এবং আনন্দে অভিভূত হয়ে পড়েন। ছেলেদের সংগৃহীত তহবিল থেকে প্রথম কিস্তিতে ত্রিশটি টাকা গোখেল মহোদয়কে তিনি পাঠিয়ে দিলেন, আর শান্তিনিকেতনের ছেলেদের এই অর্থ সংগ্রহের জন্যে কায়িক পরিশ্রমের বিশদ বিবরণ একখানি চিঠি লিখে জানিয়ে দিলেন। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের আবেগ প্রবণতা সকলেরই জানা আছে। তাঁর এই আবেগপূর্ণ চিঠির মর্ম গোখেল ঠিক ধরতে পারেননি। তিনি মনে করলেন যে গুরুদেব নিজে এই প্রোচ বয়সে ছেলেদের নিয়ে অমানুষিক কায়িক পরিশ্রম করছেন। গোখেল মহোদয় তাই প্রেরিত অর্থের প্রাপ্ত স্বীকারের সঙ্গে অশেষ ধন্যবাদ দিয়ে গুরুদেবকে এক দীর্ঘ চিঠি লেখেন। তাঁর চিঠির মর্ম ছিল এই যে ভারতবর্ষে কোটি কোটি লোকের মধ্যে একটি মাত্র ‘রবীন্দ্রনাথ’ হতে পেরেছেন তিনি সারা ভারতবর্ষের গৌরবের জিনিষ। তিনি সাহিত্য চর্চা বন্ধ রেখে এই বয়সে কঠোর কায়িক পরিশ্রম করে শরীর পাত্ত করবেন এটা শ্রদ্ধামাত্র ভারতবর্ষের নয় সারা বিশ্বের ক্ষতি। এই জন্যে গুরুদেবকে এই কায়িক পরিশ্রম থেকে বিরত থাকবার জন্যে আন্তরিক অনুরোধ তিনি জানিয়েছিলেন। গোখেল সাহেবের চিঠি শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে পৌঁছবার পর এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবকে নিয়ে খুব হাসাহাসি হয়েছিল।

পৌষ উৎসব শেষ হলে ডিসেম্বর মাসের শেষ সপ্তাহে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব পিয়ার্সন সাহেবকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে শান্তিনিকেতন থেকে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা অভিমুখে রওনা হলেন। ঘটা করে তাঁদের বিদায় সম্বর্ধনা জানান হল। গুরুদেব এই বিদায় সভায় উপস্থিত থেকে শ্রুভেচ্ছা জানালেন

এবং “আনন্দরূপম্ অমৃতম্ যশ্চিভাতি শান্তম্ শিবম্ অশেষতম।”—আশ্রমের এই বীজ মন্ত্রটি তাঁদের দিলেন যাতে তাঁরা কর্ম ক্ষেত্রে সমস্ত বাধা অতিক্রম করে এর থেকে প্রেরণা পেতে পারেন। আর তাঁরা সঙ্গে নিয়ে গেলেন দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার সত্যাগ্রহের সাহায্যকল্পে আশ্রমের ছেলেদের সংগৃহীত আরও ২৫০ শত টাকা এবং সমস্ত আশ্রমবাসীর গান্ধীজির প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা এবং তাঁর কর্মের প্রতি সহানুভূতি ও সাফল্যের জন্যে শ্রদ্ধা কামনা।

দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায় শান্তিদূত হিসাবে এড্‌ভুজ এবং পিয়ার্সন সাহেব যখন মীমাংসার কাজ সাফল্যের সঙ্গে শেষ করে এনেছেন তখন অকস্মাৎ একদিন এড্‌ভুজ সাহেবের কাছে তাঁর মায়ের মৃত্যু সংবাদ এসে পৌঁছল। এই সংবাদ পেয়ে এড্‌ভুজ ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসের শেষে নিজের দেশে ইংল্যান্ডে চলে গেলেন। পিয়ার্সন সাহেব একাই ভারতবর্ষে ফিরে সোজা শান্তিনিকেতনে চলে এলেন এবং ১৯১৪ সালের মার্চ মাস থেকেই পাকাপাকিভাবে তিনি শান্তিনিকেতনে ব্রহ্মচর্যাশ্রমে অধ্যাপনার কাজে যোগ দিলেন। এপ্রিল মাসের মাঝামাঝি এড্‌ভুজ ভারতবর্ষে ফিরলেন। শান্তিনিকেতনে কয়েকদিন কাটিয়ে তাকে দিল্লী চলে যেতে হল সেখানকার কাজ চুকিয়ে আসার জন্য।

মে মাস, আশ্রমে গ্রীষ্মের ছুটি আরম্ভ হয়ে গেছে। গুরুদেব এই সময় রামগড়ে পাহাড়ের উপর একটি বাড়ী কিনে, সেখানে বিশ্রাম উপভোগ করছিলেন, সঙ্গে ছিলেন বৌঠান প্রতিমা দেবী। শোক সন্তপ্ত এড্‌ভুজকে সংগ এবং সান্ধ্বনা দেবার ইচ্ছায় গুরুদেব তাঁকে রামগড়ে এসে কিছুদিন তাঁর সঙ্গে কাটিয়ে যাবার জন্যে আমন্ত্রণ করেন, এড্‌ভুজ রামগড়ে এসে জুন মাসের কিছু দিন পর্যন্ত গুরুদেবের সঙ্গে কাটালেন।

১৯১৪ সালে গ্রীষ্মের ছুটির পর এড্‌ভুজ সাহেব এসে যখন স্থায়ীভাবে আশ্রমের কাজে যোগ দিলেন তখন আমার বয়স অল্প, চতুর্থ বর্গ অর্থাৎ সপ্তম শ্রেণীতে পড়ি। আমরা তখন ইংরেজী পড়তাম পিয়ার্সন সাহেবের কাছে, এড্‌ভুজ সাহেব পড়াতেন উচ্চ ক্লাশের ছাত্রদের। তবু আমাদেরও তাঁর ঘনিষ্ঠ সংস্পর্শে আসতে হল। কেননা তাঁর উৎসাহ হল আমাদের দিচ্ছে ‘মার্চেন্ট অব ভেনিস’ অভিনয় করাবেন।

আমরা রোজ অবসর মত দল বেঁধে তাঁর ঘরে গিয়ে উপস্থিত হোতাম। আমাদের মত ছোট ছোট ছেলেদের তিনি কি পরিশ্রম করেই না এই অভিনয় শিখিয়েছিলেন এখন তা ভেবে আশ্চর্য হয়ে যাই। অশুভ ছিল তাঁর অধ্যবসায়। এই অভিনয়ে শাইলকের ভূমিকায় অভিনয় করেছিলেন আমার সহপাঠী বঙ্কু উত্তর কালের স্বনামধন্য সাহিত্যিক অধ্যাপক প্রমথনাথ বিশী। ব্যাসানিয়োর ভূমিকায় ছিলেন আমার অপর সহপাঠী পরবর্তী কালের পশ্চিম বাংলা রাজ্য সরকারের শিক্ষাবিভাগের অধিকর্তা এবং বর্ধমান বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ভূতপূর্ব উপাচার্য ডাঃ ধীরেন্দ্রমোহন সেন। পোরসিয়ার ভূমিকায় অবতীর্ণ হয়েছিলেন তখনকার দিনে আমাদের আশ্রমের ভারপ্রাপ্ত চিকিৎসক মিস্ বিদ্যুৎপ্রভা দত্ত। আমরা একটা ছোট্টো ভূমিকা ছিল—গ্রাসিয়ানোর! বিশীকে শাইলকের ভূমিকাটি শেখাবার সময় দেখেছিলাম এড্‌ভুজ সাহেবের অসীম ধৈর্য এবং অভিনয় করার শক্তি। অভিনয়ে তাঁর ঈশ্বর দত্ত এক ক্ষমতা ছিল তাতে কোন সন্দেহ ছিল না। যতদূর মনে পড়ে ১৯১৪ সালে ডিসেম্বর মাসে পৌষ উৎসবের কেবল পরেই খুঁট উৎসবের রাত্রিতে নাট্যঘরে মহা সমারোহে খুব সাফল্যের সঙ্গে অভিনয় হয়ে গেল। অভিনয়টি

খুব ভাল ভাবে উৎসর্গে যাবার পর এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব আনন্দে আত্মহারা হয়ে সেই রাত্রে একসঙ্গে চার পাঁচটি শিশু অজ্ঞানেতাদের বুক জড়িয়ে ধরেছিলেন।

অভিন্নর ছাড়াও এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের সংস্পর্শে আসা আমাদের আর একটি সুযোগ এসে উপস্থিত হয়েছিল। আমাদের সময় আশ্রম বিদ্যালয়ে চতুর্থ বর্গে ইংল্যান্ডের ইতিহাস পড়তে হতো। উন্নতিশীল ইংরেজ জাতির ক্রমোন্নতির মূল ঐতিহাসিক কারণগুলি যাতে আমাদের মনে সুস্পষ্টরূপে গ্রথিত হয়ে যায় তার জন্য আমাদের ইতিহাসের অধ্যাপক উত্তরকালে রবীন্দ্র-জীবনীকার প্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, অধ্যাপক নেপালচন্দ্র রায় ও এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবকে দিয়ে ক্লাশে কতগুলি অতিরিক্ত বক্তৃতা রাখা করেছিলেন। এই উপলক্ষে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব ধারাবাহিকভাবে আমাদের ক্লাশে রেনেসাঁ এবং রিফর্মেশন সম্পর্কে ইংরেজিতে বক্তৃতা করেছিলেন।

১৯১৪ সালের পূজার ছুটির পর নভেম্বর মাসে দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা থেকে দুইজন অধ্যাপকের তত্ত্বাবধানে গান্ধীজির ফিনিক্স আশ্রমের বোলজন ছাত্র শান্তিনিকেতনে এসে দেহলির পাশে নতুন বাড়ীতে বাস করতে থাকেন। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবই তাঁদের আমন্ত্রণ করে এনেছিলেন। অধ্যাপকদের মধ্যে ছিলেন গান্ধীজির কনিষ্ঠ ভ্রাতা মগনলাল ভাই এবং ছাত্রদের মধ্যে ছিলেন গান্ধীজির তিন পুত্র মণিলাল, দেবীদাস এবং রামদাস। তখন দেখছি এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের কর্মতৎপরতা। সব সময় ছুটোছুটি করছেন তাঁদের থাকবার, খাবার এবং লেখাপড়ার ব্যবস্থা করতে। গান্ধী পুত্র দেবীদাস গান্ধী এসে ভর্তি হলেন আমাদেরই সঙ্গে পিয়রাসন সাহেবের ইংরেজী ক্লাশে।

এর প্রায় চার মাস পরে ১৯১৫ সালের ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসে গান্ধীজি পত্নী কস্তুরবাকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে শান্তিনিকেতনে এলেন। আশ্রমের ইতিহাসে সে এক স্মরণীয় দিন। গুরুদেব এই সময় আশ্রমে উপস্থিত ছিলেন না, তিনি এক চিঠিতে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবকে লিখেছিলেন যে মিঃ এবং মিসেস গান্ধীর অভ্যর্থনার যেন কোন ঘটি না হয়। এণ্ড্রুজ এবং সন্তোষ মজুমদার মহাশয় ছেলেদের নিয়ে গান্ধীজিকে অভ্যর্থনা করে নিয়ে আসবার জন্যে বোলপুর্ন স্টেশনে গেলেন। ট্রেনখানি স্টেশনের মধ্যে প্রবেশ করলে সকলে মিলে প্রথম এবং দ্বিতীয় শ্রেণীগুলি তন্ন তন্ন করে খুঁজেও গান্ধীজিকে পেলেন না। শেষে দেখা গেল একটা তৃতীয় শ্রেণী থেকে তিনি নেমেছেন। ছোটখাটো মান্দুবাঁটি, ধূতি পরা, গায় সাদা কুর্তা, সাদা চাদরে ঢাকা, মাথায় পাগড়ী, পায় স্যান্ডেল। সকলের কি উৎসাহ উদ্দীপনা সেদিন। বোলপুর্ন স্টেশন থেকে সদলবলে হেঁটে এসে পথে নীচু বাংলায় বড় দাদা শ্বৈজেশ্বনাথ ঠাকুরকে প্রণাম করে ঠিক সন্ধ্যার সময়ে আত্মকুঞ্জের পাশে শাল বাঁধিতে এসে উপস্থিত হলেন। যে রাস্তাটি দিয়ে গান্ধীজি সেদিন প্রথম আশ্রমে প্রবেশ করেছিলেন সেই রাস্তাটি বর্তমানে একেবারে নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে গেছে। বোলপুর্ন রেল স্টেশন থেকে যে রাস্তাটি গোয়ালপাড়া অভিমুখে চলে গেছে, বর্তমান নেপাল রোডের খানিকটা উত্তরে সেই স্টেশন রোড থেকে আরম্ভ করে একটি পৈতার মত বাঁকান রাস্তা বাঁধিকা গৃহ এবং জগদানন্দ বাবুর তখনকার দিনের আবাস শালতলার বাড়ীর মাঝখান দিয়ে এসে আত্মকুঞ্জের সামনে শালবাঁধিতে এসে মিশেছিল। দুই রাস্তার সংযোগস্থলে গান্ধীজির সম্বন্ধনার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল। এই অথুনা লুপ্ত রাস্তাটিই ছিল আমাদের সময়ে বোলপুর্ন স্টেশন থেকে গরুর গাড়ীতে করে আশ্রমে প্রবেশ করার পথ, তখন পর্যন্ত নেপাল রোড তৈরী হয় নি। এই রাস্তাটিকে পল্লপল্ল দিয়ে খুব সুন্দর করে সাজান হয়েছিল। রাস্তার দুই ধারে বাঁশের খুঁটি

পুঁতে তার উপর অসংখ্য মশাল জ্বালিয়ে আলোক মালায় সজ্জিত করা হয়েছিল। এই রাস্তা দিয়ে আশ্রমে প্রবেশের মধ্য থেকে শালবীথি পর্যন্ত একাধিক তোরণও নির্মাণ করা হয়েছিল। সৌদীন সন্ধ্যায় আশ্রমকুঞ্জের পাশে সুসজ্জিত শালবীথির উপর প্রাচীন ভারতীয় পদ্ধতিতে শয্যা এবং ক্ষীতিমোহন বাবু কর্তৃক বেদমন্ত্র ধ্বনি মিশ্রিত গম্ভীর পরিবেশে গান্ধীজি এবং কস্তুরবাকে যে সাদর অভ্যর্থনা জানান হয়েছিল তাতে গান্ধীজি বিশেষ প্রীতি লাভ করেছিলেন। তিনি এতদূর মন্থন হয়েছিলেন যে সম্বর্ধনার প্রত্যুত্তরে তিনি বলেছিলেন যে শান্তিনিকেতন আশ্রমের সঙ্গে একটা অচ্ছেদ্য বন্ধনে আবদ্ধ হলেন।

গান্ধীজির শান্তিনিকেতন আশ্রমে আসার দুই একদিনের মধ্যেই আশ্রমের ব্যবস্থাপনায় এক গুরুতর পরিবর্তন ঘটল। তখনকার রামাঘরের ব্যবস্থায় গান্ধীজির সব চাইতে বড় আপত্তি ছিল। আশ্রমকুঞ্জে সভা হলো গান্ধীজির নেতৃত্বে। তিনি ছেলেদের বলেছিলেন যে অন্যকে সেবা করবে কিন্তু অন্যের সেবা গ্রহণে সব সময় বিরত থাকতে হবে। সব কিছু নিজের হাতে করাই শ্রেয়—রান্না, বাসন মাজা, জলডোলা, রান্নাঘর ধোয়া, নর্দমা পরিষ্কার, পান্নাখানা পরিষ্কার ইত্যাদি সমস্ত কাজ ছেলেদের নিজেদেরই করতে হবে। ছেলেরা একবাক্যে এই প্রস্তাবে রাজী হয়ে গেল। ফলে রামাঘরের সমস্ত ঠাকুর চাকর আশ্রমের অন্যান্য ভৃত্য, মালি, মেথর ইত্যাদি যাবতীয় সেবকদের বিদায় নিতে হল। আশ্রমে সে এক বিপ্লবের সূচনা বললেও অত্যাঁজি হবে না। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব, পিয়ারসন সাহেব, গুরুদেবের কনিষ্ঠ জামাতা নগেন গান্ধীজি, সন্তোষ মজুমদার, তেজেশ বাবু, অনিল মিত্র প্রভৃতি তরুণ অধ্যাপকগণ খুব উৎসাহের সঙ্গে অগ্রণী হয়ে ছেলেদের নিয়ে যাবতীয় কাজ বন্টন করে নিলেন।

এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব সর্ববিষয়ে খুব উৎসাহী ও কর্মপরটু ছিলেন। এই সময় বরসে প্রৌঢ় হলেও তরুণের মত তাঁর উৎসাহ ও কর্মক্ষমতা দেখেছি। রামাঘর ধোয়া, নর্দমা ও খাটা পান্নাখানা পরিষ্কারের নিম্নস্তরের কাজগুলির ভার তিনি নিজে বেছে নিয়েছিলেন। হঠাৎ একদিন উৎসাহের চোটে ছেলেদের খাবার সময় পংক্তিতে পরিবেশন করার সখ হল তাঁর। আমাদের রামাঘরে তখন বড় বড় নিমন্ত্রণ বাড়ীর যজ্ঞশালায় মত ভাতের মাড় গালায় পর ঘরের মেঝেতে প্রশস্ত চাটাইয়ের উপর পাহাড়ের মত স্তুপ করে ভাত রাখা হোত। ছোট ছোট পিতলের বালতি বা গামলায় একটি পরিষ্কার বেলচা দিয়ে ভাত তুলে নিয়ে পংক্তিগুলিতে পরিবেশন করার ব্যবস্থা ছিল। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব বেলচা দিয়ে গামলায় ভাত তুলবার সময় অসাবধানতা বশত গরম ভাত তাঁর পায়ে পড়ে যায়। অসহ্য যন্ত্রণা, পায়ে ফোস্কা পড়ে গেল। শেষ পর্যন্ত তাঁকে হাসপাতালে নিয়ে যেতে হল প্রাথমিক চিকিৎসার জন্যে। কিন্তু পরদিন সকালে দেখা গেল যে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব ব্যান্ডেজ বাঁধা পা নিয়ে ঝুঁড়িয়ে ঝুঁড়িয়ে ছেলেদের সঙ্গে খাটা পান্নাখানা পরিষ্কার করতে লেগে গেছেন।

প্রায় আড়াই মাস যাবত এই ব্যবস্থা চলছিল। শেষের দিকে ছেলেরা যেন আর পেরে উঠছিল না। বিপ্লবের মধ্য দিয়ে যে স্বরাজ্যের কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছিল, বিপর্যয়ের মধ্যে তার অবসান হোলো। গরমের ছুটির পর এসে দেখি সবরমতিতে গান্ধীজি নিজের আশ্রম খুলে ফিনিস আশ্রমের ছেলেদের নিয়ে চলে গেছেন সঙ্গে নিয়ে গেছেন আমাদের মারাঠী অধ্যাপক দত্তাশ্রয়েক যিনি পরে সবরমতি আশ্রমে কাকা কালেলকর নামে পরিচিত হয়েছিলেন। আমাদের অতি পুরাতন ছাত্রদরদী মান্টার মহাশয় শরৎকুমার রায়কে বিদায় নিতে হয়েছে। প্রায় অর্ধেক

পরিমাণ ছেলেও ছুটির পর আর আগ্রহে ফেরেনি। ঠাকুর চাকর প্রভৃতি সমস্ত সেবকগণ পুনরায় ফিরে এলেও পূরনো মুখ আর তাদের মধ্যে দেখা গেলনা। বিদ্যালয় খোলার অল্পদিনের মধ্যেই এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব পিয়ারসন সাহেবকে নিয়ে ফিজি চলে গেলেন। ইংরেজী শিক্ষার আবার কিছুটা ছেদ পড়ল।

মাস দুয়েক বাদে এণ্ড্রুজ এবং পিয়ারসন দিল্লী হয়ে শান্তিনিকেতনে ফিরে এলেন। পিয়ারসন ফিজি আদিবাসীদের মধ্যে প্রচলিত নানা রকম চামড়ার বাদ্যযন্ত্র এবং পোষাক পরিচ্ছদ সঙ্গে এনেছিলেন মনে আছে। তার মধ্যে কিছু কিছু পরবর্তী কালে কলাভবনে রক্ষিত ছিল দেখেছি। এণ্ড্রুজ ফিরে এসে ম্যাজিক ল্যানটার্নের সাহায্যে বিনোদন পর্বে নাট্যঘরে ফিজিতে চুক্তিবন্ধ ভারতীয় শ্রমিকদের প্রতি শ্বেতাঙ্গ মালিকদের নানা উৎপীড়নের কথা ধারাবাহিক বক্তৃতার মাধ্যমে আমাদের শোনাতে। কি অপদূর্ব ছিল তাঁর ইংরেজী বক্তৃতার ধরণটা। আমরা যে সব কথার মানে বুঝতে পারতাম সেই সমস্ত সহজ সহজ কথা ব্যবহার করে তিনি আমাদের বলতেন। এর পর থেকে বিদেশে চুক্তিবন্ধ (Indenture) ভারতীয় শ্রমিকদের পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা রদ করবার জন্যে বেশ কিছুদিন ধরে তিনি আন্দোলন চালিয়েছিলেন। এই জঘন্য প্রথা রদ হবার খবর যেদিন জানা গেল এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব সেদিন ছেলেমানুষের মত আনন্দে ছেলেদের নিয়ে লাফিয়ে ছিলেন। জন সেবার কাজে তিনি নিঃশেষে নিজেকে বিলিয়ে দিয়েছিলেন। শৃঙ্খল ভারতবর্ষে নয় পৃথিবীর যে কোন স্থান থেকে যখনই দৃষ্ট উৎপীড়িত মানব সমাজের কাছ থেকে তাঁর ডাক আসত পরিণত বয়সেও রোগগ্রস্ত দেহের প্রতি দৃকপাত মাত্র না করে তখনই সেখানে তিনি ছুটে যেতেন। এই জন্যে তিনি শান্তিনিকেতনে আমাদের সঙ্গে একটানা বেশীদিন থাকতে পারতেন না। এই প্রসঙ্গে ১৯২১ সালে যুরোপ থেকে গুরুদেব জগদানন্দ বাবুকে একখানি চিঠিতে লিখেছেন—“প্রীত্মাবকাশ আরম্ভ হয়ে গেছে এবং আমাদের ‘নানা পক্ষী’ ‘প্রভাত হলে দশ দিকেতে গমন’ করছেন। বিশেষত এণ্ড্রুজ-পক্ষী প্রভাত না হলেও দশদিকেতে উড়ে বেড়ান”।

পূর্বেই বলেছি তিনি অভিনয় খুব ভাল বাসতেন, অভিনয় পাগলা বললেও অত্যুত্তী হবো না। নানারূপ জনহিতকর কাজে ব্যস্ত থাকার মধ্যেও সুযোগ পেলেই অভিনয়ের ব্যবস্থা করতেন। এই বছরেই বসন্ত পূর্ণিমাতে আইরিশ কবি এ. ই. লিখিত “The King” নাটকটি অভিনয় করিয়েছিলেন। এবার ছেলেরা বাদ পড়ল, এই বইতে অভিনয় করেছিলেন এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব নিজে, পিয়ারসন সাহেব, দিন্দুবাবু, কালীমোহন বাবু, সন্তোষ মজুমদার, অনিল মিত্র প্রভৃতি তখনকার দিনের মাস্টার মহাশয়রা।

১৯১৬ সালে মে মাসে গুরুদেব জাপান যাত্রা করেন। সঙ্গে ছিলে এণ্ড্রুজ, পিয়ারসন ও মৃকুল দে। মাসখানেক বাদে গুরুদেব সেখান থেকে আমেরিকা যাত্রা করেন, এণ্ড্রুজ একা আগ্রহে ফিরে এলেন। এইবারে তিনি একটানা অনেকদিন আগ্রহে রইলেন। গুরুদেবের অনুপস্থিতিতে বিদ্যালয়ের প্রতি তাঁর দায়িত্ব যে অনেক বেশী এসে পড়েছে তা তিনি অনুভব করেছিলেন বলে মনে হয়। এই সময় আমরা শ্বিতীয় বর্গ বা নবম শ্রেণীতে পড়ি। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের কাছে আমাদের ইংরেজী ক্লাস হোতে লাগল রোজ এক পিরিয়ড করে। তিনি আমাদের কবিতা পড়াতেন এবং রচনা শেখাতেন। গোল্ডস্মিথের “Deserted Village” গ্লের “Elegy” ও ম্যাথু আর্নল্ডের “Shorab and Rustom” তিনি আমাদের এই সময়ে পড়িয়েছিলেন। কি সুন্দর

তিনি পড়াতেন। পড়ানোর প্রসঙ্গে কত সুন্দর সুন্দর গল্প বলতেন। প্রত্যেকটি কবির উপর ছোট ছোট করে টীকা লিখিয়ে দিতেন। পরে কলকাতার কলেজে পড়বার সময় এই নোটগুলি আমার খুব কাজে লেগেছিল।

আমাদের রোজ একটি করে রচনা লিখে তাঁর ঘরে টেবিলের উপর রেখে আসতে হতো। পরদিন ক্লাশে গিয়ে দেখতাম, খাতা দেখা তাঁর হয়ে গেছে। লাল কালিতে ভুল preposition গুলি সংশোধন করে দিয়েছেন। ভুল বানানগুলি সংশোধন করে মার্জিনে লিখে দিয়েছেন। আমরা যাতে preposition গুলি শব্দ ভাবে ব্যবহার করি সেদিকে তাঁর তীক্ষ্ণ দৃষ্টি ছিল। এ ছাড়া আর কোন সংশোধন তিনি করতেন না যেমন লেখা তেমন থাকত। আমাদের ইংরেজীতে চিঠি লেখা অভ্যাস করবার জন্যে, ছুটিতে ছেলেরা বাড়ী গেলে তাদের প্রায় সকলকেই এশ্বরুজ সাহেব চিঠি লিখতেন, তাঁর লেখা এইরকম খানকয়েক চিঠি পাবার সৌভাগ্য আমারও হয়েছিল। তিনি চাইতেন আমরা তাঁর চিঠির নিয়মিত উত্তর দিই।

আমাদের হাতে লেখা ইংরেজী মাসিক পত্রিকা ছিল “The Ashram”। এতে তিনি প্রায়ই লিখে আমাদের উৎসাহ দিতেন। এই পত্রিকার যে সংখ্যাগুলি এখনও রবীন্দ্র-সদনে টিংকে আছে তাতে দেখা যায় যে তিনি নিজের কবিতা নিজের হাতে লিখে দিয়েছেন। আমাদের লেখাও তাঁর কাছে নিয়ে গেলেই সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সংশোধন করে দিতেন। মোটের উপর তিনি ছিলেন আগ্রহের ছেলোদের এই হাতে লেখা ইংরেজী ক্ষুদ্র পত্রিকাটির প্রধান পৃষ্ঠপোষক। এ ছাড়া আমাদের ইংরেজী বিতর্ক সভাতেও তাঁকে মাঝে মাঝে বিচারক হাতে দেখেছি। ১৯১৬ সালে বসন্ত উৎসবের দিনে তিনি সপ্তম এবং অষ্টম শ্রেণীর ছাত্রদের “Mid Summer Night’s Dream” অভিনয় করিয়েছিলেন। উঁচু ক্লাশে পড়ি বলে আমাদের মার্চেন্ট অব ভেনিসের অভিনেতাদের প্রায় সকলকেই বাদ পড়তে হয়েছিল, কেবলমাত্র আচার্য কৃপালানীর ভ্রাতৃপুত্র গীরধারলাল কৃপালানী দুটি অভিনয়ের দলেই ছিলেন। গীরধারী টিসবীর ভূমিকায় অভিনয় করেছিলেন। এই অভিনয় আগ্রহের ইতিহাসে একটি উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা। মন্দিরের পাশে পুকুরের পূর্ব পাড়ে কাঁকরের একটা মস্ত বড় ঢিপি ছিল, আমরা সেটিকে পাহাড় বলতাম। এই পাহাড়ের দক্ষিণ দিকে তখনকার হাসপাতালের সন্নিহিত খানিকটা কেটে মগু তৈরী করা হয়েছিল। এই মগুর তিনদিকে ছিল পাহাড়, সামনের দিকটা খোলা। সেইদিকে দর্শকরা উত্তর দিকে মুখ করে বসেছিলেন। মগুটিকে একটা গুহার মত দেখাচ্ছিল। মগুে কোনো চৌকি ব্যবহার হয়নি, কাঁকরের মেঝের উপরেই অভিনয় হয়েছিল। যতদূর মনে পড়ে রংগমগুে সে রাতে কোন আলো ছিলনা, পূর্ণিমা রাতে চন্দ্রালোকেই অভিনয় হয়েছিল পাহাড়ের উপর থেকেই ঘোড়ার মূখোস-পরা টিসবি পাঠ বলতে বলতে নীচে মগুর উপর নেমে এলেন। দুই দিকের পাহাড়ের গা বেয়ে বেয়ে কুশীলবদের প্রবেশ এবং প্রস্থানের ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল। সমস্ত মিলিয়ে অশ্রুত সুন্দর দেখাচ্ছিল। সেদিনকার পাহাড়ের গায়ে উন্মুক্ত রংগমগু এবং চারিদিক খোলা আকাশের নীচে দর্শকদের আসন সব মিলিয়ে প্রাচীন রোমের এম্পিথিয়েটার ধরনের একটা পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি হয়েছিল। আমার নিজের ঠিক মনে নেই তবে অনেকে বলেন এক বছর পূর্বে ঠিক এই দিনটিতে ঠিক একই জায়গায় এই একই পরিবেশে “The King” অভিনয় হয়েছিল। যা হোক মোটের উপর একথা নিঃসন্দেহে বলা যেতে পারে যে এশ্বরুজ সাহেবই শান্তিনিকেতনে সর্বপ্রথম “open air theatre” এর প্রবর্তন করেন।

এই সময়ে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব থাকতেন বেগদুজ্জে। সব সময় তিনি লেখাপড়া নিয়ে পড়ে থাকতেন। দেশী বিদেশী নানা মাসিক পত্রিকায় লিখতেন তিনি। প্রায় প্রতি মাসেই মডার্ন রিভিউতে তাঁর কবিতা বা প্রবন্ধ প্রকাশিত হতে দেখেছি। এ ছাড়া রোজ অসংখ্য চিঠি লিখতেন তিনি নিজের হাতে। এই চিঠিগুলি দফে দফে ডাকে ফেলতেন তিনি নিজে। এই জন্যে রোজ পাঁচ ছয়বার করে শান্তিনিকেতন পোস্টাফিসে তাকে যাতায়াত করতে হতো।

শুধু লেখাপড়ায় অথবা সাহিত্য চর্চায় নয়, শুধু ছেলেদের অভিনয় শেখানোতে নয়, অথবা জনসেবায় নয়, ছেলেদের খেলাধুলাতেও তিনি যোগ দিয়ে তাদের উৎসাহ দিতেন। শীতকালে বৃধবारे ছুটির দিনে মন্দিরে উপাসনার পর সকাল বেলায় আমাদের ক্রিকেট খেলার অনুশীলন চলতো বেগদুজ্জেরই পাশে। পোর্ট অফিস থেকে ফেরবার পথে অনেক সময় তিনি সোজা চলে আসতেন আমাদের খেলার মাঠে। স্মিথেন মদুখোপাধ্যায় নামে একটি ছেলে খুব ভাল বল করত। তার গায়ে ছিল অসম্ভব শক্তি। আমরা সকলে তাকে স্মিথেন গুন্ডা বলে ডাকতাম, এমন কি এণ্ড্রুজ এবং পিয়ারসন সাহেবরাও তাকে স্মিথেন গুন্ডা বলে অনেক চিঠিতে উল্লেখ করেছেন। ভয়ানক জোরে বল করতে পারত এই স্মিথেন গুন্ডা। তখনকার দিনে সেই ছিল আমাদের পেস বোলার। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব ব্যাটটি নিয়ে সমানে পেটাতেন স্মিথেনের বল। আমরাও খেটে খেটে হয়রান হতুম। বিভ্রম রকমের মার মেরে আমাদের দেখিয়ে দিতেন ক্রিকেট অভিযানের শব্দগুলির তাৎপৰ্য—Drive, Hook, Pull, Cut, Late cut ইত্যাদি। আশ্রমে তখন আকর্ষণীয় ক্রিকেট ম্যাচ ছিল শিক্ষকদের সঙ্গে ছাত্রদের খেলাটি। আশ্রমে উপস্থিত থাকলে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবই হতেন ম্যাচের মহাশয়দের opening bat। শুনছি বিলেতে এণ্ড্রুজ ছিলেন তাঁর স্কুল টিমের opening bat। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব ফুটবল খেলাতেও পারদর্শী ছিলেন। তবে আশ্রমে তাঁকে কখনও ফুটবল খেলতে দেখিনি। তিনি রেফারি হতে খুব ভালবাসতেন। ম্যাচ থাকলে তাঁর টোবলের উপর বাঁশীটি রেখে আসতে পারলেই হত। কিছ্ বলবার দরকার হতো না। খেলার ঘণ্টা পড়লে আমাদের জেনারেল লাইন হত, তারপর হত রোলকল এই সব শেষ করে মাঠে এসে দেখতুম যে এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব আমাদের আগেই মাঠে এসে বাঁশী হাতে দাঁড়িয়ে আছেন। বাইরে যদি আশ্রম টিম কখনও খেলতে যেত আরও অনেক ম্যাচের মহাশয়দের মত এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবও খুব উৎসাহের সঙ্গে দলের সাথে থাকতেন।

এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবের একটি ভাির সুন্দর অভ্যাস ছিল। আশ্রমের ভেতরে চলাফেরার সময় পথে যার সঙ্গে দেখা হোত তাকেই করজোড়ে নমস্কার করতেন—তা সে ম্যাচের মহাশয়দের মধ্যে কেউ হোন, ছাত্রদের কেউ হোক বা সেবক কেউ হোক। তিনি সকলের আগেই নমস্কার করতেন—এ বিষয়ে কেউ তাঁকে হার মানাতে পারতনা। আমরা ছেলেরা পরামর্শ করে অনেক চেষ্টা করেছি তাঁকে আগে নমস্কার করতে, কিন্তু সফল হইনি। দূরে কাউকে দেখামাত্র তাঁর হাতদাঁটি যুঁজ হয়ে সকলের আগেই কপালে উঠে যেত। কাছে এলে তাঁকে গড় হয়ে প্রণাম করলে দুই হাত বাড়িয়ে তাঁকে তুলে ধরে বৃকে জড়িয়ে ধরতেন। তখন সবমাত্র তিনি দাঁড়ি রাখতে আরম্ভ করেছেন। সব সময় এই দাঁড়ির ভেতর দিয়ে একটি মিষ্টি হাসি ফুটে বেরত।

মন্দিরে উপাসনার পর আমরা ছেলেরা গুরুদেবকে পায়ের ধুলো নিয়ে গড় হয়ে প্রণাম করতাম। ম্যাচের মহাশয়রাও সকলেই করতেন, এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবও বাদ যেতেন না। গুরুদেবকে তাঁর প্রণাম করার ধরণটা আমাদের কাছে খুব কৌতূহলের বিষয় ছিল।

গুরুদেবের অনুপস্থিতিতে ক্ষতিমোহন বাবু, নেপাল বাবু, অজিত বাবু, শাস্ত্রী মহাশয় প্রভৃতিকে পালাক্রমে ছেলেদের নিয়ে মন্দিরে উপাসনা করতে দেখেছি। এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেবও কখনও কখনও মন্দিরে উপাসনা করতেন। তিনি ইংরেজীতে উপদেশ দিতেন। ২৫শে ডিসেম্বর খৃষ্ট উৎসবের দিনটিতে গুরুদেবের সঙ্গে তিনিও মন্দির করতেন।

সেই সময় কোন কোন ছেলে হাফ্ প্যান্ট ও সার্ট পরে ক্রাশে আসত সেটা এণ্ড্রুজ সাহেব কেন জানিনা আদৌ পছন্দ করতেন না। তাঁকে অনেক সময় বলতে শুনেনি যে ধূতি পাঞ্জাবী পরা ছেলেদের দেখতে তাঁর খুব ভাল লাগে। তিনি নিজের আশ্রমে সব সময় পায়জামা অথবা ধূতি পরতেন, যদিও ধূতিটা অনেক সময় তাঁর হাট্টুর ওপরে উঠে যেত। ছেলেদেরই মত আশ্রমের মধ্যে অনেক সময় তিনি খালি পায় গুরুতেন, পা কাঁকরে ক্ষত বিক্ষত হয়ে যেত, বিশেষ করে শীতকালে, তাতে তাঁর ভ্রুক্বেপও ছিল না।

পরগে সাদা থান ধূতি, গায় লংকুথের বুক খোলা ঢিলে পাঞ্জাবী শ্মশ্রু মণ্ডিত সদা স্মিত হাস্যোজ্জ্বল মুখমণ্ডল এই সম্মাসীটি অশ্বশতাব্দী পরেও আজ আমাদের কাছে যেন প্রত্যক্ষ হয়েই বিরাজ করছেন।

C.F.A.—CHRIST'S FAITHFUL APOSTLE

GURDIAL MALLIK

"Christ's Faithful Apostle!" This interpretation of the initials of the name of C. F. Andrews,—that ideal bridge-builder of humanity—came to me at a flash one morning after prayer during the post-Jallianwala Bagh martial law period in the Punjab, in 1919, when I happened to tour with him in the affected areas. By the score the people belonging to various creeds and communities, who had suffered almost-unbearable indignities at the hands of the then Satrap of the province, Sir Michael O'dwyer visited him. The latter had vowed to go to every possible length in maintaining the prestige of the British rulers in the territory under his charge. For he had thrown out a challenge to Gandhiji to prove to that apostle of non-violence that sole-force was superior to soul-force! Alas, he did not live long to witness the ultimate triumph of the truth, preached and practised by Christ whom he professed to follow; namely, "Resist not evil" (with evil). After his retirement from service Sir Edward Maclagan succeeded to the stewardship of the province. And he happened to be a contemporary of C. F. Andrews at college in Cambridge. Therefore he acceded immediately to the latter's request to be permitted to make inquiries in his unofficial role as a minister of reconciliation into the inhuman acts perpetrated by his 'predecessor,—acts so inhuman that an honest British member of the I.C.S. was constrained to confess to this writer with tears in his eyes, in private. "During those terrible days, sometimes I think we British were more *brutish* than British".

And how did C. F. Andrews carry out his mission? It was in the spirit of compassion—"that law of laws", as a Buddhist scripture says. He met every sufferer with overflowing affection and implicit trust, without the least striking feeling that he belonged to the ruling race, and as such, he had a right to criticise and condemn him. His approach was that of the Samaritan, mentioned in the Biblical parable, which constitutes the crux and core of Christ's message. His sole concern was to

comfort and console the aggrieved and the afflicted, as a widowed mother does her only son. Over and again, while watching him as he listened to their tales of woe, I saw his face would light up with some mysterious and magnetic light as if it were saying, in the words of Walt Whitman, "I do not ask the wounded man how he feels. I myself become the wounded man." So complete was his identification with those whose innate humanity had been insulted and wounded by protagonists of violence for preservation of their power, pomp and pelf.

His heart thus filled with sympathy, that sovereign among human virtues,—C. F. Andrews would then turn his whole-hearted attention and intelligence, to the noble but arduous task of translating that sympathy into concrete acts of service at official as well as non-official level. The result was that before long he achieved the miracle of directing the pent-up anger and avenging emotions of the sufferers against the British into channels of forgiveness and fellowship. As one of them observed, "As long as there is one *Sahib* (British) like C. F. Andrews, I will never harbour any ill-will against the British people".

And what did this august bridge-builder not do in several other parts of the world to restore the image of man and thereby to deepen our faith in the words of Christ, "Man is made in the image of God".

AS I REMEMBER MR. ANDREWS

PRAMADARANJAN GHOSH

I first met C. F. Andrews at Santiniketan in April, 1914. About two years previously Mr. Andrews had met Gurudev Rabindranath and decided to join Santiniketan Ashram. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson were great friends; and in writing of Mr. Andrews a few words must be written of Mr. Pearson too. Both of them were engaged in teaching in India—Mr. Andrews was vice-principal of St. Stephen's College in Delhi and Mr. Pearson was a professor of English in the London Missionary Society's College, the L.M.S. College of Bhowanipur, Calcutta, now defunct. Both Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson were remarkable for their love for their Indian students. It is said that Mr. Pearson was not quite happy there, as the authorities of the L.M.S. College did not like his mixing with Indian students so much. Be that as it may, the fact remains that after some time he left the college and was later a tutor of the son of Sir Sultan Sing of Delhi, the great Indian banker.

After he had met Rabindranath a great change came over Mr. Andrews. It was as it were, love at first sight, and he accepted Rabindranath as his Gurudeva and became his devoted follower for life. He decided to give up his post of Vice-Principal of St. Stephen's College and dedicate his life to the service of the Santiniketan institution, a very poor institution in those days. He made Santiniketan his home and settled there so as to be near his Gurudeva always. He lived like one of us dressed in Khaddar (rather clumsily) but in European Society he wore simple European dress. For some time in his free moments he read with Rabindranath the Upanishads which he greatly admired. The question naturally arises: what was it in Rabindranath that attracted Mr. Andrews so much? A little old history must be told here.

That was Rabindranath's first visit to England when he read the English translation of his Bengali Gitanjali to a circle of some English men of letters. It was greatly admired by this circle for its view point—

a noble humanity and cosmopolitanism free from all sorts of national narrowness and selfishness. Incidentally it may be stated that at their instance the English translation of Gitanjali was submitted to the Swedish Academy and Rabindranath became the first Indian (and perhaps non-white) Nobel Laureate. As is well known it may be added, that the motto of the Visva-Bharati is *স্বা বিশ্বং ভবতোকনীড়ম্* where the whole world meets ; and in one of his famous songs Rabindranath says, "I have a place every where" i.e., "I am no stranger anywhere and every one is my brother". This spirit of noble humanity and cosmopolitanism touched, a sympathetic chord in Mr. Andrews' heart ; and that is why he was so attracted to Rabindranath. He too used to say, "I have forgotten the Englishman in me".

Another proof of Mr. Andrews' humanity and cosmopolitanism is his giving up the designation of Rev. C. F. Andrews and assuming the designation of plain C. F. Andrews. He was an ordained priest of the Church of England but felt he could no longer continue to be a Christian of a particular denominational Church. He was a sincere Christian all his life from his youth to his death, as the many books he wrote towards the close of his life e.g., "What I owe to Christ", "With Christ In Silence" etc. show. The fact is that his acceptance of Rabindranath, a Brahmo, as his Gurudeva and his admiration of the Upanishads and other non-Christian Scriptures made him all the more a sincere Christian. Both Rabindranath and Mr. Andrews were free from all sorts of narrowness and class or national bigotry ; hence they were naturally drawn to each other as soon as they met. We often heard Rabindranath say that the best of Englishmen were the finest specimens of humanity while the dregs of English society were veritable demons—*দানব* is the word that he used. Rabindranath found in Andrews one of the very best specimens of Englishmen. At the same time he had great love and admiration for Mr. Pearson too, as his dedicatory poem in *বলাকা* shows. He dedicated *বলাকা* to Mr. Pearson and in a short poem he has drawn the character of Mr. Pearson to perfection.

When Mr. Andrews came to Santiniketan in April, 1914 the summer vacation of the school was at hand ; and he and Mr. Pearson went to South Africa where the classical struggle—the Satyagraha struggle of Mr. Gandhi with the South African Government had been going on for

several years. Satyagraha, the Satyagraha Asram (Known as the Phoenix Asram) of Gandhiji in South Africa and Gandhiji were household words in the whole of the British empire ; and in India admiration for Gandhiji was immense and he was universally known as Mahatma Gandhi. The question as to who gave the designation of Mahatma to Gandhiji is a controversial one. The designation was perhaps given to him by Rabindranath himself. And though he and Mahatma had not yet met, both of them had the greatest respect and admiration for each other. It is true that Rabindranath did not see eye to eye with Mahatmaji on many things like Mahatma's declaration that Swaraj would be brought about in a year through the Satyagraha struggle with the British Government that he had initiated. For Rabindranath believed that nothing worth having can be had without paying the price for it, and to achieve Swaraj the Indians have to be carefully prepared for a long time. In spite of this difference of opinion they had the greatest respect for each other. Mahatma used to inform Rabindranath whenever he proposed to undertake any grave task and Rabindranath too admitted that he had not the power to rouse the people as Gandhiji had done and all honour and respect must be paid to Mahatma.

Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson decided to come and settle at Santiniketan after the summer vacation of the school and in the meantime they went to South Africa to see things there with their own eyes. In South Africa they were the guests of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Andrews came to venerate Mahatmaji and Mahatmaji too liked him very much. Mr. Andrews was the link between Mahatma and Rabindranath. At about this time there came about a truce in the South African struggle and Mahatma and Dr. Smuts, the South African premier came to terms. Mahatma by the time was determined to leave South Africa for good and make India the field, of his activity. The first world war came and Mr. Gandhi decided to go to the field of war with a band of young Indian volunteers as stretcher-bearers. But he had one difficulty—many Indians in South Africa had given their children to Mahatma's keeping to bring them up in the way Mahatma deemed best. Where was this party of young boys to live in India during Mahatma's absence? At Mr. Andrews' invitation this party of young boys some of whom were no older than 8 or 9 years of age came

to Santiniketan. We were friends with them. They used to call Mahatmaji "Bapu", when any letter came from Bapu there was much joy amongst them. They had their own arrangement for teaching. A few of them who were a little older attended some of our classes. They had their own arrangement for cooking and they themselves cooked their simple food with no spices. Raw vegetables and fruit formed part of their food. Instead of tea every morning they had "Nim" leaves ground into a paste ; and mixed with water this formed their early drink.

The Indians had been agitating for self-government for many years. The English Government was determined to give India no real power but believed in the policy of divide and rule of the Imperialists. The first instalment of reform, the Morley-Minto Reforms gave Indians very little power but did a great harm by giving separate electorate votes to Hindus and Muslims ; and the result was the Hindus and Muslims could never unite again. In those days as Mr. Gokhale said "What Bengal thinks to-day, India thinks next week." To curb the power of the Bengalees, Lord Curzon divided Bengal into West Bengal and East Bengal and Assam and removed the capital of the British Indian Empire from Calcutta to Delhi. When Lord Hardinge was entering the new capital a bomb was thrown at him. On his recovery Mr. Andrews, a personal friend of Lady Hardinge officiated as the priest of the thanks-giving service in Delhi.

In Bengal the agitation at the partition of Bengal was very great and to appease the people the second instalment of reform known as the Montford Reforms established a form of double Government. Some minor departments were given to Indian Ministers while the important ones were as before under senior I.C.S. Officers. This system of Government proved unworkable and agitation continued. Next the British Government proposed that Indians should try to frame their own constitution. There were some Englishmen who were for giving India a sort of Dominion Status and let India continue to be a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But the dichards in England were bent on dividing Hindus into Caste Hindus and Schedule Caste Hindus and giving them separate electoral votes so that even the Hindus could never unite and the British could for ever keep the Indians under their subjection. To these Gandhiji

was deadly opposed and began his fast unto death. Rabindranath, ill as he was, went to Yeravda Jail where Mahatma was confined.

The younger brother of the Metropolitan of Calcutta Dr. Foss Westcott, was a class fellow and dear friend of Mr. Andrews. On the death of Mr. Andrews the Metropolitan came to Santiniketan and gave the obituary ovation in Santiniketan Temple. Mr. Andrews was a frequent and welcome visitor to the Bishop's place. During Mr. Andrews' last illness he was removed, from Santiniketan to Calcutta and I found a gentleman in clerical dress removed Mr. Andrews to the Bishop's place. Then he was removed to the Presidency General Hospital. Rathindranath Tagore and some of our ex-students kept themselves informed of Mr. Andrews' daily condition. His days were numbered, he lingered for some days, but his condition became worse and worse. He knew he was dying. He was most anxious to meet Rabindranath but hearing that he was not keeping well said slowly and painfully, "Tell him not to come ; I am well". In a day or two the great soul passed away. We know that Joseph Addison the 18th Century English man of letters who was a bachelor, like Mr. Andrews said at the time of his death to his attendant, "See how a true Christian dies." Mr. Andrews' whole life shows how a true Christian lives.

MY ANDREWS

A. A. RUDRA

I first met Rev. C. F. Andrews in 1904, over 66 years ago, when he came out to India to join the Cambridge Mission Brotherhood. He was assigned to St. Stephen's College to become their Principal in due time. He met my father, who was then the Vice Principal, and after meeting him he declined the offer, saying, that Professor Rudra was far better qualified for this appointment, and he would have no objection to working under him. He had a hard fight to convince the managing committee, but in the end, rather reluctantly, they accepted his recommendation.

My father became the first Indian head of St. Stephen's College and Andrews stayed on under my father on the staff.

They had taken to each other at their very first meeting, and became fast and inseparable friends. Andrews came to live with us thereafter.

Our home was like a bachelor's establishment. My mother had died when I was only 3 months old, and my father never married again. Our household consisted of my father, my brother and myself, and Andrews fitted into our family extremely well and became part of it.

My brother was 13 years of age, and I was then 8. We were very lucky to have had Andrews as our friend and constant companion. He took a great deal of interest in both of us. He played with us and took us for walks, and told us many stories and read to us in the evenings from various books. My brother and I ran errands for him, vying with each other to do things for him at home. He taught us a great deal by his own example and character. We were both very fortunate to have had Andrews as our "GURU" at a most impressionable age. We were also, quiet listeners to many discussions between our father and Andrews on the problems and controversies of those very early days which played so crucial a part in the destiny of our country. The impression left with me of this great man's character was, that, he was humble and gentle,

never raised his voice or used a harsh word, completely disarming anyone, with his quiet unassuming manner. He received the highest and the lowly, with the same warmth of welcome and without any reservation at anytime in utter disregard of himself.

At breakfast table conversation between my father and Andrews went somewhat like this. The subject was the Indentured Labour struggle then going on in South Africa. My father said to Andrews, "Charlie this man Gandhi (whom they had not then met) seems to be a remarkably courageous man, and a person of fearless and determined character. He would be of more use here in his own country than outside. I cannot go, but you should go and meet him. Persuade him to return to India, we need him here". So Andrews went to South Africa with William Pearson in 1914 before the outbreak of the First World War and worked there with Gandhiji and later persuaded him to come back to India. These three were to become great friends and Gandhiji became a frequent visitor and guest in our home in Delhi.

Andrews told us many stories of his encounters in South Africa. One I remembered vividly was when he was travelling by train. His fellow companion got into conversation with him, saying "Some British clergyman, named Andrews, a traitor, is hob-nobbing with these natives and inciting them. I wish I could lay my hands on him and tell him where he gets off". Andrews let him talk on, then quietly said "I am Andrews". His companion was a bit taken aback but his wrath getting the better of him, he beat up Andrews mercilessly. Andrews never put a hand to protect himself. The man broke a couple of Andrews' teeth, and then his anger was spent he sat back. Andrews picked himself up, stood in front of him, and said, "Are you satisfied now?" The man was by now so ashamed of himself, that he knelt before Andrews asking to be forgiven, and later became one of his great admirers and his disciple.

Andrews was a fine cricketer and taught me how to play with a straight bat, impressing on me to play straight in life. A wonderful nurse in sickness, he nursed many a student through their critical hours of sickness regardless of caste or creed, above all teaching us by his own example the dignity of labour.

"Thy need is greater than mine" was his great slogan.

Another incident which illustrates this, took place at Delhi Railway

Station. It was the month of December. We (students) had gone with Andrews, to meet some V.I.P.s coming from Calcutta by the evening train. It had rained and was bitterly cold. The train was late and no one could tell us the time of its arrival. The station master in those days was a European. We saw him coming, and asked Andrews to find out from him the train's time of arrival. The station master invited him into his office where he would find out the exact time. On entering the office they found an old woman standing drying herself in front of his office. The station master was furious, and he abused her and pushed her out of his office. Andrews was furious too at such treatment and told the station master that he would have him removed from Delhi, for daring to treat an old woman like this. "Englishmen of your type are a disgrace to the country" he said. Andrews took off his coat and put it on the woman. When we protested telling him that it was bitterly cold, his answer was "That poor woman's need is greater than mine". True to his word, the next morning he saw the Chief Commissioner and wrote to the Viceroy and had the station master removed.

He had met Tagore once in the U.K. and later often when he came to stay at my father's house. He was greatly attracted by his personality and left St. Stephen's College to work at Santiniketan, and with Gandhiji. He loved India and her people, and specially the poor. He devoted much of his time and all of his energy to labour problems, and the Independence Movement of India.

People like Charlie Andrews are rare and I was indeed lucky and privileged to have known him. The world and specially India was the richer for his presence. He lived for others, specially for the humble and the underprivileged and we are the poorer for his passing.

Andrews' birthday, February 12th, was my mother's death anniversary, and on that day my father used to invite all the college servants to feast at our home. When he retired, my father left a sum of money and asked, that this treat to the servants should continue to take place in memory of my mother and Charlie. He also left instructions that the professors and senior students should serve this meal to the servants in remembrance of the service, of those who served them.

Andrews had brought Gandhiji to our house after his return from South Africa, and he became a frequent visitor. On one occasion when

he was staying with us, Gandhiji accompanied my father and Andrews to the students' hostel for the evening prayers. The hymn sung by the students was 'Abide with me', and it was after that evening, that the hymn 'Abide with me' became Gandhiji's favourite hymn. On another occasion we were having prayers at our house after our evening meal. The passage from the Bible read by Andrews was the 'Sermon on the Mount'. Gandhiji listened quietly, and afterwards said to Andrews 'I have never heard anything so beautiful in my life'.

Thus by his friendship with those two great men Gandhiji and Tagore, and by his life spent in the service of the poor and oppressed, Andrews became known throughout India, and richly deserved his title of Deenabandhu. I am proud of to have known this great man at such an impressionable period of my life.

C.F. ANDREWS—MISSIONARY WITH A DIFFERENCE

R. N. BOSE

There is a broad-minded recognition in general of manifold missionary contribution to India's progress but while the mission of mercy is gratefully remembered, the contribution to India's re-awakening and struggle for freedom is less well-known and often inadequately conceded. According to Gandhiji himself—if even in the worst days, the opposition to the British had never amounted to enmity, one explanation may be the investment in kindness and charity of noble Britishers who of course gave of their best, without any expectations of return.

Of these dedicated friends of India, the missionaries certainly came first, some even before the flag and often enough there was a background of Christian faith together with a fore-ground of love for Indians and zeal for their reawakening.

Their activities passed no doubt the prism of their faith in Christ but only to split into many beams of diversified service and the noblest among them not only preached the sermon but tried to live upto it.

The Serampore group led by William Carey and Joshua Marshman were outstanding examples of these pioneers who had 'to work against wind and currents to make their harbour' as Carey himself said so aptly.

It is significant that these notable missionaries, who served so well the cause of advancement and spread of Bengali language, having taken up the translation not only of the Bible but of Bengali classics and who printed them on their own as pioneer printers,—had to find shelter in a Dutch Settlement, though their dedication with a difference won the admiration and respect of all Bengalis and though they enjoyed the friendship of the more enlightened members of the establishment. The Pundits in an oft-quoted Sanskrit couplet perpetuated their worth but the common run of their own countrymen disliked their intimacy with the people. The average Briton wanted undisturbed pursuit of his profit and

pleasure. Some of these Padres seemed to be 'God's own fools' who spoilt the locals, for whom they had another name based on their habitation. Rev. James Long was later so much of a nuisance that collective action was taken against him by the planters and his punishment was the occasion of considerable elation which was short-lived as the Bengalis saved him from the ignominy of a term in a prison.

The advent of the 20th century brought many changes but habit dies hard. Imperial interests in India had its own over-bearing appendage but it was not as glaring as before. Western education had helped in stabilising Indo-British relations in some ways. So did the select group of Indian Christians. When Andrews came to join the staff of the St. Stephen's College, Delhi in 1904 as a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood, he certainly found his steps easier, as he was not as remote from all connections with the right type of Europeans and like-minded Indians as the pioneering missionaries.

Soon his natural propensity in assuming burdens not his own, attracted comments which his great reputation as a scholar and his gracious personality disarmed for a time. But his friendship with non-Christians and association with the Arya-Samajist leader Lala Munishiram made some of his colleagues including a few Indians hesitant, as they found it impossible to think of Andrews without enlarging their ideas of a missionary. Slum work in Delhi they could understand but not his friendship for slum-dwellers and warm welcome to his living rooms, of the motely crowd.

Thus Andrews was in deep anguish challenging the bitterness of reality in Indo-British relationship which often posed problems which he failed to resolve. As a result of his growing dissatisfaction, his first confrontation with the authorities of his mission came when he was offered the principalship as the colour-bar operated against his senior—Prof. Sushil Kumar Rudra, his friend and host. He won the first round, however and the authorities of the college, accepting his persuasive arguments appointed Prof. Rudra to be the head of the college.

His genius for identification with all who had a just cause or who suffered injustice or oppression, soon endeared him to many Indians and we learn from 'Satyagraha in South-Africa' that when a meeting was held in Lahore in support of the Satyagrahis, Andrews gave away in their

interest all the money in his possession and ever since then, Gokhale had his eye on him. To continue Gandhiji's own version from "Satyagraha in South-Africa":

'No sooner, therefore, did he hear about West's arrest than he enquired of Andrews by wire, if he was ready to proceed to South-Africa at once. Andrews soon replied in the affirmative. His beloved friend Pearson also got ready to go at the same moment, and the two friends left for South-Africa by the first-available steamer.'

Thus, Gandhiji met these noble Englishmen as they landed at Durban in December 1913 and thus began a worth-while friendship with memorable consequences and also a career for Andrews, as India's emissary for indentured labour whenever injustice reared its head or oppression threatened them in Africa or Asia.

A Christian not hide-bound by tradition, an idealist not unskilled in sober negotiation, a friend of Rolland and Tagore, Schweitzer and Gandhi who was equally at home with the poor and the lowly labourer, Andrews remained the man of whom there is no way to spare.

His amazing wealth of sympathy overcame all barriers of race, religion and habits while his amazing vitality wanted to apply its energy in every possible cause. Thus he came to be associated with the Indian Trade Union movement almost from its inception, led in some important strikes and was elected the President of the All Indian Trade Union Congress in 1925 in grateful recognition of his service to Indian Labour movement.

In the meantime he was also involved in Gandhiji's five-fold programme of national awakening and in a speech in 1921 justified "non-cooperation as a national strike against injustice".

His subsequent participation was often indirect but as an expositor of ideas of Gandhiji and of Tagore and often also as a bridge-builder between these two great contemporaries, he remained unsurpassed. There had to be considerable heart-searching and there were occasions when he differed from his leader Gandhiji but their friendship and devotion were unique. To the end, Andrews admired the magnificent heroism of Gandhiji, the originality of his mind and the tenderness of his nature. His last words to Gandhiji in 1940 bore testimony to his faith in India

and her leader—"Mohan, Swaraj is coming—both Englishmen and Indians can make it come if they will."

All through he had helped his great friend by innumerable deeds and service performed "so that India may take an independent place among the nations". Often enough he spoke not as a politician but as a man of religion—"Independence of India, complete and perfect is a religious principle with me because I am a Christian". This emphasis on religion is significant as it was the main-spring of all his activities.

As he wrote to Tagore in 1913 soon after he joined the Santiniketan, after a break with the Cambridge Brotherhood—"The call comes more and more insistently to give my whole love and affection to India herself and live the Christian life in doing so. If I remain a missionary in a somewhat narrow missionary society, I am in a sort of bondage".

But religious doubts and questions raged within him from 1907 to 1912 before this estrangement and parting of ways. His deeply divided mind when he saw that a man like Tagore was shut out according to the traditional faith from the mercy of God, because he was a non-Christian, and his partial failure in the attempt to bring Indian Christians 'into the rich and full current of Indian life' explain his relation with the Church as such. As he later explained in his spiritual autobiography 'What I owe to Christ'.

"First Schweitzer brought me back to the living Christ. He gave the greatest help of all by example of his own life. "Follow thou me" said Christ. This Christ lives in the hearts of men." Andrews elaborated his relationship with Tagore and Gandhi in luminous words thus, "I came out to teach but I have humbly to confess that continually I found myself a learner at the feet of saints whose life-surrender to the will of God was more whole-hearted than my own".

He speaks of Tagore as the saint of contemplation and of Gandhi as the saint of action and continues, "owing to Tagore and Gandhi, I got the shock I needed and owing to Tagore, more than any other I have learnt to break with covention, with these outer things of religion and to claim that spiritual freedom which is the soul of faith or love".

No doubt hero-worship was a second nature with Andrews but this alone cannot explain his relationship with Tagore or Gandhi.

In his "Christ in the Silence", the preface is a clue to his inner life. He writes "It has been along this path way, as a Christian Bhakta that my own inner life has found true unity in Christ." Of Gandhi, he writes "In ways often difficult to understand but amazing in their supreme sacrifice, Gandhi has shown me the meaning of that greater love whereof Christ speaks when a man lays down his life for his friends."

These perhaps help us to understand why and how a dedicated missionary came to have a difference and "strayed from the true fold" in the opinion of many pious but conventional Christians.

As a final testimony to his faith in his Lord, Andrews wrote on February 12, 1921, on the completion of his 50th year:

"It has been a crowded life full of incidents and changes, and yet all the while the inner peace at the centre of my life is deepening."

But he continued, till the end of his days to renew the true message of Christ, "often betrayed and so often forgotten" that deeds were wanted not words.

Andrews intensely and sincerely believed that the mode of self-expression in a Christian life is in love which works. He bowed his head humbly before Jesus Christ, his Lord and the greatest consequence of this submission and self-surrender was the confirmation of his belief that enabled him to live a life that over-flowed with love and sacrifice.

This dedication in his inner life endowed him so plenteously with-in that it was possible for Andrews to enlarge and make more vivid the image and the commitment of the missionary in India.

C. F. ANDREWS—THE MAN OF RELIGION

BHUPENDRANATH SEAL

Charles Freer Andrews, known to Indians as Dinabandhu Andrews was a true Christian. The life, as he lived, was a living embodiment of spirit, expressed in the hymn of St. Paul—the great hymn of Christian love. His life, from the beginning to the end, was itself a rich religious experience. Religion, according to Andrews, was not a matter of mere concept but a living principle to be intensely experienced. “To be a Christian” he said, “means not the expression of an outward creed but the living of an inward life”.¹ He served his master by serving the poor and the lowly. In this, Andrews did not merely follow religion but lived religion and made it the greatest thing in his life. His life is one of continuous spiritual struggle to find Christ in the inner life. And it was always his love of his Master that ultimately triumphed, however great were his “shocks and upheavals”. He gave his heart to Christ and kept up his implicit faith in Him shining in all its glory as long as he lived.

The history of Andrews’ life shows an impressive religious development. He was born in a family whose centre was the Catholic Apostolic Church. In childhood, Charlie, as he was called, grew in an atmosphere of prayer and meditation. The majesty of church service and the religious lives of his parents had their deep impact on his mind. It was his parents, Andrews wrote, who first taught him to hold this “implicit and essential” faith in Christ which was never shaken by any means. These words of Jesus in the Gospel of St. John lay imprinted in his heart even when he was a boy. “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends”. His father wanted him to be in the ministry of their church when he was nineteen. The desire of his father at once raised a tumult in Charlie’s soul. He turned inward, and pondered over his ‘unacknowledged wrong doings’ and suffered from an intense *angst* for not acceding to his father’s will. Andrews wrote about

¹ Quoted in *Christ and Labour*, p. 106. (1923).

this suffering in *What I Owe to Christ*: "An evening came, when as I knelt to pray before retiring to rest, the strong conviction of sin and impurity came upon me without warning, with such overpowering strength that every shred of false convention was torn aside and I knew myself as I really was. The sudden agony that followed . . . broke in upon me like a lightning flash, leaving at first nothing but black darkness behind it. I buried my head in my hands and knelt there with God in an anguish of spirit that blotted out everything else and left me groping for the light". But his tumult subsided when he received God's love. Andrews thus wrote of his realization of God's love in his autobiography *What I Owe to Christ*: "as the blessing in Church next morning pronounced the flood of God's abounding love was poured upon me . . . when I knelt with bowed head to receive it".¹ Andrews' passionate devotion to Christ was manifested in his burning love for the poor. One day while coming back from the church his heart melted in compassion for the poor men whom he found in the wretched slums of Camden Street. In the faces of these men Andrews visualised Christ. From now on the will to redress the sufferings of the poor struck firm roots in his mind. The only thing about the nature of God in which he believed was that God is love. And the embodiment of that love was Jesus Christ whose greatest care of all, was "for the lowliest and the lost". Andrews always found the anchorage of his soul in the words of Christ and in the image of the Cross. At Cambridge he joined the College Chapel service and the Holy Communion and the prayer meetings of the Inter-Collegiate Christian Union. Here he was shocked by "the doctrine of eternal torment for the damned" which was held by the members of the Christian Social Union. Andrews found the doctrine to be against the nature of Christ in whose forgiveness and love he had found new paths for himself. Besides, his feeling of estrangement from the Catholic Apostolic Church was too agonizing for him to bear. This was caused by his doubts of the justness of the literal verbal inspiration of the Bible. These conflicts with which he was confronted at Cambridge led him to think that he would not enter into the ministry of the Church. But Andrews' religious conflicts were all over when he found satisfying answer to his problems in the teachings of Bishop Westcott of Durham and Charles Gore. Their influences,

¹ *What I Owe to Christ* (London, 1932) pages 91-2.

during these formative years, largely determined the path that Andrews was to take in his religious life. In the introduction to his book *The Sermon on the Mount*,¹ Andrews wrote of his debt to Charles Gore from whom he had learnt for the first time to enter into the spirit of Christ's teachings in Sermon on the Mount. He wrote: "I can well remember how the book by Bishop Gore on the Sermon on the Mount captured my imagination when I first read it more than forty years ago. For it threw a flood of new light on our Lord's teaching, just after I had left college and had become ordained. At that critical time I was leaving behind my long years of studies at Cambridge and was plunging wholeheartedly into the practical life of a college mission in Walworth, where every problem had to be faced afresh in its most practical form. It was just then that Bishop Gore's book on the Sermon on the Mount came to me as a great spiritual treasure". And it was from Bishop Westcott that Andrews learned what Christianity stood for. He said, "He (B.W.) made it clear to us that our Christian religion must include the whole of our lives. We must not simply be Christians in church, but Christians in everything we do." Andrews found that the Bishop practised what he preached. As Secretary of the Cambridge branch of the Christian Social Union Andrews worked among the poor. He always remembered what Dr. Westcott had once told him: "Nothing, nothing that is truly human can be left outside the Christian faith. . . ." In 1893 Andrews took a first class in the Classical Tripos. His academic distinction could have given him very high position in life but he clung to religion wholeheartedly as it was to him the breath of his being. One day at Monkwearmouth a religious woman told him her fears. But Andrews consoled her with the words uttered by Jesus from the Cross. Then came to him the call from the Pembroke College Mission. He was called upon by the Pembroke Committee to be the successor of Rev. R. H. B. Simpson. Andrews was ordained a deacon in 1896 and was also ordained priest of the Southwark Cathedral in June 1897. In this new life Andrews stood face to face with bitter agony of the soul, for he could not subscribe with full conviction to some of the Articles of Religion appended to the Book of Common Prayers. But his torments were over when he found joy in his new life of religious service. In the joy of new ordination he understood the

¹ *The Sermon on the Mount* (London, 1942).

meaning of fuller religious service. His simple commentaries on the scripture appealed to all who listened to him. But as the days passed Andrews had an ever increasing uneasiness for he was being torn between two desires. The one was to perform the duties of a priest and the other was to serve the poor and the lost. During these years at Cambridge the Church of England was giving him new religious insight that made him learn the secret of his peace. The abiding presence of Christ in the inner life was becoming more and more a reality to him. But it proved too difficult for him to rise above daily cares and know of Christ's presence in the inner life and spend time in meditation so long he was in England. His longing to give himself wholly to the service of his Lord and live in the serene atmosphere of His peace constantly oppressed him. In the book *The Inner Life* Andrews wrote how he had the dearest longing to know more of the inward peace which Jesus gives to the soul; and before he could fully realise it, it seemed to get lost "in the complexity of modern life where too many things are crowded into each day". But the restlessness into which he had been drifted was over when he came to India. In the chapter entitled "First years in the East", of the same book Andrews wrote: "Ever since early days in England communion with Christ had been to me the first axiom of the Christian life; indeed, I had known the joy of His presence as the incentive of each action done in His name. But I had not retained this joy in the restfulness of prayer and silence. There I had failed". The East offered him peace for which he was so restlessly longing.

On March 20, 1904, Andrews came to India as a missionary and joined the staff of St. Stephen's College in Delhi. Soon he found his goal among the poor and oppressed in India. He noticed with pain how racial injustice and untouchability were disrupting India's social life. The division between man and man was against the principles of his religion. Andrews also heard of the oppression of the Indians by the British rulers from Susil Kumar Rudra, who was then the Vice-Principal of St. Stephen's College. It was his religious insight that made him feel the agony of the Indians who were suffering under the yoke of bondage. Andrews strongly supported Dadabhai Naoroji who declared in December 1906 India's claim for Swaraj. In a lecture on Indian Nationalism delivered at Lahore in December 1906 Andrews stated: "My one great wish is to

express to you how wholeheartedly, as a Christian missionary and as a loyal Englishman, I sympathise with the higher aspirations of Indian nationalism today". In his missionary work in Delhi he used to talk very often on the words of Christ in the Gospel of St. John which describes how the glory and honour of the nations shall be brought into the holy city of God. Andrews found "glory and honour" in the lives of India's simple villagers. He admired the religious faith of the non-Christians in India and found wonderful affinities between the teachings of Christ and those of the Indian sages. He saw Christianity to be : unifying force in India and a means of the elevation of the masses. Andrews completely shared Susil Rudra's Christian ideals and made his idea of united India largely based on his friend's Christian national ideal of India. He found truth in what Rudra had written in a paper entitled "Christ and Modern India". In a pamphlet called *India in Transition* published in 1910 Andrews reiterated his conviction: "If Christianity was to succeed it must not come forward as an antagonist and a rival to the great religious strivings of the past. It must come as a helper and a fulfiller, a peacemaker and a friend. There must no longer be the desire to capture converts from Hinduism, but to come to her aid in the needful time of trouble, and to help her in the fulfilment of duties she has long neglected". In the chapter entitled "The National Movement" of his book, *North India* published in 1908, Andrews had already stressed that in India the Christian Church should play a significant role in solving the great problem of the intermingling of races. He wrote: "For that which neo-Hinduism shows no signs of accomplishing, the Christian Church, coming victorious out of her own internal struggles, may at last achieve. She may first learn within herself and then give to India the spirit of unity". During his stay at St. Stephen's College he even urged the students of the college to break the barrier of caste within the Christian Church. He stressed on the all-embracing spirit of Christianity. Andrews said: "Because Christ is the Son of Man, Christianity must be all-comprehensive, larger far than the Church of the baptized. The Christian experience must be one of an all-embracing sacrament in which Christ is seen and revered in all men". In many places of his writings he pointed out the necessity of giving up narrowness in Christian outlook. In one of his evening meditations he told the

Asramites at Tirupattur: "We ourselves, in our outlook as Christians here in India, need to share in this large-heartedness of Jesus, our Master. We often meet those who are of a different religion from ourselves. We must welcome their love and faith, and in no way turn away from them and narrow all our interests down to the little Christian community to which we belong".¹ With this moral insight Andrews could come close to the saintly Maulvi Zaka Ullah Khan. In his religious readings he would usually concentrate on the Hymn of Love in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables of Christ. In his address to the Christian Endeavour Convention held at Agra in 1909 Andrews appealed to the young for renunciation and service. He wanted that Christianity should be rid of the West for "an unmistakable birth of the Christ life in India".

In June 1912 Andrews met Rabindranath Tagore in England at the house of William Rothenstein. He heard here readings from the *Gitanjali* of Tagore. The poetry of Tagore moved him and breathed peace in his troubled soul. To Andrews it was a night of "inner illumination" which made him utter in ecstasy:

But deeper far than that deep spell of sound
A still hushed presence, all my spirit bound,
"Put off thy shoes", it whispered, from thy feet
But deeper far than that deep spell of sound
"Here in this inner shrine prepare to meet
Thy Lord and Master face to face, and know
How Love through all His universe doth flow".²

Andrews heard with pain how the Indians were deprived of social rights on the ground of racial discrimination. He met Gopal Krishna Gokhale and went to Durban on January, 1914. There he met Mahatma Gandhi who was fighting to safeguard the rights of the Indians. From now on Andrews loved and revered Gandhiji as he was deeply touched by Gandhiji's love for the downtrodden. When Andrews received the call from Santiniketan, he thought it to be a call "from God Himself". In a

¹ Sandhya Meditations at the Christukula Ashram (Madras, 1940).

² Quoted from Andrews' *On Reading the translation of Gitanjali*.

letter dated 28th July, 1913, he had already written to Tagore how he longed to come out of the bondage of narrow missionary society and give his "whole love and affection to India herself and live the Christian life in doing so." In Santiniketan he found for his pilgrim soul the quiet which was so needed for his life of prayer and meditation. Now time came for him to understand the East and realise the character of Christ as given in the Gospels. He wrote in his book *The Inner Life*: "In the quiet of Santiniketan, I often went back to the story of Jesus in the early Gospels. . . ." At the Santiniketan Asram he was deeply attracted by the stories of prayer and meditation of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and the simple religious lives of the children whose voices in the still morning air used to bring him a sense of joy and reverence. Besides, he had also his lesson of quietness and peace from the peaceful life of the poet. Thus the quiet which Andrews found in Santiniketan brought an end to his fretful longing for it. He wrote about this in the poem, *The Palms at Santiniketan*:

And peace at last to the restless longing
Which swept my life with tumult vain,
And stirred each gust of memory thronging
Avenues drear of by-gone pain.
Tossed to and fro I had sorely striven,
Seeking, and finding no release:
Here, by palm-trees, came God-given
Utter, ineffable, boundless peace.

Andrews found truth in what he had one day written to Gurudev: "You, my dear friend, by welcoming me to Santiniketan have opened the way to enter into His peace". Besides, in Santiniketan his desire to come out of the narrow missionary society was also fulfilled. He could now plunge himself wholeheartedly to serve the poor and the oppressed. When Andrews gave up his clerical robe and took the world as his parish, Gandhiji, who could really judge his friend's actions wrote to his father: "His action is no change; it is, I feel convinced, expansion. He preaches through his life as very few do, and he preaches the purest love". We find a new significance in his giving up of his clerical robe in the light of what he said in the introduction to his book *The Sermon*

on the Mount that the grace of the true Christian character withers away when formalism creeps in with its reliance on external observance.

Andrews was imbued with the true spirit of love. He suffered intensely when he came to know of the sufferings of the poor Indian labourers bound down to servile labour in the plantations under immoral conditions. The heartless system of indenture continued in Fiji for more than fifty years. The issue, although political, came to him as a commission from Christ. He wrote in *What I Owe to Christ*: "It was clear to me as day light that Christ was calling me to go out to Fiji and that His call would be fulfilled". In one of his evening meditations at the Christukula Ashram Andrews told the ashramites about his inward suffering as a Christian whenever he thought of the afflictions of the Indians in Fiji. He told the ashramites: "What should this mean to us, as Christians? Surely it completely destroys the idea, which is in some people's minds even today, that Christianity is a purely 'spiritual' religion, having nothing whatever to do with political affairs. Here, was a definitely political issue. Yet, how could any one, who had heard the voice of Jesus, saying, 'I was sick, I was in prison', refuse to answer His call? For 'in their afflictions, He was afflicted' ". The sight of an indentured coolie whom he saw in Natal remained with him a haunting memory. In his reminiscences Andrews narrated how he saw the Natal coolie in a vision. He wrote: "I was not sleeping; my eyes were quite open. It was that poor run-away coolie I had seen in Natal. As I was looking the face seemed to change in front of me and appeared as the face of Jesus Christ". Andrews worked incessantly and brought an end to this system of Indenture on January 1, 1920. But his restlessness continued. The sufferings of the returned emigrants at Matiaburz constantly pained him since 1920. Andrews thus related his inward agony to the inmates of the Christukula Ashram: "I want you, tonight, to bear these poor Indian emigrants on your hearts as they are being borne on mine; for the burden has become too heavy for me to bear alone". Thus love always made Andrews restless. He rushed forward to help the distressed people of the Punjab, the poor refugees at Chandpur and the flood-devastated people of Orissa. In 1922 Andrews accompanied by Tagore went to South India and devoted himself to the untouchables.

¹ Quoted in *Charles Freer Andrews* (London, 1949) p. 112 by B. Chaturvedi and M. Sykes.

On 8th October he preached a sermon in Madras and said what Christ had said, "I have compassion on the multitude". He was deeply touched by the distress of the poor Panchamas and appealed to the Christians of the Church to take up their cause and live the whole of their lives among them. He said: "Be a Panchama, feel their sufferings and touch them. . . If I could see my way to give up other duties, how I wish I could do it. Why cannot some of you do that. I ask you as human beings, not as Hindus, not as Christians, not as Mahommedans, but as men who are human beings, cannot you remove the burden?"¹ The subjection of India ate like iron into his soul. The humiliation of the people of India by the British rulers was against the principle of his religion. He found imperialism to be highly opposed to Christianity which meant the fellowship of races. He wrote in his book *The Sermon on the Mount*: "The imperialist system, which keeps in subjection other races by a ruthless application of force in order to build up an 'empire' on race supremacy, stands condemned according to all Christian thinking". So he strongly pleaded for India's immediate independence. In an address delivered to the students in Calcutta on January 19, 1921, Andrews declared: "Independence, complete and perfect independence for India, is a religious principle with me because I am a Christian". He was shocked to know that Christ's racial equality was denied to the Indians. In the chapter entitled *The Practical Test* of his book *The Sermon on the Mount* Andrews wrote that the racial imperialism which only brings into subjection other races for the purpose of gaining an empire stands condemned by the standard of the Sermon on the Mount. In the sufferings of the Indians he saw the suffering of Christ. Being an Englishman and a Christian he could never shirk his own guilt. In the chapter, 'A Gleam of Hope' of his book *India and Britain* Andrews wrote: "For in everything we do to India Christ Himself stands before us and speaks the word—Ye did it unto Me."

Thus Andrews' love of Christ was the main incentive of his life. It led him ever to widen the region of his thought and action. About his participation in Indian politics Andrews wrote in *The Hindu Annual Supplement*: "My own attitude in the matter of politics is well-known. First of all my whole interest lies in religion; and therefore the study

¹ Quoted in *Charles Freer Andrews* (London, 1949) p. 188 by B. Chaturvedi and M. Sykes.

of politics only interests me so far as it becomes an integral part of religion. Mere party politics have no interest for me at all".¹ It was his religion that made his love for others wider and deeper—even to the extreme limit of it, to the highest of his sacrifice. The question before him was: "Can the Christian rise to such a height"? In answer to this Andrews said in his book *The Sermon on the Mount* that it was only Jesus who could perform the act of love, with such an excess and such an extravagance at a critical moment when it was most needed. It was Jesus who could perform the true miracle of love as he prayed to His Father even when he was nailed to the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do". The essence of Christian gospel claimed the highest, the extravagantly highest from the Christians.

One of the most vital questions before Andrews was how to free mankind from the forces of social evils which form the vicious circle within which it very often revolves. It pained him to think that fratricidal wars, which were in direct contradiction to Christ's teachings in *The Sermon on the Mount* could have at all been carried on by the Christians in the world. The outbreak of the first World War gave Andrews a sharp shock. It made him turn inward and think restlessly of Jesus Christ and love. Andrews again thought intensely of Christ's guidance in life in 1938 when the world was to face another crisis. He deeply thought of a Christian solution of the problem of human wickedness in the world. As a Christian he believed that the inwardness of Jesus meant that the Christian should not want to retire from the world into the world of his own and save there his own soul and leave his fellowmen to perish. The Christians should fight against all forces with only the weapon of faith in order to heal the wounds of the sick. He wrote in *The Inner Life*: "The true Christian is known, not by his isolation from that vast conflict against evil which leads to the Cross, but by preparing himself with silence and prayer for it, and then plunging into the thick of the fight with no other weapons in his hand but faith and love to be used for the healing of mankind".

In his religious life Andrews acknowledged his indebtedness to the East. He wrote in the Preface to his book "Christ and Prayer": "To India, I owe most of all. For out there the inner discipline of prayer

¹ Quoted in *Modern Review*, January, 1925.

is made the first condition of spiritual progress". In one of his evening meditations Andrews told the ashramites of the Christukula Ashram how he found perfect serenity and calmness—the greatest Christian virtues in the nature of his friend Susil Kumar Rudra. In the foreword of his book *The Inner Life* he clearly mentioned that he had his lesson of quietness and peace from the lives of his Indian friends such as Susil Kumar Rudra, Sadhu Sunder Singh, Rabindranath Tagore, and Mahatma Gandhi who wonderfully expressed the spirit of Christ both in their lives and actions. In the book *Christ and Labour* Andrews wrote that he was especially indebted to Mahatma Gandhi from whom he learnt the true significance of the Sermon on the Mount not as an unpractical ideal, but as the most practical of all methods of overcoming evil in this world.

Pascal in his supreme moments of religious experience realised that his heart was being overflowed by love and boundless joy. Such feelings of passionate exultations were also keenly experienced by Kabir, William Wordsworth and Rabindranath Tagore. These lines from Andrews' *The Inner Life* wonderfully reveal such feelings of spiritual ecstasy: "In every sacrament of the divine life, there is always an outward and visible sign as well as an inward and spiritual grace. If I may dare to write it, all Nature was at this time my Holy Communion, wherein I found the living presence of Christ. Day after day, as strength came back, and I was able to walk along the shady mountain paths, the joy at times was complete. The lilt of music and song came instinctively to my lips and fashioned itself into a refrain:

"O the wonder and the glory of His love"

So the refrain ran, and I put some simple words to it, which were not meant for a poem, but only for a song of joy. A tune ran through my mind along with them, but I am not musician enough to put it down in any notation. It has no value except as the up-welling of the heart that could not help singing for sheer happiness".

Thus the love of Christ was the only truth in Andrews' life. His life and actions wonderfully illustrate how he himself embodied the spirit of Christ which, to use his own words, was the Spirit of Love. He held Christian faith wholeheartedly throughout his life and made known to others what Christ had made known to him. He preached the teach-

ings of Christ best as he himself lived them. The house of the poor and the sick was his Zion, his Jerusalem, the holy place where he loved to dwell in God's presence. In one of his evening meditations at the Christukula Ashram Andrews would very often refer to a passage in the New Testament in which it is written: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the Law of Christ". Andrews bore the burdens of the poor and fulfilled the Law of Christ. The burdens of the poor and the oppressed tormented his soul and made him a wandering Christian. His torment was deep as his yearning for Christ was deep. In the memorial service held at Santiniketan after his death Rabindranath Tagore said: "Andrews' love for Indians was a part of that love of all humanity which he accepted as the Law of Christ". The following lines taken from the introduction to his book *Sandhya Meditations*, written during his closing years, beautifully sum up his attitude to religion: "The spiritual aspect of religion must never be allowed to lose touch with the material needs of those who are the poorest and the lowliest and the lost".

DEENABANDHU ANDREWS AT SANTINIKETAN

PRAMATHANATH BISHI

I am speaking of Santiniketan as it was in the good old days—in the years from 1920 to 1930. One who visited the place for the first time in those days could not but feel surprised, life as lived there was so strikingly different in so many respects from life elsewhere in Bengal. It was like an entirely different world. But the thing that would have most surprised such a visitor was a middle-aged English gentleman resident there—a figure clothed in *dhoti* and *punjabi* of coarse *Khaddar*, the two top buttons of the *punjabi* usually flapping loose, sometimes missing altogether—walking bare-footed briskly about on some errand of his own. Some days he was found to have a slipper on one foot, while the other was left bare. If one had the temerity to ask why, the answer was a very simple one—he had injured one of his feet, and the slipper was worn as a protection against infection through dust or dirt; the other foot needed no such protection. The gentleman seemed to be sublimely unaware of the fact that the occasion would have warranted having slippers on both his feet. Sometimes again he could be seen pulling a rickshaw with Dwijendranath, the eldest brother of Rabindranath, seated on it—then past his eightieth year, and incapable of walking about by himself. If the visitor, unable any longer to hold back his curiosity, asked somebody near at hand, he would have been told that the name of the middle-aged English gentleman was Mr. C. F. Andrews. Perhaps he had heard the name before and was not unacquainted with the reputation associated with the name. All this would have added considerably to his feeling of wonder, for he had never expected to find a full-fledged Englishman, and such an Englishman, living and acting like this. But the older inhabitants of Santiniketan had by this time ceased to be surprised by anything that Mr. Andrews did. They had come to understand that Mr. Andrews was capable of every-

thing—nothing was impossible for him. He could never be measured by the yardstick of the everyday world.

'Andrews Sahib'—this was the name by which he was known to all in those days—had free access to every part of the little world there. Officially he was only a teacher in the Ashram School, but there was something in the man which broke through all formal limitations. Drugs that were difficult to obtain had to be secured for the School hospital; two poor students had to be provided with bed and boards; segregation rooms were to be arranged for students suffering from infectious diseases; the surrounding of the privies had to be kept hygienically clean—well, there was Mr. Andrews who was sure to regard all these things as legitimate parts of his duties. And he was not there at Santiniketan all the time—suddenly, no one knew why, he would run off to Calcutta or Delhi or Simla or Sabarmati or sail away for the Fiji Island or even for Australia. He was like a little tornado in *dhoti* and *punjabi*. Today Mr. Andrews is widely known as a 'Friend of India' and a 'Friend of the poor', and also as one of the most intimate friends of Gandhi and Tagore, but in the days I am talking of he had a far more limited reputation. People now-a-days know very little of him as he was in those days—and that is my apology for the present dissertation.

Andrews had first come to be acquainted with some of the English translations of the writings of Tagore when he was a Lecturer at St. Stephen's College in Delhi. The best writings of Tagore had not yet been translated. The little that had been done into English then consisted mostly of prose discourses on politics or education. But even these had made him think of Tagore with high regard. Then in 1912, when Tagore was in London, gradually getting acquainted with the poets and artists and intellectuals there, Andrews, too, happened to be in the city. One day he heard of a private gathering of friends where Yeats was to give readings from the English version of Tagore's *Gitanjali*. He managed to be present there and heard Yeats reading many of the poems. Once while taking a class with us Andrews movingly described the strange upheaval of feelings he had experienced that day. I still remember him telling us that after the meeting had come to an end he did not return to where he was living, but spent the whole night ramb-

ling aimlessly about the solitary streets of London, a single line from the recently heard poems humming continuously within his brain like an endless refrain: 'On the seashore of endless worlds children meet'. The wonderful suggestive beauty of the line so haunted his mind that he was wholly unaware when the night ended and the day began—the lips as well as the mind were ceaselessly repeating the line: 'On the seashore of endless worlds children meet'.

He was that day reading Keat's Sonnet on "Chapman's Homer" in our class. When he reached those lines—

'Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
when a new planet swims into his ken',

he suddenly fell silent, looked absently for sometime towards the open fields and then said, "Yes, that is exactly how I felt on that occasion; a new luminary had indeed suddenly swum into my ken—a luminary that has become today the object of the whole world's wonder and admiration".

It was in 1913 that he joined Santiniketan as a permanent member of the staff. Before that he had occasionally visited the place, and even then had been fascinated by the personality of Tagore. Now he felt attracted to the educational institution founded by the Poet. With him came William Pearson, another highly educated young Englishman, an intimate friend of Andrews, who had been working as a resident tutor with a well-to-do family of Delhi. All this happened so long ago that I do not quite remember if the two of them came together to Santiniketan or one came a few days before the other; but in our mind and memory one never appears without the other. That is why perhaps I think they came together.

When Andrews came to stay permanently with us he was given a formal welcome in the Indian manner. Tagore was present, and read out a little poem composed for the occasion. The active life of Andrews as 'the Friend of the Poor' lay still in the future, and the insight of the Poet seems to have been able to visualize it in advance.

At about this time reports began to reach India about the non-violent struggle launched in South Africa by Mahatma Gandhi. They reached Santiniketan as well. Then the day came when, at the request

of Gokhale, and with the approval of Tagore, Andrews and Pearson started for South Africa to help the Mahatma. The students of Santiniketan contributed their mite to the noble cause by sending to South Africa, some money earned by physical labour.

The next memorable incident that I remember is the arrival at Santiniketan of the students of Mahatmaji's Phoenix Ashram. Some days after this came the Mahatma himself and Sreemati Kasturba. But their stay this time lasted for only three or four days; they left in a hurry on receipt of the news of Gokhale's death. A few days after this the Mahatma returned to Santiniketan and remained there for some time, and in that short period brought about an almost revolutionary change in its accustomed way of life. But these are well-known facts and need not be described in detail. Let me confine myself to the Andrews story.

God sends some people to the world as His ambassadors with a roving commission. They are not allowed to settle down in any one place; instead of the three acres of land they are granted the whole world as their homestead. Andrews was such a man. He found a home for himself wherever he went in India—in Santiniketan, in Sabarmati or in Wardha: and it was the same abroad.

He had no fixed dwelling place in Santiniketan, but occupied whichever room happened to be vacant at the moment. These rooms, it should be remembered, were all thatched cottages in those days. But, though he had no fixed abode, he was lucky enough to have acquired a loyal and devoted servant. Often God is kind enough to grant such invaluable attendants to people who are denied the blessings of family life.

The name of this man was Johuri. He was short, deformed and of a very reticent nature. Providing four meals daily for the master was not simply a duty to him: he found real pleasure in the work. The hands of a clock might have learnt punctuality from him.

Every afternoon, at 3 p.m., when we went to have our English class with Andrews, Johuri appeared punctually with his master's meal consisting of a few slices of bread, a pat of butter and an apple. Never did the routine deviate by a single minute. One evening, when Johuri was cooking his master's dinner, a sudden nor'wester blew down the thatched

roof of the cook shed, and Johuri, unable to escape in time, was crushed under it and later died of it.

When our English composition was examined by Andrews, he marked and corrected only a few mistakes. This gave us confidence. But when the task fell to Indian teachers, the result was blank despair for us: the written pages, heavily scored all over with red ink, proclaimed us absolute know-nothings. We ought to have remembered that, while English was the native tongue of the former, the latter had learnt it through grammatical discipline, and so could not but insist on strict observance of the rules of grammar above everything else.

Andrews was a voluminous correspondent and spent almost all his spare time writing letters. Where does he find so many people to write to? We childishly wondered. How could we know that the net of his activities was cast wide over to whole world? Sometimes the letters proved so long that he missed the mail at Santiniketan, and then it became necessary that someone should carry it to Bolpur and post it there. Anyone he met then was sent on the errand. I myself had on several occasions, to serve as his messenger to the Post Office.

By this time our Matriculation Examination was close at hand, and our other teachers advised us to put on a last spurt and work hard at our books just before the examination. The advice of Andrews was just the opposite. "Don't touch your books for about a week before the examination", he said. "That will keep your brains cool and clear and enable you to write better answers." We had never before had such agreeable advice from anyone. Full of joyous reverence for our teacher, we obeyed him to the letter. We packed up all our text-books in a trunk, locked it, and threw the key down into a well, to prevent, once for all, the possibility of any disobedience caused by the trepidations of our apprehensive hearts. The other teachers saw us idling about and predicted disaster. But the results proved them wrong. All of us got through the ordeal.

Many years passed, and Andrews now was a middle-aged person with a gentle, gracious and smiling face that uplifted the spirit of anyone who looked upon it. With increasing age the range of his activities also had widened; much of his time now was spent outside Santiniketan. But whenever he could find some time he would come back to us. The

compass-needle of his life pointed steadily at the two places, Santiniketan and Sabarmati—the two fixed poles of his existence. Today he is well-known to all as “the Friend of the Poor”. No one knows who first gave this appellation to him but whoever he might have been, his was the truest description of Andrews. His kindness and charity, however, were not impersonal in all cases ; individuals often benefited by them. I personally know of more than one person whom he literally picked up from the wayside and sent abroad for higher studies. Later they became well established in life. His charity made no distinction between individuals in distress and depressed groups or communities.

Many have analysed the character of Andrews, and naturally enough, the activities of his life have attracted greater attention than anything else. Most of them have missed the element of contemplative piety that formed part of his being. He could be a valued friend of Gandhi and Tagore because in him the man of piety went hand in hand with the man of action. These two also combined action and piety in themselves, but, while in the one action predominated the other was more specifically a pious devotee.

India is indebted to Andrews in many ways. Even to think of repaying his debts is a kind of ingratitude. He did not give us things that could be repaid, what he gave was himself. Every man great or small has an ego within himself. The lesser the man, the greater the ego ; as a man grows great, the ego gradually shrinks away. The life of Andrews was exceptional because of his total banishment of the ego. And this is the reason why what he gave to us can never be regarded as debts, they were gifts—and the greatest of gifts indeed is the gift of one's self. It is for this precious gift that Andrews will be remembered for ever. And yet, if any one of his achievements is worthy of being specially recognised and remembered, it was the part he played in bringing the two greatest men of the age into closer and more intimate contact with each other.

There was a time when Gandhiji thought that between himself and Tagore there lay a gulf which could not be bridged ; but ultimately he came to realise that no such gulf really existed. Judged from outside, the dissimilarities between the two were indeed endless. It was a superficial view no doubt, but the world at large is apt to accept the super-

ficial view of things as gospel truth. It would, of course, be wholly wrong to think that this view would have prevailed for ever. Both Gandhi and Tagore possessed divine insight ; some time or other they would have surely discovered their fundamental oneness. But this too cannot be denied that to overcome all the outer differences and come closer to each other by themselves would have involved some delay. The friendly personality of Andrews succeeded in no time in sweeping entirely away all the obstacles that lay between the two great figures of the age, enabling them to stand shoulder to shoulder adding one's strength to the other, so that the life-stream of new India might have a stronger and more unobstructed flow. Andrews knew mother tongues of both Gandhi and Tagore and so readily took upon himself the duties of an interpreter between the two. Indeed, the barrier between himself and Tagore which Gandhiji had discovered at first was not really a barrier of alien thoughts or feelings ; it was a barrier of language, that is to say, a barrier caused by different modes of expression. What they needed was an interpreter, in more senses than one. Andrews served as such an interpreter and removed the irrelevant barrier that separated the two. And they too, by their example and friendliness, taught him the supreme lesson of self-sacrifice. This is why, in the records of modern Indian history, three names, wherever they are mentioned, should always be mentioned together—the names of Gandhi, Tagore and Andrews.

C.F. ANDREWS IN THE INDIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

SOMENDRANATH BOSE

When C. F. Andrews came to India in 1904 as a missionary teacher and joined St. Stephen's College in Delhi he believed that the British rule was a benevolent one and it was doing immense good to the people of India. Apart from other influences, he himself had grains of honesty in his nature and that made him question everything that came in his way. With an invincible faith in the love of Christ, with his growing association with eminent Indians like Rabindranath, Gokhale, Gandhiji, Principal Rudra, Lala Munshiram and others he came to realise in no time that the British Government had no real connection with the people it ruled in India. He left St. Stephen's College in 1913 and started a new life much of which was devoted to the cause of the betterment of the workers of India. Though he had connections with the Indian National Congress, he was never a party man. He served the working class more in his personal capacity and would on no account mix up political issues with labour movement. "I have said again and again till I am tired of saying it that I care for humanity, not for politics", he said.

Being widely known as the friend and associate of Gandhiji and Rabindranath his role in the non-co-operation movement and in the running of Santiniketan has drawn popular attention. But he had another sphere of work where he could work independently. Westcott, Bishop of Durham explained to him in his younger days, "Remember, nothing nothing that is truly human can be left outside in Christian faith without destroying the very reason for its existence." Andrews realised from the very beginning of his missionary career that under the veil of spiritual Christianity the complexity arising out of the employer-employee relation could not be avoided. He was a Christian who loved Christ and had sought after him "where live the poorest and lowliest and lost,"

His service to the working class was not politically motivated. As an active worker of the Christian Social Union formed under the leadership of Bishop Westcott he wanted to know the role of Christianity in the struggle between capital and labour. In 1895 he was awarded the Burney Prize at Cambridge for his essay—"The Relation of Christianity to the Conflict between Capital and Labour." From the life of Bishop Westcott he realised that a true Christian could not be a silent spectator of an industrial dispute.

While in Cambridge new adventures in his intellectual life widened the horizon of his mind. He could not accept with clear conscience the Catholic Church of his father. After a long course of doubt, inner conflict and hesitation he joined the Church of England. As a member of this new Church he took an assignment at the Church at Monkwearmouth. Here he had seen a new way of life—a rough and cruel life conspiring to sacrifice human lives to the altar of greed and selfish interests. The machine was running day and night and the people were made to work keeping in tune with it. England was reaping profit all over the world at the cost of its own people. Andrews could see the method of shameless exploitation from close quarters. Later he wrote in 1915 in an article in the *Modern Review*: "In Sunderland I became very soon an out-and-out opponent of the capitalist system".

Though he played a very important role in the Indian political scene he never introduced himself as an adherent of any political party. He had close touch with the National Congress, had even written an history of the party but he was never a Congressman.

He got himself involved in the struggle of Indian workers at a period when there were no organised Trade Unions, no labour laws worth the name to defend the interest of the workers, no sense of united action amongst the workers. Suffering was terrible, living conditions were as bad as possible, the police and the state were only too eager to stand by the employers. Only a man like Andrews with a sterling character, undaunted courage and devotion to a cause could break the ice. But it must not be taken for granted, as has been by most of the historians of Trade Union Movement in India, that he was just a humanitarian moved to work by the sight of the distress of the people. Far from that, Andrews was a keen student of history: he realised as far back as 1920

that fight against capitalism must grow side by side with the fight against imperialism. That these two forces were in fact two facets of the same thing was clear to him. He was writing to Gandhiji in a letter on 9th September 1920, "How far can we accept the Bolshevik idea of a struggle against all forms of Capitalism? Are we out and out against Capitalism in India? Or are we only out and out against Imperialism? Personally I am coming more and more to see that the two are one and the same thing—that Capitalism is the alternative driving force of all this imperialist aggression." He also realised that the Indian struggle was in reality a battle for the liberation of the have-nots and until and unless the poor were raised from their lowly positions Indian independence would be meaningless. When in 1921 he was working for the tea garden labourers at Chandpur he felt that political freedom in itself would be no blessing if the poor continued to suffer. He writes, "It has been my conviction, based on a long experience, that the revolution through which India is passing is not ultimately political. Far down below the turmoil on the surface lies this age long problem of the suffering of the poor. . . . The misery caused by the sense of oppression is the greatest driving force of our own age. It is driving the multitudes of India to revolution."

All this was said and done at a time when our national movement had not yet accepted the working class agitation as a part of its programme. Trade Union Congress was yet to come and most of our leaders excepting Gokhale and Gandhiji showed no interest in the movement of the working class. Even if some others had theoretically accepted the importance of the labour movement, few were prepared to move around the coolie lines, to live and stay there. In those days when labour had not developed any consciousness for organisation outstanding personalities like Andrews had fulfilled the need of the hour. Unfortunately his role as the forerunner of organised Trade Union Movement has seldom been appreciated.

Before Andrews could draw the attention of Rabindranath and Gandhiji his greatness was recognised by another great Indian leader who proved himself a shrewd judge of human character, viz. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Far back in 1909 in a speech delivered to the Students Brotherhood in Bombay Gokhale said about Andrews, "there is no better friend of the Indian students and of Indian aspirations in the country." That

this eulogy was not in vain was borne out later when Andrews was inspired by Gokhale to stand by Gandhiji in South Africa and took up the cause of indentured labour which Gokhale alone championed before him. Andrews realising the greatness of the stand taken by Gokhale regarding the indentured labour took up their cause. He was stirred to the depth of his heart at the plight of the runaway coolie at Phoenix. In Simla he got the copy of the famous book on Fiji by Rev. Burton. While he was studying the situation at Fiji and the lot of the indentured labourers there, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company had sent a deputation to India to counteract Gokhale's anti-indenture campaign.

The Indentured Labour in Fiji and Andrews

For a long time British merchants in different parts of the world were reaping fabulous profits by exploiting Indian labour through the indenture system. In South Africa, Fiji, Trinidad, Jamaica and such other places this system was being pursued without being much noticed and the Indian Freedom Movement in the twenties seemed not to have been aware of its proper nature. Only Gokhale was conscious of the evils of this system and Gandhi in his 'Satyagraha in South Africa' had given a vivid picture of the indentured labour.

The system started working in Natal in the second half of the 19th century. The chief features of the system has been summed up as follows in the Report submitted by Andrews and Pearson in 1915.

1. Recruiting of individuals in India, at the rate of forty women for every hundred men.
2. A five years' term of compulsory state regulated labour.
3. The absence of freedom to choose or to change either employer or employment.
4. A minimum fixed rate of wages which tends to remain stationary even when the price of food rises.

Of all the places where the system of indenture was working Andrews fixed his attention on Fiji. It was a British colony since 1874 with huge factories representing a capital outlay of £3 m. in 1910. Andrews started preparing a case for these labourers and here is a relevant anecdote which should not be missed. One day he had a vision—the face of a runaway

coolie in Natal. The face in the vision turned into the face of Jesus Christ. With a long stare at him the vision faded. Andrews wrote a poem:—

There he crouched
Back and arms scarred, like a hunted thing,
'Terror-stricken.
All within me surged towards him,
While the tears rushed.
Then a change.
Through his eyes I saw Thy glorious face
Ah, the wonder!
Calm, unveiled in deathless beauty,
Lord of sorrow.

In preparing a draft on the condition of the indentured labourers Andrews approached every official who mattered. Being requested by Lord Hardinge he lent his helping hand to the Commerce Department in preparing a despatch to the Secretary of State. This was based on the report of Mr. McNeil I.C.S. and Mr. Chimanlal submitted in July, 1914. Sanitary and medical system, death and suicide rates and other things were considered. Though the joint reporters believed that the advantages of the system far outweighed the disadvantages, the despatch concluded with the following words: "We are of opinion that the moment has now arrived to urge His Majesty's Government to assent to the total abolition of the system of Indian Indentured Labour in the British colonies and thus to remove a social stigma which is deeply resented by educated public opinion in India." (Gazette of India, 18th November 1916)* But no body had any illusion that the recommendations would have any effect on the persons concerned.

To see things for himself Andrews planned a visit to Fiji. He already started his work in India and moved to different recruiting centres. Immediately the hoax in the name of recruitment was clear to him. Then for five weeks he was in Fiji along with Person. He was found every-

* Known as Despatch No. 41 (Emigration)

where—in the coolie barracks, in the planter's office rooms, in the company of the children. Then British planters argued with him in many different ways. Though conceding in some of their points Andrews had the final word with him—Indenture must go. It was a slur on the Indian sense of honour and self-respect. Nothing tangible was achieved, no concessions worth the name could be snatched off from the planters. But the tour had far reaching effects. The labourers for the first time found a friend who was telling them that Indenture must go. The report the two friends prepared, went a long way in eradicating the system once for all.

"The Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji" was published in *Modern Review* 1916. It was not a report drawn up by paid officials. With deep sympathy for the workers and bitter indignation for the exploiters the report dealt in details all the evil aspects of the system. The recruiters were professional cheats deluding poor villagers in accepting offer of jobs in Fiji which they professed to be very lucrative. The recruiting centres were living hells on earth, women were sometimes forcibly taken away. Andrews recorded hundreds of such cases and concluded, "It will be seen from these what an amount of fraud and deception appears to be at work in the process of recruiting. It will be seen also how unscrupulous exploitation dogs the footstep of the illiterate coolie from first to last." While discussing the terms of the contracts which were neither free nor intelligent the report said, "In these cases the new word 'indenture' is nearly equivalent to the old word slavery writ large." The planters and the Fiji Government tried to justify the five years' contract but Andrews writes, "we were understood from the very first, both by the Government and by the planters to be unmovable on that issue."

The calculated practice of maintaining an uneven sex ratio was the most heinous crime done against humanity by the British planters. On March 1914 there were 20062 male indentured labourers as against 8785 females. The Despatch 41 said, the "moral condition in the coolie lines in Fiji at any rate is indescribable". A very large portion of the female population was prostitutes and outcastes. "Choice of partners is thus necessarily limited both as to quantity and quality." The direct immediate consequence was a high suicide rate which was 926 per million in Fiji.

Andrews had to lay down certain conditions in defence of the labourers, which included free civil contracts, recruitment in family units, better housing and sanitary system etc. The report was so thorough that one could not help being convinced of the truth of it. Lord Hardinge was seriously moved. In the Council Madan Mohan Malaviya's motion for abolition of indenture was accepted. On 29th March 1916 Hardinge announced the promise he had obtained from His Majesty's Government of abolishing the system in due course.

Andrews and Pearson had reasons to be happy for the role they played in cleansing God's world of another barbarous system. The report should be looked upon as a noble document of man's fight against slavery. To stir up a popular agitation was not in his grains but he would not let any problem go without a thorough reading of all its possible aspects. The report was dedicated to the memory of Gokhale.

After a tour in Japan with Rabindranath in 1916 Andrews returned to India. Something was brewing in the official circles. Contrary to the previous announcement of Lord Hardinge there was a renewal of the indenture system for another five years. His letter to Lord Chelmsford brought no reply. But when an agreement between the Indian and the Colonial Office was confirmed he hurriedly left Santiniketan to organise a great movement all over the country. Gandhiji and Andrews along with many other leaders were meeting thousands of people daily in all parts of the country. He started a deadly campaign against the Government of India which had fallen back on its own promise. This time he proved himself a master strategist. That the honour of women was at stake in the indenture system was his slogan. Popular sentiment was effectively stirred and Lord Chelmsford announced the cessation of all recruitment as a special war measure.

Not being content with this and foreseeing danger Andrews went to Fiji with no Pearson as companion this time but with Tagore's 'Cycle of Spring' in his pocket. On 25th May Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that the indenture system was gone once for all. But problems were already there in Fiji. There was a sharp rise in the cost of living without any substantial increase in the salary. The Company on the plea of want of ship shirked its responsibility of sending back home those labourers whose term had expired. The master negotiator started

working immediately. With the charm of his personality and doglike tenacity he prevailed upon the planters who had to agree to a wage increase by twenty five per cent. Then he demanded immediate cancellation of all remaining indentures by 1st January 1920. Though he could make the planters agree to this the Fiji Government refused to accept such a proposal. But the undaunted Andrews came back to India and met Lord Montagu, the Secretary of State, with the official medical report of the Government of Fiji. He pointed out that part of the report which said "when one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders the result as regards Syphilis and Gonorrhoea cannot be in doubt". Montagu was impressed and offered Andrews whatever he wanted. Andrews had his demand fulfilled, that from 1st January 1920 there would be no indentured labourer.

Even after this he had been to Fiji to work for the workers. That part of his activities will not come under the scope of this paper. But anyway Fiji and Andrews became closely associated terms. Rabindranath laughed at his Fijitive moods. The people of Fiji called him Deenabandhu and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency said to Andrews' biographers, "The abolition of the Indentured Labour System was Andrews' greatest single service to the Indian people."

Madras Labour Union and Andrews

On 27th April 1920 the Madras Labour Union was formed under the chairmanship of B. P. Wadia. The membership was chiefly drawn from the Carnatic and Buckingham Mills. It was something so strange in those days that Lord Petland the Governor of Madras warned Mr. Wadia that weekly meetings of the workers must stop. Wadia was too cautious to give the millowners and the Government any chance to frustrate the activities of the Union. He would look so timid and apologetic that any trade union volunteer today would call him something like an agent. But in spite of all his prudence and judgment he could not avoid a lockout being declared in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. The employers took the offensive and the Government was on their side. The lockout brought in endless misery. The Company would not listen to any reason and there was a complete deadlock. On the 10th December

in a meeting of the Labour Union Andrews was presented by Mr. Wadia with the following words:—

I have great pleasure in bringing at to-day's meeting our great friend, the friend of the poor of India Mr. C. F. Andrews. He has the courage of our leader Mahatma Gandhi and has been with him a few days ago and brings to you a message from him. Mr. Andrews has great experience of all troubles regarding cooly matters, regarding the affairs of labourers, not only in this country, but of elsewhere also.

Andrews immediately started negotiating. He realised that the lockout was declared to scare the workers and to disband the Union. He also felt that the workers were disciplined and united and there lay his real strength. After some discussion things were settled mostly to the advantage of the workers. It still remains a mystery with what tactics he could do such miracle. The union was officially recognised and it was decided that Andrews would stay for six weeks in a cottage near the Mills. He was given the right to go anywhere in the mills at any time and his door should always be open for the workers to step in and discuss problems. Soon his home turned into the Head Quarters of the Labour Union. In the next meeting Wadia was telling his own men, "if there is any difficulty come to Mr. Andrews and report whatever you have to say to him."

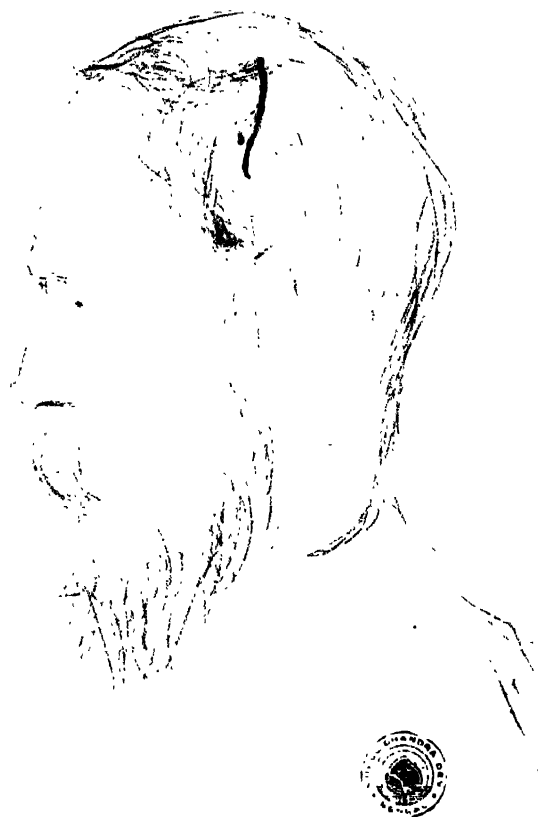
'Begar' or Forced Labour

It was in 1920 that he came to know of forced labour or 'begar' in the hilly regions of U.P. and Rajputana. He was often asked, "Why go out to Fiji to stop indenture labour when there is practically slavery going on in India itself." This time he was writing from Kotgarh...how he had met the villagers and how they thronged around him, how terribly they were suffering. He wrote to Rabindranath, "The conditions of forced labour or begar are such that the villagers are sinking under them into a hopeless slavery. I have seen things now with my own eyes. . . . The time has come to strike at its very root and release these poor people from their cruel bondage. They have flocked around, telling me what

it had meant to them and they have now courage and will act together." Even the Government departments were forcing people to work, particularly in the Postal Department. People were forcibly made to run with Dāk in the cold weather with snows all around and some of them actually died in snow. Andrews organised the villagers to refuse 'begar' in future. The District Commissioner of Kotgarh came to terms with him and assured that there would be no forced labour within six months. If remedy was not coming by that time Andrews threatened to organise a Passive Resistance movement. Here also he was thoroughly successful only through negotiation and it was due to him that the 'begar' system was rooted out in those regions.

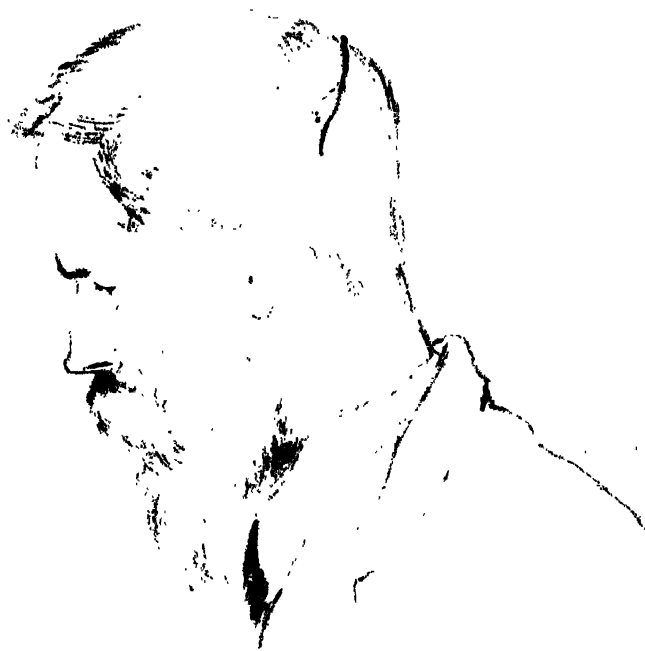
Railway Workmen's Movement in Bengal

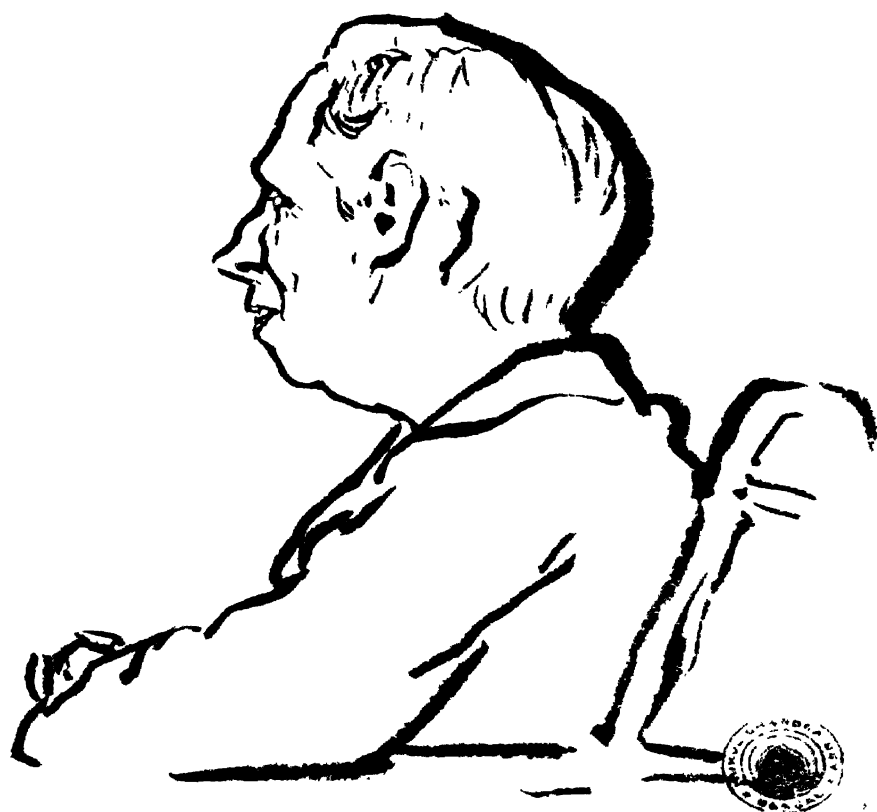
In 1921 there was a series of strikes in the Railway workshops in Bengal. The centres of the movement were Kanchrapara, Lillooah and Howrah. The workers were very shabbily treated by the Railway authorities, with poor pay and no security of service. A muslim worker, Noor Singh, for his active role in Railway Workmen's Association was dismissed at Kanchrapara. A spontaneous strike started at Kanchrapara workshop involving 5000 men. At Lillooah the demand was seventy five percent wage increase and there also a strike was going on for two months. For want of proper guidance the workers in these movements had not always been very peaceful and acts of violence were being reported in the daily press. The leaders however did one good thing. Instead of keeping the whole matter into their own hands they invited Andrews to act as their leader. Andrews, as he had no stake for cheap popularity, could judge things in proper perspective. He knew from experience that a strike meant greater trouble for the strikers than for those against whom the strike was aimed at. The newspaper report on 28th March runs thus "Mr. Andrews of Santiniketan Bolepur met Mr. Kenrick the acting Superintendent of Lillooah workshop to bring about a settlement." A deputation from the workmen waited upon him at Santiniketan and invited him to come to Howrah where the majority of the workmen resided and to stay with them. Andrews could not miss such an opportunity to come close to the working people and possibly it was due to his insistence on being non-violent that the workers agreed to be so.



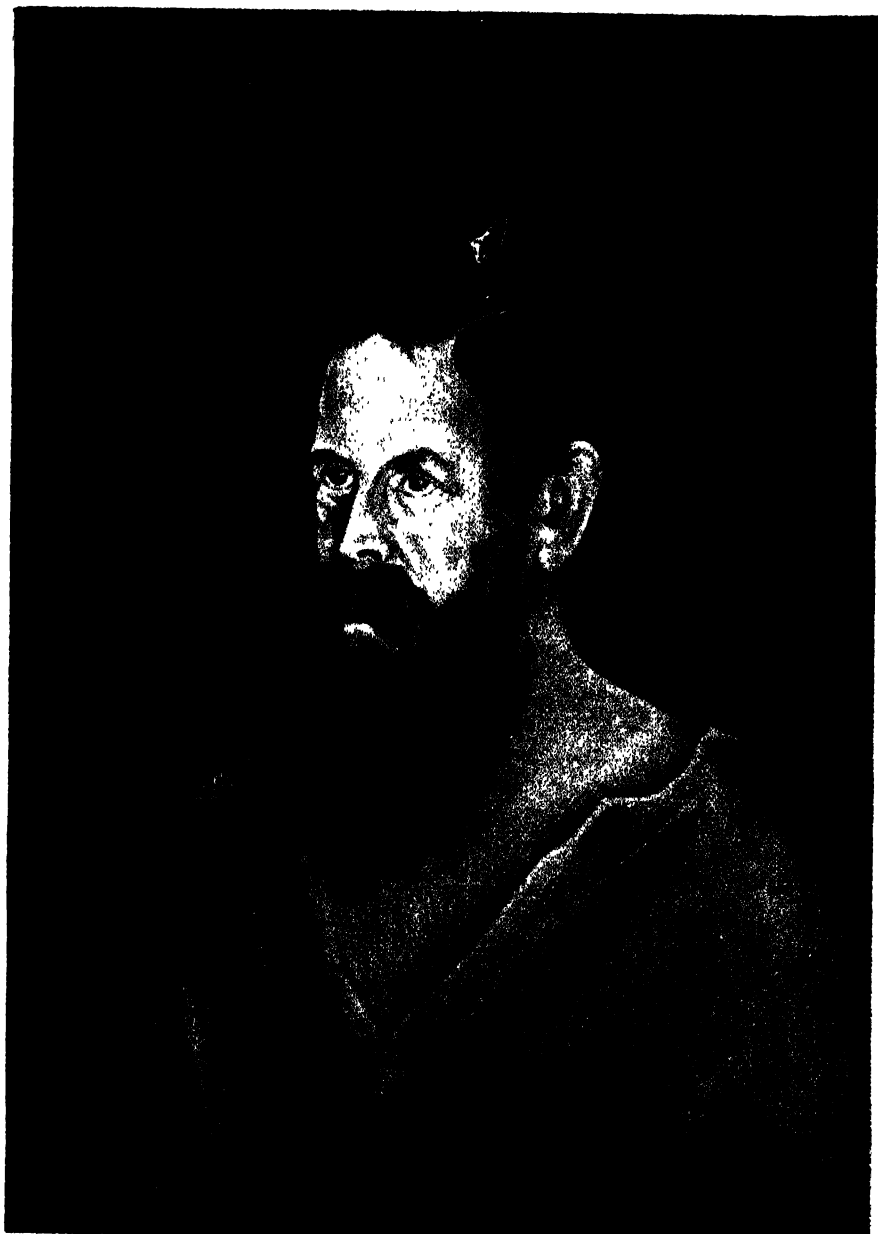
Four Sketches by Mukul Dey
(Courtesy—Molma Roy, Santiniketan)







Portrait of the Artist



C. F. Andrews

by Nandalal Basu

"We should be very thankful if you could represent us, the workmen of the Carriage and Wagon Department, Lillooah to the authorities and come to terms with them, and we agree to abide by the terms which you yourself regard as satisfactory. We also agree to do all in our power to prevent any act of violence taking place while negotiations are proceeding." (Indian Daily News, 29th March 1921).

The greatness of Andrews' personality was once more seen in all its lustre in handling of the situation of the Railway strikes at Howrah and Lillooah. He would like the entire community of workers to practise the teachings of satyagraha in all its dignity. At a public meeting he strongly condemned the violent activities of the workers. Somebody from the audience asked if they could stop anybody intending to go to work. "Mr. Andrews emphatically told them that such an act of theirs was not permissible and he assured them that if such acts were resorted to he would be obliged to drop the whole matter but that he hoped their own good sense would prevail and there would be no evidence of compulsion of any kind." (Indian Daily News, 30th March 1921) Obviously such an attitude would be dubbed as cowardly and treacherous today. But in reality Andrews was demanding more unity in the ranks of the workers which would make such a situation impossible. The strike came to such a point where it was no more possible to prolong it. Andrews was ill and hospitalized. But he had to be brought from the hospital to do some negotiation. With some concessions won and with the assurance that he would try to get some of their demands satisfied the strike was withdrawn. Abdul Hafiz a local leader urged the men to go to work as Mr. Andrews had taken their case in hand. On 2nd April, Indian Daily News wrote in its editorial,—“The Lillooah strikers have returned and the credit belongs to Mr. Andrews. It is a pity he was not asked to intervene earlier.” In the absence of any real sense of trade unionism among the workers who had no well knit organisation and a strike fund to fall back upon Andrews was naturally eager to reach an honourable settlement.

True to the promise to the workers he started working immediately on the memorandum he later submitted to the Railway Board. He bitterly criticised the racial discrimination in Railway service, the complete lack of appreciation of the wants of the people and demanded a

more reasonable attitude from the management. A continuous sense of insecurity and want of justice made the workers desperate but the responsibility was more with the authorities than with any body else. Some more concessions followed and the Railway workers movement in Bengal had a steady beginning under the benevolent leadership of Deenabandhu Andrews.

Worker Refugees at Chandpur

In 1920 the tea industry in Assam was in a very prosperous condition and many agricultural labourers who came from Gorakhpur district were very smoothly absorbed in it. But the boom having passed in 1921 the tea gardens were hard pressed. Retrenchment started. The Assam Government was alarmed at this unusual crisis. The country was surcharged with non-cooperation. The workers in the Chargola valley were receiving two annas a day which was half the usual rate. After long suffering they decided to move out of Assam. The only way out was through Chandpur, where the Railway met the steamer that sails for Goalando. The local Government officers at first facilitated movement of these refugees who could take their onward journey through Chandpur. The planters got alarmed that panic might start a general exodus. They put pressure on the Government. Concessions were stopped and the labourers could not afford to pay the cost of moving in full. All concessions being disallowed, there was a bottleneck at Chandpur. The congestion of refugees led to graver consequences. The Gurkha soldiers at the dead of night on 19th May drove out the refugees from the Railway shed where they had taken shelter. The helpless multitude was brutally attacked. In sun and shower with no shelter overhead they were made to live a most wretched existence for quite some time. Andrews reached Chandpur on 21st May and immediately started collecting money to send home as many people as possible. He went to Darjeeling, tried to persuade the Government people to allow more concessions. When he returned after a few days it was a sea of misery. Hundreds of people were dying. Cholera was taking a heavy toll. It was more a matter for the Health Department just at the moment. Of the Government's attitude Andrews writes:—

“The Tea interest was too strong. The Government's one fear

seemed to be that there might be a fresh exodus of tea garden labour. They were determined to run no risk of that and therefore maintained their policy of refusing to help the refugees forward."

But something more stunning happened. When the local people could scrap up some money to send more workers home a strike was suddenly brought about by the political leaders both on Assam and Bengal Railway and on the river steamers as a protest against the Gurkha outrage and the obstructionist attitude of the Government. These were in origin sympathetic. The declared object was support to the tea labourers. In reality fresh difficulties were brought in. There was a complete bottleneck in the cholera camp at Chandpur, where with heavy monsoons pneumonia broke out to make the cup of misery full.

Andrews hurried to Calcutta. He met different people who were instrumental in causing the strike. He pleaded for the coolies and wanted the strike to be lifted so that the cholera camp might be vacated. Impudent and irresponsible digs were made at him; some one made the unhappy comment, "a few thousand coolies in a cholera camp might be sacrificed if India's three hundred and twenty millions could obtain Swaraj." Andrews went back to Chandpur to work again in the relief camp, comforting and consoling the desolate workers. A steamer had at last been arranged to take many of them home, but this time with a European crew.

The steamship strike continued for six weeks and was at last amicably settled with no retrenchment. But the Railway strike lingered on, with loss of jobs for many. Andrews from the beginning was against the strike. But when the strike started he made it his responsibility to reach honourable settlement as quickly as possible. But in this case he could not influence any of the parties. He says later of this experience:—

Looking back it seems clear to me that the strikes have been disastrous. They have resulted in incalculable loss to the working men without any apparent compensating gain. But viewing the whole matter from a larger aspect, it is clear that these defeats have to be suffered in the onward march of labour towards its goal of economic freedom."

From the Chandpur incident he drew a lesson:—

We can gain a vivid picture of the essential selfishness of a capitalistic system with its absentee directorate remote from the lives of the poor who serve under it. We can watch this system ready to sacrifice human life in a cholera epidemic if only its business interests are preserved.

At the same time he did not fail to notice some peculiar traits of our politicians:—

We can also see the essential selfishness underlying popular politics when the poor are used as pawn in the game and homes and families are wrecked.

What was his special role in this whole incident? Had he been to Chandpur only to serve the refugees in the camps? No, that he would have liked very much to do. But his role was very different.

For my own special work, there has been the need to deal daily and hourly with all the perplexing questions relating to Government and the people. It has been a difficult but necessary task to stand in a certain sense midway between the two parties, seeking to represent the cause of humanity and to make every effort for peace where peace would help forward the refugees most quickly back to their houses. The different strikes and hartals have come thick and fast, each representing the impatience and indignation of the people. It has been necessary for some one to make the official mind understand these indignation, and it has been possible for me in some measure to do so, because I have understood and experienced that indignation so deeply myself.

These quotations are taken from his book 'Oppression of the Poor' which is a history of the Chandpur incident.

One little anecdote may be of interest to the readers. In a meeting where funds were being raised Andrews put off his punjabi and stood barebodied in folded arms. The khadi spun punjabi and his garland were put to auction and they fetched a huge sum for those days—1300 Rupees.

President All India Trade Union Congress

From 1922 Andrews was being more absorbed into political works. He was moving all over India but the workers were never out of his mind. While working for flood relief in North Bengal he met the Jamshedpur labour leader Mr. Sethi. In 1922 when the strike at the Iron & Steel factory fizzled out Sethi invited Andrews. Andrews on behalf of the workers negotiated with the Company. Later he brought Gandhiji to Jamshedpur and became the president of the Jamshedpur Labour Association. When other commitments became pressing he stepped down from the presidentship to make room for Subhas Chandra Bose. At Tundla where a strike of the Railway workers was going on he was required to start a negotiation. He was instrumental in founding the All India Railwaymen's Federation at Allahabad and presided over the North Western Railwaymen's Conference at Lahore. He was twice elected president of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1925 and 1927. He went to Assam for the opium enquiry work, to Matiaburz to get the Fiji refugees settled and along with these tasks organised famine relief in Bengal with Acharya P. C. Roy and flood relief in Orissa with Pandit Gopabandhu Das. In 1928 the A.I.T.U.C. conference was held at Jharia where his message from England was read. He wanted the A.I.T.U.C. to follow an independent line free from the influences of the Amsterdam International and the Moscow sponsored Red International Labour Union. His message was clear and unambiguous—"we should not if we are wise, join either side. We have our own work to do and we had better done it alone."

It is unfortunate that most of the historians of the Trade Union movement in India have failed to appreciate the role of C. F. Andrews in our labour movement. They have casually mentioned him here and there and that gives a totally inadequate picture of his long and sustained service to the cause of the working class in India.

For the rest of his life he turned in to a wandering traveller from corner to corner of this world. He could not keep touch with the day to day movement of the workers in India. But in times of emergency he was never failing. A selfless saint with courage and devotion his life should ever remain a guiding star to all who would work to alleviate the suffering and misery of the people.

C. F. ANDREWS

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY*

My earliest memories of Charles Freer Andrews—C.F.A. as we used to call him in India, are lost in the mists of my early days. Most people of our generation were born, as it were, under the shadow of the three great men of our time in India—Tagore, Gandhi and C. F. Andrews and we already accepted them and felt their nearness and greatness before we knew how really great they were in the eyes of the world. But I still can remember, as in an early dawn, the first glimpses of C. F. Andrews, at Santiniketan. And it was indeed a real dawn because both he and Tagore were very early risers! I think both of them rose from bed before 5 a.m. and we would see them on the terrace having breakfast already at about 5-30 or 6 a.m. at the latest. It was a beautiful sight to see an Englishman from far away across the waters, with a heart of gold, who brought with him the great traditions of his own motherland and religious culture: yes, to see him together with the great poet of India, Tagore, another emblem of what is noble and creative in modern civilization. They were brothers together, which they really were, in spirit, enjoying the early dawn, looking at the trees, the passers-by on the road, thinking on near and distant issues, joking with each other. Both of them incidentally were very fond of fruit, and, in season, of mangoes. You'd see them both, enjoying delicious mangoes which came in basketfuls for Tagore, from all over India, especially Northern India. When I grew up and was married and lived not far from Tagore's house, I saw both of them and quite often Mahatma Gandhi also who came to visit Tagore. C. F. Andrews would be gone for days and months perhaps to offer mediation in labour disputes in far away Fiji or in Zanzibar and what was in those days British Guiana. But he would drop in at Santiniketan, as if from nowhere. With C. F. Andrews, you met him, when you saw

* Revised and rewritten by Amiya Chakravarty from a radio rebroadcast April 22, 1971.

him! You never had any idea as to where he was coming from and when he would go again if the call came. But quietly he would return to the Guest House, Tata Building as we called it then, and be all there. He would knock at the door, ask for a towel or a mosquito net or just greet us. It was an amazing thing to find this man, who was a real pilgrim on earth, turn up again and again back in Santiniketan from his wanderings. Of course he had another shelter in Sevagram where Gandhiji was: he was a very frequent visitor to that ashram of peace and service. In Santiniketan he would teach, work with young students and write—he was always writing. Sitting at his desk on a straight wooden-backed chair with just a pen and pencil and sheets of paper he would finish articles and books and letters—he had the interesting habit of writing a letter and rushing off to the Post Office to drop it in the mail box at once. Fortunately the Post Office was not far away. It was a matter of minutes. He would come back and finish another letter or a couple of letters, and go back to the Post Office. There he was shuttling back and forth, and beaming with excitement, with a depth of benevolence. One never knew what the issue was, till it came quietly, flowing from his talk when he would be with Tagore or with some of us and he would tell us about the plight of Indian immigrants, mainly I think in South Africa, a crucified continent it was, and still is. Africans, to whom the country belongs, and Indians, who became Africans too, would tell him about their deprivations and agonies, which he promptly made his own. Like Gandhiji he was touched to the very depth of his heart with the anguish of other people, but anguish would not become anger, it would become deeper compassion and the spirit of rectification. So, there he was—in Africa perhaps, we would hear, going back and forth from the Indian people to General Smuts, in the South African Government, pleading on behalf of Gandhi's non-violent movement, or interpreting the rights of the people. C.F.A. would bring back to India perhaps a little story of how some law had been modified, some outrageous form of discrimination abolished—it was a long and difficult story of slow progress. Even as a youth I wanted to follow the C. F. Andrews trail, but I was not ready. Later, as it happened, I went to Guiana myself, to Trinidad and also Fiji—and everywhere I picked up the legend, even from people who were largely perhaps illiterate or partly literate, in the forgotten plantations, settle-

ments, and heard about this wonderful "white man", who dressed very much like an Indian, who often lived with them and shared their meals. He was not big in the V.I.P. sense; he was not on the side of the conquerors. And there he was a legendary name and a figure—a man who identified himself with the oppressed, with the simple people on earth. They told us how he was bitten by mosquitoes. He was very sensitive, actually, to any kind of skin irritation or dietic change but this did not stop his arduous work and travel. He would come back to Santiniketan and we knew that he needed rest and time for creative scholarship. But we also found that a life of service suited him: that he was a dauntless fighter for freedom. His heart bled at the sight of women and children in distress; often he would find that in a sugar plantation or in a factory there was no arrangement for any aid or any kind of nursing facilities for would-be mothers, or actual mothers. Sometimes, the children were born in the water-logged areas that formed a part of the sugarcane field. There he was, carrying this burden, serving as it were his own mother or his own sister. That is how he felt. At this point I might inject a fact. I have in my hand a beautiful sermon that he wrote, which he read out in the Christmas service in Santiniketan about his saintly mother. His mother had to keep house, make ends meet for a number of children, and when he saw this tireless patience, this endless goodness, the face of the Madonna in Raphael's picture came to his mind. This was the fount of inspiration—a source that never dried up, of endless gentleness, of quiet kindliness that came from his own childhood home. Strengthened by an inward remembrance he tried to alleviate the distress of people. We know how later on he went to the Punjab to Jallianwala Bagh where literally hundreds of people were shot down by a very irritable and unscrupulous General and his cohorts who served the Empire and betrayed the people. C. F. A. begged on his knees to be allowed to enter the distressed areas, to help and to heal. There was no question of his castigating or attacking one side or the other. Much later he was allowed to visit some of the stricken areas; I know some details from a friend who had gone with him to a little house in a Punjabi village where evidently nobody was to be found; people had either been killed or moved away as homeless refugees. But one man with a broken leg hobbled to the door-step—he had remained hidden. The moment

he saw the "white man" (as they would call any Westerner but particularly any member of the ruling race), he threw up his hands in anguish and said, "Go away, go away". Andrews fell at this man's feet. He said, "Forgive me". He took upon himself all the terrible deeds done, by the Occupation power. But there was a complete identification and he said "Forgive me". He hadn't done anything, but he was trying to bring the healing impact—by atoning for others.

A small incident. I remember in London, where I had come on a visit from Oxford, my sudden plight in a little boarding house. I had a mighty toothache which almost unmanned me. It was evening when doctors were not too easily available or perhaps were unavailable. C. F. Andrews heard of it and came walking from more than half an hour away where he was. He could do very little, but he brought some medicines, he asked me to put a hot compress and he made an appointment for me with a doctor for the next morning. Then to my complete amazement he came back after an hour, making the same trip again to ask how I felt! But this was C. F. Andrews. He couldn't bear to see any person suffering, and his way was that of a 'mother' who might not be able immediately to do something big, but he brought his whole heart and all the will-force that he had: seeing his face, knowing how he had himself suffered and endured, we were able to bear the pain more easily. We know how, encouraged by the Servant of India Society in Poona, established by Gokhale, (the great predecessor and friend of Gandhi) he often went to parts of the world, as I have already mentioned, where Indians were in distress, but his approach was not to take up one particular political line or one side but to act as a contact-point between two sides and this he did above all, when he first discovered Mahatma Gandhi in Africa. The word "discovered" is not misplaced. Gandhi was known in a real way to India, but he had been away so long in South Africa, that he became a kind of distant myth. Andrews heard of him, and went there and found the stature of this man. Well, it is a long story, how he stood by Gandhiji, in weal and woe, in all his crises, intervened with the Government, persuaded the Maharajas and monied people in India to discard their wealth for the welfare of the poor, how he was trying to help literacy, the building of hospitals, the restoration of faith between hostile races and communities.

It was Andrews who really brought Gandhiji and Rabindranath together. Gandhiji as we know had gone to Africa on a temporary legal assignment, but he stayed on because the anguish of Africa became his own. Many years later the time came for Gandhiji to return to India. But where could he stay? C. F. A. consulted Rabindranath. The poet said, "That is no problem, Gandhiji and his friends can come and stay here in Santiniketan"—which they did, for a while. Andrews was the bridge between Tagore and Gandhi, and the reason for the continuing life-friendship between the three has to be written in depth, and in detail. We can but touch upon a few glimmering points in that history. But you know history is often written behind the scenes. Nobody actually will ever know what role C. F. Andrews played in getting India nearer to its political and social freedom. He was in close contact with many friends of his, from his Cambridge time, who had become members of Parliament. He knew several successive Prime Ministers in England, and he would go and almost sit at the doorstep of Downing Street, in London and say Mahatma Gandhi is fasting. He explained to the British authorities what such a fast meant, how for Gandhiji it was both an act of shared suffering when others were in misery: it was also an act of atonement. I remember the great fast Gandhi undertook when not only were Hindus and Muslims divided—they couldn't vote for the same person—but they were being broken into further categories of separate electorates. The Government decided to split up the vote still further along the lines of what they called Scheduled Castes. "I will rather die over it" Gandhiji said, "than allow India to be splintered; voting according to scheduled caste groups would further destroy India." So he started fasting in Poona Jail—Yeravda prison. Rabindranath was then in Santiniketan. He travelled right across India and we all went inside the prison, and found Gandhiji lying on a little cot under a tree. Here was the force which had shaken not only all India, but actually the whole Commonwealth or we might say the whole Empire. And Andrews' adjustive work was, I think, as effective as anybody else's. He went to England and he prevailed upon the British Government to modify and change that completely unacceptable regulation. So Gandhiji's life was saved and India was brought nearer to its political freedom. The intercession of Deenabandhu Andrews was one of the factors that initiated the change. Now, these things and a

hundred other things, can be recovered here and there, in the interstices of diaries and letters, from the memories of people (but so many have gone away), and a picture drawn of a saint in action—a great Christian in an Indian role. His religion was on trial. He had broken away from the missionary field, not because he was against Christianity—but he couldn't subscribe to any institution which was exclusively reserved for divinity. There was divinity there of course, of the highest kind, but C.F.A. had known Gandhi. He had met people of different faiths whose lives proclaimed Truth, who were witnesses to eternal light. Andrews, a great Christian, saw the tapestry of history, of humanity. He could not subscribe, therefore, to one exclusive monopoly in the matter of religion. There is an inward holiness which dwells in the hearts of all people. If you deny it, you are denying religion itself. Well, I won't labour this point, but I would emphasize that C.F.A. was a disciple of Jesus and he didn't find any dichotomy between that position and his devotedness to the Upanishads, or to the sacred scriptures of Islam, or to the great traditions of Judaism and other faiths. This we saw concretised in the final days of his life. He was no longer a missionary, but he was a servant of Christ.

My final experience with C.F.A. belongs to his last days. He was going to Calcutta from Tagore's Santiniketan. It was a winter afternoon in 1940. I was with him in a railroad compartment which was very cold. But Andrews was perspiring and he found it necessary to open a window. I felt something, somewhere was wrong. When we reached Calcutta he said "Good-bye. We shall meet later." I offered to go with him in a taxi but he simply said, "No, we will meet later." And then since I was already a little bit anguished and anxious rather, I enquired about him the same night, but I couldn't trace him. I phoned to the Bishop's House—I phoned to his friends. He had disappeared. I only found after two days that he had gone to a hospital. But the big hospitals would not take in Indians in the main wards. There was a "pauper's" ward in a well-run Europeanized hospital where Indians were allowed, and Andrews had gone to the pauper's ward. Though, of course, as an Englishman, he was eligible anywhere. We found him in a long dormitory lying in agony. He had not only got some kind of stomach infection, I won't go into the medical history, but a very

real attack of prostratic trouble. We met one of the leading surgeons and he said C.F. Andrews had to be operated upon. The next day we went to the hospital. An operation was being readied. We were waiting with pale faces for the result ; one of the doctors said "It's alright, it's a fifty-fifty situation". But you don't take that about a person who was with you a short while ago and was strong and active. "A fifty-fifty chance" became even less in his favour as the hours went. Something had happened and I won't name any person but I have to get it off my chest. Some of the medical authorities there said, "This man goes and lives with the natives, eats food with them, he gets sick, what can we do with a person like him. We can't help." Andrews recovered from a hastily performed operation: they had not, evidently, given due attention to his enfeebled system, to the attack of dysentery which had brought him to the hospital. But we cannot go into this ; certainly we cannot know all the details about arrangements for pre-operative care and diagnosis. He lingered for a while. There was a second operation. We knew that it would perhaps be the last and we sent messages to Gandhiji who came from another part of India in the early dawn. Gandhiji went to his friend's bedside, held the hand of Charlie Andrews and without telling him anything about what he felt, said, "Charlie, you are a naughty boy, why didn't you stay with me longer. But it is alright." As Gandhiji came out of the hospital room, he told us, "Charlie is going to die. He is a Christian, we have to arrange for a funeral in the traditional manner of his faith." Gandhiji had quietly provided for all hospital and other expenses. The evening before Charlie Andrews died—it is too personal, but I will say it. I was standing by him, and he tried to get up. I said "no please", but he insisted, "I must walk a step". I found his weight rather heavy on my shoulders. He walked two or three steps. His face was blue with pain. He suddenly said, "It's nothing, think of how much He suffered". For one second I didn't know what he meant, but then I knew he was comparing his suffering with the Crucifixion of Jesus. And he whispered, "It's nothing". C.F.A. thought of the cross which his Master bore on behalf of all, turning it into a shining cross. All other crosses had become bearable ; C.F.A. felt this as he endured his dying agony. His face was lighted up with serenity. He asked for Rabindranath who was hourly in touch with him. The

poet could not come because he was himself not well, but I think one of the best tributes ever given to Deenabandhu Andrews was the extempore address in Bengali, now translated into English, which Tagore gave on his life-long friendship with this man. At about midnight, C.F. Andrews died—a friend of the poor—Christ's Faithful Apostle—C.F.A. a friend of Gandhi and Rabindranath, and of the countless unknown people, not only of India, but of other countries as well. A man who laid down his life quietly, without martyrdom, without any show of power, on behalf of the millions of human sufferers. Above all, here was a good man, a man who knew happiness, who brought courageous love to many people on earth.

ANDREWS AND OPPRESSION IN THE PUNJAB

MANJULA BOSE

When Charles Freer Andrews came to India in 1904 his sole objective in life was to serve as a Christian missionary. As a member of the Cambridge Mission he started his career with a teaching assignment at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. It was a noble duty to propagate the teachings of Christ in a backward, superstition-ridden country. Equally noble in his eye was the "White Man's burden" of spreading civilisation in an uncivilised land. He had full faith in the benevolent character of British rule which helped to bring in stability and good government amid chaos. Within the short span of a decade, however, he became so thoroughly disenchanted about the role of the Christian missionary that he severed his connection with the Church although he never ceased to be a true Christian in his life. His faith in British rule also was so thoroughly shaken as to make him one of the staunchest advocates of India's demand for freedom.

In both these respects, the remoulding of his outlook was to a large extent due to his close association with different Indian personalities, starting with Sushil Kumar Rudra and ending with Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. His friendship with Sushil Kumar Rudra had helped to engender in him a deep respect for the Indian character. He had met Rabindranath first in 1912 at Rothenstein's place on the occasion of a reading of the English Gitanjali. This meeting had a completely overpowering influence upon him. He had also come close to Gopal Krishna Gokhale at whose insistence he went to South Africa in 1914 to help the Indians in their Satyagraha movement. There he met Mahatma Gandhi and became closely associated with the Satyagraha he had started. All these associations created an all-pervasive love for India and shook off the last remnants of his faith in British justice and good government.

Andrews' change of attitude towards British rule was also due to the fact that as a conscientious Englishman he found it difficult to accept the British policy of repression with equanimity. Because he was an Englishman it pained him all the more to know that the Englishmen were capable of completely inhuman behaviour. It was also a revelation to him that the British nation, whose homeland was traditionally hailed as the birthplace of democracy flouted all democratic ideals on other shores. Thus he became a ceaseless crusader in India's struggle for freedom. The debt of gratitude that India owes to Andrews can never be requited in full. It is not possible to recount his activities fully within the short span of one article. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the role that he played in the context of the Punjab incidents of 1918-19—starting with the proposed Rowlatt Act followed by the Jalianwallabagh massacre and other atrocities, which led Rabindranath to relinquish his knighthood.

At the time of First World War Indian leaders had cooperated with the British Government in their war efforts with the expectation that at the end of the war they would get some amount of self-government as a reward. But this expectation was not fulfilled. On the contrary in 1918 the Government introduced the Rowlatt Bill which included such repressive measures as the power to arrest on mere suspicion and to keep confined without trial. Gandhiji announced a nationwide call for satyagraha. In Delhi Hindus and Muslims rose unitedly under the leadership of the saffron-robed monk Swami Sradhdhananda. In the Punjab passions flared up following the arrest of leaders like Kitchlu and Satyapal. The fury was answered by further measures of oppression being extended to every village and hearth of the province. Men of all ages were tied to posts and publicly flogged on the streets. Unarmed masses were dispersed through machine gunning from aeroplanes.

Very little of all this news at first leaked out from the Punjab. The little that came out, however, was enough to stir Andrews into sharp protest. He had long lost his faith in British imperialism as a means to the welfare of the Indian people. Now he came to identify himself completely with the persecuted and humiliated subject race. His first statement in this connection was that issued on 1st April 1919. In a letter to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* he wrote that his opposition to the

Rowlatt Bill was widely known and his only regret was that he did not make it public before. This regret, he said, was due to the fact that the danger of espionage was becoming greater everyday and if the Rowlatt Bill were enacted it would heighten this danger. "Spying is a ready terror and a dread", he wrote, "but it will become armed with fresh powers of evil, if the Bills are carried into law."

Andrews raised the issue of espionage time and again to caution both the Indians and the English. In the abovementioned letter he also revealed the fact that two boys, who were his own pupils had been set to spy upon him and one of them was caught by him redhanded in the act. Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote a long editorial comment on this letter on 5th April.

The storm and the fury that this letter aroused among the Anglo-Indian community found expression in the pages of The Statesman and Madras Mail. The Statesman expressed doubt about the truth of Andrews' charges. Andrews accepted the challenge and sent his rejoinder in the April 20 issue of the paper. He said that he had been subjected to espionage ever since 1907. One day he caught hold of a man while he was actually searching the papers in his desk. On interrogation the man confessed that he was sent by the police. The then Deputy Commissioner of Police was Mr. Humphreys who was Andrews' contemporary in Cambridge. Andrews immediately sent a messenger to Mr. Humphreys demanding explanation and an apology. The reply was received in the following manner— "A mounted policeman came back post-haste with the following words in a letter— 'My dear Andrews, it's nothing to do with me. It's those d d C. I. D. people! The epithet he used made further apology from himself unnecessary." In his letter Andrews also supplied the information that a pupil of his called Gokulchand was appointed by the police to supply them with other students' handwritings and to act as a spy in other ways. There was another boy whose name Andrews did not reveal because he repented his action.

Next we hear Andrews' voice in a letter published in The Leader and reprinted in the Amrita Bazar Patrika April 25, 1919. This was in response to the news of public whipping on the streets of Lahore. Andrews came to learn of this inhuman persecution from an actual eyewitness' account. It went so much to his heart that he wrote, "I wish



C. F. Andrews in Indian Dress



Andrews, Gandhi and Tagore

to write at once, as one Englishman among many, to express the shame and indignation which such news has brought me." It was one among the forms of punishment devised by the military rulers. According to them the only serious mishap in life was death itself. But that there were other miseries worse than death was beyond their comprehension. Andrews was fully aware of the suffering and humiliation involved. So he demanded of the Viceroy in a letter that he should put an end to this unrighteous behaviour of the military rulers exercising his extraordinary powers.

These bold statements from Andrews so completely won over the Indian people to his side that when the question of sending a representative to the Punjab arose the choice fell on Andrews. Six leading newspapers of the country, viz, The Bengalee, New India, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Hindu, The Leader and The Independent—wrote to the Chief Secretary, Punjab, on 5th April, 1919, "We the undersigned propose to depute Mr. C. F. Andrews to visit the Punjab with a view to report to the Indian Press on condition of affairs in the province with special reference to the administration of Martial Law. In view of the fact that no non-official account of the state of affairs is available, we trust the Punjab Government will accord permission to our representative to visit the province and otherwise give him all necessary facilities to carry out his enquiry. Mr. Andrews will leave for Lahore as soon as your Government gives him permission".

The permission, as one could easily foresee was refused. This refusal was simply a reaction to the affection and confidence that Andrews enjoyed among the Indians. The Government of the Punjab, in reply to the above letter, wrote that permission should be sought from the military authorities. The latter, when approached, gave the following brief reply, "Mr. Andrews is not allowed to enter the Punjab."

That Andrews' character was not tainted by the slightest stain and that the people had unshaking faith in him were forcefully expressed in an editorial, "If everything is well and above board there was not the slightest apprehension from Mr. Andrews. He is an Englishman and his sterling character precludes the possibility that he could give information without authentication".

One ignominious decision taken at this time was that which virtually introduced the Rowlatt Act as a text book for study in schools and colleges of the Punjab. The decision was taken by a resolution passed at a meeting of the Principals of Colleges and Head Masters of high schools in Lahore on April 21, 1919. The meeting was presided over by the Rev. Dr. Ewing, C.I.E. a former Vice-Chancellor of the University. The summary of the resolutions were the following: (1) All College students were to be aware of the main features of the Rowlatt Act. They might be called upon for viva voce examination upon the same. (2) Principals and Head Masters of schools and colleges were to make arrangements for lawyers who would assist the teachers to go through the Act and would explain any difficulty to them. (3) Each Head Master was to make arrangements so that students of the high classes were informed of the main features of the Act. Thus the very same Government which banned all political discussions in schools and colleges, wanted to impart political training of a kind which did not represent the interest or aspiration of the people of the country, but which represented the opinion of the ruling Government.

Here again, it was Andrews who first became vocal in his protest. He got the Risley Circular containing the proposals published in "The Independent" with a sharp criticism of the same. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" which wrote a long editorial on it on 16th May drew attention to the fact of Andrews' being the first person to take note of the Circular and bringing the same before the public eye. "Teachers," he said, "will be forced to teach and students will be forced to learn what they do not believe." He knew that the seeds of suspicion and dishonesty thus sown among the students would have poisonous effects. He was himself a teacher, so he knew how futile might be an effort to impose an opinion upon the students by force. "Lip loyalty," he said, "will grow rank and fatten itself on deception, while heart loyalty will wither away and die for lack of moisture."

On 12th May Andrews had a talk with the Viceroy on the basis of which he concluded that there was no obstacle to his going to the Punjab. Accordingly he hastened towards the province. But his hopes proved false. We come to know from "The Independent" of 14th May that C. F. Andrews had been arrested on 13th May at 9 A.M. He was in-

terrogated upto the 13th afternoon, the interrogator being no one else than a colleague of his at Pembroke. He was packed back to Delhi. By 20th May he had joined Gandhiji at Ahmedabad.

The Punjabis of Calcutta expressed their dissatisfaction over the treatment meted out to Andrews by passing some resolutions at the "Punjab Sabha" on 22nd May. About this the Amrita Bazar Patrika writes—"The third resolution expressed the Sabha's surprise and indignation at the action taken by the authorities in regard to the projected visit of Mr. C. F. Andrews to the Punjab, thus depriving the people of the country of independent reliable information about the state of affairs in the Province."

The next phase of Andrews' activity was concerned with the arrest of Kalinath Roy, the editor of the "Tribune". This paper had a very significant role to play during the critical days of the Punjab. Kalinath Roy had earned everybody's love and respect for his courage and integrity. He was arrested for his allegedly seditious writings. He was ailing then and there was a general feeling of concern that prison life would aggravate his illness. Andrews, therefore, could not keep quiet on the news of his imprisonment. On 22nd June, 1919, Andrews sent a letter to the daily papers to the following effect: "It is impossible to bring back to life those who have been hanged but some at least may be rescued from the living death of transplantation and the sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment for one so weak in health as Mr. Kalinath Roy—the honoured and respected editor of the "Tribune"—might be mitigated if not annulled." He further proposed that the farce that was being enacted in the name of fair trial should be appealed against to the Privy Council. For this purpose he proposed that "in my own name and on my own responsibility"—each newspaper should start a fund to meet the expenses of these appeals. Thus it was that this dedicated soul went on atoning every moment for the sins committed by his countrymen. He had got hold of copies of the judgment passed on Kalinath Roy and had also gone through the articles that led to his indictment. These made him feel that the punishment inflicted on Kalinath Roy was entirely opposed to the English idea of freedom and justice. "I wish to say quite clearly as an Englishman," he writes in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 7th June, 1919, "that the verdict is contrary to all the

ideas which I have cherished from my childhood upward of British freedom and justice." Rabindranath writes to Amal Home in a letter on 27th July... "Sahib is furious! He knows the English will never be able to wipe out the stain of the Punjab incidents". In the July 18 issue of a daily paper Andrews had published an article called "The Punjab Trial". It showed the extent of his anger and sorrow. He said that justice which equated innocent, peace-loving and honest citizens with murderers and criminals was the caricature of justice. "We must therefore go on insisting that a man of such careful regard for editorial honour and probity shall not be stigmatised all the rest of his life as a criminal". He wanted an appeal to be made to the Privy Council not only for the release of Kalinath Roy but also that "the Indian authorities may be prosecuted for wrongfully condemning an innocent man." The article is not a long one, but it shines with the brilliance of plain-spoken truth.

To add insult to injury, in the meantime the Viceroy put forth a call asking the Indian people to take part in the victory celebrations after the First World War. The whole country was to join in the thanks-giving and joyous festivities commemorating the newly earned peace. A strange irony it was that that Punjab whose sons had shed their blood on the battlefield was now to be crushed, beaten and trampled under the British boot. No Indian leader came out with a reply to this cruel joke. Again it was Andrews who replied through a letter in a daily paper of the 8th July. He said that the name of God was to be invoked in the churches over the treaty of peace, sermons were to be preached and hymns sung. But "Will the heart of India respond to this appeal in God's name", more so when it was known how the terms of peace had been negotiated, under the threat of starvation and at the cost of huge indemnities which would mean prolonged toil, want and suffering for the vanquished? "We are ready in India to bow down to moral supremacy, but not to this disguised military domination, still recent--in the Punjab". Thus, because Andrews felt himself as one with the Indian people, he could conceive clearly how difficult it was for the Indians to participate in the commemoration of this mockery of peace.

Before we finish this article, we would like to cite an incident which seems stranger than fiction although it is a fact. It was stated in writing by the late Gurdial Mallik who was a co-worker of Andrews as also by

Andrews himself. Andrews was, at that time, moving about from village to village in the Punjab for preparing a report to be submitted to the Hunter Commission on behalf of the Congress. In a village near Gujranwala they came into contact with a man who was a war-veteran. This man had been a loyal subject all his life and had distinguished himself for his courage in the army. Telegraph wires had been cut by some people in the village. This soldier himself was innocent but had been arrested on mere suspicion and then publicly flogged. This insult had upset him so much that he was almost out of his mind. His heart became full of hatred for the British. When Andrews went to meet him he turned his face away and said, "Go away. I have nothing to do with you. I have had enough of sahibs". Andrews' heart was filled with unspeakable pain. Tears welled up in his eyes. He embraced the man in deep sympathy and wanted to listen to his tale of woe. The man stripped off his shirt and showed his naked back with the marks of flogging. Andrews was too stunned to speak. There was no language to console the suffering man. Collecting himself with great effort he said, "Guru Nanak, in the Granth Sahib, enjoins on us forgiveness. I want you to forgive me. The sin is mine because it is my countrymen's". With these words he knelt down and touched the man's feet. The overwhelmed soldier sprung up in awe. "No, no, you must not do that!" he said. His cheeks were flooded with tears, tears of relief that washed away his misery. With a light heart he said, "All my bitterness for the last six months has been wiped away in tears of happiness today. I have no complaint now. I am happy".

Gurdial Mallik was watching the spectacle from a distance. All on a sudden it flashed on him that the initials of Andrews' name—C. F. A.—could very justifiably imply for him one name viz., Christ's Faithful Apostle. Indeed one could give no better description of Andrews than these words did.

Thus it was that C. F. Andrews more than compensated the wrongs done by his countrymen. In doing so he often went to such lengths as no Indian leader went. His was the sole first voice of protest, at least over the oppression in the Punjab. Indians must appreciate fully this side of his life and activity, otherwise their debt of gratitude to Andrews will not be acknowledged in full.

GANDHIJI AND ANDREWS

DEBABRATA PALIT

Gandhiji had not become 'Mahatma' when Andrews first came to know him. Those who knew him in the country were also few. But Andrews recognised his greatness forthwith. When, at the instance of Gokhale, Andrews landed in South Africa on January 1, 1914, and made enquiries from his friend Polak, the latter pointed to a frail Indian and said it was M. K. Gandhi. Stunning everybody present at the landing jetty, Andrews paid his respects to Gandhiji by touching his feet then and there. Thoughtful, emotional Andrews always bowed to those he considered superior to him. He made no distinction of race or creed nor did geographical barriers stand in the way. He was out to discover godliness in man.

From the first meeting till death, Andrews became more and more intimate with Gandhiji everyday. He got his inspiration and strength from Gurudev and Gandhiji, and he acknowledged this even in his death-bed. In India's struggle for independence, Andrews was a close associate of Gandhiji and quite often accompanied him in his parleys with the Government. But this was not a friendship of total surrender. There were many among Gandhiji's followers who gave him unquestioned obedience and eventually got elevated to leadership. Gandhiji had that towering personality which made people rally behind him mechanically. Andrews was almost a constant companion of Gandhiji for long twenty-six years but he never lost his own identity. This was because he was cast in a different mould. He would not commit himself till there was an answer to his satisfaction. Andrews had his conflicts with Gandhiji and often crossed swords with him but almost instantly he would convey to Gandhiji his great esteem for him.

When he went to South Africa in 1914, his young friend Pearson accompanied him and he carried with him pleasant memories of Rabindranath and Santiniketan. Rabindranath had given him a letter

on the fight for freedom in South Africa. Gandhiji appreciated the affection of his two new friends. Those were days of hectic activities but whenever there was some respite, they would go to the roof and sit under the star-studded sky. Mostly, they talked about Santiniketan. The profound respect that these two friends had for Rabindranath used to surprise him. Often Andrews mentioned to him two other persons. They were Principal Sushil Kumar Rudra of the St. Stephen's College and Lala Munshiram. Jonkingly, Gandhiji would refer to Rabindranath, Lala Munshiram and Sushil Rudra as Andrews' Trinity.

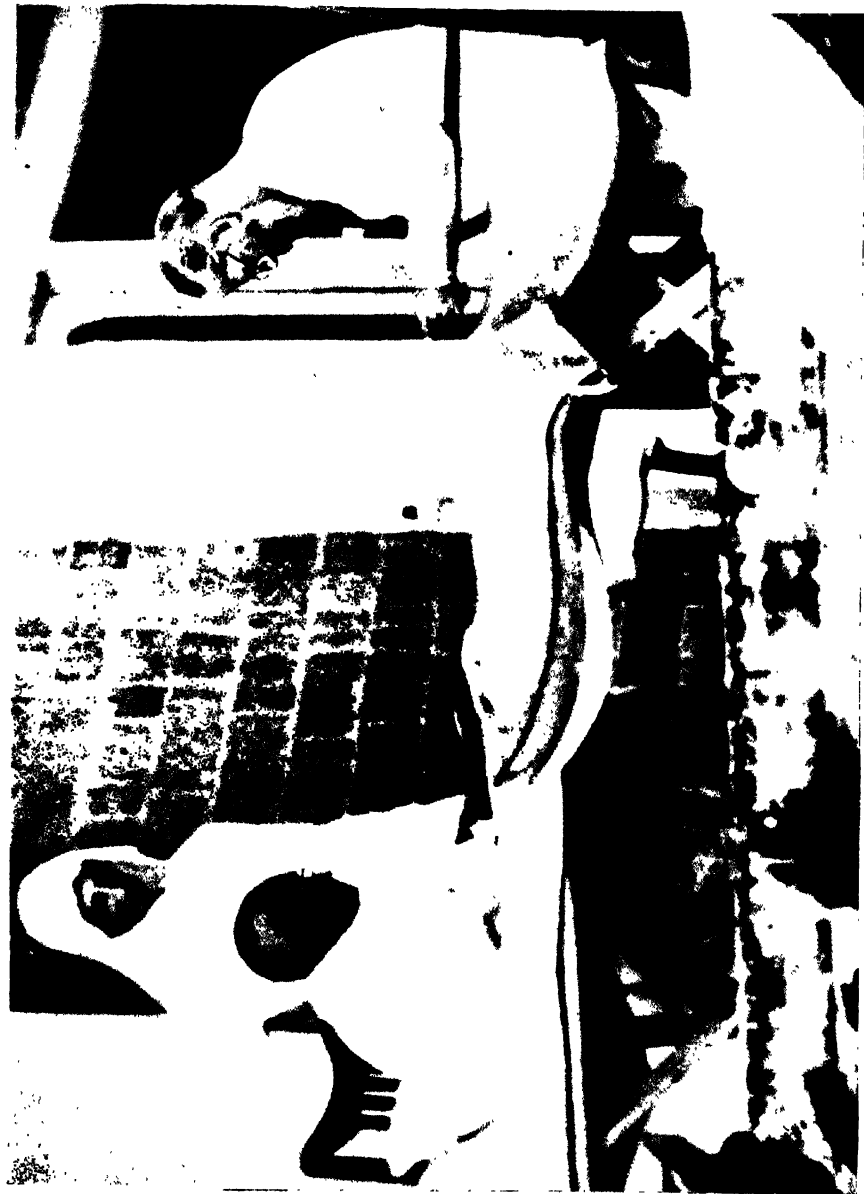
Andrews wasted no time in starting his work in South Africa. His endeavour was to bring about a rapprochement between Gandhiji and General Smuts. The Indians in South Africa had a long list of grievances. General Smuts set up a Commission under Justice Solomon to go into those grievances. As the Indians had no representation on the Commission, Gandhiji decided not to appear before it. A meeting was held to discuss the issue where Andrews was present. He entirely agreed with Gandhiji that it was a question of prestige for India. He was immensely moved and stirred up. He said, "I am sure you are right to stand out. There must be no sacrifice of honour". Andrews appreciated the great mental agony of the humiliated leader.

Andrews realised that an honourable settlement would not be possible unless a meeting could be arranged between Gandhiji and Smuts. He set about the task in right earnest. Both Gandhiji and Smuts were strong men and none would give up his own view point. Chances of a settlement seemed remote. The great humanist, Andrews, came between them and made a last bid. His effort met with success and an adjustment was at last found possible. Andrews has written, "That night we talked till 1 a.m. Finally, an alternative phrase occurred to me. The difference seemed to be very slight, but Gandhi found it acceptable. 'If General Smuts will accept your phrase' he said, as we went to bed, 'then everything is finished'. In the morning, saying nothing to Gandhi, I went to Smuts and at eight o'clock found him alone. I told him of Gandhi's personal anxiety, and showed him the suggested wording. 'I don't mind a bit', he said 'it makes no difference so far as I am concerned.' 'Would you make the change and sign it on the spot?' 'Certainly'. (From the unpublished memoirs quoted in Chaturvedi's biography of Andrews.)

The fellowship was not confined only to external activities. A communion of soul was also growing. An account of this is available in Andrews' own letters to Rabindranath. On January 6, 1914, Andrews wrote that the English people in South Africa would never forgive him, for he had touched the feet of an Asiatic. It was beyond their comprehension that an Englishman could stoop to an Asiatic's feet. But he reminded them that Christ, St. Paul and St. John were also Asiatics. The Englishmen said, "We don't do these things in this country." Andrews' reply was, "I am very sorry but I *do* these things." In these very letters he wrote to Rabindranath that he was realising his mental proximity to Gandhiji. Gandhiji's struggle for freedom had some special characteristics and he was greatly moved by them. He wrote to Rabindranath, "I came just when deadlock was greatest and the situation was most critical. I had no difficulty in seeing from the first Mr. Gandhi's position and accepting it: for in principle it is essentially yours and Mahatmaji's-- a true independence, a reliance upon spiritual force, a fearless courage in the face of temporal power and withal a deep and burning charity for all men". (January 6, 1914).

Andrews always looked upon Gandhiji as a colleague. He was emotionally attached to him but was never carried away. He felt that Gandhiji's movement in South Africa was not having the same impact as 'Gitanjali' had in the West. He wrote in another letter—"He is not cutting deep enough, but is dealing with surface symptoms. Your own book 'Gitanjali' has done more in a few months to change the European perspective throughout the world than all these years of embittered political struggle." (February 12, 1914).

The merits and demerits of the West had both found expression in Gandhiji. Not only had he the restlessness of the West but he was also endowed with the indomitable courage to translate every impulse into action. Everyday they came closer and this was no ordinary friendship. Genuineness of feeling and a rare frankness gave it a unique character. In course of their work, they often opposed each other. One would question the other's action. But, till the last day, the great love they had for each other was never at a low ebb. In a letter, Andrews has given a beautiful account of how Gandhiji came to love him as a personal friend, how his affection crossed the frontiers of public work



C. F. Andrews with Gandhiji and Mira Behn



C. F. Andrews with Pearson and Gandhiji in Africa

and permeated his life. At the initial stage, Gandhiji did not reciprocate the ardent love Andrews had for him. His love was not that all-pervading. He wrote to Rabindranath—" He is all that we in India felt him to be and more besides, a saint of the heroic type, a saint of action rather than of contemplation, essentially Indian in his inner life though touched by the activity of the West. Everyday I see more and more the magnificent heroism of his position and the originality of his mind and the tenderness of his nature.

"But I did expect with all my overflowing love of India to find that love running freely between us. It was done so to a certain extent, but not as it did at the Ashrama or Bengal. . . ."

In very dark days, at moments of danger, Gandhiji got Andrews as his companion. In weal and woe, in hopes and frustrations the acquaintance of the earlier period developed into a unique friendship. Andrews was not only a soldier of Gandhiji's struggle but a spokesman too.

In March, 1914, Andrews was in England. A great conflict within was tormenting him. He could not decide what would be his future attitude to Christianity. The English papers were accusing him of having undue affinity with Hinduism. The Chief of the Delhi Mission, Allnutt had called for a written statement from Andrews about his religious faith. He had then already taken a decision to leave the St. Stephen's College and go to Bolpur. By that time, Andrews had developed an attitude that he would carry on his own programme of work, no matter what others thought about him. But he was not making any public statement, for any such action would only aggravate the problem. He wrote to Gandhiji—"I must be quiet. No man's soul can grow amid perpetual speaking and mine least of all. It is very doubtful also how much I shall write. If you were in India to revise, the matter would be different. But without you I feel, I might say something foolish and in any case self-restraint is always wholesome." (April 13, 1914).

As a near and dear one, Andrews informed Gandhiji of his conflict with the Christian Church. The then Metropolitan, Dr. Lefroy could not approve of Andrews' plan to join the Bolpur Ashram. Giving all details, Andrews wrote further to Gandhiji, "One thing is perfectly clear, the call has come to me to follow Christ, simply and truly in this summons to Bolpur which has come to me. I cannot put any fear of man

or desire of the good opinion of man in place of that call. If men in authority take my clergyman's orders away from me, I must all the more closely follow Christ himself." In this matter, Andrews opened his heart only to two persons. They were Rabindranath and Gandhiji.

To initiate any discussion on the other aspects of Gandhi-Andrews relations, the first thing one should mention is that, though a foreigner, it was Andrews who introduced three great Indians to Gandhiji. Not only Rabindranath but Sushil Rudra and Lala Munshiram also came in contact with Gandhiji through Andrews. It was at the instance of Andrews that Rabindranath accommodated in his Ashram the boys sent by Gandhiji. During his visits to Delhi, Gandhiji would invariably put up with Sushil Rudra. Lala Munshiram later became known as Swami Sraddhananda. After his death, Gandhiji wrote—"Andrews was the link between us. He was anxious that whenever I returned home, I should make the acquaintance of that I used to call his Trinity, the Poet, Principal Rudra and Mahatma Munshiram."

From 1914 to 1917, Andrews' activities were mostly confined to removal of the Indentured Labour system. He also spent some time travelling with the Poet in Japan. His association with Gandhiji was not very close during this period. Till then the people in India were not fully aware of the exact form and efficacy of Gandhiji's movement but it was clear to them that he had faith only in moral strength and non-violence.

The decision of the British Government in 1915 to award the Kaiser-I-Hind Medal to Gandhiji put him in a very awkward position. Gandhiji was leading a movement against the British Government and hence it was naturally difficult for him to respond to the offer. Andrews was aware of the difficulty. He tried to prevail upon Gandhiji by citing the instance of Rabindranath. He told Gandhiji that the considerations that had prompted Rabindranath to accept Knighthood applied in his case also. The indirect support he had extended to the struggle of the Indians in South Africa and the speech he had delivered at Madras had caused Lord Hardinge considerable embarrassment in Government quarters. Hardinge had a lot of sympathy for the Indians, and Andrews pointed out that it would be really sad if he was refused by the Indian leaders themselves. In a letter written to Gandhiji on June 10, 1915, Andrews

quoted these words of Rabindranath—"I don't like it at all as in a sense it hampers my freedom and independence, but it is Lord Hardinge's personal wish personally expressed and I feel such respect for him as a man and as one who has suffered so much for India, that I cannot refuse him however much I might wish for my own reasons to do so." Along with this quotation he wrote—"I think you will feel a happiness in knowing that you have repaid by your acceptance something of all he did and suffered for the South African Indians by his brave Madras speech and in other ways."

Eventually Gandhiji accepted the Kaiser-I-Hind Medal. This role of Andrews behind the screen shows how much they influenced each other at times.

Their concern for each other was not confined to political association only. The affection extended to their personal life also. If news reached Andrews that Gandhiji had fallen ill, there would be no end to his anxiety. He would send telegrams and make frantic enquiries about his health. Gandhiji jokingly used to call this the 'anxiety complex'. Andrews wrote on August 23, 1917—"I was shocked to find in the Statesman special telegram this morning that news had reached Bombay that you had been "very seriously ill for some days." I am waiting every hour for the news in reply to the telegram I have sent and I pray and trust that it may not be so serious as the newspaper report made out. It has given me a terrible anxiety and I am thinking and thinking what can be the cause, some bad village water I am afraid ; and then what is it—is it typhoid?"

With great fondness, he wrote on another occasion—"And now dearest Mohan, do get well very quickly and day by day and at night also I shall be thinking of you."

In 1919, came the Jallianwalabagh episode. The savage persecution perpetrated by his own countrymen greatly upset Andrews. He rushed to Punjab where the Police placed him under arrest. He was sent to Delhi and from there he went to Gandhiji. Andrews' actions in connection with the Jallianwalabagh killing were not, however, influenced by Gandhiji in any way.

In May 1918, Gandhiji went to Delhi to attend the Imperial War Conference. He was committed to collecting men for the British army.

Andrews could not approve of this decision of Gandhiji. He could not appreciate how Gandhiji could preach non-violence and, at the same time, ask the people to join the British army to participate in the war. All along he was opposed to the idea. Later he had to repent that he did not exert his influence in persuading Gandhiji to give up the plan. Rabindranath's niece, Sarala Devi was also quite enthusiastic about recruiting soldiers. Andrews' feelings were so strong that he told Gandhiji that both he (Gandhiji) and Sarala Devi would have to atone for this ill-advised mission and he himself would also not be spared, for he had failed to wean Gandhiji away from the project. Dwijendranath Tagore was also a great admirer of Gandhiji. Andrews read out to him a message from Rabindranath in which the latter had expressed his resentment over this idea of recruiting soldiers for the British army. Dwijendranath admitted it was a sin. The text of the message, which Andrews sent to Gandhiji also, was as follows:—

“Not very long ago we said to our rulers, ‘we are willing to sacrifice our principle and persuade our men to join in a battle about whose merit they had not the least notion ; only, in exchange, we shall claim your favour at the end of it. It was pitifully weak, it was sinful. And now we must acknowledge our responsibility to the extent of our late effort at recruiting for turning our men into a mercenary horde, drenching the soil of Asia with brothers’ blood for the sake of the self-aggrandisement of a people wallowing in the mire of imperialism.”

Though he had no responsibility in the matter, he shared the blame with Gandhiji. To quote him : “I know we were blind, but our blindness was almost wilful blindness.”

Gandhiji's leadership in the political field of the country was established in 1921. The Congress had then given a call for burning foreign cloth. The people started burning cloth with great enthusiasm. Both Andrews and Rabindranath were against this. Without affecting his personal relation with Gandhiji a bit, Andrews raised his voice of protest. Greatly pained, he wrote to Gandhiji—“The picture of your lighting that great pile of beautiful and delicate fabrics shocked me intensely do you know I almost fear now to wear the Khaddar that you have given me lest I should appear to be judging other people as a Pharisee would, saying “I am holier than thou”. I never felt like this before now

my mind cries out to you, that you are doing something violent, distorted, unnatural. . . . Do tell what you mean. What you said in Young India about burning did not convince me a bit." One could not have registered his protest in a more dignified way. The thought that a narrow nationalistic sentiment was engulfing India pained Andrews and the letter would show how great his affliction was.

On his part, Gandhiji also gave due consideration to the views of this aggrieved friend of his. In the edition of Young India dated September 1, 1921, Gandhiji published the letter written by Andrews. No clipping was done. Below the letter, his comments were—"It is so like him. Whenever he feels hurt over anything I have done (and this is by no means the first such occasion), he deluges me with letters waiting for an answer. For it is love speaking to love, not arguing."

He also gave a reply but Andrews was not satisfied. When Andrews went to attend the Ahmedabad Congress in 1921, he was not in his usual 'Khadi'. He had put on a suit tailored out of imported stuff. In his address, he explained why he had not come in his usual dress.

There were various other spheres where Andrews differed from Gandhiji. He was not one to toe Gandhiji's line blindly and the latter also never expected such thoughtless support from him. Their friendship grew in a field where intellect found free play.

On September 4, 1920, Andrews wrote a strange letter to Gandhiji. In that letter, he said that he could not share Gandhiji's views on three different occasions. He wrote—"Three times over I have felt, with all the pain it meant to me, that you were going wrong. First of all, in telling people to take the Satyagraha vow to break any law that a Committee decided should be broken. That seemed wrong to me in principle, though I blessed the Satyagraha movement. The one before that (I have got out of order) was when you preached as a war recruiter getting men to submit to shed blood. The third is this present issue where you have pledged yourself to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and not allowed a place for true Arab independence. What I can truly say is that I am with you as to non-co-operation in principle." There was another point also on which Andrews could not agree with Gandhiji since 1920. His conception of the nature of independence the people should demand was different from that of Gandhiji. It is not known to many that it was

C. F. Andrews who first conceived of complete independence and not Jawaharlal or Subhas Chandra. He had been pleading for complete independence for a long time though the idea met with little support from the Indian leaders. As for Gandhiji, he also sponsored the idea much later. The exchange of views between Gandhiji and Andrews on these issues could be discussed in greater detail.

Andrews was not in favour of taking vows. This prevented free thinking and even in changed circumstances, one found it difficult to accept that his original stand was wrong. A feeling of pride that he had taken an irrevocable decision invariably obsessed such a person. There was some compulsion involved. Even if a vow was not backed by reason, one could not deviate from it for fear of public criticism. Gandhiji would himself take vows from time to time and would support if others also followed suit. Andrews' view was that, by taking a vow, a man only curbed his mental freedom though such a course might at times be politically expedient. Quite often he used to say this. Rabindranath was his inspiration in the matter. In a letter addressed to Gandhiji on May 8, 1919, he wrote—"You will see why the poet and I never take vows. Because we are always breaking them."

But these personal comments were not all. He wrote another letter where he dealt with the subject in detail. He quoted Christ, made references to the Ramayana and cited examples from his own experience. The letter which blends deep erudition, expansive understanding and rare emotional depth has found a permanent place in literature. On a Good Friday, Andrews wrote to Gandhiji that he deprecated his cult of 'taking vows'. He said that he had no hesitation in making this comment, for he knew Gandhiji would value the same. He added that he had selected a Good Friday for communicating his feelings as, he felt, no other day was more suitable for the purpose. "This position which had become such a ruling force with you appears to me to have a strength of its own, but not that of highest truth. It appears to me on a lower plane, not a higher."

Andrews then went on to narrate his own experience. He recounted how he took oath as a priest of the Anglican Church and had to renounce the faith within a period of only twenty years. He also related how by swearing allegiance to a particular creed in his youth, he subjected him-

self to infinite misery in his later years. Simultaneously, he quoted from the "Sermon on the Mount"—"Swear not at all. Let your communication be 'Yea, Yea' and 'Nay, Nay' for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." The idea of taking vows did not find favour with Jesus as he desired that one should accept the future with an open mind.

In support of his contention, Andrews has referred to two particular stories in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I am quoting from Andrews' own writing—"I believe the story of Rama has done harm in India by overemphasising this matter of vow keeping at all costs. There is a marvellous passage in the Mahabharata which rises higher than the Ramayana in this respect. Somaka has actually sacrificed his son at the command of the Brahman Ritwik in order to keep his own Kshattriya vow. After death King Dharma is ready to lift Somaka off, but he goes down to hell of his own free choice. "No" he says to Dharma. "I must suffer in here for this."

Let us pass on to another point of disagreement with Gandhiji. It is Khilafat. Not many today are aware of the real issue. I would recall a few important points. In January, 1918, Lloyd George gave an assurance to the Indian muslims that the political and religious supremacy of the Turkish Sultan would be recognised at the end of the war. The Turkish Sultan was the accredited leader of the Islamic world, the Khalifa.

In the first world war, Turkey took the side of Germany. Though the Turkish empire had lost much of its pristine glory, it retained its influence over many states. But Turkey had to concede defeat and the treaty that was executed on conclusion of the war stripped it of all its possessions. There was practically nothing left of its empire. It was decided not to recognise the Sultan as the Khalifa.

This decision of the British Government greatly offended the muslims in India. They never expected that the Government would go back on its word. Gandhiji took their cause and decided that a Non-Cooperation movement should be started by the Congress. The obvious intention was to reduce the ill-feelings between the Hindus and Muslims in India by standing behind the latter in their days of distress.

Andrews could not agree with Gandhiji on this point. He did not see how one could support Turkey in its effort to retain its empire when India was fighting for freedom. He started writing to Gandhiji against

this decision of his. His contention was that only places where the Turkish people were in a majority should remain under Turkey—the claim for the old Ottoman Empire was totally unjustified. If Turkey was not prepared to liberate Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia etc., there was no reason why the Hindus and Christians should join the Khilafat movement. His incontrovertible argument was—“Those lands have been won by the sword and lost by sword. They have never been populated by the Turks.” (November 16, 1919).

Andrews was greatly distressed that he failed to convince Gandhiji. About a year later, he wrote—“One of the greatest pains of my life has been . . . that I have not been able to convince you of your own false position on that one most vital point.” (September 4, 1920). The Khilafat figured in all his letters written at that time. Gandhiji's enthusiasm for the Khilafat movement had no meaning to Andrews. He had prepared himself for a life-long crusade against imperialism. There was no scope for any compromise in the matter. Not even with Gandhiji. The position was totally unacceptable to Andrews that there would be a revival of the Turkish Empire, the Arab countries would be subordinate to it and still India would court Turkey. Here mutual friendship did not come in the way ; their intimacy remained unaffected. Each accepted the other's right to freedom of opinion.

The other major issue on which also they had difference of opinion was the independence of India. Right from 1920, Andrews had been demanding the country's independence and he was not prepared to make any adjustment on this point. His contention was that the experiment with self-government might prove a failure, but the country would prefer even such a position to fetters of foreign yoke. He said, “What ‘frightens’ me to-day (I choose the word carefully) is this hardening of the “white race” idea everywhere among the English all over the world. India cannot remain within the British Empire with that position hardening and stiffening like ice all around her till she is stiff and dead with cold. We must get outside and feel ourselves free men or alas perish.” (September 4, 1920).

In the meantime, the war had ended and Egypt had been given self-government. To Andrews, this event had a special significance and he started looking at things in a different perspective. He felt that India

had an equal claim to self-government. The Khilafat ceased to be of any importance to him. Independence no longer seemed to him to be a theoretical proposition only and he became convinced that time had come when the country should press its demand. No other call interested Andrews. He wrote—"Does not this put everything in a new perspective? . . . What I want to know from you is, does not this greater claim for Independence (on the Egyptian model) now come uppermost and include the lesser claims for Punjab, Khilafat etc?"

Till then, Gandhiji had not thought of going out of the British Empire. Andrews asserted that there could be only one definition of Independence. It brooked no qualification. The phrase 'either within or without the Empire' was discarded by him. He firmly said, "My own proposal to this special Congress would be, that we should all unitedly claim at the Congress, independence on the Egyptian model with the definite threat of Non Co-operation if it is not allowed."

Independence of the country was then his sole preoccupation. But complete independence shorn of all connections with the British Government was still not in Gandhiji's mind. In a letter written on November 23, 1920, he said, "In its present condition it is (the English connection) hateful. But I am not as yet sure that it must be ended at any cost . . . The connection must end on the clearest possible proof that the English have hopelessly failed to realise the first principle of religion, namely brotherhood of men." It is surprising that even after the Jallianwalabagh episode, Gandhiji was not convinced that the Englishmen had little respect for brotherhood of men. No wonder Andrews would hold diametrically different views. He did not hesitate to say that Gandhiji was raising false hopes by promising Swaraj within a year. He knew that this pious wish was not going to be fulfilled. He wrote to Ramananda Chatterjee—"I agree with you entirely that raising false hopes by promising Swaraj within a year is wrong. I don't like it. I have told this to Mahatmaji."

There were other points of disagreement also. When during the Non Co-operation movement, call was given to the students to come out of the schools and colleges, Andrews could not extend his whole-hearted support. Had every adult left his own work and participated in the movement, the matter would have been different. But the lawyer

leaders of the Congress had passed the entire brunt on to the students. In the same letter, Andrews wrote to Ramananda Chatterjee—"The lawyers who framed the Congress resolution let themselves off very lightly and then the brunt fell on the students."

Andrews informed Gandhiji that the initial exuberance had subsided and that the National College of Jiten Banerjee was on its last legs (Letter of February 19, 1921). He wrote to him that the 'Charkha' had no attraction in Bengal nor Hindusthani any appeal. He also recalled the lofty ideals that were placed before the youth at the Nagpur Congress. They were asked to leave their schools and colleges and join the National College if they wanted to continue their studies. They were called upon to work for national education or to dedicate themselves to the cause of the poor and the down-trodden. Andrews held high hopes but unfortunately nothing materialised. He wrote—"I went to C. R. Das about village work and he was doubtful. I do not see any absolutely clear lead from you, although I know that your heart is there, far far deeper than my own. I only hear you talk of spinning and Hindusthani."

Birth-control was another issue on which Andrews and Gandhi held different views. Gandhiji did not approve of the artificial methods. To him self-control was the only way out. He was surprised that Andrews was not opposed to use of contraceptives. In a letter, he said, "It surprises me that you do not appreciate the obvious. But I must not argue. It is a fundamental truth to which you must come in time."

Andrews had observed all along that Gandhiji attached considerable importance to celibacy as an ideal of life. This came to his notice even in South Africa. Gandhiji was not influenced by any foreign school of thought in this matter. Celibacy had been hailed as a lofty ideal both in Hinduism and Buddhism. Though a bachelor himself, Andrews had no regard for it. He was rather opposed to the idea. He tried to know the fundamentals of Hinduism. He also discussed the matter with people whose opinion counted. Considering the pros and cons of the issue, he came to the conclusion—"Hindusthan in its central line of development had placed the marriage ideal and not the celibate ideal at the basis of religious life, on which all superstructure was built." Adducing facts, he showed that one reason why Buddhism lost its appeal in India

was perhaps—. . . "its comparative lack of appreciation of the married life as an inspiring human ideal and because of its substitution of the celibate ideal as higher and purer and more spiritual." He could never agree with Gandhiji on this point.

But these differences never cast any shadow over the great friendship that existed between the two. This was possible only because they were extraordinary in all respects. In similar circumstances, average men would have fallen out in no time. When Gandhiji came to know that Andrews was opposed to the idea of burning foreign cloth, he wrote to him—"I gathered that probably you had begun to doubt the truth of the whole movement. I therefore wrote to you that even if you did my affection for you would remain changeless and unaffected."

Almost in every issue of his *Young India*, Gandhiji would write about Andrews. He used to call him a 'blood-brother'. When Andrews went to work among the 'Moplas' in Madras, people gave him the name 'Brother of Gandhi'. The two names were always mentioned together and with the same degree of affection.

The Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Committee has published a complete collection of Gandhiji's writings on Andrews in *Young India*. The volume would illustrate what he used to feel about Andrews and how great was his regard for him. Writing alone did not satisfy him; he also ensured that Andrews was not exposed to any adverse criticism. Andrews' struggles in South Africa, apartheid, Khilafat—everything has been discussed in this volume and in detail. Quoting an address of Andrews, Gandhiji has said in one of his editorial comments—"I have hitherto taken liberties with Mr. Andrews' writings for *Young India*. But in spite of personal allusions I have not the courage to remove a single word from the beautiful prose poem he has given us." (May 8, 1924).

In September, 1924, on grounds of health, Gandhiji handed over the editorial responsibility of *Young India* to Andrews. On September 29, he wrote—"I am sorry to say that for two or three weeks I must suspend the editorial responsibility. My medical tyrants forbid it. Charlie Andrews insists on editing *Young India* himself during the period of purification and convalescence. I gladly accept the offer. We are blood-brothers. And the reader will be glad to have the same message rendered in a clearer and purer style. English is after all a foreign tongue to me.

Charlie Andrews is master of it. It can, therefore, only give me pleasure to surrender editorial control of Young India to him."

As Gandhiji had no hesitation in entrusting Andrews with the editorial responsibility, he also did not hesitate to take him to task if he came across any weakness in the latter's writing. This can be possible only if there is very deep attachment between two people. I am quoting one or two typical passages from Gandhiji's letters.

"I have read your article on Burma. The thing is shovelling but you have written it in a hurry. I observe that you have seen too much to enable you to analyse properly and trace causes. Moreover, you have done what we accuse the globe-trotters of doing. Will you not rest and be thankful for a while? Work is prayer but it can also be madness. You were in fever when you wrote your Burmese article. I am printing it nevertheless because it comes from the utmost purity of your heart. Only I lodge my protest against your doing things by the way." (25.9.24).

"I have suppressed also the article you sent me on 'opium'. That article was too hurriedly written to be of any value. It was too scrappy, did not even give sufficient information. These articles indicate extreme fatigue of mind . . . there is hardly a paper I am opening in which I do not see long articles from you on the same subject. If they cannot exist without you, let them die." (22.7.26).

Andrews had a very heavy workload. It was surely beyond the capacity of a single individual. He was a prolific writer and it was only natural that, at times, he would betray signs of fatigue in his writings. Gandhiji did not spare him and, on his part, he too accepted the reproofs with great humility.

There was another area of difference. Gandhiji did not consider pursuit of fine arts a useful occupation. Andrews on the other hand was an artist to the core. He wrote poems and loved painting. In a letter, he wrote to Rabindranath on January 31, 1921 that he was delighted to see the paintings sent by the artists of Visva Bharati from Gwalior: "Here are things which Mr. Gandhi finds it difficult to understand and he would suspend them all while we got Swaraj—but not I, not I!"

It would require a full volume to trace Gandhi-Andrews relations from their day to day activities. One incident would be enough to illustrate the depth of their love for each other. They were intimate friends

for long twenty-six years. In his deathbed, holding Gandhiji's hands, Andrews only said, "Mohan, Swaraj is coming". Even in his last message before his death, he acknowledged his debt to Gandhiji and Rabindranath.

There was one thing in common between the two which surpassed all their differences. It was their faith in non-violence. They firmly believed that only moral strength could sustain a man in the long run. This gave them the necessary stamina to wage a life-long battle against all that was wrong. For the independence of the country, communal harmony, emancipation of the untouchables and for the Indians abroad, they fought hand in hand like valiant soldiers. Both dedicated their lives to one great cause, the cause of the Indians.

ANDREWS AND THE OPIUM-EVIL IN INDIA

SUSANTA NAG

There were few social problems in contemporary India which did not make C. F. Andrews think and act. It was therefore no wonder that Andrews threw himself into the struggle over the opium evil in India.

As early as 1910 Andrews pointed out the necessity of propagating the habit of temperance among the Indians. It was because of his zeal and enthusiasm for this cause that in June 1924, when the All India Congress Committee unanimously declared, "In the opinion of the A.I.C.C. the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries," it also appointed Andrews to investigate into the nature and extent of the opium evil in Assam, because Assam was the worst affected province.

Andrews' endeavour against the opium traffic went in two directions. He made a detailed study of addiction to opium in India and in order to rouse public opinion, published articles in Indian and foreign newspapers and magazines like Times of Assam, Modern Review, Contemporary Review and Manchester Guardian. Again, at the "urgent request" of Andrews a committee was formed in England. Its purposes were "to publish in Great Britain an authoritative information of the position in India", "to support the policies" advocated by the Congress Committee in India, and "to bring home to the British people their responsibility for influencing the India Office in the direction of such policies."

Andrews' study revealed an appalling picture of the extent of opium addiction in India. While the League of Nations recommended consumption of 12 lb of raw opium for every 10,000 of the population as normal and legitimate for medical purposes, consumption of opium in industrial towns in India far exceeded that limit. Consumption in the cities per 10,000 of population were as follows:—Calcutta 288 lb, Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur—100 lb, Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Bombay—88 lb, Karachi, Hyderabad (Sind)—94 lb, Madras—52 lb,

Cawnpore—56 lb. How deep rooted the evil had been can be understood from the account of Miss Campbell, a worker in the cause of temperance, who saw in an industrial town women almost fighting with one another in order to get their opium from a shop before it closed.

The picture was completely different in the villages which generally showed a consumption far below the League of Nations index figure.

The reason of such high rate of consumption in the cities was, as Andrews pointed out, that religious sanctions of Hindu and Moslem religions which kept the village agricultural population free from addiction, were "fast breaking down". Moreover in the cities there were a good number of opium shops licensed by the Government, where "Government monopoly opium" was freely sold.

Further, in the cotton mill areas, a large part of increased consumption was 'due to the almost universal habit of mothers engaged in cotton mills during the long working hours of the day "doping" their babies with opium each day when they go out to work, in order to keep them quiet'. Doctors and social workers reported that 98% of the mothers in the cotton factories regularly doped their babies before going out to work. Andrews described such doped babies, whom he saw in the Bombay chawls as babies "with their pinched faces, looking like persons who had grown suddenly old." The result of such doping was a high rate of infantile mortality in Bombay. In one year it reached the appalling figure of 666 deaths per thousand. Even in ordinary years it had been over 400 per thousand.

The magnitude of infantile death moved the municipality in Bombay to such an extent that being puzzled as to how to tackle the evil, it commenced a sale, at a cheaper rate, of bala-golis (babies' pills) with a limited amount of opium, in order to induce mothers to purchase those instead of Government's "Excise opium".

In the Contemporary Review of August, 1925, Andrews summarised the opium problem in India under five heads:—

- (1) The increasing demand in the new industrial centres.
- (2) There was evidently a long entrenched opium habit in Rajputana which had its effects on the neighbouring parts of British India, for example—Ajmere.
- (3) There were certain areas of excessive consumption in the bor-

der of Rajputana itself such as in Gujrat and in the lower and central parts of the Punjab.

- (4) Two strange areas of excessive consumption appeared on the East coast. One was in Orissa, at Puri and Balasore. The other was in Godavari district. People of these areas became addicts because thousands of them worked in Malaya plantations and contacted this habit.
- (5) An illegitimate practice was to be found in Burma where the Burmese, who wished to smoke, purchased their opium secretly from the Chinese or other races. It was because, in Burma there was a prohibition policy which allowed opium sales to all other races except the Burmese.

The problem of opium evil in Assam was much more serious than in any other place in India and so Andrews made a special reference to it.

The report of the Congress Opium Enquiry Committee in Assam traced the history of opium consumption in the province. The opium poppy began to be cultivated only at the beginning of the 19th century and the vice had not got any stronghold upon the Assamese people when the British came into power in 1826. But from 1826 to 1860 things deteriorated rapidly. The British themselves entered into competition for selling opium by importing, at an absurdly low price of Rs. 5 per seer, large quantities of Government opium from outside Assam. These were sold for revenue purposes in order to beat down the price of the local product. The result of this reckless competition between Government opium and private opium was that, by the year 1833, when Mr. Moffat Mills published his official statement to the Governor General, Assam had become an opium addicted country from one end to the other.

After 1860, the Government assumed the monopoly in opium sales and from that time onward the responsibility for the increasing opium addiction should rest chiefly with the Assam Government itself. Accurate figures and statistics began to be given from 1873 onwards. In the year 1875-76 consumption of opium in Assam was 1874 maunds. Nearly forty-five years after this date, in 1919-20, though the Assamese indigenous population had only slightly increased in numbers, the general opium consumption was almost as excessive as ever, i.e., as high as 1748 maunds.

While there were over 5,000 shops in 1875 in Assam, there were only 300 in 1920. "The inference from this is", Andrews surmised, "that while the number of consumers would be smaller, the number of heavy consumers, or addicts, would be greater."

Andrews looked into the causes of the growth of opium habit in Assam. He thought that "The Assamese race has a large admixture of Mongolian blood in its veins. Though it is by no means wholly true that only the Mongolians become opium addicts, yet there is a recognised racial weakness among them. . . ." To substantiate his point Andrews collected necessary statistics. In the five districts of Assam where the Assamese lived—in Lakhimpur, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Kamrup—consumption of opium was more than 100 seers per 10,000 persons on the average while in Sylhet district, which had an entirely Bengali population and "does not belong to Assam racially at all" consumption was as low as 2·268 seers per 10,000 persons.

Then again, the tea planters who used to import labourers from other states, had the impression that opium might be actually needed in Assam to counteract the evils of damp, chills and fever. In those days when tea plantations had just started, the mortality rate among the tea garden labourers was frightful. According to the Government of India Gazetteers—"In the four years, 1864-67, annual mortality in the largest depot ranged from 36 to 115 per cent of the average daily strength, the latter enormous rate having been calculated on a daily average of no less than 458 souls." "It was natural therefore", Andrews wrote, "for the planters to accept the common practice of the country at that time, and to regard opium as the one staple remedy for all diseases." It was thus usual, in the early days, for the tea planters themselves to take up Government contracts for opium and to run opium shops on their estates.

Andrews deplored that "The problem of labour had not up to that time been scientifically examined. Cheap labour seemed abundant and it was not at first realised that one of the greatest assets of a good tea estate, even from the strictly business point of view, was the conservation of the labour force."

But the most undesirable factor behind the spread of the opium evil was embedded in the policy of the Government—it was the revenue

motive. As Andrews pointed out, "In spite of this recognised weakness for opium of the Assamese people there had been even here a complacency manifest in the Administration, which continues to make revenue out of the vices of this race—a fatal thing in a humane Government." The motto of the Excise Department repeated again and again by Government officials, "without any sense of shame", was the formula, 'maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption.' Excise Reports of the Assam Government showed that the Government steadily increased its opium revenue since the year 1875 until it had grown by 350 per cent in the year 1920-21.

Andrews always decried this revenue oriented policy of the Government of India and said that "no Government in the world with one eye fixed on the revenue could see straight to deal directly with the moral evil that opium has caused in Assam." Just because Great Britain had never taken one penny in revenue out of opium, Andrews pointed out, she was able to see straight, when opium addiction became a serious danger. She was able to act promptly; and opium had been catalogued as a poisonous drug, only to be administered by qualified doctors. Similarly Japan and America could free Formosa and Philippines respectively, from opium because they did not take any profits from opium. On the other hand British occupied Singapore and Portuguese Macao could not.

Andrews had a suggestion for the Government of India by which the latter could make good the loss of revenue from opium. He proposed that, "it would be as simple as possible to take the huge profits of the tea gardens in order to make up the revenue deficit."

But the Government would not do anything except to see that the shops were "located as far from tea gardens as practicable" and the number of shops were reduced. They could not think of doing away with the revenue obtained from opium. Even the system of rationing of opium and registration of opium consumers which proved successful in Burma and Ceylon, was not introduced in Assam. That is why Andrews called the Assam Government "an Opium Government."

Assam Government's policy was declared in the legislative council in 1925 in these terms: "His excellency in council is conscious of certain practical difficulties and in particular that too drastic measures may produce greater evils than cure, and for this reason he is constrained to feel

his way gradually in the matter." Mr. Cosgrave, who was at one time District Commissioner in Lakhimpur, the worst addicted district, while speaking in the Assembly in Delhi tried to support the Government's opium policy in these words: "I feel a considerable amount of sympathy with the consumers of opium. People living in the malarial sub montane parts of Assam take it as a stimulant." Moreover he went on to say that it was unfair to insist on prohibition of the special stimulant, taken by one class of people, and not the stimulant taken by another class. "These poor men living in malarial tract", he said, "take this stimulant, and why should they be deprived of it when richer members of the Assembly take wine in the lunch room at Delhi or Raisina." It was declared that it would be an act of "sheer inhumanity" to deprive the people of India of the present wholesale and unregistered use of opium.

Andrews disputed such statements and produced scientific evidence to show that opium was never a stimulant. As an anodyne and sedative for acute, unbearable pain, opium undoubtedly had its utility, but as it was a poison the necessary dose or injection should be administered by a physician. Again, as a sedative, in a sudden and acute diarrhoea, it might be of great importance. Otherwise opium was full of evil. Modern science had turned strongly against opium remedies for malarial fever, or kala-azar, or cholera, as positively harmful. Andrews referred to researches by Prof. Metchnikoff, founder of modern bacteriology, and his disciples at the Pasteur Institute, Paris, which "indicate very definitely the inadvisability of using morphine and similar narcotics in infectious diseases." "Evidently opium does to the leucocytes (the white corpuscles of the blood),—those vigilant sentinels which normally guard the body against infections,—precisely what it does to human individuals: puts them to sleep, or leaves them unfit for the job. They work slowly, stupidly; or may be not at all."

Andrews' crusade against the opium evil did not end there. He made a timely effort to reveal the real position of India at the League of Nations' conference on opium at Geneva which had its session in the middle of November, 1924.

The Geneva conference on opium was the second international conference of its kind. The first such conference was held at Hague in

the year 1912. The Geneva conference did not have a smooth start. Sale of opium from India was challenged point blank by the American delegate as being violation of the Hague Convention. America insisted that Lord Cecil, the British representative to the Conference, should give any reasonable definite time by which opium smoking and sale would be suppressed. This Lord Cecil refused to state and suggested the indefinite period of 15 years after it had been declared by an international commission that opium smuggling from China had been suppressed. U.S.A. was the lone agitator against the opium trade and all the greater powers of Europe directly or indirectly lined up with Britain and India. U.S.A., therefore, failing to impress her point, withdrew from the conference. China also followed suit.

The Hague Convention contained two articles dealing specially with this very subject. In the former it was stated that the contracting powers shall take effective and progressive measures to suppress the manufacture and use of opium prepared for smoking. The second article read as follows: "The Contracting Powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium. . . ." ('Prepared opium' means opium prepared for smoking purposes.)

The Indian Government had two excuses for continuing to send opium in very large quantities to foreign possessions long after the Hague Convention. The former of these was that the Indian Government sent raw opium only, and not 'prepared' opium. The second was that the foreign Governments gave the Indian Government a certificate that opium was "legitimately" needed. The American contention had been that these excuses were in part mere quibbles and that a collusion or connivance was going on between the Governments in the Far East.

In the Geneva Conference there was an arrangement that private societies would be allowed to make statements at the end of the Sessions. Andrews made full use of this opportunity. Although he personally could not be present at the conference, he had been in closest touch with many of the persons who went there. It was through them that the true picture of India could be revealed at the conference. One of these persons was Mr. Horace Alexander, son of late Mr. Alexander, who visited India at the time of the Royal Commission (on opium) in 1895. Before Mr. Horace Alexander left England for Geneva, Andrews sent him the

Draft Report of the Opium Enquiry in Assam carried out by the National Congress. This Report proved to be of great service during the Geneva Sessions, because otherwise there was no real representative of India at the Conference and Mr. John Campbell, who represented the Government of India at Geneva, put forth a distorted and confusing picture of India and made statements to the effect that restriction on cultivation of opium for medicinal and scientific requirements would involve a great hardship on the Indian people, who needed opium for their domestic uses and know well how to handle it without causing any serious harm to themselves or their children.

On 18th November, 1924, Mr. Alexander wrote a letter to Andrews from Geneva saying: "I wish it had been possible for you to send a representative of the real India to Geneva: I wish too, that I had a message direct from Mr. Gandhi to deliver here. But these are vain wishes: it is too late. . . ."

Ultimately the message from Mahatma Gandhi reached before it was too late. Soon after writing the above letter Mr. Alexander sent one telegram to Andrews asking for Mr. Gandhi's message. Andrews made no delay in making necessary arrangements. Along with the message one petition on behalf of the people of India, signed by Andrews and Gandhi was also cabled.

When the message of Mahatma Gandhi was read out to the Conference by Mr. Alexander it seemed to make a deep impression on the Conference. It was also fairly well reported in the press. Miss La Motte, who had published two books on the subject, was also present at the Conference. She wrote to Andrews on 23rd November from Geneva, "Well, the petition has been presented, as you may have seen by the papers, and a fine stir it caused, too! It seemed better, since there was no Indian here at Geneva at all, to have it presented by a British subject ; . . . That, and a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi, read out by a Quaker, named Mr. Alexander made hits of the afternoon! . . . And when the Indian petition was read out, and Campbell rose in protest, it was pretty thrilling." Incidentally, on the same afternoon Mr. Dukes, another delegate to the Conference, read out a statement brought to Europe by Tagore. Mr. Alexander wrote in a letter on 24th November, "So I think the real desire of India was made clear to the Conference."

How many false statements Mr. Campbell made at Geneva was exposed next year by the Report of the Congress Opium Enquiry Committee. Mr. Campbell had said that opium smoking was practically non-existent in India outside Burma and that the people of India were so abstemious in the use of opium as to make any definite restriction to medicinal use unnecessary. But the Report of the Opium Enquiry Committee revealed that at least one third of the opium consumed in Assam was actually smoked. The Government, which published a report for the first time in 1925 placed the proportion of opium smokers at as high an average as 50 per cent. The Government report also added the important fact that almost universally the opium habit was inculcated through the practice of opium smoking rather than opium eating. It may be mentioned here that opium smoking is more harmful and pernicious than opium eating.

After all these Andrews was optimistic because he had seen the effects of Mahatma Gandhi's move against opium and non-co-operation movement of 1920-21. In 1922-23 there was a precipitious drop in opium consumption in Assam by 400 maunds. This sudden and miraculous result was maintained since then in spite of the wholesale imprisonment of temperance workers in 1921-22.

Such drop in consumption of official opium did not mean that smuggling increased or that people changed over to the habit of ganja smoking. There was no record to show that smuggling had been greater after 1920-21. Again, it had been found that the consumption of ganja had gone down steadily instead of rising. Andrews had the confidence that "The people are more determined than ever to have done away with the evil, and the pressure of public opinion upon the consumers has in no way relaxed, . . ."

Still Andrews felt in 1925 that there must be a continuous vigil against this evil. Commenting on what India must do he said, "She must pull down at once the hateful screen of lies, by which she is supposed to be represented by a man like Mr. John Campbell. She must see that in all the Councils, including the Imperial Assembly, the opium question comes entirely into her own hands without any subterfuge whatever. She must see at once, that the important recommendation of the Reforms Committee, that Excise shall be a transferred subject in

Assam, be carried out. She should send at once her own Congress Commission, not only to Assam, but to all the black spots in India and Burma, in order to enquire what can be done by the people themselves to make them white. She can at once impress on the mill owners in Bombay, that she will no longer endure to have the babies of factory labourers doped, while mothers go to work. She can respectfully represent to the State of Malwa, that it is a dishonour to the fair name of the Motherland to grow opium, only to be smuggled through to Assam and other places and used for opium intoxication."

Thus although Andrews' tirade against opium could not fetch as decisive a result as his actions against 'indentured labour' produced, yet his zeal and the spirit of struggle behind his anti-opium activities will always inspire people in future.

AFRICA AND C. F. ANDREWS

PRANATI MUKHOPADHYAY

The Indians in South and East Africa had to carry on a long, bitter struggle against the English colonialists in those places. In the last ten years of the 19th century the leadership of Gandhiji came to be gradually established and the movement of the Indians in South Africa was no more an isolated struggle ; it got linked up with the people's movement in India. A number of Europeans including Mr. Albert West, Mr. Polak, Mr. Hermann Kallenbach, Miss Sonja Schlesin, Miss Olive Schreiner, Miss Molteno served with dedication not only the cause of the Indians but the cause of justice and truth as well. To this galaxy of names we should add the name of C. F. Andrews—who had left his job at the St. Stephen's College, Delhi and had volunteered to stand by Gandhiji at the crucial time, January, 1914,—as well as that of W. W. Pearson. William Pearson died in 1922. But Andrews lived sometime more and the cause of Indians in Africa was near to his heart till the end.

From 1914 to the thirties he had maintained close contact with the Indians in Africa and had been there on so many occasions that a conscientious biographer might find it difficult to keep count of. He made it a point to write on African issues to enlighten the public opinion in India and Africa and one can see his regular instalments on the African situation in *Modern Review*, *Young India* and many other journals. He was tireless in these efforts. Indians in Africa found in him a champion of their cause but the Englishmen generally looked upon him as a traitor, who had no faith in the principle of racial superiority of the whites—a principle on which rested the foundation of South Africa. He was jeered, booed, chased and even physically assaulted on different occasions but with unflinching courage and determination he worked unto the last. He had in his struggle, used different weapons—the message of love preached by Christ and the lessons of Ahimsa preached by Gandhiji are two

of them. Last but not the least were the poems and dramas of his Gurudev Rabindranath. These unconventional tools sometimes worked miracles and even at the most difficult times the dignity of his noble personality rose higher above the din and cry of the battle.

Before we go into the work and activities of C. F. Andrews a few words on the history and nature of the Satyagraha movement itself will help us to understand the real character and quality of his services.

When the English arrived in South Africa they observed that tea, sugarcane and coffee could be grown in huge quantities on that land. But as the original residents, the Negroes, were unused to hard labour, these English traders had to look to India for supply of labour. The Government of India was approached and with its sanction a batch of Indian labourers reached Natal on November 16, 1860. "The British officials in India" said Gandhiji, "consciously or unconsciously were partial to their brethren in Natal". Though certain safeguards were agreed upon as regards the Indians' stay in Africa they were soon reduced to the condition of slaves. Gandhiji very rightly said, "The steamer which carried those labourers to Natal carried with them the seed of the great Satyagraha movement." Traders followed these labourers and within a short time there was quite a good number in Natal. Thus free traders and indentured labourers formed the two major parts of the Indian community. The indentured labourers had to work under a contract for five years and then they could "free" themselves if they liked. But the European planters harassed them in so many ways and made such a great agitation that the Government of Natal appointed a Commission. The Commission's findings went in favour of the ex-indentured labourers. The powerful planters raised a cry for a responsible government and from being a Crown Colony Natal came to be ruled by a responsible government in 1893. This Government levied a poll tax of three pounds on Indian labourers freed from indenture—the tax having to be paid for each individual member of the family. The Indian Government could not do much to help these labourers. Free Indian traders were also looked upon as rivals and their political right to stand for elections further irritated European politicians. In 1894 a bill was placed in the Natal legislature that proposed to disfranchise

the Indians. Racial distinction raised its ugly head in the most arrogant manner. The Indians also consolidated themselves for the coming struggle. Indian trade was restricted and so was Indian emigration in Natal. An act was passed which provided that only those immigrants could enter the colony who could pass the education test. Over and above all these an appeal to the court was a costly thing and few Indians could afford it.

In 1893 Gandhiji had come to South Africa and since 1894 he had been organising the Indian opposition against the repressive policy of the Europeans. The Natal Indian Congress started functioning from 1894. Opposition to the disfranchising bill was further strengthened when Lord Ripon, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, disallowed the bill. In 1906 the Transvaal Government Gazette published the draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. It stated that, "Every Indian, man, woman or child of eight years or upwards, entitled to reside in the Transvaal must register his or her name with the 'Registrar of Asiatics' and take out a certificate of registration." Every part of the Ordinance seemed repulsive to Gandhi who organised a strong popular movement known in history as the Satyagraha movement.

We need not go into the details of this movement year by year. The Indians, inspite of their organised resistance under Gandhiji's leadership, could not make much headway. Gokhale came in 1912, met General Botha and went back satisfied with Botha's promise that the Black Act would be repealed and the £3 tax abolished. Let us listen to Andrews on how things were proceeding at this point of history. "The £3 poll-tax in Natal . . . had long been recognised as quite indefensible from any humanitarian standpoint; but the opposition of the Europeans against its removal had been so great, that General Botha and General Smuts, who were then in office, were unwilling to take action and repeal it. They truly desired to do so and made a verbal promise to Mr. Gokhale when he went out to South Africa that it should be repealed, but they felt unable to keep their word." Gandhiji organised a march with a 'ragged army' of indentured labourers from the coal-mines of Northern Natal. Two thousand men women and children joined. Gandhiji, at last, was arrested. Acts of violence and shooting had taken place in Natal. Public indignation in India reached an unprecedented height. Gandhiji's

trusted co-worker Mr. Albert West was also arrested. "Gokhale", wrote Gandhiji, "got nervous and sent over Andrews and Pearson."

When the news of Gandhiji's arrest reached India Gokhale was organising a campaign in support of the Indian "resisters" in South Africa. Andrews, who was preparing to leave for England, changed his mind and in a telegraphic message informed Gokhale that he was prepared to go to South Africa if that would be necessary. Gokhale, to whom the offer was a God-send, wanted Andrews to go immediately. While Andrews was preparing for the journey, Willy Pearson, his friend, came and gave him a glorious surprise by suggesting that he would also go.

Andrews and Pearson reached Durban on the 1st January 1914. But before we go into the events that took place thereafter, we should do well to peep into the spiritual and religious background history which will bring Andrews the man much closer to us. Andrews was essentially a religious man but he was getting dissatisfied everyday with the rules and rituals of the Christian Church. His mind was full of doubts, his spiritual life was bewildered and troubled. He knew that he was to go out "from the safe anchorage of conventional belief to face the deep waters." At this critical period of his life his friendship with Rabindranath Tagore gave his life a new dimension. He wrote to Tagore on 13th December "I had been drifting for years, dragging at the chain, but not conscious how far I had gone till your presence revealed it to me." With his new love for India, as well as with his deep hatred of racial injustice Andrews started a different life and it was at this moment that the call came from South Africa. He was happy that the old anchorage of his life had been shed and that he had ventured out at last into the open sea.

It did not take him much time to understand that the root of the whole mischief in South Africa was the question of race and colour. The majority of the Europeans wanted to get rid of the coloured people altogether from the country. These Europeans were determined to place the coloured people in the status of their inferiors.

The question was more a religious one than political in Andrews' mind. That the Christian Church could close doors to coloured people

was something that Andrews could not accept lying down. He reflected on this subject later in his "What I Owe to Christ":—

"It seemed to me an impossible position to observe, as Christians, racial and colour discriminations in human life. This would inevitably lead on to a new caste system. Such a thing could never be the will of Christ, my Master, who taught the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. If Christendom ever finally became divided into 'racial' churches, with a colour bar standing between and the Sacrament of the Holy Communion were denied to Christians solely on the ground of colour or race, then this fundamental principle of the Brotherhood of Man, for which Christ died upon the Cross, would be made of no effect. We should crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame."

Andrews realised that it would be a long struggle. It would be a war not only against an organised state power but also against the Christian Church itself. To fight against a superior army is difficult but to fight against bigotry and superstition is still more difficult. But there was the other side of the picture too. "There on the table of the very first house I entered in Durban—the very first book I saw in Natal was Gitanjali . . . I said to myself "Things are not hopeless."—He wrote to Tagore.

The Indian protest to the Indian Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 came in the form of the procession led by Gandhiji in November, 1913 from the coal districts of Natal into Transvaal. Repression was let loose, 9 Indians were killed and 25 wounded; Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach were arrested. But the Government could not sit idle over the situation. A Commission was appointed under Mr. Justice W. H. Solomon to enquire into and report on the causes of the strike and also to enquire into and report on the general grievances of the Indians in South Africa. Gandhiji did not participate in the proceedings of the Commission as the Indians were denied representation to it. In a letter to the Commission he raised certain points on the grievances of the Indians. His immediate demand was the abolition of the £3-tax. Gokhale, who was then in India, advised participation in the Commission. So also wished the Viceroy. The Indian leaders in South Africa decided otherwise and Andrews was one with them. To them it was not a question of expediency but one of honour. Andrews wrote to Rabindranath on 23rd

January, "They were determined not to sacrifice their honour and I need not say that I was with them heart and soul. . . . That's what the Viceroy did not see—it was not a question of expediency, but of honour and manhood. . . . Unless the wound to Indian honour was healed the situation must get worse and worse."

In the meantime an industrial crisis climaxed in a general strike. Martial law was declared. General Smuts could give no time and thought to the Indian problem. The situation at first seemed hopeless but Andrews was still optimistic. He was constantly trying to find out an honourable solution. His efforts were all directed towards a meeting between Gandhiji and General Smuts. After sometime General Smuts offered Gandhiji an interview. Andrews and Gandhiji went to Pretoria just before the Railway strike began. "The fight had now become a duel between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Smuts. It was on the same terms—the terms of honour"—wrote Andrews to Tagore on January 23. An attitude of honourable equality was reached. But General Smuts would not put it down in writing on account of some minor disagreement. Gandhiji on the other hand would not leave his post even for attending his ailing wife at Durban. Andrews was in a difficult position. To bring these two uncompromising personalities at a point of agreement was his sole task and he would not spare himself any pains to get his task done. The situation was described in his own words. "That night we talked till 1 a.m. Finally, an alternative phase occurred to me. The difference seemed to be very slight, but Gandhi found it acceptable. 'If General Smuts will accept your phrase,' he said as we went to bed, 'then everything is finished.' In the morning, saying nothing to Gandhi, I went to Smuts and at eight o' clock found him alone. I told him of Gandhi's personal anxiety and showed him the suggested wording. 'I don't mind a bit' he said, 'it makes no difference so far as I am concerned'. 'Would you make the change and sign it on the spot?' 'Certainly.' (Unpublished Reminiscences quoted in the biography by Chaturvedi and Sykes).

The role of Andrews in this struggle was one that could not be overestimated. But for him two representatives of two contradictory interests could have never met. When the Indian Relief Act was later passed in the Parliament newspapers paid tributes to the noble role played by Andrews in bringing about an honourable settlement.

The account of Andrews' activities in South Africa in 1914 shall remain incomplete if we fail to notice the spiritual struggle that was going on in his mind. The news of the death of his mother came just after the Gandhi-Smuts settlement. He was to go to England to meet his mother. He knew how his mother was instrumental in his developing a love for India. With this love for India and the Indians Andrews realised the truth in Gokhale's words—"South Africa will be a shock to your Christianity." How could he feel the shock more than when he was told that Gandhiji was turned out of the church where he was preaching! Later in his life he wrote, "From the first day when we landed in Durban the racial prejudice was glaringly apparent. . . . It is an evil which is like a poisonous infection, spreading over an otherwise healthy body. The infection had already begun in South Africa and there was very little effort then being made to stop the disease. The Christian church, in some of its branches, was itself infected."

Andrews was also lecturing on Rabindranath Tagore at different places in South Africa. His own view of life—that of a Christian missionary—had undergone change since he first met Tagore. He wrote, "I have preached in both cathedrals and quoted from your poems and have found that you were already known." His own personality was changed; he was no more relying on his sermons in the church to reach and influence the people. From the teachings of Tagore 'something wider than my old ideas, and more pervasive and penetrating than my old path of action' emerged. It was from South Africa that Andrews could tell Tagore, "I cannot be a missionary again of the old type. That has gone by for ever and you have delivered me from that bondage."

With a new exploration of his own possibilities, with a new love for the humanity Andrews became a new man. Gandhi became his friend and Tagore, the master, influenced his thoughts from a distant land. With this tour to South Africa the wandering Christian had started his phase of wandering around the world.

In 1919 November Andrews had been to Africa for the second time. The condition of the Indians had become worse after the war. This time Andrews was busy in East Africa and Uganda where a military rule was established in apprehension of invasion from Tanganyika which was a German territory. This military rule was ruthless in arresting

Indians and deporting them on the slightest pretext. Though the situation was becoming intolerable day by day the real conflict was brewing over a different issue. The Europeans were plotting to drive out the Indians from the Kenya Highlands. The attitude of the white population was clearly to monopolise all political power in their own hands, and not to allow any situation to develop where the Indians and Africans could claim to be treated as equals. A Government Economic Commission was set up only with European representation, which, without considering the Indian point of view, published its findings. It held the Indian traders responsible for the backwardness of the Africans.

Andrews now wanted to study the condition of Indian labourers in East Africa. The Europeans knew of his immense popularity and this was one of the causes of their bitterness towards him. Some one called him a "bastard Englishman", the Times of India called him a hysterical man. But friends were also there. Many Englishmen respected senior Indians from whom they learnt their jobs. They would have liked to see their Indian partners duly honoured.

Andrews took upon an extensive tour—he visited every province of the South African Union and stayed for the longest period in Natal. He was always living with the Indians. The huge mass of materials that he could collect on the African situation gave him the necessary moral strength to fight with the Economic Commission and the canards raised against the Indians who were charged with having a low standard of sex-morality. Andrews contacted missionary doctors and got written statements from them about the falsity of the said charge. He was assured by the soberminded Africans that they considered Indians their best friends. But Andrews knew quite well that wealthy Indians were busy making money, they had little interest in the life and struggle of the native Africans. Andrews, a true friend of the Indians as he was, strongly criticised such an opportunistic attitude. He wanted the Indians to be inspired with a deeper religious life, not one of muttering of scriptures but one of dedication to the service of the people.

In 1920 the Government of India sent its own representatives to South Africa to observe the functioning of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission. The Indian leaders were unwilling to cooperate with the Commission. Andrews prevailed upon them and the Commission in spite of

its limitations "proved of real value in fighting the segregation proposals of later years." Andrews, by later events, proved himself justified in pleading cooperation with the Commission.

The majority of Indian labourers were engaged in sugar mills. The system of Indenture was abolished, but the poor Indian labourers who were slaves to their drinking habits had volunteered to re-indenture themselves. With the abolition of the £3 Poll tax in 1914 Andrews hoped that Indian labourers should have a better status. But things did not improve. There was no wage increase: some four thousand labourers had again become indentured labourers. Having been forced to live like serfs for a long time, the Indian labourers had lost all initiative.

A disappointed yet optimistic Andrews expressed his mind in these beautiful words: "The dead weight of this great mass of submerged Indian population inevitably drags the name of 'Indian' down into dust. All this has been caused by our own initial fault, in allowing Indians to be unscrupulously recruited for indenture purposes at all. . . . We have still our duty to perform towards those whom we allowed to go out and to become submerged under the Indenture system. This prayaschitta has yet to be performed."

Andrews' solution of the problem was to give the labourers opportunity to come back and make a new start in India. His position was that India should not send out any more labourers to the colonies if human treatment was denied to them. Andrews placed such a measure for solution from a pure and simple humanitarian point of view. Little could he imagine that the 'white' population in South Africa would readily agree to this proposal and try to squeeze out the Indians from South Africa. But before much harm could be done, before the South African Government could manage to send many 'coolies' to India, Andrews retrieved his error. Once he realised his own mistake he was not late to make efforts to rectify it.

But there never was a dearth of men who understood Andrews and loved him. The President of the Indian Association, Mombasa sent a telegram to Gandhiji with the following words. "We received greatest benefit from his visit which has put new life into our public work and moved our hearts to greater devotion towards motherland." (Quoted in *Young India* Jan. 21, 1920). Gandhiji, who was a shrewd judge of men,

knew the value of his friend's work. He wrote in *Young India* (17. 3. 1920): "From the accounts received from friends from South Africa we find that Mr. Andrews has worked under the greatest difficulties. But he has a matchless manner of bearing down opposition and shedding around him the sweetness of his own loving and lovable nature and we feel sure that he has been making excellent use of the power which has served him so well on many a critical occasion. This is the programme he puts in a nut shell. 'No curtailment of land and trading rights but willing acceptance of stricter sanitary and labour laws'. This is the man whom the *Times of India* recently considered hysterical."

On 31st March 1920 Andrews came back from his African tour. Within two or three months of his coming back from South Africa he was again thinking of going there in October. The principle of racial segregation was the final consideration in building up different residential areas for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans. Lord Milner, the then Colonial Secretary in his address to the House of Lords on February 1920 pleaded for racial segregation as the basis of planning townships. In his despatch of 21 May 1920 he insisted that "the principle of race-segregation should be adhered to in the residential areas of townships and whenever practicable in commercial areas." (Parliamentary Papers as quoted in *Indians in Africa* by H. P. Chatterjee) Obviously the people in East Africa had thought of Andrews at this critical hour. In an undated letter to Gandhiji Andrews writes: "I feel that I shall have to go out soon to East Africa again on a short visit of encouragement and counsel. I may be able to do so in October Puja Holiday time without much loss to the Ashram. . . . East Africa must be for sometime to come my special subject just as the Khilafat has become yours. It seems to me more and more that in this answer of Lord Milner we have the final challenge of inferiority brought home to us. We could not have a better test case, and we must fight out the moral issue between Asia and Europe on this test case of East Africa." It was a long letter on the Khilafat movement. At the end of the letter Andrews again came back to the East African issue and wanted his friend's advice—"I want your advice about East Africa. Would you think over my going out again either in October or next year? I feel, somehow, I am loved there and I can give my best in response to that love." This must have been

sometimes in August as we find a letter on the same subject written in the same vein to Rabindranath on 11th August. In that letter he said, "All the work I tried to do in East Africa has been destroyed by Lord Milner's latest announcement, which gives way in every single particular to the bitter anti-Indian clamour . . . I was so feared and hated for doing all this that the press in East Africa started the slander about me that I was being handsomely paid by Indian money." But Andrews did not go to South or East Africa in 1920 again.

In 1921 he was again in Kenya. The Milner proposal was gaining ground. Something had to be done. Andrews was requested to become the president of the East African Indian Congress. With deep humility Andrews declined this offer. He was to serve and not to lead. His close friendship with the Indians and Africans was looked upon as an act of treachery by the Europeans. The English Press was furious. A group of settlers entered his compartment at a railway station while he was on his way to Uganda from Nairobi and manhandled Andrews inflicting serious physical injuries. He had to stay in the hospital for sometime for recovery. The incident was reported to England and Winston Churchill, expressing his indignation said "It would have been a matter of satisfaction to me and doubtless to all right thinking people in the colony if the miscreants had been brought to justice." But Andrews would not tell out the names of the offenders.

The Asiatic Enquiry Commission, constituted under the chairmanship of Sir John Lange on 3rd January 1920, submitted its report in December 1921. The Commission rejected the proposals for the compulsory segregation of Asiatics though the general opinion prevailing among the white community in favour of a system of voluntary segregation was encouraged. The report cannot be said to be pro-Indian as a whole, but even a few recommendations in favour of the Indians helped to foster ill feeling among them and their opponents.

The situation in Kenya became very grave in 1923. The European settlers and the Indians sent two deputations to England and Andrews accompanied the Indian deputation. In July the colonial office memorandum on Kenya came out. Andrews was then back in India. The old tactics of divide and rule was put in use. A communal franchise was recommended,

Andrews had all along been pleading for a common electorate and he was definitely against communal franchise. He knew the communal franchise would be harmful for both the native Africans and the Indians. He could not ignore the interests of the Africans. In different meetings Andrews explained the Kenya situation. He was speaking out some bitter truths which seemed unpalatable to many Indians. A typical speech had been reported in the Civil & Military Gazette (Friday July 6, 1923). “. . . The most serious factor in the Kenya situation was the decline in the African population. Owing chiefly to the exploitation of native labour, the population had been reduced by 21 percent between the years 1911 and 1921. This was the estimate made by the Government Census Officer and it was probably correct. The only way to prevent such exploitation was to revert to Crown Colony Government. Mr. Andrews explained that the Indian settlers had also exploited the native in the matter of trade and money-lending.”

This type of statement shows how frank and courageous Andrews was. In England he had no friends this time, in India he created enemies. When he came back to India he felt lonely. All his work, he felt, had been lost. A broken-hearted Andrews wrote in a letter “. . . the Bombay Committee listened to all I had to say and sent a cable about which I was not consulted both to England and to Kenya warning against the no franchise solution. It is desperately hard for me to have spent months on a problem and gone journeys to East Africa and England and to have a hasty decision made against me.’

But the unkindest cut was yet to come. A group of Indians in Kenya called him a traitor and he was bitterly castigated in the press by them. ‘The Democrat’, from Nairobi had hit him hard: “We have another kind of enemy, the insidious, bowing, cringing, khaddar weaving barefooted white Sadhus who take our side to help us lose the game.”

The person who wrote these words knew Andrews well. To Andrews the whole thing—that one who knew him could write such things—was unthinkable. He wanted nothing for himself but he could rationally expect his friends to understand him. When that was also denied, we can imagine, how much disturbed he must have been to write to Sri Rajagopalachari, “The attack makes me at once wish to retire into obscurity and find shelter with my God, who knows how false such things

are. I cannot be the same as before after such a thing has happened". Rajagopalachari who was then editing *Young India* did not fail to act. His article in defence of Andrews was a remarkable one published in 1923, Sept. 13 in *Young India*.

In November 1925 Andrews again went to South Africa. The anti-Indian agitation was gaining strength. The European community was constantly clamouring for more segregation. The Union Government on the strength of Language Commission's recommendation placed the Class Areas Bill in the Assembly in 1925. By this Bill Indians were sought to be segregated in particular areas. But a change of Ministry took place and the Class Areas Bill had to be dropped. Dr. Malan the Minister of the Interior brought another bill under a new title, Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill. In introducing the Bill he said "I must say that the Bill frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population and that no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country, unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country . . . The method which this Bill will propose will be the application of pressure to supplement, on the other hand, the inducement which is held out to Indians to leave the country." The motive behind introducing such an act was obviously to curtail the freedom of the Indians by restrictive segregational practices. The Indians in South Africa realised that a new attack was being launched on them and the Government of India also felt that something had to be done.

The Government of India sent a delegation to South Africa with G. F. Paddison as the leader and Syed Reza Ali, Girija Sankar Bajpai and Devaprasad Sarvadhikary as members. Gandhiji, an astute judge of men, could foresee that the Paddison delegation, though composed of excellent men, might fail to reach the hearts of the people. He asked Andrews to precede the Commission and prepare the ground for its smooth functioning. Andrews needed no persuasion. He rushed in haste to South Africa where days of hectic activity were awaiting him. He was meeting all sorts of people, moving to different places of the Union, trying to create better understanding between the Indians and Africans, attempting to resuscitate the auxiliary European Committee that was framed at the time of the passive resistance. Gandhiji commented, "Thus

everything that a single human being can do to prevent the perpetration of the wrong is being done by Mr. Andrews in far off South Africa." (Young India January 7, 1926). The Secretary, South African Indian Congress sent a cablegram to Gandhi just to tell, "Congress meeting assembled tender you grateful thanks for sending Mr. Andrews to South Africa, who nobly and strenuously worked bringing great change feeling both communities. May he enjoy long life, continue his noble work cause of humanity." In an article named The Good Samaritan (Young India April 29, 1926) Gandhiji wrote, "He made himself heard in South Africa where, perhaps others would have been hissed. He paved the way for the Paddison deputation. . . . this deputation could not have done half as well as they did, without the spade work that was done by Andrews and incessant toil put by him into it."

What could the Indians do? How to accept the challenge of the Union Government? By any measure of retaliation? —No that was impossible. Andrews looked at the whole thing from a height not attained by other professional politicians. The greatest sanction against South African Government would be "the moral sanction of the conscience of the civilised world."

The efficacy of "moral sanction" was questioned in the editorial of an Indian daily which said, "We have the greatest respect for Mr. Andrews and we would have entertained an equal faith in the operative character of "moral sanction of the civilised world" if we were certain that the said civilised world contained more men like him than could be counted with one's fingers." The newspapers used to interview Andrews daily and his comments were clear and truthful. In such an interview in Capetown on January 8, 1926 Andrews pointed out, "The New Asiatic Bill involved three main issues, firstly limited but very definite reparation by legal pressure, secondly, segregation, commercial and residential withing the township area, thirdly, confinement of Natal rural Indian population within coastal belt. Indians could not afford making any concession on such issues. . . . Postponement of Asiatic Bill is exceedingly unlikely because Nationalist Government's prestige depended on its passing unmodified. No opposition is likely in Union Parliament." He had already appealed to the Government of India to act firmly so that the Anti-Asiatic Bill might be withdrawn. When the

situation seemed to be absolutely hopeless Andrews alone did not lose heart. On 8th January the Right Hon'ble Srinivas Sastri said in a message to the Press: "Our sleepless overseas champion Mr. Andrews advises the Government of India at this desperate stage to press on the Government of the Union of South Africa, the postponment of the Anti-Asiatic Bill. The public of India would do well to urge this course on our Government. I cannot think what would be the eventual gain but Mr. Andrews is apparently in the position of a doctor who has lost all hope in the patients' recovery and concentrates all his skill and energy on putting off the dreaded moment."

In a mass meeting in Capetown at the City Hall Andrews declared that the "Asiatic Bill went infinitely beyond the range of the old Class Areas Bill and directly contradicted all that had been said at every Imperial Conference since 1917. Probably the worst feature of the present Bill was the wrong contemplated against the ex-indentured labour in Natal and their descendants." As the President of the All India Trade Union Congress he strongly protested against the move of the "Labour Party in South Africa combining with the Nationalist Government to deprive some of the poorest and most oppressed labourers in the world." He was not in favour of the Paddison Deputation meeting the Select Committees to which the Asiatic Bill might be referred as that involved acceptance of the principle to which India was wholeheartedly opposed. Thus on the one hand he was the virtual leader of the campaign against the Bill and on the other hand he was the most prudent guide and adviser to the Paddison Deputation.

But along with all these Andrews also took upon himself the task nearest to his heart—to propagate and interpret Rabindranath Tagore. He would speak in public meetings on the renaissance in Bengal, on the spiritual heritage of India and on his Gurudev who was the peacemaker between East and West. These meetings were attended in large numbers. We quote an extract from a report of such meetings from Amrita Bazar Patrika January 31, 1926: "Rev. Mr. Andrews described the renaissance in Bengal where East and West met on a higher plane of literature and art, and emphasised Rammohun Roy's supreme genius as the founder of the renaissance movement. Rabindranath came in direct succession in carrying out Rammohun Roy's ideals. He stressed Rabindranath's

influence as a peacemaker between East and West and as an inspirer of international fellowship."

Andrews came back to India in April 1926. The Government of India corresponded with the Government of South Africa and the exchange of letters continued for a long time. Finally a Round Table Conference was agreed upon and it took place at Cape Town from 17th December 1926 to 11th January 1927. The joint communique issued by the two Governments was known as The Capetown Agreement 1927. Lord Irwin the Viceroy in India suggested Andrews' name as a member of the official Round Table Conference. Andrews refused to be in the delegation but knowing that he could be of some help he went to South Africa again in September 1926.

In the meantime it would not be irrelevant to mention here the resolution that was passed at the Seventh session of the South African Indian Congress held at Johannesburg on the service rendered to South Africa by C. F. Andrews: "That the seventh session of the South African Indian Congress in Conference assembled hereby records its sincere and everlasting sense of gratitude to that good and noble Englishman, the Rev. C. F. Andrews, for his great and self-sacrificing services rendered and being rendered in the cause of the Indian Community of South Africa." (Quoted in the Editorial of the St. Stephen's College Magazine, July 1927).

On October 20th Andrews reached Durban. He was immediately engaged in a completely different type of work than what he had come to do. There was a serious outbreak of small-pox epidemic. How he plunged headlong into the relief work is best narrated in his own words. In a letter to Gandhiji he wrote: "These days have been crowded to the full and it is almost impossible to avoid it as I had expected. There was a very serious small-pox outbreak in the Indian quarters and every single smallpox case was that of an Indian. The mortality was as high as 25% and it was of a very virulent type. There were vicious letters in the Press abusing Indians for insanitary habits etc. The one thing to do was what you did in Johannesburg and after getting vaccinated myself (without which I could have done nothing at all) I got the Medical Officer to let me visit the Indians who were kept in quarantine daily, and did everything I could to pacify them. Also we met and formed an Indian

Health Committee and decided to work under the Doctor's orders and he has already set us to work. At once as this was announced the whole tone of the Press changed and we have been praised where before we were being blamed." Gandhiji in his comment on this letter (Young India November 18, '26) paid handsome tribute to his friend. "The unfortunate outbreak of small-pox might easily have created a panic both among European and Indians. The former might have taken dangerously drastic measures and the latter might have become paralysed with fear. The prompt measure taken by Andrews averted what might have developed into a calamity." About his preparing ground for the deputation Andrews further said "I have had time now to consider things fully and get hold of the situation. There is no doubt that if we can get the best public opinion on our side in the next few weeks we shall get a good Press and materially help the Conference by creating a favourable atmosphere beforehand. It was rather difficult to persuade them not to have a big demonstration just at the time of the Conference, thinking it would impress them. I have been explaining to them that some good solid work clearing out the dirt from insanitary quarters would 'impress' far more than all the demonstrations and speeches in the world. At the same time the last thing I should wish is that things should go to the other extreme and get slack and lazy and indifferent. What is needed is to direct the excitement and energy into a right channel."

In the meantime Andrews proposed that the 19th of December be observed as the prayer day for the forthcoming conference. This was a shrewd move on his part and he was sure that European sentiment could not but appreciate such a step. I cannot help quoting a long extract from Gandhiji's article 'A Day of Prayer' published in Young India on November 25, 1926: "He is an intensely godly man and therefore a man of prayer. Prayer with him is no empty formula. It is with him intense and incessant communion with God and waiting upon him for guidance in his daily work great and small. All work when so done assumes equal merit. . . . And Andrews because his intentions are purest possible, believes that God will ensure his success. He has every reason for his belief. For he has hitherto succeeded where others have failed. No one knows the history of Andrews' many unseen services. Those the public see are by no means the most significant or fruitful,

not to mention contemporaray events—who knows, for instance, how he influenced many beneficial decisions of Lord Hardinge? Truly with him, his left hand knoweth not what his right hand doeth. This good man has made his own this South African matter to which he was first appointed by Gokhale. He thinks and prays about it intensely... He has infected the Indians with his belief in prayer... Andrews has become an Indian because he is an Englishman. . He believes that the reputation of European humanity is at stake in South Africa."

The Indian representation was led by Sir Mahomed Habibullah and other members were Rt. Hon Srinivas Sastri, Sir Phiroz Sethna, Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Sir George Paddison, Sir C Corbet and G S. Bajpai. By 30th of December Andrews in a cable, sent to India, insisted that the delegation should stay "till February to tide over provincial elections and keep atmosphere calm." The proposed conference was held at Cape Town from 17th December to 11th January. The salient features of the Cape Town agreement were as follows: (a) a scheme was taken to assist emigration—any Indian of 16 years or above might enjoy the scheme of free passage without losing his union domicile provided he reentered the Union within three years (b) Education and other measures of social welfare will be made available to the Indians (c) In order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments the Government of India should appoint an agent

We need not go here into the details of the agreement but it is certain that the general feeling was one of relief. The Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Act was no more pursued. For the time being it seemed that the South African Government had realised the necessity of recognising Indians as an important part of its permanent population.

The Indian Congress at Johannesburg, unanimously passed his draft resolution endorsing the Agreement on March 13th. On 23rd August 1927 Andrews came back to Bombay. The Bombay Municipal Corporation organised a civic reception for him. Gandhiji wrote an article in Young India (August 11, 1927) 'Welcome Good Samaritan'. The Bombay Municipality possibly thought of presenting a casket to him. Gandhiji in his article disfavoured the idea with these words, "Let the members of the Corporation not forget that Deenabandhu Andrews is not a

monied man. He has almost literally nowhere to lay his head on—He has no cupboard, no treasure chest, no house of his own. For his very few belongings he needs a caretaker. He never keeps anything for himself. Anybody may take away his box with its contents... To present him with a rich casket or any casket at all would be a cruelty to him." Gandhiji proposed "it would be proper to vote a purse for him to be used for his life mission."

In his reply to the welcome address accorded to him Andrews made certain remarks as to how the Indians in South Africa should behave. He insisted on the necessity of the Indians' living a settled family life in Africa, they should spend their earnings in Africa and should love Africa with a patriotic mind. "Only" he said, "as they become good South and East Africans will they win their way in the affection both of the European settlers in Africa and of the Africans themselves."

Then after a gap of four years—in January 1931, Andrews had to come to South Africa again. His biographers had noted that, "From this time onwards his judgment was that South-Africa-born Indians should cease to look to India for protection but should fight their own battles as South Africans." He was no more thinking of putting pressure on South African Government through the Government of India. This time he was appealing as a Christian who would consider anything racial as unChristian.

The traders in South Africa did not attach much importance to the advice given by Andrews. They would not make Africa their home. They would earn money and live a life detached from the native population. The proposed Asiatic Land Tenure Bill was directed to segregate the Asiatics. A second Round Table Conference was to take place within a year. Andrews made serious efforts to get the Bill postponed as the second Round Table Conference, he said, would review the whole situation. European opinion this time was somewhat favourable. Andrews as usual left no stone unturned. The Land Tenure Bill was suspended. And Andrews had reasons to be satisfied with his own achievement.

In 1932 he was again in South Africa preparing a congenial atmosphere for the coming Round Table Conference.

In May 1934 he once again sailed for South Africa and came back to India on 25th August. This time Zanzibar claimed his whole atten-

tion. The Indians in Zanzibar mainly centred around the clove trade. They were the financiers, middlemen and traders in that trade. The Zanzibar Government with its anti-Indian bias wanted to keep the Indians alienated from the land and to monopolise under state control the clove industry. In a press statement in Bombay on 25th August Andrews put the whole thing very neatly :

"I have just come direct from Zanzibar where the situation has become so seriously critical that the Indian leaders implored me by a wireless message to stay over for a fortnight longer in order to take up their cause. But Mahatma Gandhi had already cabled me to come to Bombay not later than August 25. Therefore I had to hurry up in order to reach Bombay in time. The chief points at issue in Zanzibar are : (1) The right of holding Agricultural lands being taken from Indians by the Land Alienation Act. Indians who were born in Zanzibar are not allowed to hold agricultural land but Arabs who were born in Arabia and are not even British subjects have been allowed to hold it. (2) The Government are taking the clove industry whereon Zanzibar depends, out of the hands of Indians who had always acted as bankers and middle men and making it a state monopoly. This will drive many Indians out of the country owing to unemployment."

The Arabs were being played against the Indians, who made Zanzibar rich and prosperous. Andrews took up their cause and wrote extensively championing their case. A booklet was also prepared by him in the name of The Zanzibar Crisis. In 1936, India the chief consumer of cloves, started a boycott and again Andrews did all he could to make the boycott a success. In 1938 the monopoly was abolished and an agreement was reached to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

This was his last visit to South Africa. Once, after this, he had been to West Africa but that should be left out of this narrative because there he had no struggle to involve himself in. Though he did not return to South Africa, the interest of the Indians there was always the uppermost in his mind. What we have already stated in this article is but a fraction of what he did. A complete biography will someday bring this aspect of his life in details.

C. F. ANDREWS AS A TRADE UNION LEADER

MONI GHOSH

C. F. Andrews had many titles. He was Reverend, Professor, Politician as he had contributions in the fields of religion, education, politics and many others. One such title was Dinabandhu. This last one was offered out of love by the distressed and depressed. Dinabandhu (the friend of the poor) was the most appropriate title being in line with his inner urge. Wherever there were sufferings of the poor and distressed, Andrews was found amongst them with his loving spirit. To render relief to the sufferers he used to go out of his way and on many occasions even moral doctrines would not prevent him from doing so. Once while he was travelling to Jamshedpur by first class he saw that due to overcrowding at the stations many people could not board the train. He saw this from the door of his compartment and pulled up many of them into the compartment. He knew that with third class ticket persons were not allowed to travel in first class—it was an illegal act. He did it as he was Dinabandhu. He would forget all codes when he would find the poor suffering.

Once a Congress worker came to see Mahatma Gandhi from some district of Madras with an appeal. He was Secretary of the local district Committee. As he could not submit a proper account to the Committee, he was urged to pay up the balance, though all members believed and accepted that he did not defalcate the money and was honest. He appealed to Mahatma Gandhi to use his influence. But Mahatma Gandhi felt that one should not only be honest with public money, one should also keep and show proper accounts. The worker was advised to give up Congress work for the time being, earn money to pay back to Congress and then join Congress again. The worker accepted the advice but sought Mahatmaji's help to buy his rail ticket for the return journey as

he had no money. Mahatmaji declared that he could be of no help as the only money he had was public money. The worker was asked to go on foot to Sevagram. Andrews, who was present and heard all the talk, felt this was too much. Next morning Andrews was not to be found at the Ashram. When he came back Mahatmaji asked whether he had been to the station to purchase ticket and put the worker on the train. Both of them smiled. The world knows that Andrews was one of the best devotees of Gandhiji, yet he went against his decision on occasions such as this.

It was in his role as Dinabandhu that C. F. Andrews entered into the Trade Union movement in India. When the strike in 1922 by the workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. at Jamshedpur ended in confusion, the Company wanted to suppress the Trade Union movement in Jamshedpur. The attempts of many leaders to bring about reconciliation failed. The Secretary, late G. Sethi of the Labour Association, found Andrews among the sufferers of North Bengal flood in the year 1923 and acquainted him with the situation of the workers of Jamshedpur and wanted his help in the struggle of Jamshedpur workers. He agreed, came to Jamshedpur and saw the management of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Other events also helped the Association in the matter of conciliation. The Swaraj Party within the Indian National Congress was formed under the leadership of Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and others. They decided to enter in the Provincial and Central Councils provided by the Reform Act. Their policy was to oppose the British Government from within. They captured some of the Provincial Councils and the Central one with a majority. The position was such that any bill opposed by the Swaraj Party could not be passed. Under such circumstances the Labour Association of Jamshedpur approached Deshbandhu C. R. Das and informed him about the labour situation at Jamshedpur. Deshbandhu C. R. Das had successfully negotiated a settlement in a strike by the railway workers immediately before this and naturally the Labour Association at Jamshedpur was hopeful that the intervention of this leader would be helpful to them. C. R. Das wrote to Motilal Nehru to put pressure in the Central Council. After the First World War the position of the Tata Iron and Steel Company was precarious due to the dumping of European steel materials particularly from

Belgium. Their share value dropped down from Rs. 75.00 to Rs. 28.00. The Government agreed to put tariff duty so that the Company would be in a position to compete with Belgian steel. Now passing of this Bill would depend upon the support or neutrality of the Swaraj Party. The Swaraj Party in the Central Council under the leadership of Motilal Nehru was not to oppose the Bill provided the Tata Iron and Steel Co. would behave better with their workers. Knowing this decision of the Swaraj Party some of the Directors of the Company rushed to Simla and saw Motilal with a proposal that a Conciliation Board with Deshbandhu C. R. Das as Chairman and a few others including Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews be formed and they would agree with the recommendations of this Board. The Swaraj Party on this assurance kept neutral while the Tariff Bill was raised in the Council.

Without going to details, it was found that the recommendations of the Board were not accepted by the Company, particularly on the issue of making G. Sethi the Secretary of the Association. G. Sethi was an employee-Secretary and was discharged from the Company for his activities in the Trade Union field. The Conciliation Board entrusted Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Dinabandhu Andrews with the task of finding out further means of conciliation. Almost immediately afterwards Deshbandhu C. R. Das died and the whole responsibility of the work fell on C. F. Andrews.

C. F. Andrews, finding no other way out, approached Mahatma Gandhi and requested him to come to Jamshedpur and to try a reconciliation. Mahatmaji came to Jamshedpur and brought in a compromise under the following terms:—

- (a) The Association should be recognised immediately.
- (b) G. Sethi should be reappointed.
- (c) The Company would deduct the subscription of the members of the Association from their payroll and then hand it over to the Association.

Andrews was not in favour of this last clause and expressed his opinion to Mahatmaji. But Mahatmaji said that without such a step at least for some time, it would be difficult to run the Association and induced C. F. Andrews to accept it.

The management implemented the conciliation agreement although with some delay. G. Sethi was reappointed. The election of the Labour Association was held in which Andrews became the President. G. Sethi and Moni Ghosh became Joint Secretaries and V. G. Sathaye was elected Treasurer. To have mutual reliance and confidence between the workers and the Company Andrews took up a new step in having two officers of the Company elected as Vice-Presidents.

Things went on well for sometime. But differences grew up on ideological issues in the Association itself. C F Andrews, with a group of the Committee members wanted to run the Association on Gandhian lines as practised in the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association and G. Sethi was sent to Ahmedabad for a study of their method of working. Another group of members wanted to run the Trade Union movement on more militant lines. Being in the minority they could not make the Association conform to their way of thinking. Failing to do so they adopted a new tactics of conducting departmental strikes. They used to select such departments that could paralyse the whole or majority of departments of the works. Andrews intervened and brought in settlements to a number of such departmental strikes. Finding a repetition of strikes in departments it was decided to take such a step that would be of benefit to the workers of the whole plant. Andrews brought in a settlement on the Production Bonus—to be calculated on the production of the whole plant—in which all the employees would be benefitted.

In spite of this general agreement, sheet mills and boiler workers were led by the militant group of the Association. At this stage TISCO refused to have further negotiations even with Andrews. In spite of his repeated attempts the strike continued and there was no chance of a settlement. The militant group chose Shri Manek Homi, a local pleader and an ex-officer of the Company to lead their strike. An one-day hartal was announced at the whole plant, a strong picketing being organised at the gates. Many workers, to avoid trouble, refrained from going to work on that day. The Company did not take any steps against the employees who refrained from going to work on this occasion. Another hartal was announced. This time the Company declared lock out which affected all workers whether they were supporters of the strike or not. Finding no other means of settlement, Homi approached Subhas Chandra Bose.

C. F. Andrews during this period repeatedly visited Jamshedpur and attempted a compromise with Homi but without any effect. Andrews suggested that under the existing situation a leader like Subhas Chandra Bose would be more effective and as he was going outside India for some bigger call he would not be able to look after the work of the Association for some time. With the consent of the working committee he saw Subhas Chandra Bose in Calcutta and requested him to take charge of the Labour Association—Subhas Bose refused at first because he had no experience in the field of labour.

After this initial reluctance, however, he agreed to accept the responsibility of the Association and was elected President in absence of Dinabandhu Andrews. Soon after the Board of Directors of the Company agreed to negotiate with Subhas Chandra Bose and it was possible to reach an agreement inspite of some early differences. The agreement had some controversial points on which there was misunderstanding between the Company and the workers. Homi also tried to incite in workers against Subhas Chandra Bose. Ultimately Subhas Bose was able, with his personality and unceasing efforts to clear off the misunderstanding and bring about a satisfactory solution to the crisis.

This anecdote about Subhas Babu may seem irrelevant in connection with Dinabandhu Andrews, but it has been related just to show that Andrews' consideration was primarily the sufferings of the workers. He would consider grouping, parties and even ideology as secondary issues. In his efforts to lead labour on Gandhian principles he had had a temporary set back and he considered that Subhas Babu who had more radical ideas would serve the interests of the workers better. Andrews told us that under the situation Subhas Bose or Jawaharlalji would be more effective and Subhas Babu was the better choice because he was very near Jamshedpur.

C. F. Andrews also advised us that to increase the activities of the Association we must organise our office well and maintain proper accounts.

Dinabandhu Andrews became so prominent in the field of labour through his activities at Jamshedpur during 1923-27 that he was elected President of the only central labour organisation—the Trade Union Congress—for two years, 1925 and 1927. Here again we find an expression of his spirit of service for suffering humanity in that he took charge

of the Trade Union Congress even contrary to the wishes of Mahatmaji. It is known that Mahatma Gandhi advised the workers of Ahmedabad not to be affiliated with the Trade Union Congress as that organisation believed in conflict between the workers and employers. Mahatmaji believed that employers and workers were not conflicting units. They were partners not only for their respective benefits but also for the service of society. In a way they had taken responsibility of supplying utility goods to the members of society. But all that mattered to Andrews was to render service to the poor. Thus he guided Trade Unionism in India, particularly in Jamshedpur, along a new line which, as its outcome, brought in better relation between the workers and the Company as expressed in bipartite agreements, joint committees as also in the participation of workers in management through the Trade Union organisation.

Thus we find that Andrews came to the Labour field (as he did in many other spheres of activity not only in India but throughout the world) because he was Dinabandhu—friend of the poor.

He was found to live a very simple life. Whenever he visited Jamshedpur he used to reside in the Association Office (without any separate accommodation) and sleep in a “rope khatia” which was used by the local Adibasi. He would clad himself in dhoti and punjabi and take Indian food in some of the local workers’ house, in Indian style. We found him sitting on the bare ground in mass meetings along with the workers, when he was not to speak.

We found one great thing in him—he had no anger or hatred for any one—even though he would differ with them on ideology or practice. It was because of this quality that he could become a bond between groups and rival ideologies. This is a rare qualification indeed in this present age.

RABINDRANATH AND ANDREWS

RISHIKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

The initiation of Sister Nivedita into the life, religion and culture of India was the doing of her master Swami Vivekananda. She looked at India through the eyes of her master. But C. F. Andrews came to India not at the call of any master ; rather he came with the full consciousness of his belonging to the ruling class. He was a missionary not completely free from the sense of racial superiority. He believed in the bonafide of the British Empire. It took him some time to realise that India was not a land devoid of history and culture, patiently waiting for the missionaries to come and enlighten her people from darkness. He was shocked to find that even among his Christian community the bond of brotherhood was not as strong and pure as one could desire. Indian Christians were not always accorded equal privileges with European Christians. By 1907 he was publicly writing letters in newspapers with a certain pro-Indian bias. Within a few years Andrews came to feel that he was discovering a new India which demanded his service, not pity.

It was at this stage that he met Rabindranath Tagore for the first time in an enchanting circumstances. After eight years of his stay in India Andrews discovered his master, his 'Guru' in England. The last twenty eight years of his life were years of dedicated service with utmost humility to his guru.

The record of their first meeting is well preserved with a certain tenderness of emotion in the writings of both. Andrews was completely lost in the melody of Rabindranath's poems as they were being read. He wrote, "That night the supreme delicacy and beauty of India's great world culture was brought home to me with overwhelming power as I listened to the Poet's songs and met the Poet himself. It was a night of inner illumination and clear vision." His first meeting with the Poet was the dividing line of his life: "Anyone who know my life before I met the Poet can appreciate how the dividing line came actually here. . . .

He broke through the dull routine of outward form that had imprisoned me upto that time and thus set me free. . . . I feel that I owe the change which I then experienced to him, and it is always a supreme joy to me whenever I am able to acknowledge this debt of love which I owe to him more than to any other human being."

With very quick and sure steps Andrews carved out for himself a place in the intimate circle of the Poet. The idea of making Visva Bharati a meeting place of the East and the West was a dream that entered into the process of realisation with Andrews and Pearson joining it. From the very beginning Andrews was promising help to his friend in all possible ways. He proposed to teach the Poet Greek and wanted to take the burden of translating the Poet's works on himself. His reading of Rabindranath was continually widening the horizon of his mind and he wrote to the Poet on December 12, 1912: "I have been on the borders only of that country which you have explored; but I can follow you in part and see more clearly through your vision." The first meeting gave no indication of the deep friendship that was going to develop and in 1940 Rabindranath, recounting the experience of the first meeting said: "who could have guessed then the richly varied cooperation in deeds and ideas that emerged and continued to the end of his life."

Rabindranath's friendship with Charlie Andrews had a signal effect on the latter. Andrews came to know for certain that the East had its own realisations and his own education was standing in his way of a proper understanding of human relationship in the East. Andrews wrote: "He has been my Gurudeva teaching me to understand and love humanity in the East no less than I have learnt in earlier years to love it in the West. By his love and patience he broke down within me the narrow barriers of religious tradition which has confined me before, owing to my birth, upbringing and education." By December 20, 1912 when Andrews had decided to go to Santiniketan he wrote to Rabindranath that his going to Santiniketan would be a pilgrimage every step of which would be sacred.

His first visit to Santiniketan in March 1913 deepened his love for Rabindranath and his way of life. The concept of 'ashram' moved him very much. He volunteered to take leave from his college and to work in the ashram "as one who is senior and at the same time full of sympathy

with young aspiring life." The very first visit won him certain friends like Dwijendranath Tagore, Kshitimohan Sen, Ajit Chakrabarty, Nepal Chandra Roy etc. What impressed him most was the liberal atmosphere prevailing in the ashram. He was getting eager to free himself from the missionary society. Liberalization of his own Christian thoughts made him restless about drawing his income from the missionary society. He was completely won over by Rabindranath Tagore, whose love and inspiration made him sever his missionary connection and join the ashram. How with Rabindranath's help he came out of the petty sphere of institutional religion could be the subject matter of a real drama. The inner conflict, the doubts and hopes, the breaking away from the Church and holding faster to Christ and the charge of Hindu proclivities against Andrews gave the whole process a tense dramatic colour.

By 1914 his entire range of ideas was undergoing changes of a radical nature. He was then trying to find out a common ground for all religious faiths to meet. Once he had freed himself from the servility of his European education he could formulate for himself the opinion, "that Christianity is not an independent semitic growth, but an outgrowth of Hindu religious thought and life besides." The true India which he was happy to discover was living the life of Gospel for centuries before Christ came and Andrews was indignant that the West had not lived upto the Gospel.

These thoughts had their seeds in some of the poems of Gitanjali. The conventional Christian God was the God of the victorious white people, not the God of "the humblest and lowliest and lost". He was sorry that this simple truth had so long escaped his notice. He expressed his feeling in the following words to Rabindranath: "I feel my whole outlook on life has to be re-shaped and re-modelled: the swing of the pendulum goes backward and forwards; and in my broken wayward life (which has gone through so many convulsions) the oscillations will still be great." A great change was in the offing—he was going to sever his connections with the Mission. The personal bond of intimacy with Rabindranath which helped him to come nearer to Christ was considered by Andrews to be his most valuable possession all through his life.

That Andrews was an attentive reader of Rabindranath's works is a

fact that has been seldom appreciated. How he was overwhelmed by the poems of Rabindranath at the first reading of them that he listened to, is now common knowledge. Does anybody know of any other man who had listened to the reading of poems and decided to dedicate his whole life for the Poet? This was something more than literary appreciation. The pure and sincere person that he was it was only natural for him to delve deep into the mysteries of Indian culture as expressed through the writings of Rabindranath. He liked the life-affirming values of Tagore and often he would use Tagore's dramas and poems as spiritual weapons in the struggle for emancipation of man.

He offered some real criticism of Tagore and they show how deep his understanding of the latter's writings was. He did not like the preface to *Gitanjali* by Yeats and proposed that there should be a new preface. When he received a copy of the *Gardener* he read the poems slowly and quietly knowing well that the path was new and he could not afford to hurry. He was writing to Tagore: "Each flower in your garden seems more beautiful than the one before and I go back over them and read them again and again, before going forward. I do not know the world of beauty you describe, in the way I knew *Gitanjali*; but you take me into it and I can feel it and understand its beauty and in part its meaning." (Oct. 29, 1923) This ecstatic joy deepened further with the reading of 'The Crescent Moon' in which he immediately recognised the highest standard of excellence ever reached in children's poetry in English literature. His own beautiful words are these: "It is all pure gold, full of beauty and innocence, and purity and colour and light. . . . This is all beyond words beautiful and the dear, haunting sweetness of the English is almost flawless. Once or twice it seemed to drop, but the level was supremely high. . . ." He was a fond admirer of 'Sādhana' and often quoted lines from it in his own writings. But his fondness for Rabindranath reaches its height with his comments on the drama "Achalayatan." His own fight for emancipation from the missionary fold had much in common with the struggle of the hero 'Panchak'. Rabindranath told Andrews that he himself was Panchak, the young hero who caring little for the rituals of the ashram sang all the day. After reading the drama again and again Andrews identified himself with Panchak and wrote: "You told me that Panchak was you: and I see it now and understand

you through it. But I am not going to let you have him all to yourself. For he is me too. And you are really Thakurdada. And when Panchak says বকের ভিতরটা যখন ভরে ওঠে তখন তার ভারে মাথা নিচু হয়ে পড়ে। ভক্তি না করে যে বাঁচিলে। I have no doubt of my own identity or of yours. And so you will have to be my দাদাঠাকুর to the end of the chapter." He also understood the significance of the 'Darvaks'—the lower caste people outside the ashram—whom Rabindranath brought in to show that God is found among the lowly and the down trodden. How much he felt himself as one with Panchak is expressed in these words: "Just this morning I received a letter from Canon Allnutt at last (after 2 months of waiting) and in every line of it I could feel the walls of the অচলায়তন closing round me again and I know what to expect the moment I reach Delhi and in Simla too." (Sept. 25, 1914) He knew the characters of Achalayatan through his own experience and was comforted with the thought that his Gurudev who could conceive of Panchak must have known him thoroughly. Another favourite drama of his was Raja (The King of the Dark Chamber). He always felt a complete identification with the queen who was in trouble and was trying to find out peace. Acharya Brojendranath Seal called Raja an 'allegorical drama.' Andrews was furious. He could not understand how somebody could miss the human interest in Raja. He emphatically protested: "Not human! What does this man mean? No you have drawn wonderful and great characters but none greater than this. But it is useless dealing with such a criticism. He cannot understand life and movement. That I suppose is the truth of the matter. His comparison with শারদোৎসব shows also the same fact—a lack of dramatic judgement. . . . 'Not human'! Oh, that makes me really angry with him." (13 November 1914) He gave a sure proof of the soundness of his literary understanding when he said that to call Tagore lyrical in reference to his dramas was a judgement superficial in nature. He fully appreciated the many sidedness of the Poet's mind and creativity. Differing completely from the general trend of criticism Andrews held the following opinion "the completion of that fullness of your nature is the dramatic and there the *creative* power is at its height in you." (13 Nov. 1914) With all these one must also know how energetically Andrews was reading Rabindranath's works before the public and was giving talks on him. In South and East Africa, in

Australia, at the Viceregal lodge in Simla he read Tagore and discussed his art.

From the very first day he became deeply involved in the ashram—in teaching, in looking after the boys, in trying to find out new resources for the institution. He considered Santiniketan his home and whenever he went out for a tour he would express his heart's desire for the calm and quiet of Santiniketan. Every time when he came back from his tours he would assure the Poet that he was now going to stay in Santiniketan permanently. Rabindranath knew this man to the core of his personality. He would just laugh and say that a Railway Time Table should be at hand to help Andrews. Even a cursory glance at his association with Visva Bharati shall take more space than we can afford to spare here. His official positions, the fact of his being the Vice-President of the Visva Bharati University, as well as a teacher are poor accounts of his service to the ashram. Reminiscences written by different inmates of the ashram will give a fuller picture of Ashram-Bandhu Andrews.

In these two kindred souls we find the meeting of the East and the West. In the poem, composed on the occasion of Andrews' reception at Santiniketan Rabindranath received him with these words:—

"From the shrine of the West
You have brought us living water ;
We welcome you, friend
The East has offered you her garland of love."

In 1914 when Rabindranath had gone to spend the summer vacation at Ramgarh, at the foot of the Himalayas, Andrews was also with him. He could study the Poet's mind better than any one else. The fast developing incidents in international politics were stirring the Poet's mind and nobody knows how he came to believe that a great upheaval was imminent. Andrews saw for himself how the Poet was passing through a period of intense agony. When they came back to Santiniketan the Poet wrote certain poems that reflect this agony, poems which the stroke of his genius turned into messages of optimism rather than of frustration. Andrews said that only the sensitive mind of the Poet could presuppose such a disaster. In editing Rabindranath's 'Letter's to a Friend' Andrews had discussed this period of his friendship with the Poet with deep

sympathy and understanding. He had explained how and why Rabindranath wrote three of his famous poems at this time—*The Boatman*, *The Trumpet*, *The Oarsmen*.

In 1916 Rabindranath went to Japan and Andrews accompanied him. Japan was busy developing its military strength and the philosophy of narrow chauvinistic patriotism was its guiding force. Rabindranath blamed it with all the impact of his genius and as a result was being strongly criticised from all corners though a warm reception was accorded to him at first. Andrews saw once again the majestic grandeur of his friend's personality amidst that uncongenial atmosphere. The Poet was asked to write a short poem glorifying a deed of violence committed by two chiefs of rival clans. Both of them died and the ground had been covered with their blood. Rabindranath wrote two lines—

They hated and fought and killed each other :
And God in shame covered their blood with His own grass.

Andrews commented on this incident with these words:—"The beauty of the thought was only equalled by its daring. It is his spirit, ever new, ever young, ever fresh with the fullness of new life, and tender with the wisdom of sorrow, that has continually won my heart and quickened my inner spirit."

This deep and rich friendship, to be delineated in all its features will cover a big volume. Before concluding one cannot help mentioning Rabindranath's reference to Andrews in his great essay 'The Crisis in Civilisation.' The Poet, who had for the last fifty years of his life worked for better understanding between the East and the West, was feeling frustrated because power-madness greed and selfishness were crushing all other nobler human values. But still he could not lose faith in man. There were men like Andrews, who, though very few in number, still helped the Poet to retain his faith in man. The sky was covered with smoke and fire, cannons were roaring all around, the earth was smacking of gun powder but still everything was not lost. In this crisis in civilisation Rabindranath retained faith in the future of man because there in the firmament of human history he saw a shining star—and that was Andrews.

**DEENABANDHU ANDREWS
CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS**

DEENABANDHU ANDREWS CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

The Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Committee was sponsored by the Tagore Research Institute in Calcutta in 1969. The Institute convened a preparatory meeting which formed a committee with Sri Saumyendranath Tagore as president.

Thirty years have passed since Andrews' death. India is not the same old India for which Andrews worked all his life. It is geographically truncated though politically free from British rule. The population has grown fast, refugees from the neighbouring state have been continuously pouring in—and in spite of the massive Five Year Plans the younger generation feel frustrated and confused. Political opportunism, unprincipled electoral alliances and infantile disorder in the ranks of the leftists have shattered the older values that men like Andrews prized much. The concepts of friendship, love and tolerance are now ridiculed and 'Ahimsa'—which was a deep faith with Andrews has now not many serious adherents. People, who had the great fortune to work with Andrews and to know him intimately, had not written much worth-mentioning about him. No body cared to pass on his message to the next generation.

With this perspective in mind the Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Committee proposed to organise a series of meetings amongst the workers and students. The warm response of the audience was a sort of revelation to the Committee. Small booklets were in great demand and some members of the Committee took up the work of writing such booklets with zeal. While working on Andrews the Committee realised that nothing has actually been done to present Andrews in his real proportions. For thirty six years—from 1904 to 1940—the newspapers in India were constantly publishing news items statements, letters, articles on him. His own statements were always in demand. These supply mines of information, which up till now have remained unnoticed and unutilised. So the

Committee proposed the formation of a research team which would go on working on the history of the life and times of C. F. Andrews.

The Committee issued a programme which among other things included:—

1. To organise a central meeting on 12th February 1971 in Calcutta.
2. To publish a short English biography of Deenabandhu Andrews.
3. To publish a fully detailed biography in Bengali.
4. To publish a centenary volume.
5. To publish statements, lectures of and news items on Andrews collected from different journals.
6. To request the Government to issue a postage stamp on this occasion.

The representatives of the Committee addressed various meetings organised by different schools and colleges and cultural organisations to observe the centenary of C. F. Andrews. The Committee heartily co-operated with these organisations so that more people could effectively participate in the centenary celebrations. The Workers' Education Centre in Calcutta organised a seminar on 'The Role of C. F. Andrews in the Indian Labour Movement', in collaboration with the Centenary Committee. Meetings were organised by Sreerampore Public Library (26.12.1970), Baitanik (27.9.1971), Charu Chandra College (12.1.1971), Shantipur Puran Parishad (12.12.1970), Women's Christian College (2.2.1971) Phillips, Worker's Education Centre Unit (3.8.1971), Eastern Railway Signal Workshop (6.7.1971). On behalf of the Committee Sri S. N. Tagore, Sri Pramathanath Bisi, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Prof. Nirmalchandra Bhattacharya, Rev. I.D.L. Clark, Prof. P. K. Guha and Sri Somendranath Bose addressed these meetings.

On 12th February 1970 the Centenary Celebrations started with a long colourful procession in the morning. People of all communities assembled at 4 Elgin Road, the office of the Centenary Committee at 7 A.M. A life-size portrait of Andrews, specially prepared for the occasion, was placed at the head of the procession. The octogenarian Gandhian leader Kaka Kalekar led the procession. The artists of Baitanik sang in chorus all through the route. The procession reached the Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road cemetery at 8 A.M. where the assemblage was addressed by the great Bengali novelist Tarasankar Bandopadhyaya.

In afternoon the centenary meeting was held at Mahajati Sadan. It was presided over by Acharya J. B. Kripalani. The meeting was inaugu-



Centenary Meeting at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta on 12th February 1971. (L. to R.) Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, Sri Sitaram Sakseria, Prof. P. C. Mohalanobis



Saamyendranath Tagore, President, Centenary Committee placing a wreath
on the grave of Deenabandhu Andrews on 5th April 1970

rated by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis. Other speakers were Kaka Saheb Kalelkar and Sri S. N. Tagore. A message from the President of India Sri Giri was read in the meeting. On 14th February the Centenary Committee had organised another meeting at the Srce Sikshayatan Hall. Prof. Pramathanath Bisi presided over the meeting which was addressed by Sri S. N. Tagore, Prof. P. K. Guha, Sri Sitaram Sakseria and Rev. S. Lahiri.

A letter requesting the appropriate authorities to issue a postage stamp was sent by the Committee on the occasion. The Post and Telegraph Department on 12th February 1971, issued a stamp with a portrait of Deenabandhu Andrews.

The Government of West Bengal was approached by the Committee for a grant of ten thousand rupees to enable it to work out its programme. The Government sanctioned the same amount and we are happy to record this act of cooperation.

In organising this centenary celebration we have received friendly cooperation from the following organisations: Calcutta University; Visva Bharati University; National Library, Calcutta; Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; Nehru Museum, New Delhi; St. Stephen's College, New Delhi; Workers' Education Centre, Calcutta; Santiniketan Ashramik Sangha; Baitanik and Tagore Research Institute, Calcutta.

Here we publish the address by Tarasankar Bandopadhyaya and Acharya J. B. Kripalani and the message from the President of India.

Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi-4
January 28, 1971.

We are shortly celebrating the Centenary of Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews. Of the many illustrious foreigners who lent steadfast support to the cause of Indian independence, the name of C. F. Andrews will always be remembered with affection and regard. He was a devoted and constant friend and adviser of Mahatma Gandhi in the formative years of our national struggle. It is fitting that free India should remember this sincere friend with gratitude and pay homage to him which he so rightly deserves.

The ideal which guided C. F. Andrews to throw in his lot with the downtrodden Indian people was in keeping with the best tradition of Christian philosophy and the highest quality of human fraternity and compassion. It was his love and sympathy that earned for him the popular title of "Deenabandhu".

On the auspicious occasion of the centenary of the birth of this great friend of India, let us resolve to imbibe in ourselves the spirit of sincerity, service and sacrifice which C. F. Andrews exemplified. I wish the Centenary celebrations every success.

V. V. Giri.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

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আজ দীনবন্ধু এন্ড্রুজের জন্মশত দিবস।

যে মৃত্তিকায় জন্ম, সেই জন্মভূমির মৃত্তিকা থেকে বহুদূরে ভিন্ন এক মৃত্তিকাকে স্বতীয় জন্মভূমি বলে গ্রহণ করে জীবনান্তে সেই মৃত্তিকার ক্রোড়ে যিনি চিরশয়ান আছেন, তাঁর সেই অনন্ত শস্যার কোলের কাছে দাঁড়িয়ে, সেই স্বিজোন্তম দীনবন্ধু এপ্তজকে আমাদের অন্তরের সফুতজ্ঞ, সপ্রাশ্ন ও সপ্রোম প্রণাম নিবেদন করি।

আজ এই পবিত্র অনুষ্ঠানে দাঁড়িয়ে আমি অন্তরে অন্তরে বিশ্বাস করি আজিকার দিনটি জাতি-ধর্ম-বর্ণ ও সম্প্রদায় নির্বিশেষে সমস্ত ভারতবাসীর কাছে পবিত্র দিন। কেউ শুধু তাঁর

নাম জানেন, তাঁর সম্পর্কে আর কিছু জানেন না; কেউ তাঁর নামও শোনেন নি। যারা তাঁকে দেখেছেন ও জানেন এবং তার সঙ্গে দেশের যারা তাঁর নামও শোনেন নি তাঁদের সকলেরই সমীক্ষিত কৃতজ্ঞতা ও শ্রদ্ধা অবশ্য দেয় করার মত দেয় রয়েছে এই মানুষটির কাছে। তাই সমগ্র দেশের সমস্ত মানুষের হয়ে তাঁর কাছে সকলের শ্রদ্ধা ও কৃতজ্ঞতা নিবেদন করি।

তাঁর যে অনন্ত শস্যক্ষেত্র আজ আমরা কোলে নিয়ে এখানে সমবেত হয়েছি সেই মৃত্তিকা আমাদের কাছে তীর্থধূলার সমতুল্য। তাঁর পবিত্র দেহের স্পর্শে এখানকার মাটি তীর্থ ভূমিতে পরিণত হয়েছে। আমাদের সকলের ললাটে এই ধূলার পবিত্র স্পর্শ লাগুক; সেই স্পর্শের প্রভাবে, আমি বিশ্বাস করি, আমরা অন্তরে পবিত্র হব, শুদ্ধ হব, নম্র এবং নত হব।

তিনি তৎকালীন রাজার জাতি ইংরাজের ঘরে জন্মগ্রহণ করেছিলেন, কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও প্রায় সব ভারতবাসীর চেয়ে অধিকতর ভারতীয় ছিলেন; তাঁর জন্ম হয়েছিল ইংলন্ডে, কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও প্রায় সব ভারতবাসীর চেয়ে ভারতবর্ষ জন্মভূমি হিসাবে তাঁর কাছে অধিকতর সত্য ছিল, অধিকাংশ ভারতবাসী যে ধর্ম বিশ্বাস করে তাঁর ধর্মবিশ্বাস তা থেকে পৃথক ছিল, কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও প্রায় সব ভারতবাসীর নিজ নিজ ধর্মে বিশ্বাসের চেয়ে প্রকৃত ভারত ধর্মে তাঁর বিশ্বাস অধিকতর দৃঢ় ও গাঢ় ছিল।

যে মৃত্তিকায় তাঁর জন্ম, এই শতাব্দীর প্রথমভাগেই সেই ভূমি ত্যাগ করে তাঁর ধর্মের অধিদেবতা মানবপুত্র খৃষ্টের মদুচ্ছবিকে হৃদয়ে ধারণ করে ভিন্ন ধর্মের দেশ, ভিন্ন মৃত্তিকা এই ভারতবর্ষে তিনি এসেছিলেন এখানকার কোটি কোটি মানুষকে সেবার পথে তীর্থ পথচর্চা করতে। কিন্তু দেশে দেশে দরিদ্র, নিপীড়িত, ক্লিষ্ট মানুষের প্রতিটি গৃহাঙ্গনে যে তীর্থভূমি বিস্তৃত তা পরিক্রমা আর সমাপ্ত হল না; এই দেশের মৃত্তিকায় তিনি এক নবজন্ম পরিগ্রহ করলেন। ভারতবাসীর সঙ্গে এক প্রাণ এক আত্মা হয়ে ভারতের নিজস্ব জীবনধারার সঙ্গে নিজের জীবনকে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িয়ে ফেলে প্রাচ্যের এই মহাকাশতলে তাঁর পরম দেবতা যীশুকে মানবপুত্ররূপে আপনার অন্তরে লাভ করলেন। এই দেশের মৃত্তিকায় পুনরায় যিনি নবজন্ম লাভ করে কৃতার্থ হয়েছেন তাঁকে পরম শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে প্রেমের সঙ্গে আজ আবার পুনর্বীর তাঁকে আমাদের জ্যেষ্ঠ সহোদর ও ভারতবাসী বলে গ্রহণ করি। এবং সেই স্নেহভাজনকে আমাদের আন্তরিক প্রীতি ও প্রণাম নিবেদন করি। বলি—যে মৃত্তিকায় ভূমি শূন্যে আছ তা তোমার মাতৃকোড়ে; সেই মাতৃকোড়ে ভূমি অনন্তকাল প্রাণের আরাম লাভ কর।

আপনার সমগ্র অস্তিত্বের আত্মান্তিক তৃষ্ণায় স্বর্গত এগুড়ুজ খৃষ্টকে সম্মান করতে চেয়েছিলেন শব্দ মাত্র জীবন-পন্থারূপে নয়, পরম সত্য রূপে। এই আত্মিক সম্মানের সম্যক অর্থ তিনি আপনার প্রাণের তৃষ্ণার আলোকেই সঠিকভাবে ও সম্পূর্ণভাবে উপলব্ধি করতে পেরেছিলেন। তাই তিনি উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন, এই সম্মানের অর্থ হল তাঁকে পরিপূর্ণভাবে সং হতে হবে, সত্যের সঙ্গে কোন অবস্থায় কোন আপোষ করা চলবে না। তাই জীবনে যেমন একটি একটি করে পদক্ষেপ করেছেন তেমনি একটি একটি করে সংসারের নির্মোহ পরিভ্রমণ করেছেন। প্রথম থেকে দ্বিতীয় পদক্ষেপের সময় যা প্রেরণ বলে গ্রহণ করেছেন, পরবর্তী তৃতীয় পদক্ষেপের সময়, পরম শ্রদ্ধায় গৃহীত সেই প্রেরণ যদি বাধাস্বরূপ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে, তাহলে বিবেকের অন্তর্জ্যোতির আলোকে ও নির্দেশে তাকে জীর্ণ নির্মোহের মত পরিভ্রমণ করতে তিনি এক মদুহৃত সন্ধা করেন নাই। এই সন্ধাহীন আত্মিক অকুতোভয়তাই তাই সদ্যোজাত

শিশুর মত তাঁর সর্বাবরণহীন, বিমুক্ত, নির্মল, নন্দ সন্তাটিকে শেষ পর্যন্ত তাঁর উপাস্য দেবতা খৃষ্টের পদপ্রান্তে পৌঁছে দিয়েছিল। তাই বা কেন, শেষ পর্যন্ত তাঁর সমগ্র অস্তিত্ব মানবপুত্রের দ্বারা জ্যোতির ছায়া পড়েছিল।

তাই তাঁর পৃথক-আত্মা সংস্কারের কোন সীমার বন্ধনকে কোন দিন স্বীকার করতে পারেনি। তরুণ বয়স যখন তাঁর, তখনই ধর্মপ্রাণ রাজক পিতা ভবিষ্যতে পৈত্রিক ধর্ম-সম্প্রদায়ভুক্ত হয়ে রাজক হবার জন্য তাকে প্রস্তুত হতে অনুরোধ জানিয়েছিলেন। কেম্ব্রিজ বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয়ে পাঁচ বৎসর ছাত্র হিসাবে অতিবাহনের পর ট্রাইপজ পরীক্ষার কৃতিত্বের সঙ্গে প্রথম বিভাগে পাশ করলেন এংলুজ। এই পাঁচ বৎসরে তিনি পড়েছেন অনেক, দেখেছেন অনেক, ভেবেছেন আরও বেশী। সেই অভিজ্ঞতার ও বোধের আলোকে তিনি মনস্থির করলেন। ধর্মপ্রাণ পিতার বিগত অনুরোধের পটভূমিতে মনস্থির করা সুকঠিন ছিল। কিন্তু বিবেকের নির্দেশে তিনি পরিত্যক্তভাবে আপন সংকল্পে অটল থাকলেন। সংকীর্ণ পৈত্রিক ধর্মগোষ্ঠী পরিত্যাগ করলেন এংলুজ। ইংলিশ চার্চের উদারতর মতে তিনি দীক্ষিত হলেন। এই চার্চ অফ ইংল্যান্ডের গণ্ডীর মধ্যেও তিনি শেষ পর্যন্ত থাকতে পারেন নি। ধর্মরাজক-বৃত্তির প্রতিটি আবেদনকারীকে 'বৃক অফ দি কমন প্রেয়ার'-এর নিয়মাবলীতে স্বীকৃতি দিতে হয়। এই নিয়মাবলীতে এমন কয়েকটি সূত্র আছে যার তলায় উন্মুক্ত বিশ্বাস নিয়ে সেই করা তাঁর পক্ষে সম্ভব ছিল না। তবু মোটামুটিভাবে সমগ্র নিয়মাবলীতে সেই তিনি করলেন মানসিক স্বেচ্ছা সত্ত্বেও। কিন্তু সেই সব নিয়ম তিনি শেষ পর্যন্ত মানতে পারেননি। তখনই তিনি বুঝেছিলেন তিনি দারিদ্রসমাজের মধ্যে কাজ করবেন, এই তাঁর জীবনে ঈশ্বরের বিধান।

ভারতবর্ষে তিনি এসেছিলেন মিশনারীর শূন্যবস্ত্রে আবৃত হয়েই। কিন্তু পরম সহিষ্ণু, পরম প্রেমিক খৃষ্টের যে করুণাঘন দৃষ্টিতে বর্ণান্ধতা নেই সেই দৃষ্টিলাভের যিনি তপস্বী, তাঁর অঙ্গ থেকে কবে, বোধহয় নিজেরই অগোচরে একদিন সেই বেশ নির্মোহের মত স্থলিত হয়ে গেল। তিনি খৃষ্টের পরিপূর্ণ সেবকরূপে ভারতের ভূমিতে পুনর্জন্ম লাভ করলেন। আত্মজীবনীতে তিনি বলেছেন—“আমি কেবলই ভারত-আত্মার অন্তর্নিহিত সৌন্দর্যরূপের সঙ্গে পরিচিত হতে চাইছিলাম। এই অধরা রূপকে কখনো বা বুঝি দৃষ্টির বন্ধনে বেষ্টেছি, আবার চকিতে তা আমাকে এড়িয়ে গেছে। কখনো বা আমার আকাঙ্ক্ষিত ভারতবর্ষকে আমি প্রত্যক্ষ করেছি পথের মানুষের মূখে—সেই মুখ আবার হারিয়েছে মূহুর্ত পরে। দিল্লীতে বসে ভারতবর্ষকে আমি চিনতে পারিনি!...বিদেশী মিশনারী আমি হতে চাইনি, আমি চেয়েছি ভারতের নিজস্ব জীবনধারার সঙ্গে আমার জীবনকে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িয়ে ফেলতে। এই ভারত-ভূমিতে বসে যদি আমি আমার পরম প্রভু যীশুকে প্রকৃত মানবপুত্ররূপে অন্তরে পেতে চাই, তা হলে ভারতবাসীদের সঙ্গে এক প্রাণ এক আত্মা হয়ে যেতে হবে আমাকে—বিদেশী বলে দূরে থাকলে চলবে না।”

আমরা সকলেই জানি শেষ পর্যন্ত তিনি দূরে ছিলেন না। শেষ পর্যন্ত তিনি ভারত-বাসীদের সঙ্গে এক প্রাণ এক আত্মা হয়ে গিয়ে তাঁর পরম প্রভু যীশুকে প্রকৃত মানবপুত্ররূপে অন্তরে লাভ করেছিলেন। সেই কারণেই অন্তর মূর্তির ছায়া অপ্রান্তভাবে জীবনের যে বাহিরগাঙ্গেও স্পর্শ করে তাঁর সেই বাহিরগাঙ সম্পূর্ণ পরিবর্তিত হয়ে একটি সহজ সাধারণ ভারতীয়ের মূর্তি গ্রহণ করেছিল। তাঁকে আমি একবার দেখেছিলাম শান্তিনিকেতনে। তাঁর

হস্তীদন্তের মত শূদ্রবর্ণ, স্থির বিদ্যুতের মত উজ্জ্বল অথচ শান্ত-প্রসন্ন নীল ছোট ছোট দাঁটি চোখ আর মাথার অবাধ্য চুল চিনিয়ে দিচ্ছিল তাঁর ব্যক্তিত্ব; তা ছাড়া হাতের ও বুকের বোতাম খোলা মোটা কাপড়ের টেনিস সার্টে, অতি অভ্যস্ত মোটা ধূতিতে, খালি পায়ে তাকে অন্য বাঙালী ভট্টলোক থেকে পৃথক করে চেনার কোন উপায় ছিল না।

যিনি সম্পর্করূপে ভারতীয় হয়ে তাঁর প্রেম আদর্শের পদপ্রান্ত স্পর্শ করেছিলেন তাঁর সম্পর্কে তাঁর বিভিন্ন কীর্তির কথা পৃথক পৃথকভাবে উচ্চারণের প্রয়োজন আছে বলে মনে করি না। তিনি ভারতীয় শ্রমিকদের কল্যাণের জন্য আপ্রাণ করেছেন, তিনি ভারতীয় স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে বরাবর আমৃত্যু অচ্ছেদ্যভাবে যুক্ত ছিলেন, তিনি ভারতের দুই প্রেম্য পুরুষ মহাত্মা গান্ধী ও মহাকবি রবীন্দ্রনাথের সহকর্মী ও সহমর্মী ছিলেন—এ সব কথাই এহ বাহ্য। তাঁর সামগ্রিক কীর্তি অবশ্যই একান্ত বৃহৎ ও মহৎ। কিন্তু তিনি তাঁর সামগ্রিক কীর্তির চেয়ে মহন্তর ছিলেন।

সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষ এশ্বজকে অভিহিত করেছে দীনবন্ধু বলে। ভারতবর্ষের মানুষের কাছে মহাপ্রভু পরমেশ্বরের মূর্তি জগন্নাথের অপর নাম দীনবন্ধু। পরম করুণাময় জগন্নাথের করুণার প্রতিবিম্ব এই মানুষটির চরিত্রে বিম্বিত হয়েছিল। দীনবন্ধু নামে অভিহিত করে ভারতবর্ষ তাঁকে যে কোন চরম সম্মানের চেয়েও প্রেম্যতর সম্মানে ভূষিত করেছে।

আজ ১৯৭১ সালের ১২ই ফেব্রুয়ারী, তাঁর লৌকিক শতবর্ষপূর্তির দিন। আজ তাঁর অনন্ত শস্যার আসন থেকে প্রত্যাশা করি একবিংশ শতাব্দীর চতুর্থ বৎসরের ২০শে মার্চে পুণ্য প্রভাতের, যেদিন তাঁর ভারতবর্ষে নবজন্মলাভের শতবর্ষ পালিত হয়! আশা করি সেদিন আমাদের নবীন প্রজন্ম আজকের মতই তাঁর প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা ও সম্মান প্রদর্শন করে তাঁর অপরিশোধ্য ঋণ পুনরায় স্বীকার করবে এবং শ্রদ্ধা ও প্রণামের দ্বারা তা শোধ করবার আন্তরিক প্রয়াস করবে।

J. B. KRIPALANI

These days I do not accept public engagements. At my age, I am averse to travelling, having wandered enough in my life. But the insistence of friends, coupled with the fact that I would be paying my humble tribute to the memory of a dear friend, induced me to consent to be present here on this occasion. However, when I gave thought to what I shall speak, I was confused. When accepting the invitation I had thought that I would simply off-hand add a few more words to the many that are being spoken in India these days by high salaried people. These words convey no meaning to the listeners and carry no conviction because they are not translated in fruitful action by those who utter them.

The question then was what I should speak on the occasion, to whom, for whom and to what purpose! What message can the life and work of Charlie convey to the new generation? The men of my generation in India though born in slavery, lived, grew up and worked at a time when life was more or less settled. Certain moral values had currency not only in India but throughout the civilised world. Even individuals and groups who did not act in accordance with them, through narrow self-interest, uncontrolled appetite and passion and violated the recognised moral values, did not repudiate them and their validity. They had a healthy suspicion that they by their conduct were violating some basic moral principles.

Today, conditions are entirely different. The old values have not merely changed, but what was true, good and beautiful in former days has now become false, evil and ugly. DHARMA has become ADHARMA and ADHARMA has become DHARMA. Conduct that was then considered as decent, desirable and civilised is now suspect. Religion is the opiate of the masses. Public conduct, not always of a high order, has now become more self-regarding and unashamedly opportunist. This has adversely affected individual morals. Social life meant to unite men in fellowship and brotherhood is now considered undesirable. The effort is to accentuate differences and create hatred among individuals and classes. This is considered the only way to bring about, through a violent revolution,

a state of chaos, which will usher in the revolution necessary for the peace and prosperity of the nations and humanity at large! It is seriously held that only "Satan" can exorcise "Satan". This has made the functioning of the ordinary citizen not only difficult but dangerous. In your city and State mothers have told me that they anxiously wait for the safe return of their wards from schools and colleges. In terror wives await the safe return of their husbands from their offices and places of work.

The statues and portraits, not only of respected national leaders, who fought the glorious fight for freedom, but also those of sages and literary geniuses are destroyed. Their books are burnt. There is little respect for parents, elders and teachers. Colleges and schools remain closed for weeks and months together. In some instances teachers and heads of the Universities have been murdered. There seems to be no law in the land. Those who are expected to protect the common citizen, the Police, have been immobilised. Today they themselves need protection. They sometimes, as is natural, retaliate with brutality. This has made confusion worse confounded.

It may be that only a few indulge in the acts of wanton and senseless destruction and cruelty ; but they hold society at ransom, by creating terror in the hearts of innocent citizens peacefully going about their business. The authorities, who should protect the common citizens have ceased to perform the primary function of affording safety to the innocent and have almost completely abrogated their function. Yet they want to retain power and the many privileges which go along with it!

In such an atmosphere what lesson can the life and work of Andrews have for the growing generation? He was a man of peace. He considered humanity as one family and all men as brothers. He not only forgave his opponents (enemies he had none), but also loved them. He was a man of God.

It is not only at the present times that the values for which Andrews stood have been violated, though perhaps not in the fashion that they are done these days. Nevertheless what message could a Prophet or a reformer have for humanity? He cannot stand for untruth, for hatred and violence. The question is only to be posed and the answer should be obvious. There is enough of untruth and hatred in the world for the

reformer to add to it. He can only re-emphasise truth, concord, love and fair play. These may be virtues as old as the hills ; but old as they are they are ever new. They will remain so as long as humanity needs them. They make organised social life possible. Man is not an animal. He attains to his full manhood only in society. His goodness and virtue can be exercised only in organised society. If he abrogates social values man will be as good as an animal ; nay worse, for the latter whatever their violence do not kill members of their own species! Their instinct is more valuable to their kind than man's intelligence, considered as his distinctive mark! The reformers and prophets therefore do not arise among man 'to destroy the law' but to fulfill it. The law can be truly fulfilled only when its scope is widened and deepened. Andrews' life and work is an illustration of this.

He was born this day a hundred years back, in a middle class devout Christian family in the northern seaport of England, Newcastle-on-Tyne. He was the fourth child in the large family of twelve. Throughout his life Andrews preserved a deep affection for his mother who wielded great influence over him during his childhood. Some fifty years later he wrote, "after the loss of the family fortunes, through the deceit and treachery of a family friend, my parents gathered their children around them and in the Christian spirit prayed for the forgiveness of the person who did not know what he had done!" The poverty the family was plunged in was considered by Andrews in after years as a blessing in disguise. He says, "It tightened the bonds of love and united the members of the family in a manner that would not have been otherwise possible. We learnt among ourselves to give place to one another in little things, and to find out true pleasure in personal affections rather than in external possessions. . . . Mother was absolutely untiring all day long and as we watched her pure unselfishness, it made us ashamed to be mean and grasping, or to act in self-indulgent ways". Andrews was thus brought up in the hard school of poverty.

In 1877 his family moved to Birmingham where his father became a Minister of the Catholic Apostolic Church. His father first wanted his son to replace him in the Ministry. but he afterwards resigned himself to the will of God who ordained Andrews as a humanitarian and social servant par excellence. His father was a man of sterling character and

to a great extent guided him in his life and work. He inculcated in him three cardinal virtues ; a deep inner life of prayer, love of nature and concern for the poor. These gave great strength to Andrews in his later years.

It is recorded that about a month before Andrews entered Cambridge in the year 1890, he underwent a spiritual experience, peculiarly his own, which left its lasting mark on him. In his book "What I Owe to Christ" written forty years later, he has indicated that this experience was a turning point in his spiritual life and one which transformed his outlook. He felt that he had come face to face with Christ and that henceforth, his life had been consecrated to the Lord who became his sole guiding force. He became for Andrews "a living Christ", and "all his deepest thoughts were coloured with this vision". The Geeta says in whatever form people approach Me, I confirm their faith therein. However, Andrews did not rest content with his illumination. He wanted to share with others this experience and its joy. He started thereafter befriending and helping the poor so far as he could.

At Cambridge Andrews was a brilliant and hard-working student. At the end of three years when he got a first class in the Classical Tripos and two years later a distinction in Theology, his success amazed him more than others. Through the influence of his friends and admirers, chiefly Bishop Westcott of Durham, he was drawn into the work of the Christian Social Union, which during those days thought about the possibilities of applying the Christian gospel to the social and economic problems of the day. Inspired by this high ideal, Andrews published in 1896, his book 'The Relation of Christianity to the Conflict Between Capital and Labour'.

His interest in the amelioration of the condition of the poor was not merely academic or sentimental. It had deeper roots. He put it in practice and spent his spare time in the Mission House run by his college in Alworth, one of the poorest areas of South London. He joined the permanent staff of the Mission. People of all sorts—sick and cripple, poor and destitute, young and old—packed into his small house and it was joy for Andrews to look to their needs and listen to their tales of woe. His one aim was to remove the main causes of poverty. He would not mind irritating people or facing resentment if it was meant to help the

poor. He worked so hard at his self-appointed mission that he became seriously ill and had to take rest for some time. After his health was restored he returned to Cambridge and became the Fellow and Chaplain of his old College. His friend and guide Basil Westcott—son of Bishop Westcott had since come to India as a Missionary and was in the teaching Staff of St. Stephen's College. He died in Delhi in 1900.

When news of Basil Westcott's death reached Andrews, he decided to come to India. His life in India may be reckoned in three clearly demarcated periods: 1904 to the end of World War I, he devoted himself studying India and its myriad problems. During this period he made many valuable connections with Indians which later became an asset in his work in this country. From 1919 onwards he found himself into the vortex of the national struggle and the problems of social reform. After 1935 he was on account of his declining health a little less active in the public life of India. But he readily responded to the call of every good cause.

Immediately after his arrival in India in the month of April, 1904, Andrews got admitted to the Cambridge Brotherhood and worked as Professor in the St. Stephen's College. The subject that he chose to teach was English Literature. His students soon found that he was a man of wide interests. He introduced them to the liberal and progressive thoughts and ideas in the English literary history. He also urged them to examine their own inherited social system in the light of the ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood. He was always careful to emphasise that nothing positive could be achieved by blindly imitating the West. The process of 'nation-building' must grow within India, taking into account the country's rich social and cultural heritage, rejecting at the same time what was obsolete and retrograde. Whether in the class room or the playground, Andrews' warm sympathy endeared him to all his students.

One of his colleagues in the St. Stephen's College was Sushil Rudra. He was the closest friend of Basil Westcott. Andrews came to have cordial relations with him. Very soon both started living together and Andrews came to be looked upon as a member of the family. It was Rudra who introduced him to Indian life and thought and influenced him in a way that he remembered throughout his life with a sense of gratitude. "Such a close friend as Sushil Rudra", he later wrote, "is very

rarely given in this life to any man. Sushil himself was able to bring me into close contact with all that young India was thinking and also to inspire me with his own ardent devotion to his country. He was a patriot in no ordinary sense of the term". Association with Rudra and contact with other Indians and above all an objective study of the Indian situation led to the shaping of the rebel in him along with the devotee that he already was. When the post of the Principal of the college fell vacant, he was invited to occupy it though he was not the seniormost member of the staff. He declined the offer and wanted the post to be given to Rudra. This was done. Never in the history of this or any other missionary institution in India was an Indian taken though a Christian was appointed as Principal of a college.

The proud and imperious manner in which Englishmen behaved in India and their contempt for everything Indian excited deep resentment among the Indian people. In September 1906 a letter from a 'Saheb' to an English owned newspaper in Lahore, condemning the whole Indian national movement "as the work of a few malcontents no better than ill-disciplined schoolboys", evoked an indignant yet sober reply from Andrews who unequivocally condemned these remarks as unfounded and cruel. This drew the eyes of Indians and Englishmen alike. Within a few months of this incident, he visited the annual Congress Session at Calcutta. He came in contact with the leading Indian national leaders. He came to enjoy the confidence of men like Lajpatrai, Ramanand Chatterjee, Tej Bahadur Sapru and above all, Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Andrews' sense of rebellion against the injustice and humiliation of the Indian people at the hands of his own countrymen brought him in touch with Tagore whom he first met in England in 1912. This eventually led him to Gandhiji. Frequent meetings with the poet turned into a life-long friendship between the two and in the course of time Shantiniketan became his permanent headquarters where as he said his soul derived spiritual satisfaction. He called Tagore his Guru and himself his disciple. The poet on his part showered on him his care and love. Andrews' worldwide sympathies and spiritual yearnings had made him a homeless wanderer. About the time the first World War broke in Europe, he was convalescing in Shantiniketan after an acute attack of cholera. He was nursed back to health by the poet. This for Andrews

was an act of overwhelming kindness and he remembered it ever after. It is difficult to assess the deep influence of Tagore and Gandhiji on Andrews. The former instilled in him the love for solitude and peace and the joy of life and the latter inspired action and strenuous personal involvement in the suffering of the poor.

Andrews for some time had followed with deep interest the unique Satyagraha struggle initiated by Gandhiji to save the dwindling rights of the Indian citizens settled in South Africa. When in November 1913, Gandhiji started his historic "March to Transvaal", Gokhale toured India for mobilising public opinion. He collected funds to help the Satyagrahis. When one morning in late 1913 Andrews came to meet Gokhale in Delhi, the latter explained to him about the nature of indenture labour and what it meant in terms of exploitation, slavery, injustice, immorality, suffering and the high rate of suicide through despair. Gokhale implored him to fight to end the evil system in the name of God and humanity. Andrews made his decision then and there. He had already resigned his professorship in the college for joining Shantiniketan and now staked all for this cause. As Andrews left the room, Gokhale was heard murmuring, "God has sent me the man I needed. Now the work will be done, though I shall not see the end of it; for the hand of death—as I know well—is already upon me".

Andrews' association with Gandhiji began in 1914 in South Africa and it was the beginning of a remarkable friendship which grew with years. Andrews had gone there at the behest of Gokhale to help the work already undertaken by Gandhiji. On his arrival there, he touched Gandhiji's feet in the traditional Indian style. This shocked the white community there. He did not care for this adverse opinion he had created in their minds. Andrews was deeply impressed by Gandhiji's ideals of truth and Ahimsa. At the Phoenix Ashram when he witnessed the quiet determination coupled with the utter humility of the Satyagrahis, he realised Gandhiji's capacity to evoke devotion and self-sacrifice among those who worked with and under him and the potentiality of non-violent passive resistance. This to him was almost a religious revelation. His work for the amelioration of the indentured labour there drew the remark from Gandhiji, "Mr. Andrews does not have the power of a government in his hands; but he has greater power than that; the

solemn voice of his grief-stricken soul". Andrews did not fail to acknowledge his debt to the Mahatma for showing him the way how Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount could be applied to day-to-day problems. "Mahatma Gandhi has taught me" said he, "more than any other living person, to face up to the true significance of the Sermon on the Mount—not as an unpractical ideal, but as the most practical of all methods of overcoming evil in this world."

The work for indenture labour took Andrews to the island of Fiji in the Pacific. Regardless of any consideration for his own physical comforts and even risking his life, he brought to light the horrible conditions prevailing and above all the moral issues involved in this system. Even the Indian community there at times suspected his motives, but its members soon came to recognise their error. They conferred upon him the title—*Dcenabandhu*—friend of the poor. He was instrumental in bringing indenture to an end during his two visits to the island, first in 1915 and then in 1917.

A close look at the life of this unique Christian will convince the observer that he walked the way of Christ and was one of his faithful apostles. When he first arrived in India, he was not without the inherited attitudes and prejudices of a middle class Englishman impressed by the grandeur of the British Empire and the rightness of British rule in India—but as he came in closer contact with Indians, the realisation dawned upon him that despite its short-term advantages, the British rule in India would ultimately lead to ruin of both India and Britain. Coming in contact with Tagore and Gandhiji he realised the full moral and spiritual import of the teachings of Christ. He wrote in 1932, "After nearly thirty years of my life spent in the East, certain great facts in my own religious thinking stood out in the foreground. By far the greatest of these is this that Christ had become no less central but more central and universal not less divine to me, but more so, because more universally human. I can see him as the pattern of all that is best in Asia as well as in Europe." His own faith in the living presence of Christ made him sceptical of all ecclesiastical creeds, dogmas and ceremonials. This was one reason why he had often been dubbed as a heretic and looked upon with suspicion by his own white co-religionists. But his faith never wavered and he remained

steadfast to the ideals he had scrupulously set before himself while still in the prime of life.

Stories and anecdotes can be multiplied to illustrate Andrews' abiding faith in Christ and the Gospel. While once in South Africa when a student asked him, as to why must he always drag Christ in everything and could not leave HIM out of it, he calmly replied, "I could no more leave HIM out of things than I could stop breathing". It is both interesting and significant that it was a non-Christian who addressed him as "Christ's Faithful Apostle". It was again a non-Christian who requested him to write a life of Christ as in his opinion he was the only man who could write this book for he had lived like Him all those thirty years.

Andrews' life and work show that there is no difference in the essential doctrines of the great religions of the world. Rather coming in contact with other religions confirms only ones' faith in one's religion. This obviates the necessity for proselytising. Gandhiji studied Christianity and coming in contact with the best minds of the faith became a more ardent and confirmed Hindu: Whenever he was in difficulty, he turned to the Bhagwad Gita and he always found the consolation he needed. Likewise, coming into contact with the best minds of the Hindus, Charlie became a more confirmed Christian, with his faith in Christ and his teachings evergrowing. This shows that in order to realise the truth one need not abandon his own religion and be converted to some other faith. The necessity is for everybody to follow faithfully the basic teachings of his own scriptures, for the Muslim to be a true Muslim, for the Christian to be a true Christian, for the Buddhist to be a true Buddhist, for the Hindu to be a true Hindu and so on. If this attitude of mind is adopted, there will be no religious strife in the world which has darkened the pages of human history throughout the ages. This is the way we Indians have to learn even today if there is to be communal peace in India.

It may be asked and quite pertinently as to what India owes to Andrews. The answer can be given in various ways but it can, however, be confidently asserted that he was one of the rare foreigners belonging to the white ruling race who thought it was his mission to awaken the West to India's inherent greatness. He tried to be a bridge between the East and the West. This did not prevent him from urging upon the Indians the necessity to drive away their most glaring defects and failures.

Nothing troubled him more than the existence of untouchability among the Hindus. It was in contradiction to his humanist creed that all men are brothers and there is no "Jew or Gentile", "circumcised or uncircumcised". That he took part in our struggle for freedom and wrote and talked incessantly to further its cause and wished a brighter future for India is enough for him to find an honourable place in the history of our Indian Independence Movement. What is more significant is that his whole time in India was spent in the service of the poor and the down-trodden not for any material reward, but in the belief that he was only serving the cause of righteousness and his Master who for him was the embodiment of that virtue.

The secret of Andrews' universal appeal was that he combined the piety of a devout Christian with the intellect of a modern scholar concerned with the crucial problems of his times. In Modern India as we see it today, he would have been as great a misfit as are his guru Rabindra Nath Tagore and his friend Gandhiji.*

* Presidential Address at the Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Celebration held at Mahajati Sadan Calcutta on 12 February 1971.

FROM

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

CHANCELLOR, VICE-CHANCELLOR AND FRIENDS,

You will pardon me to-day if I speak chiefly to those who are students ; for my whole life has been spent in the student world, among the young, and I have a deep love for them which seeks to find its utterance at a time like this in the hope that some word of mine may cling to their memories long after Convocation Day is over. For the same reason, also, what I write will be direct and simple. Need I add that this deep love for Bengal and its students had its origin in my own revered teacher, Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore? Never has any one had such a friend and guide as he has been to me!

So let me take, as my main theme, the phrase that Professor Whitehead has set in the forefront of his book, called *Science and the Modern World*. He has dedicated it thus: "*To my colleagues, past and present, whose friendship is inspiration.*"

"Whose friendship is inspiration!" It is concerning the transforming power of friendship, between teacher and taught, and also between students themselves, that I wish to speak. For that 'Friendship' as Whitehead rightly says, 'is inspiration'.

Let me venture to show you out of my own lifelong personal experience, both as a student and as a teacher, the supreme truth of those words—how the very best scientific and literary work requires this background of friendship for its highest fulfilment ; how the student, or the teacher, who has never made a friend, has lost the one pearl of great price which the University has to offer: how the basis of all sound learning in human affairs is laid in fellowship and friendship.

When I look back on my own undergraduate days at Pembroke College, Cambridge, the one permanent and abiding thing that made all the difference to me, was the profound reverence I had for my Tutor, Charles Hermann Prior. He let me enter into his own inner life and

shared his deepest thoughts with me. His friendship was my inspiration. He was one of those pure in heart who see God: and so he taught me not only the Hebrew of the Bible, but also to look steadily into that unseen world where his own mind had found its rest.

Along with him, was one who became our President, Sir George Gabriel Stokes, the greatest man of science in his own generation, whom men like Lord Kelvin used to call their Master. He was completely unselfish, and would give to his pupils freely his own most fruitful thoughts, in order that they might get the world's praise rather than himself. The undergraduates used to call him "the Angel Gabriel", because in his old age his face was almost heavenly to look at. He was so accessible that even when he was long past eighty, he would welcome me into his own home, and encourage me to come and sit with him in order to learn something of his spirit.

Then, last of all, there was Edward Granville Browne—'Persian Browne', we used to call him—who at that time had just become world-famous in literary circles through his book, *A Year among the Persians*. So brilliant was he as a linguist that I have heard him carry on four conversations at once at the High Table in four different languages with perfect ease and without a pause for a word. His room in College, in the Ivy Court, used to be our *rendezvous*, late into the night, while he told us about the East. The debt I owe to his friendship can never be repaid. He turned my face towards India and made the Eastern world a living reality to me. No one in Cambridge understood the Spirit of Islam as he did. The admiration, at its highest point, that I have always retained for the Muslim Faith, had its early beginning in my friendship with this profound Arabic and Persian scholar.

So I could go on, one by one, to describe my teachers. They were not merely known to us in the lecture theatre. They lived with us and shared our lives. What, in ancient India, I have read concerning the great teachers of those early days in the forest *asrams*, was true in its own degree of these teachers of ours at Cambridge. Their friendship was our own inspiration.

May I dare to tell one other story—not of a teacher this time, but of a fellow student. Basil Westcott, the youngest brother of Bishop Westcott of Calcutta, and the son of old Bishop Westcott of Durham, was my

dearest college friend. He was at Trinity and I was at Pembroke: but we lived in each other's rooms and used to have our meals together and thus met every day. This one friendship with Basil Westcott meant most of all to me in College days. We shared our thoughts and aspirations; we talked over together our life purposes, and were one in mind and heart.

When Basil Westcott had taken his degree, he went out to St. Stephen's College, Delhi as a teacher, and while he was there he became the closest friend of Susil Kumar Rudra, who was then Vice-Principal. Basil used to write to me every week about the College, and in this way I first got to know his friend Susil. Then he himself died a very noble death: for while he was nursing a sick patient he caught the dread infection of cholera, and thus passed away. The whole student world of Delhi mourned his loss.

As soon as the news came of Basil's death, I knew that the call had come at last to go out to India in order to take his place. Susil Rudra welcomed me at once as the friend of his own friend, and thus we were brought close to one another from the very start. When later, as the years went on, our mutual affection grew deeper, I caught from Susil the flame of his own burning love for his mother country, India. For love of country was the deepest passion of his life.

Susil had received his education and taken a high degree at Calcutta University late in the seventies of last century. He was much older than I was, and I held him in the highest regard for his sheer goodness. He told me how at one time, in his undergraduate days, he had nearly lost his faith and thrown over religion altogether; but Father Brown, of the Oxford Mission, in Cornwallis Street, had wonderfully befriended him and had saved him from such a great disaster. The daily life of prayer, which the Oxford Brothers led, had restored his own firm belief in God, and this bedrock faith had gradually become the deepest thing in all his life. It had kept his heart and soul pure as nothing else could do.

There was a quiet dignity about Susil Rudra which never left him for a moment. It gained for him in Delhi the playful name of the 'Burra Sahib': but a gentler, humbler, kinder soul never existed. He was my own principal for nearly ten years, and it was a supreme joy to me to work under him. Then, at last, in 1913, he gave me up, without a

single word of rebuke or hesitation, so that I might go to Santiniketan, which has been my loved home ever since. How can I possibly tell all that I have learnt there under our Gurudeva!

Let me go back once more to make my meaning clear. If this priceless boon of friendship had not been so bountifully given me in my own early College days, if I had not then learnt what may be truly called the art of friendship, I should never have been able to make friends so easily in Santiniketan itself when I went there from the Punjab. One step led on to another.

What I actually found at Santiniketan when I lived there was the old Cambridge atmosphere all over again—that close touch between the teachers and the students, those small groups and friendships formed between the students themselves, which is the noblest avenue of learning. Above all, we had in our Gurudeva an ideal teacher, whom we all could love and reverence. Thus we had our own education set in perfect surroundings. Both the teachers and the students lived together and learnt together. Friendship, to quote Dr. Whitehead once more, was inspiration.

The question now arises—and I confess at once it is very difficult to answer: Can these ideal conditions still continue between pupil and teachers, and also among fellow students in a vast modern city such as Calcutta, when simple friendly intercourse is hampered and restricted on every side by the crowd?

I would answer tentatively that it is still possible in rare cases, even here in crowded Calcutta; for I have actually seen it, in one instance at least, in the very place where we are gathered to-day; and I would like to bear witness to what I saw.

During the Flood Relief of North Bengal, many years ago, I used to come, very early in the morning, by train from Bolpur in order to take instructions from Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray who along with Satis Chandra Das Gupta was in charge of the flood relief operations. I would then go on from him to Sealdah Station. It was easy for me to notice on these occasions, how, in his own Science Buildings, he used to live the life of a true scholar such as India knew and loved of old. For he was clearly in every way the friend of his pupils, sharing with them everything he had, including his own expert scientific knowledge. He would

give them all the credit. It reminded me of Sir George Gabriel Stokes at Cambridge over again. His students were his friends, and he was their *guru*: and if the noble word of my own scripture is true—"Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends"—then it was true of him: for he was literally ready to lay down even life itself for those who were his pupils and whom he called his friends.

Again and again, I used to meet him during those days whenever I went to the flooded areas at Santahar, Pottisar and Atrai, and what I saw of him was always the same. He lived a life of great austerity and sacrificed all for the great work he had undertaken, building up the science side of the University in that important area of practical Chemistry which had been entrusted to him. No wonder the students themselves flocked to him in order to undertake the work of relief of human suffering in North Bengal, when he himself gave them the stirring call. For they knew that there was nothing which he would invite them to undertake that he was not ready first of all to do himself.

I have taken this example, because it is still living and fresh within my own memory, and it came directly into my own life experience. It showed to me how the very greatest difficulties of a modern city life, like that of Calcutta, could be overcome, if only the human spirit were wholly dedicated to the task.

At this point, I would also record my strong conviction that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one of the outstanding Vice-Chancellors of recent times, had the genius to see that in the higher branches of research these ideal conditions between teachers and taught could be repeated in this University, at least among the most brilliant students. For he determined to make Calcutta not merely an examining centre, where thousands of students should sit for examinations, but a teaching University, where studies might be carried on in the higher branches of learning. In this way, it would prove a benefit, not only to India, but to all mankind. With such an object in view, one after other, new Chairs were founded and lecturers appointed in subjects which should keep India in close touch with the most advanced thought of the day. Here, the classes were necessarily, small, and the contact with advanced students thus became happily all the more close. The task of providing funds for this great enterprise was colossal and none but a giant in strength and determination would have

attempted it: but his own generosity stimulated others and in this manner very notable additions to the higher life of the University were brought about by his magnificent effort.

Here, also, under Sir Asutosh's wise direction, in the conduct of this higher research work, whether in literature, philosophy, or science, Calcutta University has refused to be provincial. It has chosen its teachers from every part of India, and also from other lands: for human knowledge knows no local boundaries. The word 'University' itself implies this, and so now you are rightly proud to have had here on your staff not merely scholars from your own country of highest repute, but also such brilliant men as the Nobel Prize Winner, Prof. C. V. Raman, and the Oxford Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics, Professor Radhakrishnan, both of whom have been invited to come to Calcutta from the South. Indeed, more and more it may truly be said, that although this city has ceased to be the political capital of India, it remains, and is likely to remain, for generations to come, the intellectual capital and centre of the whole country. That, after all, is the greatest distinction which can be given to Bengal—to be the beacon light of learning to the whole Eastern world.

Let me give you one further piece of news which shows how knowledge is universal and overleaps all boundaries. A little more than a year ago, I was in Australia, and pleaded with some success before the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Sydney University that their rapidly rising School of Oriental Studies should have its own close contact with India as well as with China and Japan; and now I have a good hope that this will shortly come to pass. Furthermore, in Czechoslovakia, steps have quite recently been taken to institute a lectureship in the Bengali Language at Prague, which is one of the most ancient seats of learning in Central Europe. A Bengali from Calcutta University has already been appointed.

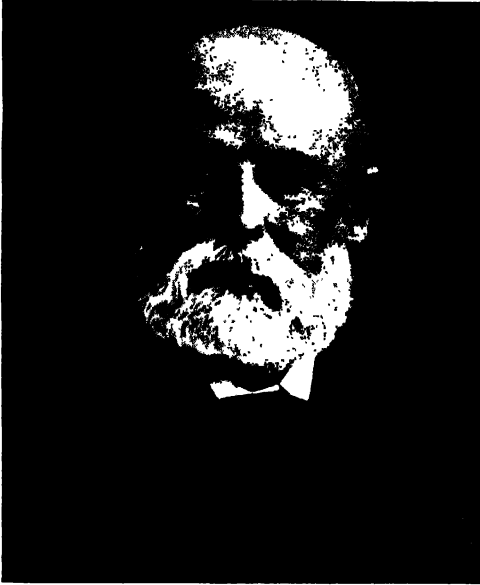
This leads me on directly to another aspect of your University life, about which I would wish to offer you my warmest congratulations. For you are, I believe, the first University in British India to break through the unwholesome tradition of making a foreign language the medium of instruction instead of the mother tongue. You have brought back your own beautiful language into its true and rightful place. Indeed, I acknowledge with a certain sense of shame your own kindly indulgence towards



President, Philosophical Congress, Lucknow



With his family (Andrews standing on the extreme left)



Father, John Edwin Andrews

MY FATHER

I have never known a more unworldly man than he was--one to whom the outward, material things of earthly existence meant so little. He took no thought of food and raiment, as my mother had the greatest difficulty at

times to keep the household going and to make both ends meet. . . . In later years, he used to give us one simple, practical lesson on religion which to him was worth everything else put together. It was this: that if our conscience ever told us clearly, at any time that a certain path was right, then we were to take that path in spite of all consequences. . . . He was an almost perfect teacher for those of his own children who had keen imaginative powers. For he had kept unsullied and pure within himself the simple childlike mind of wonder and admiration. He had always an interest in tiny insignificant details that ordinary people pass by without notice. In addition to this, he had retained the impulsive buoyancy of youth, which made it no conscious effort on his part to be young with us while he was giving us instruction. We used to think of him as one of ourselves rather than as a grown up man. In his large family of children he was the eldest child of us all, sharing our games with us as well as our lesson books. . . . He treated all men alike with a simple trust in human goodness.*

* From 'What I Owe to Christ.'



Mother Mary Charlotte Andrews

MY MOTHER

I had so often wondered what it was that had made me love India with such an intense love. As I told you, it did not come immediately to me, as it did to Willie. It had to pierce its way through a proud and biased spirit.

It was my first friendship with Susil that broke that down : but that does not explain everything : and in this quiet time of peaceful thought with the beauty of my dearest mother's life before me, I can see now what a unique part her love and devotion played in quickening my love for India herself. I was so constantly being reminded of all that I saw and read and learnt about Indian motherhood by what I knew of my own mother. Her character among English woman in this respect was exceptional. She had the passion of exclusive self-sacrifice and devotion for her husband and her children. . . .

What I am trying to express is this that I have been able so easily to leap to the recognition of Indian devotion (when the barrier of pride was removed) because it is so like my mother's. It is true that all the world over, mothers love their children and their homes ; but there was a peculiar colour, and beauty and radiance about this in my mother's case and that beauty and radiance I find more and more in India. It has made India my *home* in a peculiar way. And the death of my mother will make India more my home, not less : it will make me find her in Indian homes.*

* From a letter written to Rabindranath



Swami Sraddhananda

SWAMI SRADDHANANDA

There are two kinds of human temperament, either of which has its own peculiar function. They may be called the aristocratic and the democratic types. The former has a notable

part to play in the world and should never be condemned or contradicted, if it is by nature born in a man, as in the notable instance of Raja Ram-mohan Roy who was a king among men by his very nature. But Swamiji, . . . was democratic by nature. He was always in his bearing, like a simple ordinary man among his fellow men. His use of the word 'brother' when speaking, either to one of the depressed classes, or to some learned pundit, was in no sense formal. All the world was 'brother' and 'sister' to him and the depressed classes were nearest all to his heart.*



SUSIL RUDRA

Not many people know that we owe

C. F. Andrews to Principal Rudra

— Mahatma Gandhi

than brothers. His home was my home and his children were my children. I saw India poor the first day I came to Delhi through his eyes, and he gave me a true vision.

I owe something far deeper still in the transformation of my own religious faith. For my mind which has been obsessed with narrow dogmas gradually widened and broadened in the sunshine of his love and my inner nature gained a new friend. The inner change was constructive and not destructive. For I learnt from my friend to understand what Christ is to the heart of man in new and living ways. . . . This transformation of my Christian faith into a more living reality I regard as the greatest gift which Susil Rudra's friendship brought into my own character and nature.

Principal Rudra has belonged to the larger life of India, just as Dr. Arnold of Rugby belonged to the larger life of England. Amid all cross currents of racial passion and personal bitterness and party strife his own life has remained pure and true. . . . He has fully followed Christ, his Master, who loved to himself the son of man.*

me in allowing me to use my own English to-day as the medium of this address, while only last year the precedent was established whereby, the Poet, our Gurudeva, gave to you in his own matchless Bengali the thoughts he had to offer. In my own case, if I must confess it, the simple truth is this, that like most Englishmen I am very bad at languages and came so late to Bengal that I found myself too old to learn. Also my whole life since then has been far too fully occupied to enable me to sit down quietly and learn both to speak and read Bengali as I ought to have done.

But while I have been discussing these things which are so close to my own heart, I have not forgotten for a moment the great bulk of the students of the University who are unable to go on up to the standard of research work in the higher branches of study, but have to leave the University in order to gain a livelihood at a comparatively early age. How are they to get something at least of that ideal relationship with their teachers and fellow-students about which I have spoken? Crowded as the Colleges are in the very centre of this great city, with noisy traffic around them all day long, with teachers who live at a distance and come in each day for their work and go out again when it is over—how under these conditions, can you really expect to obtain the best that a University is able to offer?

Frankly, it is well-nigh impossible except under rare conditions such as I have already mentioned. One consideration has often weighed with me as it has no doubt weighed with you also. I have wondered whether you have not got to be far-sighted enough, while there is yet time, to move some at least of your residential Colleges out to the suburban area of Calcutta, into less crowded quarters; whether you may not use the modern conveniences of rapid transport in order to get over a part of the supreme difficulty of these vast numbers of city students.

The Christian College, Madras, which Dr. Miller founded, has recently made the plunge and moved outside Madras. This has already met, so I hear, with success. Those who know Tambaram, where the new College has been built, speak about it as a great improvement on the old site in the centre of the City. Motor transport has solved the problem over there. Might it not solve a part of the problem here? At least with some Colleges the experiment might be well worth trying.

Yet, while offering this suggestion, I freely acknowledge that the question of congestion in a huge city is much more difficult to solve in Calcutta than in Madras. For the population and crowded area are both ~~vaster~~. Indeed, it may well be found that just as in the case of New York, Tokyo, or London, a University with Colleges at the centre of the city is inevitable owing to the peculiar character of our modern civilisation.

Taking, therefore, things as we find them—Colleges overcrowded, staffs overworked, boarding houses overflowing—what can be done to prevent mere mass production of University degrees?

Every member of the Senate of this University must have been troubled, as I have been, by this problem. The Education Commissions have not solved it. How can we best face this acknowledged evil?

There is one principle, which may guide our thoughts, because its psychology has been thoroughly tested by experiment and proved scientifically sound. It is this, that the *small* group enables the average man to make his own highest effort at intellectual attainment far better than the large group. For the crowded lecture hall is apt to leave the ordinary student unintelligently passive. He soaks in information like a sponge. He does not "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" his knowledge. He swallows it whole. This very simple, but profound lesson which modern psychology has taught us, is now gradually becoming recognised all over the world. When I was lecturing in Cambridge a year ago I found out that all the changes of recent years had been made in this direction. The tutorial system had been fully accepted as sound and it is now in full swing. For it had been scientifically and mathematically established. Even the number of the small group has been worked out. Aldous Huxley, in his latest book, called *Ends and Means*, has given a whole chapter to this subject. "A crowd", he says, "is a lot of people: a group is a few. A crowd has a mental life inferior in intellectual quality and emotionally less under control than the mental life of each of its members in isolation. The mental life of a group is not inferior either intellectually or emotionally to the mental life of the individuals composing it, and may in favourable circumstances actually be superior."

Here then is a psychological principle which may help Calcutta University. The crowded class room is sub-personal, sub-human, herd-

like. It does not carry men forward into that sphere of 'plain living and high thinking' which alone can produce the scholar, the artist, the thinker, and the man of affairs.

As a teacher, therefore, I would venture to appeal to my fellow teachers who are present: Can we so decentralise our work, in different subjects, as to produce in our student world the high psychology of the group rather than the low psychology of the crowd? Can we so arrange our work as to appeal to the individual, the particular, the personal, in our students rather than deal with them merely in the mass? To touch politics for one moment, here surely is the *vital* difference to-day between the liberal and democratic mind on the one hand and the authoritarian standards which dictators impose on the other.

If, as teachers, we are determined to carry out this high principle of the group rather than the low principle of the crowd, it will mean undoubtedly more giving out of ourselves to our pupils: it will involve our being much more accessible to them. We shall not grudge the hours spent in personal talks; and interviews will never be formal. We shall seek to split up our classes and supervise personal work done by the pupil himself rather than aim at disciplining a vast crowd of students into a forced attention. In all this, we shall come back much nearer to the true personal relations of the *guru* and the *chela*, and be much less of a drill-master and an autocrat.

One last word to the students who are present to-day. There are voices abroad, both in the East and in the West, proclaiming to the modern world, that the pathway of freedom lies in discarding all outworn inhibitions and aiming only at what is wrongly called 'self-expression'. Self-expression, in the highest sense of the word, is the one goal of Education: it is the one aim of every creative worker. But this result can only be obtained by arduous endeavour. For the perfect mastery which it brings is the final achievement: it can only be attained by scorning delights and living laborious days. Tagore's perfect freedom in lyrical utterance, Nandalal Bose's mastery in the realm of art, these have come out of a lifetime of genius and effort combined.

When, on the other hand, the phrase 'self-expression' is wrongly used to denote giving way to every wayward passion and yielding to every whim of our lower nature—the end of *this* is slavery, not freedom: it

leads, not to mastery, but to defeat. The friendship, which is inspiration, will always hold the student up, not drag him down. It will help to keep his deals true and high.

One of the wisest words that the East ever uttered has been translated into perfect English thus:

“Keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that is right ; for that shall bring a man peace at the last.”

And your own poet, in no less perfect English, has given us the immortal prayer:

“Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my mind.

“I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower, knowing that thou hast thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart.

“And it shall be my endeavour to reveal thee in my actions, knowing it is thy power that gives me strength to act”.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S IMPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Thoughts crowd in upon me at the end of this first day of the National Congress and I will try and put them down tonight while the impression is vivid. Through the great kindness of Babu Surendranath Banerjea I obtained an excellent place near the President's table and looked down upon a sea of faces, a sight such as I had never witnessed in my life before—for this is my first view as a visitor of the National gathering of the clans. What a gathering it is! There are the Panjabis—I recognise them at once, for I know them best—the Bombay contingent is easily recognisable by the strong Parsi element; Bengal is most strongly represented; Madras and other Provinces are pointed out to me one by one: it is all fascinating, this unity in variety; they are strong, able faces and the great bulk are those of young men in their prime of life, eager and keen. What power there is in them! That was my first thought. Perhaps 'potentiality' would be a better word, for I was thinking of the future: each one of these thousands will go back with new thoughts, new aspirations, new enthusiasm—what cannot they accomplish? Then my mind went back to the actual numbers. The tent is already packed an hour before the time and there must be now 11,000 present. I have seen larger gatherings to welcome Gladstone and Bright; but that was in England and there the aspect was dull and grey in our dull and grey climate. Here all is gay with colour and my instinctive feeling is that there is an emotional vivacity in such an Indian audience as this which would not be present so markedly in England. This impression is, I think, a true one. Personally I have never had such quick and eager listeners as in India, though one misses at times the more practical vein of the Englishman when dull facts are to be dealt with.

But these thoughts are broken upon by the arrival of the Leaders. Mr. Gokhale's is the first face to attract my attention and as I look upon it I withdraw all I have said about missing the 'practical', for his face is

stamped with action in every line: it is certainly the strongest face I have yet seen in India. Babu Surendranath Banerjea I had met before and he needs no description in Bengal, his face is marked by an energy which had known no rest,—perhaps “untiring energy” would give my impression of him and I would easily understand, when I heard him speak, his power over large audience of young men. He has still the activity and the fire of youth, though his years must be many. His was the only voice, I should fancy, which reached to the very back of the pandal. Mr. Gokhale’s voice was perfectly trained and never failed him, though he spoke for over an hour; yet it probably did not reach over the whole of the vast area.

But at last appears the President himself and the cheers ring round and round the tent! So dense is the crowd that the platform is packed to suffocation, and there is no passage for the Leaders. Mr. Gokhale characteristically solves the difficulty by taking a short cut over the table,—he is clearly one who will always go straight to the point! The dear old President, equally practical, is about to follow him but reverences will not allow it and a way is made for him. What impressed me most I think was the *tiredness* of his face. He looked like one who had come to fulfil a mission at all cost and would go through with it, though it cost him all he had left of life. He rarely smiled and there was a gleam as he acknowledged his welcome and a flash of fire as he spoke about love for India, but generally the tired look predominated, and I think we were all deeply touched when he told us how he wished he might have read his speech himself but was not equal to the effort involved. When he stood forward, I was surprised to find how short he was in stature, but the very fact drew out all one’s affection for him, (I use the word ‘affection’ advisedly for some how that feeling at once predominated) he looked like an aged warrior battling against tremendous odds, as he stood up so bravely, so determinedly to claim self-government for India.

I must not be tempted or drawn into giving any impression of the two speeches delivered. Dr. Ghosh struggled manfully through the long address of welcome. Unfortunately, for the first five minutes there was a difficulty in getting seated among the audience and he strained his voice while attempting to overcome the noise. The address was brilliantly clever—too clever, I could not help but feel. It would have gained per-

haps in dignity if it had left out many of the witty personal allusions—but then I am a dull Englishman and have no right to criticize, and his points were certainly hugely relished by his audience. The President's address was like the advance of heavy artillery, step by step, each step enforced by some quotation from English documents and English writings. At first his logic served to bring him to the position that India must immediately receive self-government. But logic and life are, as we all know, two different things and he became soon very practical and showed how by changes, small in themselves but far-reaching in their consequences, the end of self-government was to be obtained. He made a very clear point when he declared that England had gained all her constitutional rights by agitation and that at the present moment agitation was the one weapon used in the struggle over the Education Bill. "We keep quiet", he said, "and Parliament thinks that we are satisfied, we protest and we are called agitators!" What are we to do? He concluded by laying almost all the stress upon the need of political change, which would bring with it economic change also. He dismissed the social question in almost a sentence, quoting Mr. Morley. This seemed the one weak part in the address and is possibly due to long residence in England. Such residence would naturally make the special and peculiar social difficulties of India loom less large. But surely caste and race divisions, though disappearing among the educated few, are still too overwhelmingly strong among the masses to be dismissed in a word. They seem the real crux of Self-Government to

AN ENGLISH FRIEND OF INDIA

AHIMSA

I wonder if you realize what a very great pleasure it is to me that you have, so fortunately from my point of view, arranged this Congress at Allahabad ; for, along with Delhi, Allahabad has given me some of the dearest memories of my early life in India. Many of you here may not know, for instance, that Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, whose educational career was spent in Allahabad, treated me in his old age as his son, and I was with him when he was on his death-bed. Such a memory links Delhi and Allahabad together. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, both of Allahabad, are two of my oldest friends ; and I had with Pandit Motilal Nehru a very close friendship, which I have been delighted to continue with Jawaharlal Nehru, his great son.

There are others who have been very dear to me in this city. My own home in Allahabad is always with Prof. Sudhir Kumar Rudra, the son of Principal Susil Rudra. The latter was the dearest friend I ever had in this world. He was my own Principal at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, during my early days in India. He taught me to love India more than any other human being has ever done. His son's home is now my home, and his children call me 'Grandfather'. All this forms a binding link between Allahabad and my own life. There are many other relationships that I might mention, but I would only name that of our Chairman, the Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Amarnath Jha, and the Secretary at this Congress, Prof. N. C. Mukherji.

These things, then, made me at once eager to come to Allahabad when I received your kind invitation, even though, as you all know, I am not a philosopher and have never pretended to be one. However, that may be, I can declare with utter sincerity that I am a lover of the truth of life, and earnestly seek to discover the meaning of life ; and this creates the philosophic mind. Also I feel that here, in India, there is a philosophy, a world-view, which I learnt both from my own Gurudeva, Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan, and from one whom we revere most of all for his noble experiments with truth, Mahatma Gandhi.

Since I have learnt from both of these what I truly believe to be the one way out of the deadly peril wherein, the world stands to-day, I could not, when you asked me to preside, refuse you. So I said at once: "If you are able, under your rules, to allow me to speak on Ahimsa, I should certainly be glad of a public occasion to do so." So that is really how I come to be in this very anomalous position of presiding over a Congress of Philosophers, not being myself one.

To get at once to the heart of the subject, I want to read you two passages, one from a modern writer, Herr Feuchtwangel, the author of *Jew Suss*, the other from Dr. Whitehead, to be found in that very difficult book of his called *Adventures of Ideas*. If you listen to these passages as I read them together, you will see in what way I shall try to represent to you the Philosophy of Ahimsa.

Here is the passage from the book called "Moscow, 1937" by the author of *Jew Suss*: "In my youth", he writes, "I belonged to a class of intellectuals, which advanced the principle of absolute pacifism and of complete abstinence from violence. I believe that, during and after the war, we have all had manifold reasons for revising our views on abstention from violence and reflecting pointedly on the use of violence. That, for a writer of responsibility is no easy problem. This passage, then, represents one modern reaction on this vital subject.

On the other side, from Dr. Whitehead, I shall read a reference to India that seems almost to have escaped notice. "In India", he writes, "the forces of violence and strife, between rulers and people, between races, between religions, between social grades—forces threatening to overwhelm with violence hundreds of millions of mankind, these forces have, for the moment, been halted by two men, acting with the moral authority of religious conviction, the Mahatma and the Viceroy of India (Lord Irwin).

"They may fail. More than two thousand years ago, Plato the wisest of men proclaimed that the divine persuasion is the foundation of the order of the world, but that it could only produce such a measure of harmony as, amid brute forces, it was possible to accomplish. . . .

"The dramatic halt, effected by Gandhi and the Viceroy, requiring as it does an effective response from uncounted millions in India, in England in Europe and America, witnessed that the religious motive—I mean the

response to the divine persuasion, still holds its old power, even more than its old power, over the minds and consciences of men".

Let us compare for a moment these two passages, and it will easily be seen that Dr. Whitehead gives the real answer to the pathetic confession of Herr Feuchtwangel, the author of *Jew Suss* which I have quoted. Yet it is not easy in Europe during the present world crisis, to believe in the victory of divine persuasion over force. For in face of the violence that we see gaining its short successes in Europe and the Far East it is almost impossible for the natural man to stand out against the current of common public opinion which is running so strongly in that direction. This is what philosophy has to do to-day, to find these eternal values on which we may base our faith, while the tides of common opinion are flowing so fast the other way.

Here then, is my subject, the philosophy of Ahimsa. It might be translated, in my own Christian language, the "Word of the Cross". St. Paul says, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, "The Word of the Cross is foolishness to the natural man"—and that is true. To be absolutely non-violent in the face of brute force, is not a popular doctrine. It seems to show, that history on a wide scale has already begun to justify it. Philosophy has to take this proof in hand and make it more and more reasonable, to show, as St. Paul says, in a daring paradox, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men".

Let us trace very briefly the history of this thought that violence cannot be overcome by violence, that evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good. We all know, it is our joy in India to recall, that this was at the heart of the teaching of the Buddha, five hundred years before the Christian era, and that the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, founded a Kingdom on this same principle of non-violence. We have our own record therefore, here in India, in our remote past, which is a beacon light for humanity, pointing on to the future. I like the way of putting it that was offered to me once in conversation by a Buddhist, who gave me the parable of the "Wheel of Suffering". He said to me, "You see, the wheel goes on revolving, and every new act of violence in answer to violence only turns the wheel faster and faster. Every act of retaliation, when a wrong is done, leads to further retaliation and thus the wheel goes round for ever. But if only one good man can return love for hatred, truth for

untruth, then immediately the wheel begins to slow down: and if only all men could do this, the wheel of suffering would cease altogether to revolve."

One of the greatest of all epochs in human history was this period of the early movement, which permeated the whole of Eastern Asia with the law of Maitri, the Law of Compassion. Thousands and tens of thousands of men and women were ready to go incredible journeys over the Himalayas and across the perilous seas, in order to preach this gospel.

A turning point came in my own life when for one whole week of moonlit nights and sunny days I stayed at Borobudur, in Java, the Hill of the Great Buddha. Long porticoes and avenues of sculpture are carved there, round and round the hill, telling the story of the Buddha from the Jatakas. At every angle, as the sculpture goes on, you see the form of the Buddha himself in his calm attitude of peace, which was won by pure suffering.

This experience led me to the very soul of ancient India at its highest moral point, and I never forgot it. Asia, for a thousand years, was thus civilised and made humane, in the highest sense of the word, by that one personality of Gautama, the Buddha, who lived and worked in the Ganges Valley, not far from this place where we are sitting.

It was profoundly interesting to me, when I got to China later and began to find out all I could about its ancient philosophy, to learn that Lao Tze had published in that shortest and greatest book of his, the Tao TE King, this thought in his own way. I have put down here one or two of his striking texts. You can never forget them when once you have read them over. Here are the two of them.

"The victory of violence ends in a festival of mourning".

"The more weapons of violence, the more misery to mankind."

Lao Tze's teaching of the "Tao" (Path) might be summarised roughly as follows:

To be perfectly governed by Tao implies a life which follows the spiritual law underlying the Universe. That law may be called *non-assertion*, the opposite of egoism and violence. All mankind's of selfishness and egoism must be abandoned by the followers of Tao. The spirit of harmony will never think of using violence; for "violence only results in miserable retribution".

Now let me take you right across Asia to ancient Iran, where the Prophet Zoroaster himself puts forward the first stage of this pure teaching in another form. He was still struggling towards the goal, rather than fully attaining it. But with great nobility of spirit, he declared that evil must be overcome by moral force alone, by that supreme moral energy which is in God and man. His life was lived much earlier than the conventional date, 600 B.C. which is usually given. It must have been as early as 100 B.C. or even earlier still. As the Poet Rabindranath Tagore has shown in an illuminating essay, Zoroaster's life, with all its moral fire, lit one of the earliest beacons of the human spirit.

Still further one, in Judaea, on the border of Asia in the West, we get glimpses, in the prophets and psalms, of the same teaching, which came out of the heart of sorrow and humiliation, especially we find it in that most beautiful song of the Prophet of the Exile:

"Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?

"He shall grow up before Him as a tender plant and as a root out of the dry ground. He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.

"He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief and we hid, as it were, our faces from him. He was despised and we esteemed him not.

"Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. Yet we did esteem him, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions: he was bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him and with his stripes we are healed.

"All we, like sheep, have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all." Here the writer pictures one who suffers to the utter-most, in silence, and thus redeems humanity by the purest suffering love. This is made clear in the last verse of the poem "He shall see the travail of his soul, and be satisfied."

Christians, from the very first, have related this prophecy to the sufferings of Christ, and His victory over death.

Plato realised the same truth about suffering in his own intellectual way. I have already given you from Plato what is really the text of

Whitehead's book "Adventures of Ideas" the thought of the victory of the divine persuasion over force. This cosmos of ours, he holds, is formed out of chaos by the divine persuasion, the divine Ahimsa, conquering violence by moral force. Through the triumph of Ahimsa, this cosmos, this fair world of ours, is created and preserved. That is a marvellous conception. One other world must go through a crucifixion, if he is to show his supreme loyalty to the Truth.

You all realise how, at this Christmas season, my own heart in offering its devotion to one, whom Mahatma Gandhi has called the "Prince of Satyagrahis", Jesus Christ. I need only point out to you the simple fact that the Cross, from first to last, presents the final and complete example of the Philosophy of Ahimsa: how Jesus on that Cross prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do". He thus brought to its supreme conclusion this whole Platonic theory of the Universe, that it is founded upon suffering love.

Here, then, is a subject worthy of the highest philosophic study. It is a theme which we may well work out in India, in these troublous times; for it leads us back to the foundations of our own spiritual life in its great creative moments.

I have been with Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore in China, when he stood before young China, which had been cruelly goaded to retaliation by the Imperial powers. When he put forward this philosophy of ancient India, young China answered him at first and said that imperialism knew nothing except brute force. It only knew violence, a blow for a blow, and a tooth for a tooth. China must, therefore, encounter these powers with their own brutal weapons.

But the aged Poet, whom they regarded with deep veneration, almost as if he were the Buddha come back to life, said to them with great compassion. "Do you know that in our ancient Scriptures all you say is acknowledge?" They asked him, "How can that be proved?"

"In our books", he answered "these words are written, "By Adharma (i.e., by unrighteousness) men do prosper; by unrighteousness men do get what they want, but they perish at the root."

"Many old civilisations", he added, "have already succumbed by relying on this idea of retaliation,—that violence can only be overcome

by violence, unrighteousness by unrighteousness. But these have all perished".

Once I went with Tagore to see an infant school in Kobe, and I watched the little Japanese Children toddling about. They looked so much like quaint dolls, as they marched to and fro, that I began to laugh. He said to me with indignation, "What are you laughing at?" I said, "It's funny, isn't it?" He said, "Funny? Don't you see they are dressed in full military dress and doing military drill, those babies! Don't you see also on the walls, those blood-stained flags captured from Russia and other countries? These innocent children are being taught the idolatry of war. It is not a laughing matter at all." I was terribly ashamed.

Then I recall another sight, in South Africa, where I met for the first time Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturbehn and his sons, who had recently been imprisoned. Yet I found them all speaking kindly of their persecutors, and giving every bit of praise they could to their jailors who had kept them in prison. They were cheerfully accepting the price of suffering as the necessary way of deliverance.

Very soon after this, I had a wonderful experience, when I went up with Mahatma Gandhi to Pretoria, where he interviewed General Smuts. There, at Pretoria was framed at last what was afterwards called the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. What was it that won that peaceful victory except the final triumph of divine persuasion over force? On General Smuts' side there was all the physical might of the modern age ready to be put into execution. Smuts could have crushed the Indian Community if he had wished to do so. But he could not stand out against the moral greatness of that one heroic soul, Mahatma Gandhi.

Before I sit down, I want to declare my faith, my own religious faith, that Herr Feuchtwangel the author of *Jew Suss*, who says that we must change our ideas and answer violence with violence, is pathetically wrong, and that Dr. Whitehead, as he follows Plato and all the seers of humanity, is right. We have to hold fast our faith unto death. For this faith of *Ahimsa*, this "Word of the Cross" is "the victory which overcomes the world".*

* Presidential Address delivered by C. F. Andrews at the Indian Philosophical Congress* at Allahabad on the 26th December, 1938.

LIST OF WORKS BY C. F. ANDREWS

LIST OF WORKS By C. F. ANDREWS

ASIMKUMAR CHOUDHURY

SATYARANJAN CHOUDHURY

This selected list of the works of C. F. Andrews may not be called a bibliography in the strict sense of the term, as it does not supply many technical information which a bibliography is normally expected to do. The purpose has been to give an idea of the contents of the book as far as possible. There are long quotations from introductions and prefaces which explain the motive of writing the book or give an idea of the background.

In his Centenary year only one or two of Andrews' books are available while others have become items of rare collection. Books that one day stirred many people, moved persons like Rabindranath, Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru have failed to inspire the publishers who showed little interest in bringing out new editions of his books. As a result most of his books are not within the easy reach of the reading public and only a list like this can help one to understand the viewpoint of the author albeit partially.

In preparing this select list of books by C. F. Andrews we gratefully acknowledge the help received from the National Library, Calcutta, Visva Bharati and Gandhi Sangrahalaya, New Delhi.

The Relation of Christianity to the Conflict between Capital and Labour
Methuen & Co., 1896.

Note.—While in Cambridge Andrews identified himself with the Christian Social Union of which Bishop Westcott was the president. This organisation was "a union of churchmen to study in common how to apply the moral truths of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time." This association created in Andrews an interest in the lot of the working class. Andrews was inspired to write an essay on the subject that won him the Burney prize at Cambridge in 1895. This book is a printed form of that essay.

Long after in 1922 Andrews wrote in the preface of his book *Christ and Labour*—"As I have related in the book itself at the beginning of the first chapter, much of the detail was collected at an earlier period of my life while I was studying at Cambridge and also working among the English poor. The facts I then gathered were embodied in an essay

printed at my own cost, nearly twenty years ago. The essay has now been long out of print."

Possibly Andrews was making a reference to this book.

The Ideal of Indian Nationality

Allahabad, 1907, p. 14.

Reprint from Hindusthan Review.

North India (Handbook of English Church Expansion)

A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., London, 1908, p. xvi, 243.

Note.—The Handbook of English Church Expansion Series was edited by T. H. Dodson M.A. and G. R. Bullock Webster. This particular book was prefaced by The Bishop of S. Albans.

Dedication: To My Friend Susil Kumar Rudra. From the author's preface:—"The times are critical in India and only by a frank and open exchange of thought can true line of action be reached. I have given my opinions, such as they are, without any reservation. If the chapters bring to notice dangers in the North of India which threaten the Church and set others thinking about them, they will have served their purpose. . . . Last but not the least, I would express my gratitude to many Indian Christian friends, who have guided me in my choice of subjects and criticized what I have written with kindly frankness. If I have gained at all the Indian point of view it has been through their sympathy. I cannot help but wish that it has been possible to go beyond the limits of the Anglican Missions and speak of the noble work of the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and other bodies and tell the life story of Lal Behari De, Kalicharan Banerji and many other Indian heroes of the faith; but the form of the present series, forbids such an extension of the subject."

Contents: 1. Early Days in Bengal; 2. Calcutta and its Bishops; 3. Chhota Nagpur and Mass Movements; 4. Father Goreh; 5. The Oxford Mission; 6. Allahabad, Kanpur and Delhi; 7. The Punjab and Islam; 8. Amritsar and the Sikhs; 9. The Frontier Missions; 10. The Indian Point of View; 11. The National Movement. Appendix A. Modern Krishna Worship, B. Literature dealing with Krishna Worship in North India.

India and England : Some Moral Aspects of the Economic Relation
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908, p. 8.

The Renaissance in India—Its Missionary Aspect

Cambridge Church Missionary Society. Salisbury Square, London E.C., 1912, p. xii, 310.

Dedication: To the Bishop of Winchester and Mrs. Talbot.

Contents: Editor's Preface; Notes on the Spelling of Hindu Names; Author's Preface; Prologue.

Chapters: The Indian Unrest; Indian Education; Hinduism as a Religious Growth; The New Reformation; The Challenge of Hinduism; Christian Difficulties in India; Indian Womanhood; Christian Ideals in India. Appendices: What is to be a Hindu; Fundamental Conceptions;

Chart: Religious Growth of Hinduism; Typical Passages from the Reforms; A Modern Hindu Catechism; The Anglo Indian Community; Nestorian Christianity and the Bhakti School; Hindu Terminology and Christian Doctrine; Population of India by Religion; Christians in India by Denomination; Table of Literacy, Number of Students in Indian Colleges 1909-10, Bibliography, Index.

Note.—The book is edited by Rev. Basil A. Yaxbe B.A., who writes in the preface "The Editorship of this book has been an especially delightful privilege. For the author kindles a rare enthusiasm in those whose good fortune it is to call him friend."

The Motherland

Kitabistan (Allahabad), 1916—A Book of Poems.

Indentured Labour in Fiji : An Independent Inquiry with William Pearson
Ganesh & Co., p. 74.

Indentured Labour in Fiji

p. 30 Appendix III, 1919, Printed at Brahma Mission Press.

"The following articles are reprints from 'Modern Review'; they are not a consecutive Report. Circumstances made it necessary for me to deal with special points, which were in public mind, rather than go over

the whole ground again which had been covered by our Joint Report of February 1916. I would emphasise the fact that the statements made in that Report have never been challenged."

Andrews suggested a compromise that indenture system should go by 1919 December 31, but apprehending that that might not happen he collected the reports from the pages of Modern Review and had it printed with a preface on August 19, 1919.

The Meaning of Non-Co-operation

Tagore & Co., Madras (1920) p. 48.

Note.—This is a collection of four letters written to a friend in England. The letters have the following titles—1. In Defence of the Principle; 2. The Myth of Reform; 3. England's Obsession; 4. Oppression of the Poor.

The Indian Question in East Africa

Nairobi, Swift Press (1921-?) p. iv, 103.

The Immediate Need for Independence

Published from Vizagapatam (1921) p. 15.

Non-Co-operation

Ganesh & Co., Publishers, Madras (1921), p. 49.

Note.—Andrews writes—"The following letters have been written to a friend in England concerning Non-Cooperation. It appeared to me, that they would be of interest to Indian readers, and I am venturing to publish them in India."

Indian Independence : The Immediate Need

S. Ganesan, Madras (1921), p. 32.

Note.—This book is a discussion on Sir John Seeley's book 'The Expansion of England' (1882). Andrews strongly reacts against those who maintained the belief that "regeneration could come slowly to India, step by step, chiefly by appeals to England and at the hands of the English people." (p. 22) He further says, "Desperate diseases demand

desperate remedies, not poultices and bandaging." (p. 23) "It therefore appeared to me more and more certain that the only way of self-recovering was through some vital upheaval within the soul of India itself". (p. 24)

Jawaharlal Nehru commented on this booklet in his Autobiography, "This was a brilliant essay based on some of Seeley's writings on India and it seemed to me not only to make out an answerable case for independence but also to mirror the inmost recesses of our hearts. The deep urge that moved us and our half-formed desires seemed to take clear shape in his simple and earnest language. There was no economic background or socialism in what he had written ; it was nationalism pure and simple, the feeling of the humiliation of India and a fierce desire to be rid of it and to put an end to our continuing degradation. It was wonderful that C. F. Andrews a foreigner and one belonging to the dominant race in India should echo that cry of our inmost being."

The Drink and Opium Evil

Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1921, p. 18.

The Oppression of the Poor

Ganesh & Co., Madras, (1921) p. xxxv. 136.

Contents: Introduction, The Oppression of the Poor, The Deadlock at Chandpur, The Spirit of East Bengal. The Strikes. Appendix I. The Enquiry Committee. Appendix II Indictment of the Government and the Leaders of the People. Sir Henry Wheeler Condemned. Appendix III, An Interview on the Gorkha Outrage Appendix, IV Milk for the Poor—The Problem of Cow Protection.

Note: The book is written in the background of disturbances at Chandpur in East Bengal in 1920. Andrews gives a short background story of the disturbance in the Introduction. It was a tale of workers deserting their cooly barracks in the Assam tea gardens and how they were stranded at Chandpur. Andrews speaks on the one hand of the 'selfishness of a Capitalist system' and the essential nobleness of the human heart on the other. He does not forget to mention what an inspiration in those days of suffering the writings of Rabindranath Tagore were to him.

To The Students

S. Ganesan Publishers Triplicane ; Madras S.E., 1921, p. 75.

Contents:—Santiniketan (An Address given in Central Africa). Duty to Motherland (Address to Bihar Students at Daltongunge) National Education (Revised version of a speech delivered at the Bombay Students Convention) Independence (speech delivered to a mass meeting of students at Mirzapur Park, Calcutta) To the Students.

From the Preface:—"I am in no sense whatever a leader, nor do I wish for one moment to be a leader. I wish simply to be regarded as an elder brother and friend, who has spent all his life among students and among poor people and had studied 'Student Problems' and 'Labour Problems' more than any others. . . . I am not a politician who deals with methods, but a thinker who deals with ideas. I am sure to go wrong if I suggest methods."

How India Can be Free

The Cambridge Press, Madras, Ganesh & Co., p. 15 (1921). Text of a speech at Star Theatre Calcutta, 4th March 1921.

"First of all, I wish to say, that it is only the bitterest experience of disappointed hopes and shattered ideals, which has made me take up the position I have now for many months past publicly declared, that Independence and independence alone is the ultimate goal." (p. 4)

Christ and Labour

Ganesh & Co., Madras, p. 146, 1922.

A second edition of this book was published in 1924 by the Student Christian Movement.

Dedication—To the Social and Agricultural Workers at Surul From Santiniketan.

From the Preface:—"As I have related in the book itself at the beginning of the first chapter, much of the detail was collected at an earlier period of my life, while I was studying at Cambridge and also working among the English poor. The facts I then gathered were embodied in an essay printed at my own cost, nearly twenty years ago. The essay has now been long out of print. Therefore I felt that I could

freely use the historical data that it contained. . . of all the labour problems in the East, whether in India or China this problem of village agriculture and reconstruction appears to me to be the greatest. On its solution depends in a very large measure, the peace of the world." *Santiniketan* July 4, 1922.

Contents.—The Roman World: The Problem of Slavery, The Problem of Property. The Mediaeval World: The Monasteries and Guilds, The Sin of Usury. The Modern World: The Reformation, The Industrial Revolution, Economic Imperialism, British Imperialism, The Social Teaching of Christ, The Natural Growth of Society. The Revolutionary Environment.

Terence MacSwiney and the New World Movement

Ganesh, Madras, 1922, p. xv, 53.

The Claim for Independence—Within or Without British Empire

Ganesh & Co., Madras, p. 68(1922).

Contents: 1. Imperialism: An Inherited Tradition, 2. White Race Supremacy, 3. Cultural Incompatibility, 4. Racial Arrogance, 5. Hypocrisy and Education, 6. India and the Empire.

Note.—In the first chapter Andrews says "Although I came out to India originally as a missionary, yet at the same time there was always the idea present at the back of my mind that India was as my father has taught a sacred trust committed into the hands of English and that by the fulfilment of that trust Great Britain would stand or fall. I know that there seems something patronising and even pharisaical about such a position."

Hakim Ajmal Khan : A Sketch of His Life and Career

Madras, 1922, p. 32.

Indians in South Africa

Ganesh & Co. Publishers, Madras (1922)

Contents: 1. In a Worse Plight Than Ever Before, 2. The Story of a Blunder, 3. Repatriation—No Remedy, 4. Racial Arrogance, 5. The Struggle and India's Duty.

The Indian Problem

G. Natesan & Co., Madras, p. 128 (1922)

Contents: Indian Independence. India and the Empire. Letters on Non-Co-operation. The Swadeshi Movement. National Education. The Drink Evil. The Opium Trade of India.

Visva Bharati

Madras, G. Natesan 1923

Note:—A collection of two articles—one by Tagore the other by Andrews. On the cover there is the following note—"An authoritative exposition of the aims and ideals of Visvabharati. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the poet-founder explains the origin and objects of the international university, while Mr. Andrews his fellow worker gives an intimate picture of life at Santiniketan together with a detailed statement of the courses of study and research boarding, lodging etc."

The Opium Evil in India : Britain's Responsibility

Student Christian Movement, London, 1926, p. 26.

Note—At the urgent request of C. F. Andrews a committee had been formed to propagate the policies adopted by the Indian National Congress and National Christian Council of India in Great Britain. "This booklet has accordingly been prepared from articles recently written and information sent by Charles Freer Andrews." Contents: Introductory: Addiction in the Cities: Assam and Burma: India's Opium Exports: Appendix A Appendix B.

Why I am a Christian

Friend's Book Centre London, 1927.

Zaka Ullah of Delhi

W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge. With an introductory memoir by Maulavi Nazir Ahmad. p. xxx, 159, 1929.

From the Preface.—"Munshi Zaka Ullah . . . had been like a father to me during the earlier period of my life in India, when I was working as a member of the Cambridge University Brotherhood in Delhi. . . .

"The Book such as it is, has been dedicated to teachers and students of Santiniketan, where the poet, Rabindranath Tagore has founded his school of International Fellowship. . . . Any profits which may be derived from the sale of this book will be given to Santiniketan." Contents: An Introductory Memoir ; Preface ; 1. Old Delhi 2. The Moghul Court 3. The English Peace 4. The New Learning 5. Zakaullah's Family 6. Zakaullah's Early Life 7. The Meeting at Delhi 8. The Victorian Age 9. The Aligarh Movement 10. Political Ideals 11. Old Age 12. Zakaullah's Character. Appendix

India and the Simon Report

Dedicated with Gratitude and Affection to Horace and Oliver Alexander. George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1930.

From the Preface:—"This book is not intended to deal with the technical political details of the Simon Reports, but rather to consider the causes of the resentment in India to-day against Great Britain which have led upto the present deadlock . . . Let me thank those Indian friends who have helped me most in fashioning within my own mind the thoughts contained in this book. First and chief among these, I would remember one whom in India we love to call Gurudeva—the poet Rabindranath Tagore. His heart is the largest, and his mind is the widest, that I have ever had the good fortune to know in a life of much wandering and search. With him I would associate Mahatma Gandhi and one whom I have never met, except in the spirit, Arabinda Ghosh. I would add the name of one who has passed away—the dearest friend I ever had—Susil Kumar Rudra. . . . May the great minds of India give to us this turbulent West some touch of their own inner peace." Contents: Preface. A short List of Common Indian Words. Introduction 1. Lord Birkenhead and the Simon Commission 2. The National upheaval 3. Mahatma Gandhi 4. The National Programme 5. A Changed Mental outlook 6. The Shame of Subjection 7. The Vicious Circle Entered 8. The Vicious Circle Broken 9. The Old Liberal Ideal 10. The New Racial Factor 11. East and West. Appendices 1. Interview with Rabindranath Tagore 2. Tagore's Message to the Society of Friends 3. Mahatma Gandhi's Letter to Englishmen 4. Mahatma Gandhi's Letter

to the Viceroy 5. Mahadev Desai's Story 6. Harold Laski on the Report. Walt Whitman's Poem on Love of Comrades.

What I Owe to Christ

Hodder & Stoughton, London 1932, p. 311.

Dedication—To the Dear Memory of my Father and Mother.

Contents:—Introduction. 1. My Father 2. My Mother 3. Early Days 4. The Congregation 5. Conversion 6. College Days 7. The North Country 8. The College Mission 9. The New Life in India 10. The Simla Hills 11. The Imitation of Jesus 12. Albert Schweitzer 13. Christ and New Age 14. South Africa 15. Christ and Race 16. Santiniketan 17. China and Japan 18. Christ in All.

From the Introduction:

Three year ago I found a letter waiting for me in London asking me to make an appointment about the publishing of a new book. "What we require", the writer of the letter explained, "is a volume telling us in a simple manner the changes which have come over your own religious outlook as you have wandered over the earth, mingling with all sorts and conditions of men and sharing this inner thoughts with them. How have you been able to win through to a large faith in Christ?"

. . . . after many misgivings, the proposal was accepted. . . . There was only one condition. The book must grow up with me and take its own course rather than be written with a time limit in view. This was readily granted by the publishers. So the work has often been laid aside while pressing claims had to be met in different parts of the world. It has been written in the midst of the struggle rather than in retirement and retreat. If it were truly to represent my own personal experience, it had to be worked out in this manner.

. . . . The method that I shall use will be to avoid as far as possible the emotional appeal, however deeply felt, and also to keep away from the logic of abstract ideas. Instead of this, I shall put down in the simplest manner possible the record of outstanding events in my own life where Christ's power to heal and restore has changed the whole aspect of things, integrating personal character where it had been divided before.

For Christ, our Lord and Master, seeks from us deeds, not words. Devotion to Him is, in the first place, not sentimental, but practical. The first act is to give up at His bidding what is personally known to be wrong, relying on his strength to reinforce our wills so that we are able to do what is right.

If the Christian faith we profess possesses the full dynamic to change man and women, giving them new hope and urging them forward to nobler action, then further proof is hardly needed.

. . . the vision of Christ has become radiant to me just in proportion as this test of seeking to do God's will in daily life has been sincerely applied. His words, "Seek and ye shall find: knock and it shall be opened by to you", have proved to be true. . . .

Looking back, I can realise with supreme thankfulness the helpful part which the fiercest storms of doubt have played in driving me back to that first love. Even to-day the land ahead, whereto the course has been directed, is only clearly seen at times of exaltation and vision when the frail vessel mounts high on the crest of the wave. Down in the trough of the waters, when they seem to overwhelm the ship it needs all the power of faith to hold fast and hope on.

. . . There has been granted me one abiding happiness for which I thank God everyday. I have been blessed with wonderful friendships. . . . I came out to teach, but I have humbly to confess that continually I have found myself a learner at the feet of saints whose life-surrender to the will of God was far more whole-hearted than my own. Such practical experience as this has made me unwilling to draw the boundaries of the Christian faith as sharply as I did before.

. . . it is my one earnest desire that no single word of mine shall ever stir up the fire of religious bitterness, which is one of the most fatally destructive forces in the world. Christ has said "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." May this book serve only this purpose.

. . . It took me nearly half a life time of inward conflict to break through, in another direction, the barriers within the church which we Christians ourselves have established. Strangely enough, in the West we have become, even in our religion, politically minded. A dominant

absorption in the externals of our faith—the boundaries of our Christian fellowship—takes the place in our hearts of the freedom of the spirit.

While I was in England I did not understand this. Like a bird held captive in a cage from its very birth, I had not tried my wings; nor did I really know what it was to be free to fly. . . . Now looking back I can see how ridiculous all this was. I can realise also that without a change of environment I could never have come out so completely under God's open sky. Contacts with such great spirits as Susil Kumar Rudra, Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas Gandhi gave me the shock I needed. It was unthinkable to keep, in this presence, a perspective of human life so palpably and grotesquely out of focus. Owing to Rabindranath Tagore more than any other living person I have learnt to break with convention in these outer things of religion and to claim that spiritual freedom which is the very soul of truth and love.

. . . Among the poor, who love Christ so simply I have found the greatest sympathy of all in what I have undertaken. My debt to them is by far the greatest.

. . . The year 1930 was spent for the most part in Europe and America with the poet Rabindranath Tagore. His influence has left its own marked impression on my life, which this book will reveal. To be with him and to learn to understand the beauty of his character, has made me continually think out afresh the meaning of my own Christian faith in its relation to other creeds.

Note.—On reading this book Rabindranath Tagore wrote this following letter to C. F. Andrews.—

Santiniketan
August 2, 1932

Dear Charlie,

I have read your book on Christ. It made me think. The mode of self-expression in a Christian life is in love which works, in that of a Hindu it is in love which contemplates, enjoys the spiritual emotion as an end in itself. The attitude of mind that realises the super human in a human setting has rendered a great service to civilisation, just as its perversion has been the cause of an awful and widespread mischief. You know how all through my life, my idea of the divine has concen-

trated in Man the Eternal and I find that in your own religious experience. You have the same idea concentrated in a concrete historical personality. Evidently it strongly helps you in the realisation of perfection in your life and it must be a source of unfailing consolation to you to be able to feel in your constant love a divine comradeship in Christ. This mental and physical energy stored up for ages in your Western constitution urges you to activities that are saved from aberration when they are related to a living centre of Truth. Instances of heroic devotion and unselfish sacrifice springing from that source are most valuable for us in order to keep us firm in the faith, in the abiding truth, in the immortal. And I knew you have been of help to your fellow being not merely for some individual benefits that you may have rendered them but for a direct inspiration that gives us certainty of the ultimate greatness of Man. With love.

Ever Yours
Rabindranath Tagore

Christ in the Silence

London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1933, p. 315.

Dedicated to—My dear Friend John White of Mashonaland who helped me by his Christian love and fellowship to write this book.

From the Introduction written on Easter day 1933:—

“As years went by, my own special work called me away to very different surroundings in Bengal. For I had to pass on from crowded Delhi, which had now become the Imperial Capital of India to the quiet Asram where Rabindranath Tagore had slowly built up his own religious retreat. This was called by its sanskrit name ‘Santiniketan’. The word denotes “the abode of peace” and the place does not belie its title. There, the simple forms of natural beauty are daily companions to those who live within its precincts, and kindly human intercourse is unhurried by the rush of modern conditions. . . .

“The Gospel story had taught me, long ago how Christ my Lord and Master, had remained silent in his village home, at Wazareth during all the years of youth and early manhood. . . . In His Sermon on the Mount He had set before His followers the lilies of the field and the birds

of the air as an example. Their silent growth and freedom from care were to be the divine pattern for human nature as it unfolded itself in the genial atmosphere of God's love. There was a natural law which passed on into the spiritual world. . . . I had constantly thought of Christ's restfulness of soul as an infinitely precious treasure. But the deeper inner need of it in my own life, as a necessary complement to action itself, had not come home to me in such a way as to carry final conviction.

"Now at last in Santiniketan a golden opportunity had come wherein I could learn these things more fully until they sank deep down into my heart. The fever and fret of outer things had ceased for the moment to obtrude. A quiet haven had been entered and the vessel of my life had found its anchorage.

"Even though after this period of rest and refreshment at the Asram, I had literally to put out to sea again and travel on many long and difficult journeys abroad to remote parts of the world, it was always with a fond and eager joy that I looked forward once more to my return. The love of friends have closely bound me to Santiniketan and its quietness continually restored me whenever I came back to it as my home. Much of what I have attempted to write in this book had its origin during silent walks alone across its wide open spaces, or else while I was seated under the stars in that hush before the dawn when the stillness of nature is most deeply felt and the heart of man is awake."

Sadhu Sundar Singh : A Personal Memoir

Hodder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1934, p. 255.

Dedicated—To the memory of my friend Susil Kumar Rudra.

Contents: Preface, Introduction. 1. Early Days ; 2. The Search for God ; 3. The Vision ; 4. Forsaking All ; 5. Discipleship ; 6. The Homeless Wanderer ; 7. The Road to Tibet ; 8. The Way of the Cross ; 9. In his steps, 10. The World of Spirit ; 11. The Sadhu ; 12. His Later years ; 13. Is He Dead ; 14. The Answer ; 15. His Living Message.

Notes. The Franciscans in Tibet, Christ's Universal Gospel, Yoga and Prayer. Bibliography.

Note.—This is a biography of Sadhu Sundar Singh, a Sikh later turned Christian. He was devoted to Christ deeply and was a friend of

Andrews. In 1929 he had been to Tibet. Since then there was no news about him and the Government of India officially declared him dead.

Zanzibar Crisis

Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1934, p. 54.

India and Britain: A Moral Challenge

Student Christian Movement Press

158 Bloomsbury Street, London W.C. 1, 1935.

Dedicated—To The New Generation of Men and Women in India and Britain.

Contents: Preface: 1. The Argument of Force; 2. Tagore's Appeal; 3. The British Point of View; 4. The Moral Evil of Subjection; 5. "Anglo-India"; 6. The Liberal Principle; 7. Imperialism; 8. The Christian Attitude; 9. The Colour Bar; 10. The Poverty; 11. The Price of Foreign Rule; 12. The Cultural Gain and Loss; 13. The Way to Peace; 14. A Gleam of Hope. Notes—A. Acknowledgement of thanks, B. Bengal in 1769, C. Warren Hastings on the Gita, D. Lionel Curtis on Foreign Rule, E. The 'Sahib' Attitude, F. "Christmas Day", G. Biographical Note, Index.

From the Preface:—" . . . We have failed—we of the older generation, who led Europe into abyss in 1914, and have been labouriously building a house on the sands of suspicion ever since. Though we have not yet realised the fact, our greatest failure since the war has been in India. For in spite of long continued effort, worthy of sincere regard, we have neither given nor found peace. Our minds have remained nerve-racked by what has been happening in Europe and we have not been able to give our undivided attention to Asia.

"Let no one, therefore, carry away the thought that the constitution now offered to India will suffice and that our debts are paid. The cyclic struggle is not yet over; it has only just begun. A deadlock has been reached and we have to seek its moral causes together with the will power needed to remove it.

"In crucial times like these the appeal must be made to a new generation—to those men and women who have witnessed the effects of the

world-cataclysm of 1914-18, but have not been shell-shocked by it. For this reason I have dedicated my book to them."

The Indian Earthquake

George Allen & Unwin, 1935, p. 129.

Dedicated To my friend Rajendra Prasad with deep affection.

Contents: Introductory Note by the Author: 1. The Scene described; 2. The Earthquake Zone; 3. The Devastated Area; 4. What Science tells us; 5. The Floods in Orissa; 6. The All India Response; 7. How Government acted; 8. The Moral Problem; 9. Mahatma Gandhi in Bihar; 10. The Great Experiment; 11. The Spirit of Service; 12. The Monsoon Floods; 13. International Help; Appendix. A Letter from Pierre Céréssole.

Note.—The 8th Chapter is a discussion on the diverging attitude of Tagore and Gandhi on the 1934 earthquake.

From the Introductory Note.—"The profits derived from the sale of this book will be given to the relief of those who have suffered from the great earthquake and from the floods which followed during the monsoon. . . . The manuscript has been held over in order to include while I was on the spot in India, an account of the damage wrought by the floods which has been hardly less serious than that already done by the earthquake itself. . . . The manuscript, which I had prepared before reaching India has been revised by my friend, Rajendra Prasad, Chairman of the Relief Committee, while I have stayed with him at Patna and Wardha. Other friends in India have helped me in a similar manner. May I express a hope that this book will find its way into public libraries where the poor may read it, who cannot afford to buy copies of their own, and that it may also be read, through translations, in European countries which have a deep sympathy with the East? The village people in India, who suffered, are the poorest in the world; and the poor in other countries will be able to understand and feel their sufferings most keenly. Any help for the sufferers should be sent direct to the Treasurer, Earthquake central Relief Fund, Patna, India."

John White of Mashonaland

Hodder & Stoughton, p. 316, 1935.

India and the Pacific

George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1937, p. 224.

Dedicated—To my friend Jawaharlal Nehru, President All India National Congress.

Contents: Preface, 1. The Indenture System; 2. The Old and the New; 3. Twenty Years After; 4. The C.S.R. Company; 5. The Fijian People; 6. The Will to Live; 7. The Land Question; 8. Queen Victoria's Pledge; 9. The Indian Dilemma; 10. The Europeans; 11. The Racial Problem; 12. The Franchise Issue; 13. The Training of the Child; 14. The Future of Fiji; 15. The Indian Dispersion; 16. Australia and India; 17. The Problem of the Tropics; 18. India, China and Japan; 19. India's Place in the Pacific; 20. Europe and Asia; Appendix A. The Fiji Census Report, B. Tagore and China.

From the Preface.—“On two previous occasions, in 1915 and 1917 I had been asked by the Indian Leaders to go out to Fiji, in the centre of the South Pacific, to enquire into the conditions of Indian indentured labour, recruited for those islands. . . . Last year, 1936, I was requested by the Indian community in Fiji to go out once more on an entirely different errand. For after the Indian labourers had been set free from indenture, and the system had been brought to an end, citizen's right on an education and property basis had been granted by the Administration. But these rights had been seriously threatened in 1935 and the Indian leaders requested me to come out in order to defend them. . . . This book is primarily the result of that journey’.

Note.—In 1936 C. F. Andrews delivered three lectures in Cambridge on “Christ and Prayer”. That created a deep impression and the World Student Christian Federation invited him to conduct Universities’ Mission in New Zealand and Australia. On 20th March 1936 he sailed for those countries. He also visited Fiji along with these countries and the ‘India and the Pacific’ was the direct outcome of this voyage. Marjorie Sykes and Benarasidas Chaturvedi write in the biography of Andrews: “India and the Pacific is a prophetic book: More than twenty years earlier Andrews had found in J. W. Burton’s ‘Fiji of Today’ a breadth of outlook on Pacific problem which had kindled his own imagination. In 1936, with world communication by air no longer a distant dream he

emphasised with characteristic statesmanship the significance which Fiji would assume in any world strategy of either peace or war."

The Challenge of the North-West Frontier : A Contribution to World Peace

George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937, p. 208.

Dedicated—To the Society of Friends.

Contents: Preface, 1. The World Situation; 2. Foreign Policy and the League; 3. The Russian Menace; 4. Soviet Russia; 5. The Border Tribes; 6. Revised Frontier Policy; 7. The Frontier Movement; 8. The Simla Debate; 9. Disarmament and the Frontier; 10. Air Bombing on the Frontier; 11. The Brotherhood of Islam; 12. The Hindu Tradition, 19. The Far East; 14. The Shock of Abyssinia; 15. The Challenge of Asia: 16. Summary Conclusions.

From the Preface: "The time has come for a drastic revision of British Policy on the North Western Frontier of India in order to reach at last a constructive and permanent peace . . . Might not the settlement of these border disputes be left to Indians themselves, who know their own countrymen much better than we do."

Christ and Prayer

Student Christian Movement Press London 1937, p. 160.

Another Edition was published from New York. Dedicated—To the staff and students of Achimota and Trinity College, Kandy.

Contents:—Preface, Introduction. 1. Christ the Teacher 2. "When Thou Prayest". 3. Our Father 4. Hallowed be thy name 5. Divine Grace 6. Our Daily Needs 7. Perseverance in Prayer 8. The Prayer of Faith 9. In His Name 10. United Prayer 11. The Great Intercession 12. "He Gave Thanks." Some Notes on the Practice of Prayer. Devotional Reading of the Bible.

Christ and Human Needs

Hodder & Stoughton—London 1937 p. 125.

Christ and Good Life

Hodder & Stoughton 1937.

The Inner Life

Hodder & Stoughton, London 1939 p. 123.

Dedicated—To the Dear Memory of my Father and Mother. Contents: Foreword, 1. First year in the East 2. The Simplicity of Christ 3. Christ's Gift of Peace 4. Storm and Stress 5. The Oxford Group 6. Round the World 7. The Wonder of His Love 8. The Radiance of the Christian Faith.

The True India—A Plea for Understanding

George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London 1939 p. 251.

Dedicated—To the Poet Rabindranath Tagore with deep affection. Contents:—Preface, Introduction 1. The Accusation 2. Glaring Mistatements 3. The National Awakening 4. The New Spirit 5. Village India 6. Socialist Restraint 7. The Joint Family 8. Caste in India 9. Marriage and Caste 10. Child Marriage 11. Women's Right 12. The Depressed Classes 13. The Poverty of India 14. The Problem of Population 15. Kalighat 16. Hinduism as a Religion 17. The Hindu Muslim Question 18. Indian Character 19. The Unity of India 20. The Two Civilisations Appendices 1. Tagore's Letter 2. A Letter to The Times 3. The Slaves of the Gods

Sandhya Meditation

G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras 1940 p. 176.

Dedicated—To the Brotherhood of the Christukula Asram, Tirupattee North Arcot with Grateful Remembrance and Affection.

Contents:—Publisher's Note, Introduction, An Opening Prayer, An Evening Hymn, Compassion for the Villagers, Grace and Truth, The day of the Lord, Racial Pride, Peace and Rest, Bishop Patterson's Death, The True Christian, Indians in British Guiana, Work and Prayer, Indians in Matiabruz, The Colour Bar, Sadhu Sundar Singh, Christ the God Shepherd, The Study of St. Christopher, A Story about South Africa, Christ and Caesar, The Beauty. The Difficulty of Prayer, The Sin of Exclusiveness, Indians in Fiji, The Ashram Movement, The ABC of Ashram Life, Bishop Westcott of Durham. The Pathway of Prayer, The Large-heartedness of Jesus, Farewell, A closing Hymn. Appendix A Memoir, Tributes.

Note. This book was printed in April 1940 obviously after Andrews' death. The Publisher in the Appendix collected the Tributes paid to the memory of Andrews. In the Publisher's note Andrews' own explanation for writing this book was quoted as follows.—“They are chiefly of interest to Christians, but as you will easily understand they have many lessons and stories that Hindus would like to read just as much as Christians. I have told for instance some of the stories and incidents which have happened to me in South Africa, Fiji and other places. Also there are stories of great and noble men whom I have met. . . .

As you know my own views about religion are much wider than those of other people. Just as I like very much to read about the Upanishads and Gita and other books of Hinduism, so I am quite certain there are broad-minded Hindus who would very much like to read what I write from a broad and general Christian standpoint.”

The Good Shepherd

Hodder & Stoughton Limited London 1940 p. xli, 205.

Dedicated—To the members of the Christukula Ashram, Tirupatter North Arcot, India in grateful remembrance.

Contents:—Preface. Introduction Part I: The Personal Preparation 1. The Shepherd's Work 2. Lovest Thou me? 3. “Grace and Truth.” 4. Joy in Prayer 5. The Gift of Peace 6. The Vision of God 7. “I have called you Friends” 8. “Feed My Lambs” 9. “One of these little ones” 10. “Bear Ye One Another's Burdens” 11. “Heat the Sick” 12. The Multitude 13. “One Flock One Shepherd” Postscript “The shepherd of Israel.”

Note.—Andrews was invited to deliver a course of lectures on Pastoral Theology in Cambridge in the Lent Term 1937. These lectures were later collected in the form of this book.

The Sermon On the Mount

George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1942 p. xiv, 175.

Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore.

Introductory Note by Agatha Harrison

Contents:—Foreword. Introductory Note. Introduction-I Introduction-II Chapter 1. The Kingdom of God 2. The Text of the Sermon 3. The Beatitudes 4. The Beatitudes (Contd.) 5 Salt and Light 6. The Old and

the New 7. The Law of Love 8. The Law of Love (Contd) 9. The Practical Jest 10. The Danger of Hypocrisy Appendix

From the Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore:

"In the midst of the world's anguish this book will renew the message of undying peace and love to which the great friend of humanity. C. F. Andrews, bore testimony during his years of dedicated service. Andrews is no more with us, but his work lives in wide areas of mankind and this book will help in our realisation of truth in a period of darkening horizons.

Andrews was very near to me and to India, where he will be remembered as Deenabandhu—the Friend of the Poor—a name lovingly given to him by my Countrymen. It is difficult for me yet to write of him with detachment, and I would therefore quote the words that I addressed to members of Santiniketan during the memorial service that was held on 5th April 1940, in the hope that these words will convey better than any prepared writing the tribute of friends who saw in the life of Andrews a noble embodiment of the Sermon on the Mount."

Note.—"After his death in 1940 the manuscript of "The sermon on the Mount" was found on his writing table at Santiniketan."

From the Introductory Note by Agatha Harrison:

"In 1937 C. F. Andrews left this country on what proved to be his last visit to India. He planned to settle down there and write a 'Life of Christ', believing he could do this better in an Eastern setting. His friends and publishers Sir Stanley and Mr. Philip Unwin, had for years urged him to write this book and the following letter from an Indian friend—a Hindu—influenced C. F. Andrews' decision to undertake this work: ". . . You know during the intimate friendship of all these twenty years I have never asked you anything about Christ, for your own personality has been more than sufficient for me. But now I feel that you must tell me how Christ lived and how He is living in the lives of millions of people. . . I want you to write in simple English the story of the life of Christ . . that is the most important thing you can do . . you are the only man who can write this book, for you have lived like Him all these thirty years in India." This book that might have well been his *Magnum Opus* was never written; his vital service to India and Britain laid heavy responsibilities on C. F. Andrews—

his help and counsel were ever sought. In 1938, writing from Bombay where he had gone in response to a call for help, he said “. . . I cannot help sighing—a whole week gone with no writing done; but it is worth it. What is the good of writing about Christ if one is doing what is not Christ-like? . . . C. F. Andrews did not write his “Life of Christ” he lived it.” London, February 1942.

Pilgrim's Progress

S. Agarwala & Co., Agra 1947 p. 32.

Note.—This booklet is a reprint of Andrews' article contributed in the ‘Religion in Transition’ published from London, George Allen and Unwin, 1937. It was edited by Vergilius Ferm.

1919 Oppression in the Punjab and C. F. Andrews

Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Committee Calcutta 1970 p. 16.

No. 1. Andrews' Papers.

Note.—This is chiefly a collection of writings of C. F. Andrews on the British rule in the Punjab in 1919. His statements, letters and other writings are collected along with some press remarks and reports about his activities.

Bunch of Letters

Deenabandhu Andrews' Centenary Committee. 1971 p. 61.

No. 4 Andrews' Papers.

Note.—This is a collection of 20 letters written by C. F. Andrews to Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.