

UNHAPPY INDIA'

By the same Author :

Young India

The United States of America

England's Debt to India

The Arya Samaj

The Political Future of India

The Evolution of Japan

The Problem of National Education in India

UNHAPPY INDIA

BEING A REPLY TO MISS KATHERINE MAYO'S
'MOTHER INDIA'

BY

LAJPAT RAI

*Member of the Legislative Assembly of India,
Author of 'YOUNG INDIA,' etc.*



BANNA PUBLISHING Co.,
CALCUTTA.

1928

DEDICATED

With love and gratitude to those numberless American men and women who stand for the freedom of the world; who know no distinctions of colour, race or creed; and who profess a religion of love, humanity and justice. To them the oppressed people of the earth look for sympathy in their struggle for emancipation, and in them is centred the hope of world peace.

LAJPAT RAI.

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PREFACE

Not many words are needed to send out this book into the world. I claim neither originality nor literary merit for it. In my judgment it is easier to write an original thesis than to hunt up authorities, verify and quote them. But being the member of a subject race, writing a book in defence of my mother-land, in refutation of the calumnies invented and circulated throughout the world out of base motives, I could not but refer to and quote authorities. There are not many statements in this book (in fact I doubt if there are any) in support of which reputable and reliable authority has not been quoted. It is easy to speak ill of the underdog. It is difficult to defend him. The very fact that he is an underdog goes against him. Nothing is more humiliating than the necessity of quoting the testimony of foreigners in defence. The process in itself involves an admission of inferiority. But there is no use hiding the fact that the white peoples of the West are not prepared to accept and believe any testimony but that of persons of their own race and colour. The book has been written mainly for them, and so it was necessary to keep their needs in view. The foreign edi-

PREFACE

tions are to be larger in size and to contain more matter which could not be embodied in this book for various reasons.

Efforts are also being made to collect illustrations for the foreign edition. My best thanks are due to my fellow-worker and friend, Lala Feroz Chand, Editor of *The People*, but for whose collaboration the book might not have been prepared, printed and published so soon.

One word more and I have done. It is with extreme reluctance amounting to pain that I have referred to certain phases of American life. There is another side of American life—beautiful, noble, humane, full of the milk of human kindness for all races, all colours and all peoples of the world, of which I had personal experience during my five years' residence in that country. In order to expiate the sin of noting down some of the dark spots of American life in this book I may have to write another book depicting the bright traits of American character in the shape of personal narrative and character sketches. In this book these things would be out of place. They would not fit in with my argument. I hope my American friends will pardon me for giving only one side of American life. America was not the theme of this book. I have spoken of certain phases of American life only by way of comparison.

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published in great hurry. No one is more conscious of its defects than my humble self, but there is one satisfaction that nothing is stated herein which I do not believe to be true.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

Subjection to foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of nations.—Prof. E. A. Ross.

Speaking from a national point of view no curse is greater than that of political subjection to another people. The marching hordes of a monarch are nothing in their ruinous effects on the country they overrun as compared with the gradual loss of a country's freedom by the complete subjugation of the people by a foreign army and its governance through the fear of their bayonets. The invader comes, plundering, devastating, uprooting and sweeping away like a hurricane. But he either goes away with his plunder or settles down in the country and identifies himself with the people. To the first type belonged invaders like Alexander, Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur, Changez Khan, Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali; to the second belonged men who led the Scythians and the Huns into India and settled down here and became a part of the Indian nation, or like Ghauri and Babar laid the foundations of dynasties deep into this soil.

It is true that in either case a great deal of humiliation, degradation and economic loss is suffered by the people of the country, but eventually the people and the invader become one. They mingle their blood one with the other, they exchange their cultures and ways of life, and strive for the evolution of a new culture and a new people with the strong points of both. In either case the curse of foreign rule is neither so keen, nor so poignant, nor so devastating and humiliating as it is when a nation imposes its rule over another and maintains it by all her political, economic and military resources. An appeal to the generosity, magnanimity and sense of justice in an individual sovereign or ruler may once in a while meet with success, but that to a nation or a democracy never can. No rule over a foreign people is so exacting and so merciless in its operations, as that of a democracy. A democratic form of government may be good for domestic purposes, but the domination of a democracy over other peoples is disastrous in its effects, and is fraught with possibilities of infinite evil.

Political subjection is the punishment of social evils and national crimes, but once imposed, it adds to their volume and intensity. It effectively checks any rejuvenation or reconstruction. It accentuates social evils and weaknesses. It leads to poverty in all its

hideous forms, mental, moral and physical. If ever an awakening comes, it is delayed, or checked and crushed by all the forces of law and diplomacy, and of cunning and fraud. It is a part of the Imperial game to paint the subject people in the blackest colours, and to slander and libel them most shamelessly. The object is to produce and perpetuate the slave mentality of the subject people, and to obtain the moral sanction of the rest of the world for usurping the rights, properties and liberties of other peoples. This is the genesis of the philosophy of the white man's burden. This is the mentality which stimulates the Empire-builder. This is the material with which the 'steel frames' are forged to keep the subject peoples in hand and to prevent them 'from doing harm to themselves' by aspiring to and working for their freedom. That is how Britain made her Empire in India; that is how the U. S. A. took possession of the Philippine Isles and now refuses to vacate them.

It is true that sometimes empire-making begins in a fit of self-forgetfulness, for temporary purposes of safety or trade, but soon, very soon, it becomes wilful and unscrupulous empire-building. Empires built and made have to be added to, maintained and managed. Sometimes, however, Empires made by fraud and maintained by force, have the ugly knack of awakening the political consciousness of the

subject peoples. Political domination leads to economic exploitation. Economic exploitation leads to dirt, disease and distress, until they drive even the meekest people on earth to rebellion, passive or active, and create the desire for freedom. The rulers resent this. At first they try to crush this spirit for emancipation out of existence by ridicule and contempt or by ignoring it altogether. Then comes the stage of control, which is followed by a policy of repression *cum* conciliation leading to cunning and fraud, chicanery and charlatanism. The struggle goes on. The Imperialists divide themselves into two parties. (a) The advocates of pure force and no nonsense. (b) The liberals who trot out the plea of trusteeship by convincing the 'wards' inside, and the world outside, that the people are unfit to rule themselves, and that the best interests of the ruled themselves demand a never-ending continuance of the trusteeship. Certain conditions are laid down, the fulfilment of which might lead to the ending of the period of trusteeship. Actual policy is directed to check and prevent the fulfilment of these conditions, and thus a vicious circle is created by which both the people affected and the world at large are deceived. Want of literacy, lack of social purity and social solidarity, the existence of depressed and suppressed classes, the low nature of private and public morality, and in-

capacity to build arms, to lead armies and to organise scientific defence, all are used as justifications for the denial of freedom; every effort is at the same time made to perpetuate these disqualifying conditions. The subject people are declared deficient in character, which alone is said to enable people to rule themselves, or to deal fairly as between one class and another. The lesson of their own domestic history or that of other peoples is clean forgotten by the ruling race, and great point is made of the so-called backward condition of the aspiring nation. It is cried from house-tops that these people have got into the slough of slave-mentality; they hug their chains; they love their ignorance; they adore their poverty; they are devoted to dirt, disease and distress; they are afraid of freedom, and they hate the classes which cry for liberty and raise the standard of revolt against established absolutism, entrenched foreign autocracy, and personified exploitation. Such is the curse of political subjection and economic bondage, that the slaves themselves fail to recognise that the only way to develop a character for self-government and a free life is to break their chains and throw off the yoke. Such is the process of Imperial hypnotism and of sophisticated, well-organised and well-planned propaganda that the subjects themselves while disgusted with their chained life are yet afraid of freedom. Thus things

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keep moving in a vicious circle until Nemesis overtakes all and starts a fresh chapter in history.

Every school-boy knows that for ages Europe was plunged into barbarity, ignorance, and bondage. When we say Europe we mean the white races of the world—Europe and America, for America is only a child of Europe. The white races got their religion from Asia; arts and industries they copied from Egypt; moral standards they borrowed from India and Palestine. Whatever is really good and moral among the modern nations of the world is largely a gift of the East. According to some even their blood is Asiatic in origin. Even casual students of history know that only three centuries back Asia ruled and dominated at least half of modern Europe. Alexander's were the only armies that ever met with victory in pre-Christian Asia. They affected but a small part of Asia, and that also only for a short period of a few years. Alexander's raid was well recompensed by the raids and victories of the Huns, of Chengiz Khan and Timur, and then of the Moors and Turks. For centuries Russia, Turkey, Sicily, Spain and the Balkans were ruled and dominated by the Asiatics. Europe's dominance over Asia is not more than two centuries old. It virtually began with the conquest of India, and God willing will end with her emancipation. It is this fear which is the

motive behind an unholy combination of all the white peoples of the earth against India's aspirations to political freedom. India is the crux of the problem of the clash of colour. India's freedom means the freedom of the whole coloured world. This explains the great popularity and success which Miss Katherine Mayo's book *Mother India* has gained throughout the West.

Miss Mayo's mentality is the mentality of the white races as a whole against the black or brown or yellow peoples of Asia. She is only the mouth-piece of the oppressors of the East. The awakening of the East has frightened both Europe and America. Hence this hysterical exhibition of temper, and this studied, deliberate, infamous propaganda against a race so ancient and so cultured.

II.

Miss Katherine Mayo is by her antecedents a tool of the Jingoism of America. She is a journalist whose only claim to authorship is a facile pen, a familiarity with sensational catch words and a habit of telling doubtful stories in a crackling style. Even a superficial reader can point out her ignorance of History, Psychology and the science of Politics. Yet she is an able writer of sorts. Her first debut into the realm of authorship was made by the publication of a volume of her 'researches' into the condi-

tions of the Filipinos who have been knocking at the door of America for their promised freedom. The book was named *The Isles of Fear*. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, once an editor of the *Calcutta Statesman*, and a famous English Journalist, now popular in the U. S. A. by his lectures and by his contributions to the American Press, tells us in the course of a review of *Mother India* (published in the *New York New Republic*):—

“Two years ago, when I read Katherine Mayo’s propagandist volume on the Philippines, it seemed to me certain that she would go next to India and produce a book enforcing a conclusion precisely similar to the one reiterated in *The Isles of Fear*. The thesis of that vigorous manifesto, it will be remembered, is that the United States must keep its governing hand upon the archipelago, for if it did not, the Filipinos would be skinned alive by their own landlords, lawyers, usurpers.”

We have reason to believe that Miss Mayo’s visit to India was not a spontaneous one, and that she was urged to come to India by those Britishers with vested interests, who think that the development of self-government in India is a menace to them and their pockets. Obviously we can have no direct evidence in support of this theory. But of strong circumstantial evidence there is no dearth. Mr. Lionel Curtis is one of those ‘progressive’ gentlemen who are interested in the integrity and prosperity of the British Empire. He is a member of the

Round Table Group in Great Britain. This Group is vitally interested in the problems of the Empire, and its members devote their time and energy to bringing the different parts of the Empire together and to making them understand each other better. The Empire, however, for which they stand is a 'Commonwealth of Nations' in which the white, British as well as Colonial, shall rule and exploit the 'natives.' Mr. Curtis visited India in 1916-17—about the time of the famous pronouncement of Mr. Montagu in August 1917, in the House of Commons, pledging the word of Great Britain to grant self-government to India by progressive stages. Mr. Montagu came to India to study the situation and to report to Parliament how best to give effect to that pledge. Mr. Lionel Curtis also made somewhat similar professions. While the Secretary of State tried to give something, it was the Round Table Knight's concern to see that little was given, and that little rendered ineffective. He entered into a conspiracy with two eminent Britishers of the Indian Civil Service, members of the Round Table Group, both in charge of high offices in one of the provinces of India. The object of this conspiracy was to give a voice and share to the white Dominions of Great Britain in determining the future of India and to strengthen the chains with which she was bound down for the glorification of

the Empire. One of the documents which contained the infamous story of this conspiracy, by chance fell into the hands of Mr. Gandhi, and he made it public. Mr. Curtis was caught red-handed, and had to explain away the Round Table Circular as a private letter to 'intimate friends.' By repute he and his fellow-conspirators of the Indian Civil Service were the authors of dyarchy and such other features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report as have been the bane of the Reforms Act of 1919.

In August 1925 Mr. Curtis happened to be in Massachussets, U. S. A. He met Miss Katherine Mayo, and was at once so much enamoured of her production, *The Isles of Fear*, that he wrote a foreword for the English edition of that book. The language of the foreword makes it highly probable that Mr. Curtis—even if he did not find the money for Miss Mayo's expensive voyage to India—had something to do with the idea that Miss Mayo's Philippine work be followed by a visit to India with similar motives and aims. Said Mr. Curtis in the foreword:*

"The British Government is responsible for more dependencies than all the other nations put together. Our experience is centuries old. [May we ask how many centuries old, as the beginning of the British Empire in Asia is not even full two centuries old?]

* *The Isles of Fear*. London: Faber and Gwyer, pp. ix—xii.

...we can hardly afford to ignore the experience of others, especially that of the young light-hearted masters of the West..... In discussing the Indian or Colonial estimates a Minister might well be expected to show Parliament that he knew how American or Dutch administrators were handling analogous problems in the Philippines or Java. In 1917 the policy pursued by America in the Philippines was a commonplace of nationalist propaganda in India. In the following year when retiring from the Indian Government, Sir W. Meyer visited the Philippines, but if he reported on American methods the fact has never been disclosed by the India Office."

In the following paragraph Mr. Curtis makes it clear how valuable Miss Mayo's book on the Philippine Islands could be to the English administrators of India:

"The Jones Law passed by the American Congress in 1916 transferred the control of legislation and supply to a legislature answerable to a Philippine electorate while leaving the executive power to a governor responsible to the President of the U. S. A. A system, the close equivalent of the Jones Law was the only alternative to that embodied in the constitution which was given to India in 1920. For this reason alone the operation of the Jones Law in the Philippines deserves to be studied by observers who bring to their task an adequate knowledge of Indian conditions. I commend this book to English readers in the hope of provoking such enquiries."

Mr. Curtis is conscious that "Miss Mayo's account of the results which have followed the American

attempt to 'hasten' self-government in the Philippines will probably be used to discredit the policy applied to India in the pronouncement of 1917."

Miss Mayo protests that she has written the book only for the use of her own people, but she has not yet told us of what use could a wholesale denunciation of the Indian people be to the people of the United States unless it was the same kind of use for which Mr. Curtis recommended *The Isles of Fear* to the British Indian administrators.

Anyhow we are justified in concluding that in August 1925 there was some kind of mutual discussion and understanding between Mr. L. Curtis, the champion of British Imperialism, and Miss Mayo, the author of *The Isles of Fear*, which led to Miss Mayo's visit to the India Office, *en route* to India 'early' in October 1925. Who introduced her to the authorities of the India Office? Who persuaded the latter to give introductions to her for use in India? These are questions which Mr. Curtis may answer for the benefit of the curious if he chooses. Be that as it may, Miss Mayo 'called at the India Office' 'in early October 1925.' The good people of the India Office asked her 'what would you like us to do for you?' She answered:

"Nothing, except to believe what I say. A foreign stranger prying about India, not studying ancient architecture, not seeking philosophers or poets, not

even hunting big game, and commissioned by no one, anywhere, may seem a queer figure. Especially if that stranger develops an acute tendency to ask questions. I should like it to be accepted that I am neither an idle busybody nor a political agent, but merely an ordinary American citizen seeking test facts to lay before my own people."

On her own admission the India Office were not slow to give introductions.

This sounds suspicious enough. But here are a few further facts which I found out on enquiry. Miss Mayo was the guest of a member of the Government of India and his wife during her stay at Delhi in the winter of 1926. She was a guest at least at one Government House in India. The Home Member of the Government of India has admitted in the Legislative Assembly that the Government officials in India did give her help and showed her courtesies,—though he contends these were not different from those that are given or shown to other publicists or visitors. This statement cannot be accepted at its face value when we find Miss Mayo admitting that sometimes she accompanied 'a District Commissioner on his tours of chequered duty,' sometimes she 'sat in' 'at village councils of peasants, or at an Indian Municipal Board meeting.' How could an American woman, an utter stranger to the country, absolutely ignorant of its many vernaculars, 'sit in' at the village councils of

peasants, unless she was taken to these (probably pre-arranged) councils by English-speaking Indian officials deputed by higher officers?

Miss Mayo was at the India Office in London in October 1925. In her foreword she gives no date or year to show when she completed her manuscript. Inside the title sheet of the American edition 'May 1927' is given as the month when it was first printed. From October 1925 to May 1927, exclusive of both months, the total period which Miss Mayo spent on this book (from the date of her starting for India to the date of the first publication of her book) seems not to exceed 18 months. And during this period we must understand she toured in India from the North-Western Frontier Province to Madras, visited many towns and villages, studied the history of the various communities and their social, industrial and political life. She visited homes and hospitals and discussed metaphysics and philosophic outlooks on life. She managed to include in this stupendous task printed debates of the 9 Provincial Councils, the two chambers of the Indian Legislature, the Blue Books and Reports of the numerous Government Departments of all the provinces extending over quite two decades. This period of 17 months includes the voyage back to America and the writing and printing of the book. Has any writer ever performed such a feat in such a short time

single-handed?

To some these facts would be a conclusive proof of Miss Mayo's coming to India through some agency of Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, who wanted her to write a book of the kind she had written about the Philippines in 1924. For our more sceptical readers we shall add—

1. That her book was first boomed in the British Isles by the leading Tory organs who had been agitating against the advanced Indian political parties and their claims for Swaraj.

2. That the chief of these Tory papers, the *London Times*, refused to give publicity to an important letter* of protest signed by almost all the influential Indians, officials and non-officials, then present in London. The letter ran—

“Our attention has been drawn to the recent publication, entitled *Mother India*, by an American

* The letter was signed by Sir A. C. Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India; Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay; Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa; Sir M. M. Bhowanagree; Mr. Dube, Barrister-at-Law, practising before His Majesty's Privy Council; Mr. Kamat, Member of the Royal Commission for Agriculture; and all the Indian Members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, namely, Sir Mahomed Rafique, Mr. S. N. Mullick and Dr. Pranjpaya. The *Times* refused to publish this letter although it was an important statement by prominent people. Reuter's propagandist news service gave it absolutely no publicity.

tourist, Miss Katherine Mayo, who paid a visit to India during the cold weather of 1925-26. It has never been our lot to read a book which indulges in such a wholesale, indiscriminate vilification of Indian civilization and Indian character.

"We concede that like other cold weather tourists Miss Mayo was entitled to form and express her own opinions. But when a foreigner who spends not more than a few months in our country uses the material gleaned from hospital cases, culled from criminal trial reports and deduced from her own observation of isolated happenings, and seeks to fortify herself with quotations divorced from context, and then proceeds on such slender basis to formulate a general indictment against the character and culture of a great country like India, possessed of an ancient civilization, it is time that we protested.

"She depicts the entire nation of 320 million people as physical degenerates, moral perverts and unabashed liars. If an Indian could have the temerity to pass a similar judgment on any nation of the West, after but a few months' residence in any country in Europe or America, and to indict the Western people, their civilization and character on the strength of the reports of sensational cases and crimes, moral perversions and physical degeneracy as evidenced by the proceedings of the courts, hospital and personal experiences, official reports, newspaper paragraphs and other special instances, he would be rightly condemned as unworthy of serious attention.

"We should not have felt called upon to take any public notice of a book of this character, but when we find that the publication is receiving serious attention of the British Press, to the obvious detriment

of India, at this juncture, we think it our duty to warn the British public against what strikes us as being a singularly mischievous book."

3. That the book has been distributed free both in Great Britain and America. The Rt. Hon'ble Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., received three copies—all free. It is only propaganda books that are supplied gratis so generously.

II.

In the last section I quoted a letter which a number of responsible Indians sent to the *London Times* in August 1927 when Miss Mayo's book was being boomed by the benevolent British Press. Three of the signatories were members of the India Council at Whitehall (two Hindus and one Mussalman). They had before their appointment to their present offices held high offices in India. One had been the Judge of a High Court established by Royal Charter; another a Minister of Education to the Government of Bombay. Two of the other Indians had been Executive Councillors of the Government of India and one that of Bombay. One of them is at present holding the exalted office of the High Commissioner of India at London, and so on. Their opinion of *Mother India* is weighty. They cannot be brushed aside as mere agitators or men of no position. It would not be a very flattering compliment to

the Government of India to say that their opinion is false or untrustworthy.

Now I propose to refer to the opinion of one whom a great American Christian leader has compared with Christ, and whom several Westerners have characterised as the greatest man of the age. I mean Mahatma Gandhi. In the course of a signed article in his own weekly, *Young India*, under the caption 'Drain Inspector's Report,' Mahatma Gandhi made the following remarks about this book:

The book is cleverly and powerfully written. The carefully chosen quotations give it the appearance of a truthful book, but the impression it leaves on my mind is that it is the report of a drain inspector sent out with the one purpose of opening and examining the drains of the country to be reported upon or to give a graphic description of the stench exuded by the open drains. If Miss Mayo had confessed that she had gone to India merely to open out and examine the drains of India, there would perhaps be little to complain about her compilation....

I feel that no one who has any knowledge of India can possibly accept her terrible accusations against the thought and the life of the people of this unhappy country. *The book is without doubt untruthful, be the facts stated ever so truthful.* If I open out and describe with punctilious care all the stench exuded from the drains of London and say 'Behold London,' my facts will be incapable of challenge, but my judgment will be rightly condemned as a travesty of truth. Miss Mayo's book is nothing better,

nothing else. The authoress says she was dissatisfied with the literature she read about India and so she came to India 'to see what a volunteer unsubsidised, uncommitted and unattached could observe of common things in daily human life.'

After having read the book with great attention, I regret to say that I find it difficult to accept this claim. Unsubsidised she may be. Uncommitted and unattached she certainly fails to show herself in any page. We in India are accustomed to interested publications patronised,—'patronised' is accepted as an elegant synonym for 'subsidised,'—by the Government. We have become used to understanding from pre-British days, that the art (perfected by the British) of government includes the harnessing of the secret services of men learned, and reported to be honest and honourable for shadowing suspects and for writing up the virtues of the Government of the day as if the certificate had come from disinterested quarters. I hope that Miss Mayo will not take offence if she comes under the shadow of such suspicion....

[*Mother India*] is doubly untruthful. It is untruthful in that she condemns a whole nation or in her words 'the peoples of India' (she will not have us as one nation) practically without any reservation as to their sanitation, morals, religion, etc. It is also untruthful because she claims for the British Government merits which cannot be sustained and which many an honest British officer would blush to see the Government credited with....

Miss Mayo is an avowed Indophobe and Anglo-phil, refusing to see anything good about Indians and anything bad about the British and their rule....

Nor are all the authoress's quotations or isolated

facts truthfully stated. I propose to pick up those I have personal knowledge of. The book bristles with quotations torn from their context and with extracts which have been authoritatively challenged.

The authoress has violated all sense of propriety by associating the Poet's name with child-marriage. The Poet has indeed referred to early marriage as not an undesirable institution. But there is a world of difference between child-marriage and early marriage. If she had taken the trouble of making the acquaintance of the free and freedom-loving girls and women of Shantiniketan she would have known the Poet's meaning of early marriage.

She has done me the honour of quoting me frequently in support of her argument. Any person who collects extracts from a reformer's diary, tears them from their context, and proceeds to condemn, on the strength of these, the people in whose midst the reformer has worked, would get no hearing from sane and unbiased readers or hearers.

But in her hurry to see everything Indian in a bad light she has not only taken liberty with my writings but she has not thought it necessary even to verify through me certain things ascribed by her or others to me....

The nineteenth chapter is a collection of authorities in praise of the achievements of the British Government, almost every one of which has been repeatedly challenged both by English and Indian writers of unimpeachable integrity. The seventeenth chapter is written to show that we are a 'world menace.' If as a result of Miss Mayo's effort the League of Nations is moved to declare India a segregated country unfit for exploitation, I have no doubt both the West

and the East would be the gainers. We may then have our internecine wars. Hindus may be eaten up, as she threatens, by the hordes from the North-West and Central Asia—that were a position infinitely superior to one of evergrowing emasculation. Even as electrocution is a humaner method of killing than the torturous method of roasting alive, so would a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia upon the unresisting, insanitary, superstitious, and sexuality-ridden Hindus, as Miss Mayo describes us to be, be a humane deliverance from the living and ignominious death which we are going through at the present moment. Unfortunately, however, such is not Miss Mayo's goal. Her case is to perpetuate white domination in India on the plea of India's unfitness to rule herself....

The picturesque statements that this clever authoress puts into the mouths of the various characters read like so many pages from a sensational novel in which no regard has to be paid to truth. Many of her statements seem to me to be utterly unworthy of belief and do not put the men and women to whom they are ascribed in a favourable light. Take for instance this statement put in the mouth of a prince:

“Our treaties are with the Crown of England,” one of them said to me, with incisive calm. ‘The princes of India made no treaty with a Government that included Bengali *babus*. We shall never deal with this new lot of Jacks-in-office. While Britain stays, Britain will send us English gentlemen to speak for the King-Emperor, and all will be as it should be between friends. If Britain leaves, we, the princes, will know how to straighten out India, even as princes

should.'**

However fallen Indian princes may be, I should want unimpeachable evidence before I could believe that there can be in India a prince so degraded as to make such a statement. Needless to say the authoress does not give the name of the prince.

A still more scandalous statement occurs on page 314 and reads as follows :

“ ‘ His Highness does not believe,’ said the Dewan, ‘ that Britain is going to leave India. But still, under this new regime in England, they may be so ill-advised. So His Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the English do go, three months afterward, not a rupee or a virgin will be left in all Bengal.’ ”

The reader is kept in darkness as to the name of His Highness or of the enlightened Dewan.

I should be sorry indeed to think that there are many Englishmen and Englishwomen who say one thing to their Indian friends and another to their Western confidants. Those Englishmen and Englishwomen who may chance to read the sweepings gathered together by Miss Mayo with her muck-rake will recognise the statements I have in mind. In seeking to see an India degraded Miss Mayo has unconsciously degraded the characters whom she has used as her instruments for proving her facts, which she boasts cannot be ‘ disproved or shaken.’ I hope I have given sufficient *prima facie* proof in this article to show that many of her facts stand disproved even in isolation. Put together they give a wholly false picture....

I do not remember having given the message

* *Mother India*, p. 316 (Amer. edition).

Miss Mayo imputes to me. The only one present who took any notes at all has no recollection of the message imputed to me. But I do know what message I give every American who comes to see me: "Do not believe newspapers and the catchy literature you get in America. But if you want to know anything about India go to India as students, study India for yourself. If you cannot go, make a study of all that is written about India for her and against her and then form your own conclusions. The ordinary literature you get is either exaggerated vilification of India or exaggerated praise." I warn Americans and Englishmen against copying Miss Mayo. She came not with an open mind as she claims, but with her preconceived notions and prejudices which she betrays on every page, not excluding even the introductory chapter in which she recites the claim.

I have given these copious extracts from Mahatma Gandhi as by common consent he is accepted to be the greatest, the most saintly and the most truthful of all living Indians. Miss Mayo may not consider him saintly enough to compete with the Indian Civil Servants or the Christian missionaries working in India, as she insinuates in one of the interviews she gave to a Press reporter. But her estimate of Gandhi is in line with the relative estimates of Indians and Westerners made in her book. Next to Mahatma Gandhi the two other Indians who enjoy such international fame as is unique for the sons of an Asiatic and subjugated country are the poet Rabindranath Tagore (knight-

ed by the British Government and Doctored by its Universities), a winner of the Nobel Prize, and Dr. Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., the great scientist.

Tagore has expressed his opinion of the book on two occasions, (a) in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, (b) in a letter to *The Nation*, New York. Elsewhere we give extracts from both.

Dr. Bose calls it a filthy book not worthy of attention.

In an Appendix we are putting together the opinions some prominent people, who know India much better than Miss Mayo does, have expressed about *Mother India*. Rabindranath Tagore accuses her of 'deliberately untruthful irresponsibility' in handling his writings. The late Lord Sinha, the only Indian ever appointed Governor of a province, entirely agrees with Mr. Gandhi that 'Miss Mayo has had a good sniff at all the filthy drains of India.' He calls her book 'a lie, and a false picture.' The Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India, which is presided over by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India, asserts that 'the picture of India which emerges from Miss Mayo's book is untrue to the facts and unjust to the people of India.' Eminent foreigners who know India intimately have condemned the book in strong terms. Mr.

Edward Thompson, novelist and playwright, author of *An Indian Day*, calls *Mother India* 'one long nagging,' and expresses the opinion that Miss Mayo lost her case 'when she wove into it a bitter conviction that the white man's rule is so overwhelmingly good for inferior breeds that it is only wickedness that makes them dissatisfied.' Sir John Maynard, retired Executive Councillor, finds it hard to write with restraint about Miss Mayo's book. Col. Wedgwood, M.P., writing (in the *Hindu Annual*, 1927) of Miss Mayo's generalisations about sex life in India says:

"It has always been the habit of civilised peoples to attribute to neighbours whom they feared and hated just those vices which were unpopular. In that way contempt could take the place of fear. The Germans said of the French that they were exhausted by sexual excesses,—only they put it more shortly. In the time of the Crusades all followers of the 'false Mahound' were addicted to unnatural vice; so were the Bulgarians or the Albigenses, when Christianity had to be worked up against them. French mediæval dislike of the raiding English led them to speak of us as 'tailed monkeys,' though that particular form of sexual perversion is one from which we are exceptionally free."

The reader will find the opinions of several other people about *Mother India* in the Appendix.

III.

MISS MAYO'S AUTHORITIES AND HOW SHE
HANDLES THEM.

On Hindu life, customs and manners, on Hindu religion and Hindu philosophy Miss Mayo has chiefly relied on the authority of the Abbe Dubois and has quoted from his book on these subjects profusely. It seems proper therefore to deal with the authority of the Abbe once for all in this place and to point out what value can be attached to his opinions and comments.

Dubois was a Jesuit missionary. A refugee from the French Revolution, he came and settled down in India. There is reason to believe that all the time he lived among the Hindus he posed as a Brahman. There is also reason to believe that he was 'a Tamil, far more than a Sanskrit scholar.'*—which is a polite way of saying that he was not much of a Sanskrit scholar. His opinions about Hindu religion and Hindu learning are not of much value. European knowledge of Hindu literature and religion in Dubois' days was extremely limited. Since then much that is of great scientific value has been discovered and made known, and Western scholars have written a great deal about Hindu religion, Hindu philosophy and

* Page vi of the Introduction to the Oxford Edition of Dubois' book.

Hindu Law. The investigations of Western scholars are now being supplemented by Indian savants. Max Muller, Deussen, Welkins, Rapson, Colebrook, Sir William Jones, Lanman, Macdonel, Keith, Foucher, Sylvian Levi and a host of others among the Europeans; Jayaswal, B. N. Seal, R. G. Bhandarkar, Sarkar, R. L. Mitter, and a host of others among Indians are far better authorities on these subjects than the Abbe Dubois. Miss Mayo does not know any one of them. She does not refer to their writings and opinions. She relies almost exclusively on M. Dubois, whose knowledge was gleaned mostly from what translations of Sanskrit works into European languages existed then. About his personal observations also it should not be forgotten that he lived the whole of the time he spent in India in that part of the Deccan which is situated south of Kistna. The Editor of the Oxford edition of his work remarks:*

“At the same time he [Dubois] disclaims for his work any general applicability to the whole of India. His observations extend, broadly speaking, to the India that lies south of the Vindhyan range; and even within those limits he is careful to remark that local differences are so many and so marked that there is no class or sect or community of Hindus that has not, in addition to the general rules of Hindu society, some domestic usages peculiar to itself.” So

* *Ibid.* p. xiii.

that, as he says, it is impossible to generalise with complete accuracy on any subject connected with them."

Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, who is an advanced social reformer himself, remarks in the course of a series of articles on Miss Mayo's book published in his weekly:

"[The Abbe] was an impostor from first to last.... 'I had no sooner arrived among the natives of India,' he writes, 'than I recognised the absolute necessity of gaining their confidence. Accordingly I made it my constant rule to live as they did. I adopted their style of clothing, and I studied their customs and methods of life in order to be exactly like them. I even went so far as to avoid any display of repugnance to the majority of their peculiar prejudices. By such circumspect conduct I was able to ensure a free and hearty welcome from people of all castes and conditions, and was often favoured of their own accord with the most curious and interesting particulars about themselves.* Notwithstanding all this camouflage, the Abbe's work as a Christian Missionary was, on his own admission, a humiliating failure. 'The restraints and privations under which I have lived,' he wrote, 'by conforming myself to the usages of the country; embracing, in many respects, the prejudices of the natives; living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself; in short by being *made all things to all men that I might by all means save some*—all these have proved of no

* Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India, in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants, outcastes of several tribes, who being without resource turned Christian in order to form connections, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views.* The Abbe, foiled in his missionary work, thought of serving Christianity in another way. He writes:†

‘There is one motive which above all others has influenced my determination [to write the book]. It struck me that a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of polytheism and idolatry would by its very ugliness help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of Christianity. It was thus that the Lacedæmonians placed drunken slaves in the sight of their children in order to inspire the latter with a horror of intemperance.’”

No reader of Miss Mayo’s book can afford to forget these admissions which altogether vitiate the conclusions in Dubois’ book as well as that of its new version called *Mother India*.

The code by which the Jesuit missionaries in India went may be judged from the fact that one of Dubois’ predecessors, the great missionary Robert de Nobili (17th century),

* Editor’s Introduction to 3rd (Oxford) Edition of Dubois’ book : pages xxvi, xxvii.

† *Ibid.*, Author’s Preface : page 9.

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who also like Dubois worked in the Southern Presidency, and anticipated his methods by dissimulating the Brahman mode of life, and even wearing the sacred thread, 'went so far as to forge a fifth Veda in Sanskrit and to insert into it Christian truths.*'

Mr. Natarajan draws attention to a few more facts about the Abbe:

"The period during which the Abbe lived in India was also the period of greatest rivalry between the British and the French. The fact that the Abbe retired with a pension from the British East India Company 'in recognition of many services he had rendered to India' may be regarded either as a testimony to the disinterested generosity of the East India Company, or to the judicious patriotism of the Abbe himself."

The Abbe stands convicted out of his own mouth. Mr. Natarajan pertinently asks:

"Suppose a Hindu were to spend some years in the United States with a like motive to produce a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of Mammon-worship so that by its very ugliness it may help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of the Vedanta, no serious student of American culture and civilization would think of relying on him as an authority on the subject. The Abbe's book is the last source to which any foreigner, after reading this candid avowal, should look for a true and faithful account of Hindu manners and customs."

* Bishop Whitehead : *Indian Problems* (Constable), p. 172.

It is not only the personal history of the Abbe, but also that of his book that is relevant here. I shall let the reader have it in Mr. Natarajan's language:

"Even such a hostile witness as the Abbe Dubois is obliged to admit that Hindu women were treated with the greatest consideration at least in public. In the first translation of his work published in 1817 by the East India Company occurred the following passage:

'But, degraded as the Hindu women are in private life, it must be admitted that they receive the highest respect in public. They certainly do not pay them those flat and frivolous compliments which are used amongst us, and which are the disgrace of both sexes; but, on the other hand, they have no insults to dread. A woman may go wheresoever she pleases; she may walk in the most public places (must I except those where the Europeans abound?) and have nothing to fear from libertines numerous as they are in the country. A man who should stop to gaze on a woman in the street, or elsewhere, would be universally hooted as an insolent and a most low-bred fellow.*

"In the revised version from which the late Mr. Beauchamp made the present translation in 1897, and from the third edition of which Miss Mayo makes her citations, the uncomplimentary reflections on contemporary European manners are carefully omitted. The passage is recast as under:

'But if women enjoy very little consideration in private life, they are in some degree compensated by

* Abbe Dubois' book, 1817 edition, p. 220.

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* Abbe Dubois' book, 1817 edition, p. 220.

the respect which is paid to them in public. They do not, it is true, receive those insipid compliments which we have agreed to consider polite; but then, on the other hand, they are safe from the risk of insult. A Hindu woman can go anywhere alone, even in the most crowded places, and she need never fear the impertinent looks and jokes of idle loungers. This appears to me to be really remarkable in a country where the moral depravity of inhabitants is carried to such lengths. A house inhabited solely by women is a sanctuary which the most shameless libertine would not dream of violating.'**

Miss Mayo while busy muck-raking from Dubois' book carefully omitted to note his opinion when she made the assertion that no Hindu woman of child-bearing age can venture within reach of Indian men. Here she forgot to consult her Dubois.

To Dubois' propagandist unscrupulousness Miss Mayo adds cleverness in handling quotations. Referring to the way she cites Dubois' authority in season and out of season, Mr. Natarajan very rightly remarks:

"The deliberate disingenuousness of Miss Katherine Mayo is clear from the fact that in all her several references to the Abbe Dubois' book, she not once tells the reader that *the manuscript of the book was submitted to the East India Company in 1807*, and that the account in it relates to a period separated from our time by a century and a quarter. In one

* 3rd Oxford edition, pp. 339-340.

place at least she implies that the account relates to a period not very remote from ours. We refer to her statement that the Abbe found 'this ancient law [relating to the behaviour of a wife towards her husband] *still the code of nineteenth century Hinduism,*'* while the greater part of the Abbe's Indian career belongs to the eighteenth century. It may be nothing to Miss Katherine Mayo to skip over a century in order to achieve her purpose of blackening the Hindus in the eyes of the world, but one might ask what the position of women and social conditions were generally in Europe or even in Miss Mayo's own country a hundred years ago. But comparisons are odious." (Italics ours.)

For another instance of Miss Mayo's 'caution' in handling even her fellow Hindu-phobe, Dubois, the reader may compare her quotation from the Abbe's book regarding learning among the Hindus. Thus she quotes Dubois as saying:

"[The Brahmans] saw well enough,' says Dubois, 'what a moral ascendancy knowledge would give them over the other castes, and they therefore made a mystery of it by taking all possible precautions to prevent other classes from obtaining access to it.'"

The first two sentences of the paragraph from which this quotation is taken have been omitted as they credit the Hindus with having cultivated learning from the earliest time and the Brahmans with having 'always been as it were its depositaries.'†

* *Mother India*, p. 74.

† Page 376. Oxford edition.

Miss Mayo evidently did not want to let this kind of 'damaging' statement to go in her book. The excerpt reproduced above is followed by another quotation from Dubois which in Miss Mayo's book reads thus:

"I do not believe that the Brahmans of modern times are, in any degree, more learned than their ancestors of the time of Lycurgus and Pythagoras. During this long space of time, many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness of ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches...yet all this time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find amongst them any trace of mental or moral improvement, any sign of advance in the arts and sciences. Every impartial observer must, indeed, admit that they are now very far behind the peoples who inscribed their names long after them on the roll of civilized nations."

The words omitted, marked by dots, have perhaps been deleted because they would have shown that Dubois was very much lacking in the habit of exactitude. In the original the sentence reads 'have extended their intellectual researches almost to *the utmost limits of human intelligence.*'

While on this subject I would like to give some more instances of Miss Mayo's dishonest use of quotation marks and her lack of scruples in ascribing statements to people she met in India. Her usual method is to omit names—

'one whose veracity cannot be questioned,' 'a Mussalman landlord,' 'a lawyer,' 'a prince' come in as anonymous witnesses. But the few cases in which she does mention names are quite enough to let us judge her general standard of honesty and veracity.

I have taken some pains to investigate as to how she has reported or quoted other people, and my investigation has lent strong support to the charges I have made against Miss Mayo in the above paragraph.

The Rajah of Panagal happens to be among those quoted in *Mother India* by name.* Here is what he tells me about the statements ascribed to him by Miss Mayo:

"Your letter of the 13th instant to hand. Miss Mayo is not accurate in reproducing my replies. The language used in the dialogue is I think her own. I wrote to you in my last letter what to the best of my recollection I told her."

The 'last letter' referred to reads:

"When Miss Mayo was at the Government House in Madras I had an occasion to meet her. On that occasion I remember having stated in reply to her questions that the present deplorable state of illiteracy in this Province is in some measure due to the superstitious ideas prevailing among the masses, and that according to Varnashrama Dharma the lower classes who form the bulk of the population could not take

to literary pursuits. I told her too that even to this day sections of people are precluded from being admitted to Hindu Schools, particularly to schools where Sanskrit and Shastras are taught; that non-Brahmins are enjoined by Smrities to avoid even listening to the recitation of Vedas, the punishment for disobedience to the injunction being to have the ears of the listeners filled with molten-lead; and that after the British association with the administration and the broadcasting of higher education in the country the superstitions regarding Varnashrama Dharma are gradually losing ground, with the result that the non-Brahmin classes do not now hesitate to take advantage of the existence of the various schools and colleges."

Another story about which I made some investigation is that found on page 319 of *Mother India*. Says Miss Mayo:

"Then I recall a little party given in Delhi by an Indian friend in order that I might privately hear the opinions of certain Home Rule politicians. Most of the guests were, like my host, Bengali Hindus belonging to the Western-educated professional class. They had spoken at length on the coming expulsion of Britain from India and on the future in which they themselves would rule the land. 'And what,' I asked, 'is your plan for the princes?' 'We shall wipe them out!' exclaimed one with conviction, and all the rest nodded assent."

In the absence of any names it was not easy to get a clue for verification. But from enquiries from all the possible people who could have arranged such a party or who could have

attended it, I learn that Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press arranged a lunch to which a number of Indian gentlemen were invited. The only other *Bengali* present was Mr. Sen, Mr. K. C. Roy's assistant. Mr. K. C. Roy has assured me that Miss Mayo's story of what transpired at the meeting (if she really refers to that party) is absolutely untrue. Mrs. K. C. Roy in a letter to me writes:

"We gave a luncheon party to Miss Mayo at Maidens Hotel, Delhi, during her short stay in the Capital. She came to us with excellent introductions. At the lunch there were only two Bengalis, namely, my husband and Mr. Sen. All the others were non-Bengalis. Prominent among our guests were Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Independent Party and Mr. S. Chetty. As I can recollect the discussion ran on Indian constitutional development, her defence, communal harmony, child-welfare and Art and culture in Delhi. I do not recollect whether the position of the Indian princes was discussed. At any rate, I know that there was no discussion as to their being 'wiped out.'"

To both Gandhi and Tagore Miss Mayo has ascribed opinions regarding physicians and surgeons which they protest are not theirs. No wonder Gandhi should be impelled to say in his comment on her method—

"But in her hurry to see everything Indian in a bad light, she has not only taken liberty with my writings, but she has not thought it necessary even to verify through me certain things ascribed by her

or others to me. In fact she has combined in her own person what we understand in India the judicial and the executive officer. She is both the prosecutor and the judge."

Take the following statement made by Miss Mayo about the operation on M. Gandhi while he was in prison. Mark the inverted commas:

"As he happened to be in the prison at the time, a British surgeon of the Indian Medical Service came straightaway to see him. 'Mr. Gandhi,' said the surgeon, as the incident was then reported, 'I am sorry to tell you that you have appendicitis. If you were my patient, I should operate at once. But you will probably prefer to call in your Ayurvedic physician.'"

"Mr. Gandhi proved otherwise minded.

"'I should prefer not to operate,' pursued the surgeon, because in case the outcome should be unfortunate, all your friends will lay it as a charge of malicious intent against us whose duty is to care for you.'

"'If you will only consent to operate,' pleaded Mr. Gandhi, 'I will call in my friends now, and explain to them that you do so at my request.'

"So Mr. Gandhi wilfully went to an 'institution for propagating sin,' was operated upon by one of the 'worst of all,' an officer of the Indian Medical Service, and was attentively nursed through convalescence by an English sister whom he is understood to have thought after all rather a 'useful sort of person.'"

Gandhiji comments on this:

"This is a travesty of truth. I shall confine my-

self to correcting only what is libellous and not the other inaccuracies. There was no question here of calling in any Ayurvedic physician. Col. Maddock who performed the operation had the right, if he had so chosen, to perform the operation without a reference to me, and even in spite of me. But he and Surgeon-General Hooten showed a delicate consideration to me, and asked me whether I would wait for my own doctors who were known to them and who were also trained in the Western medicine and surgical science. I would not be behind-hand in returning their courtesy and consideration, and I immediately told them that they could perform the operation without waiting for my doctors whom they had telegraphed, and that I would gladly give them a note for their protection in the event of the operation miscarrying. I endeavoured to show that I had no distrust either in their ability or their good faith. It was to me a happy opportunity of demonstrating my personal goodwill."

Miss Bose, Principal of the Lahore Victoria School, has likewise protested against the distorted version in *Mother India* of the talk Miss Mayo had with her. Miss Bose was interviewed by the Rev. H. A. Popley about the statements ascribed to her by Miss Mayo. Here is what the Rev. Popley writes in the *Indian Witness*, a Methodist weekly published at Lucknow:

"On pages 132 and 133 she gives an account of the Victoria School, Lahore, and quotes, in inverted commas, statements of the Principal Miss Bose. I have consulted this lady and find that a great many of the things printed in inverted commas were never

spoken. Further Miss Bose is not of the third generation of an Indian Christian family. The statement, in para third of that page (132), in regard to lower caste children is not accurate and was never made. On the top of page 134 she says that male pandits have to teach behind a curtain. Miss Bose informs me that 'Hindu girls are always taught Sanskrit by male pandits without purdah,' and that the statement in regard to the pandit of tottering age, *used to be the case 40 years ago*. The third para on page 138 dealing with the aim of the school is quite inaccurate, says Miss Bose; and she adds 'sewing has been an art among Indian women for ages, in reference to Miss Mayo's remark that 'sewing is almost unknown to most of the women of India.' The quotation in inverted commas, on the top of page 134, that 'their cooking in later life, they would never by nature do with their own hands but would leave entirely to filthy servants, whence come much sickness and death' is entirely imaginary. Miss Bose says in reply to it, 'cooking is done by ladies of every class, even when they have servants. Servants are not filthy in any good house, and certainly not in Hindu houses.'

"I have felt it necessary to deal with this rather extensively because it is a case which I have been able to investigate, and here we find an entire lack of appreciation for strict accuracy. It is most likely that in the innumerable quotations given without names the same inaccuracy would be found."

Miss Mayo makes some statements about the finances of the Victoria School to show that educated Indians are not prepared to spend anything on the education of their girls. The

facts cited here by Miss Mayo have been challenged by Dewan Bahadur Kunj Behari Thapar, O.B.E., who is connected with the management of the Victoria School. I am reproducing Mr. Thapar's letter on page 209.

In a previous section we have quoted what Gandhi and Tagore have written about *Mother India*. Both of them have accused Miss Mayo of mis-quotation. Tagore in any case has been quoted by her in a thoroughly dishonest way, and made to represent opinions he has never held. Here are some excerpts from Tagore's letter which appeared in the *New York Nation* for January 4:

I happen to be one of those whom the writer has specially honoured with her attention and selected as a target for her midnight raid. Difficult though it is for me completely to defend myself from such a widespread range of mischief, I must try through your organ to reach the ears of at least some of my friends, who are on the other side of the Atlantic, and have, I hope, the chivalry to suspend their judgment about the veracity of these shocking statements made by a casual tourist against a whole people, before lightly believing them to be honourable.

For my own defence, I shall use the following extract from a paper written by Mr. Natarajan, one of the most fearless critics of our social evils. He has incidentally dealt with the incriminating allegation against me deliberately concocted by Miss Mayo out of a few sentences from my contribution to Keyserling's "Book of Marriage"—cleverly burgling away

their true meaning and shaping them into an utterly false testimony for her own nefarious purpose. Mr. Natarajan writes as follows:—

“Tagore sets forth his own ideal of marriage in five long pages at the end of his paper (Keyserling, pages 117 *et seq.*). ‘Let me,’ he says, ‘as an individual Indian, offer in conclusion my own personal contribution to the discussion of the marriage question generally.’ He holds that the marriage system all over the world—and not only in India—from the earliest ages till now, is a barrier in the way of the true union of man and woman, which is possible only when ‘Society shall be able to offer a large field for the creative work of women’s special faculty, without detracting the creative work in the home.’

“If Miss Katherine Mayo was not a purblind propagandist but an honest enquirer, and if she had not the patience to read Tagore’s essay, she might have asked any one in Calcutta what the age of marriage of girls is in Tagore’s own family. That she was determined to discredit the poet is evident.”

Let me ask some of your readers to read my paper on Hindu marriage in Keyserling’s book and challenge, in fairness to me, Miss Mayo to prove that it was my own opinion, as she asserts, that child-marriage is “a flower of the sublimated spirit, a conquest over sexuality and materialism won by exalted intellect for the eugenic uplift of the race,” implying “the conviction, simply, that Indian women must be securely bound and delivered before their womanhood is upon them, if they are to be kept in hand.”

Let me in conclusion draw the attention of your readers to another amazing piece of false statement

in which she introduces me, with a sneer, as a defender of the "Ayurvedic" system of medicine against Western medical science. Let her prove this libel if she can.

There are other numerous witnesses who, like myself, if they find their access to the Western readers, will be able to place their complaints before them, informing them how their views have been misinterpreted, their words mutilated, and facts tortured into a deformity which is worse than untruth.

SANTINIKETAN,
9 November, 1927.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The Englishman, a Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, publishes in its issue of March 7, an appreciation of the late Lord Sinha written by Mr. N. N. Sircar, 'one of the leaders of the High Court Bar in Calcutta.' Mr. Sircar, we are told, 'was closely associated with Lord Sinha, and had an intimate knowledge of his activities and views.' Mr. Sircar's appreciation exposes yet another of Miss Mayo's lies; we are reproducing below the part relevant here:

"I refer to his [Sinha's] abhorrence of being in the lime-light, and a deep-rooted objection to publicity of any matter in which he was concerned. In Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, . . . there is a chapter headed 'A Counsel of Perfection' (Ch. XVI). In this chapter Miss Mayo narrates a conversation with a 'Hindu nobleman who is an eminent lawyer,' and whose name Miss Mayo has not disclosed as 'it would be a grace-

less requital of courtesy to name the gentleman just quoted.'

"This Hindu lawyer is no other than Lord Sinha—a fact confirmed by him. It is known to some of his friends that the interview took place at 17 Elysium Row—Lord Sinha's residence.

"At this interview Lord Sinha is reported to have complained about the condition of villages in Bengal—and the inadequate attention paid to them by the Government. Lord Sinha, it is stated, said—'But surely, they could have done more and faster. And they let my people starve.' Miss Mayo then proceeds to cover Lord Sinha with ridicule and sarcasm, by stating that this wealthy man, 'with the income of an eminent lawyer of New York,' has done nothing for his village [Raipur] though it is 'but a comfortable afternoon's ride away from his home.'

"As Lord Sinha never cared to advertise himself, he did not care to inform Miss Mayo that the facts are that the pucca school building at Raipur has been constructed at Lord Sinha's expense, that both the village school and the village dispensary have always been maintained by him, and permanent provision has been made for them, that he paid Rs. 10,000 to the Agricultural Institute of his district, and that his acts of help and charity to his village and villagers have been too many to be mentioned.

"When Miss Mayo's book was published in London I happened to be there. Lord Sinha's attention was drawn to the gross injustice done to him by Miss Mayo: in fact a contradiction for publication in the press had been drafted for him, but Lord Sinha refused permission for its issue."

This nails another lie to the counter.

IV.

The question of discussing European sex morality in this book has cost me many anxious nights. I have far greater respect for Miss Mayo's sex than she seems to have irrespective of race, colour or caste. I believe that there is nothing so beautiful and so sacred as woman. Motherhood places her above everything else in this world and that is why motherhood is held in such high esteem in India. Ancient Hindus worshipped woman in different forms. Shakti (energy), Saraswati (learning), Lakshmi (wealth), Durga (motherhood), are all female deities. The mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter, each has a separate festival dedicated to her. I have no hesitation in admitting that Hindu society has fallen from its social ideals. In my judgment this is primarily a reflexion of political bondage, and it is not easy to effect a radical change for the better unless and until India is politically free.

We have been actively engaged in reconstructing Hindu society socially at least since the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1830. The Arya Samaj has been very active in this respect since 1877. Other social reform agencies too have been quite active in this matter. We have denounced early marriage from thousands of platforms and even though we got practic-

ally no help from the legislature we have made substantial progress in raising the marriageable age of boys and girls. Marriage at the age of 12 is common now only among certain communities and castes. Personally I consider it a social crime to marry a girl under the age of 16, even though Indian girls reach puberty at about the age of 12. We have carried on an incessant war against the restrictions imposed upon the remarriage of widows and surely some improvement is visible, though there is still a lot to do. The restrictions on widow remarriage are to be found in a few castes and communities, not in all. All the same, thousands of widow remarriages are reported every year among all classes and castes and sections of the people. There are castes among Moslems and Christians too. Some of them do not allow their widows to remarry. But there is progress all round. There is not one orthodox caste or community in which widow remarriages have not taken place. During the last 10 years the struggle between the orthodox and the reformers has been very keen and bitter, and the former have considerably lost ground.

The age of consent in India is 13 as fixed by statute. There is a Bill before the Central Legislature to raise it to 14. It is being opposed by the Government. There is another Bill to fix the marriageable age of girls at 12.

Both are private bills introduced by Hindu Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Similarly the movement to remove untouchability is very widespread and influential. Large sums of money have been spent by private Hindu agencies to remove untouchability and provide general and special educational facilities for the depressed classes and otherwise to uplift them socially and economically. The statement that the movement is opposed by a 'myriad' tongues is a wicked lie because even the most orthodox are now anxious to do justice to the depressed classes. Personally I do not believe in caste. I am in favour of its complete abolition. Nor do I believe in any distinction between the rights of men and women as regards marriage.

All these matters are discussed in detail in the body of the book, and Miss Mayo's statements challenged and refuted. If Miss Mayo had confined herself to a *bona fide* criticism of Hindu social life the Indian social reformer would have stood by her and taken advantage of her criticisms without ever thinking of exposing the social vices of the West in retaliation. It is no business of ours to throw mud on other nations. There are evils in every society. Rightly or wrongly we Indians believe that even with some rotten customs sex life in India is much purer, much healthier and much more moral than it is in

the West. We honestly believe that the 'sex stimulus' in India is not so morbidly strong as it is in the West. As for venereal diseases we believe there is no comparison between the East and the West. The disparity is simply huge, and our medical men think that except in some hill tribes the diseases were practically unknown in Indian life before the advent of the British. Syphilis is called 'Bad-i-Farang,' being a disease of Farangis (Europeans).

If Miss Mayo had however said that our social life was rotten and needed reform and reconstruction, we would not have felt so much annoyed as we do now because of the base use she has made of her imperfect knowledge and the wicked generalizations for political and racial propaganda. Even the India Office in London had warned her against such generalizations but she did not heed that advice and has run down a whole nation of 315 millions of human beings. She has invented false charges against us to show that we are unfit for political freedom and that the British Government is the very best thing for us. During my recent visits to Europe in 1924, 1926 and 1927, I have observed that a widespread, well-organized, well-financed and influentially backed propaganda is being carried on not only in Great Britain but also in the other countries of the West, specially in the United States of America,

against India's right and claim to self-government. All kinds of agencies are at work in this campaign of vilification. Anglo-Indians retired from service or still in service, missionaries and commercial magnates, all have joined hands. The methods employed are very subtle and insidious. Political and economic reasons are kept in the background and social evils are brought into the lime-light. As usual, exaggerated and false pictures are put on the screen which create a feeling of loathing and disgust against the Indian people. Press, platform, pulpit, the stage and cinema are all being used against us. There is no doubt that Miss Mayo's *Mother India* is a part of that propaganda. It seems that her mission in life is to oppose and bring into ridicule and contempt all the Asiatic movements for freedom from the Anglo-Saxon yoke.

As I have already said Miss Mayo came into contact with Mr. Lionel Curtis in August 1925. In his foreword to the English edition of the *Isles of Fear* Mr. Curtis remarked as follows:*

"Here [in Williams Town] and elsewhere in the United States I have met such friends who can speak with official and first-hand knowledge of the events and conditions described in the book. In two opinions they all agree. Miss Mayo, they tell me, has written nothing which in their opinion is not

* Curtis, *op. cit*

the truth.... They add, however, that there are other facts of the situation which Miss Mayo could scarcely be expected to observe unless she had visited the Islands in previous years.... All of my informants had been in India and had met several of the nationalist leaders. To my question how they compared with the Philippine leaders they, each, replied (on separate occasions) that the Indian leaders stood on a different and altogether higher plane."

Mr. Curtis knew and Miss Mayo must have known that a revision of the Reforms was due and that the Statutory inquiry into the working of the reforms was about to be undertaken. The London *Times* and other Tory papers had been agitating for some time past about the constitution of this commission. They wanted no Indians on it. They had been prejudicing the British public against India by their attacks on the Hindu social system and by laying special emphasis on the disabilities of the untouchables. The *Times* had been devoting column after column to the exposure of these so-called evils. It seems probable that the British Tory Press knew that a book of the kind was in preparation. So when the book came out they began to boom it as the work of a 'disinterested' foreigner. It was the most valuable support to their cause. Such was their anxiety to keep out any criticism of the book from its readers that they threw all the journalistic ethics to the winds and refused to publish

the influentially signed criticisms of *Mother India* by the most reliable of Indians then present in London. The book has been distributed free by the thousand. All these facts leave no doubt in the mind of an Indian that the real motive behind the book is political and racial.

In the circumstances shall we not hit back by stating what is perfectly true—that the vices attributed to us by Miss Mayo are to be found, some of them even in greater quantity and in intenser forms, in European society also, and that they are not considered to be a bar to national and political freedom? As I have said, the question has cost me many sleepless nights, but finally I have come to the conclusion that my duty to my country and to truth requires that I should not leave my rejoinder incomplete, and that even though the task be not congenial to my nature, I must do it.

When I returned from America in 1920 I was repeatedly asked to write out my impressions of Western life, but I declined to do so because that might involve me into the unpleasant task of discussing the dark side of sex morality in the West. I believe in seeing the best in every nation. That is how we can improve international relations and advance the cause of international peace. If I am, therefore, for the first time in my life going to depart from that rule the responsibility is entirely Miss Mayo's or that of her Anglo-Indian

supporters.

V.

Not only in the use, or shall we more aptly say abuse, of her authorities, but also in her own writing Miss Mayo's one endeavour is to give a dark and dreary image of our life. Her sweeping generalizations are often without a shred of truth in them. Her mind is obscured by our excessive sensuality, and on the Freudian hypothesis her frequent references to this topic in season and out of season suggest morbidity of an uncommon order. For our readers we reproduce below a few typical statements.

P. 25.—If you do employ them [women teachers] for primary education you invite the ruin of each woman that you so expose.

P. 30.—The infant that survives the birth strain . . . [is] often venereally poisoned.

P. 30.—The child growing up in the home learns, from earliest grasp of word and act, to dwell upon sex relations.

Pp. 32-33.—In many parts of the country, north and south, the little boy, his mind so prepared, is likely, if physically attractive, to be drafted for the satisfaction of grown men, or to be regularly attached to a temple, in the capacity of prostitute. Neither parent as a rule sees any harm in this, but is, rather, flattered that the son has been found pleasing.

This, also, is a matter neither of rank nor of special ignorance. In fact, so far are they from seeing

good and evil as we see good and evil, that the mother, high caste or low caste, will practise upon children—the girl ‘to make her sleep well,’ the boy ‘to make him manly,’ an abuse which the boy, at least, is apt to continue daily for the rest of his life.

This last point should be noticed. Highest medical authority in widely scattered sections attests that practically every child brought under observation, for whatever reason, bears on its body the signs of this habit.

P. 34.—Little in the popular Hindu code suggests self-restraint in any direction, least of all in sex relations.

P. 34.—After the rough outline just given, small surprise will meet the statement that from one end of the land to the other the average male Hindu of thirty years, provided he has means to command his pleasure, is an old man; and that from seven to eight out of every ten such males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty are impotent. These figures are not random, and are affected by little save the proviso above given.*

P. 61.—[Indian women] commonly experience marital use two and three times a day.

P. 67.—Until the Pax Britannica reached so far, [the Khyber Pass], few Hindus came through alive, unless mounted and clad as women.

P. 84.—An inmate of her husband’s home at the time of his death, the widow, although she has no

* Even a sympathetic British reviewer of Miss Mayo’s book, Mr. Ruahbrooke Williams, formerly publicity agent of the Indian Government, is forced to point out the evident absurdity of such a statement. See his review in the *Asiatic Review*, London.

legal claim for protection, may be retained there on the terms above described, or she may be turned adrift. Then she must live by charity—or by prostitution, into which she not seldom falls. And her dingy, ragged figure, her bristly shaven head, even though its stubble be white over the haggard face of unhappy age, is often to be seen in temple crowds or in the streets of pilgrimage cities, where sometimes niggard piety doles her a handful of rice.

P. 86.—The remarriage of a Hindu widowed wife is still held to be inconceivable.

P. 91.—Therefore, in total, you have the half-blind, the aged, the crippled, the palsied and the diseased, drawn from the dirtiest poor, as sole ministrants to the women of India in the most delicate, the most dangerous and the most important hour of their existence. [This is about midwives.]

P. 154.—To-day the defenders of Untouchability are myriad, and, though Mr. Gandhi lives his faith, but few of his supporters have at any time cared to follow him so far.

P. 308.—“Without the British no Hindus will remain in India except such as we [Pathans] keep for slaves.”

P. 325.—“If we protect our babies the gods will be jealous and bring us all bad luck”!!! [These words are put into the mouth of a Bengali mother.]

P. 332.—No orthodox Hindu, and certainly no woman, will consent to wear shoes.

We have given only a few samples. These and many more such statements we shall notice in the body of our book. But can a writer who

indulges in such wild generalisations on such a lavish scale be taken seriously by serious people?

A POST-SCRIPT.

In the January 14th number of *Liberty*, a weekly magazine owned by the *Chicago Tribune*, Miss Mayo has an article which attempts to meet some of the criticisms on *Mother India*. She refers in particular to Mahatma Gandhi's review of her book from which we have already quoted at length. Being clever at quibbling she tries to hoodwink the real issues involved by protesting that she had not said that the Mahatma always had two secretaries about him to take down all he said. 'If Mr. Gandhi were to look on page 222 [page 202, English edition] he would discover that he has inserted the word "always" into my text.' Nothing of the kind. Mr. Gandhi has inserted nothing into her text; he merely says that without using the word 'always' Miss Mayo conveys the impression that she is not merely describing the occasion of her visit to his Ashram.

But that however is a trivial thing. Much more important is the message incident. And in this Miss Mayo certainly does not come out with credit to herself. Says she:

"...I duly received back the corrected and expanded report of the interview, over Mr. Gandhi's

own signature.

"The first sentence of this document of several typed pages, now before me, is his reply to my opening question: 'Have you any message for America?' It reads as it was spoken, and as I have printed it: 'My message to America is the hum of this spinning wheel.'

"Mr. Gandhi now seeks to disavow the 'message' as the invention of an enemy. 'I do not remember having given the message.... The only one present who took any notes at all has no recollection of the message imputed to me,' he says."

But what are the facts about this message? At the time of writing his review on *Mother India*, Mahatma Gandhi—being on tour—had not the notes of the interview with him. But in his more recent *Young India* article (February 2, 1928) written in reply to Miss Mayo's *Liberty* article he has given the facts thus:

"Her adherence to the statement that I did give her the message she ascribes to me proves her to be guilty of gross suppression of truth. She seems to have thought that I would not have a copy of the corrected interview between her and me. Unfortunately for her I happen to possess a copy of her notes. Here is the full quotation referring to the hum of the wheel:

"My message to America is simply the hum of this wheel. Letters and newspaper cuttings I get from America show that one set of people over-rates the results of Non-violent Non-cooperation and the other not only underrates it but imputes all kinds of motives

to those who are concerned with the movement. Don't exaggerate one way or the other. If therefore some earnest Americans will study the movement impartially and patiently, then it is likely that the United States may know something of the movement which I do consider to be unique, although I am the author of it. What I mean is that our movement is summed up in the spinning wheel with all its implications. It is to me a substitute for gun-powder—for, it brings the message of self-reliance and hope to the millions of India. And when they are really awakened they would not need to lift their little finger in order to regain their freedom. The message of the spinning wheel is, really, to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service. The dominant note in the West is the note of exploitation. I have no desire that my country should copy that spirit or that note.'

"The first sentence only of the foregoing extract, which Miss Mayo quotes without the most important commentary on it, is intended to ridicule me. But the whole paragraph, I hope, makes my meaning and message clear and intelligible.... I claim however that the message as it appears in the full paragraph quoted is not different from what I have stated in the article Miss Mayo attempts to shake."

The message, as is now plain, was not 'invented' by Miss Mayo; but her offence remains as grave as it was—for her dishonest parody of the message is in no way more honourable than an out-right invention. Having no defence to offer she has only quibbled again. And yet this 'trivial quibble,' as she calls this episode, releases her 'from the necessity of

further considering Mr. Gandhi's criticism at this writing.'

Mahatma Gandhi's protest that the *Mother India* 'story' of the Sassoon Hospital operation on him was grossly misleading has not been noticed by her,—she having released herself from the further necessity of considering Gandhi!

And again what about her taking liberty with Tagore's paper in Keyserling's book? If Miss Mayo's article in any way seeks to make amends for the grave wrong she did Tagore, or even if she has some quibble in defence of her indefensible mis-handling, we do not find it in the excerpts from her article that we have seen.

APPENDIX.

SOME OPINIONS ABOUT 'MOTHER INDIA'

The following is the full text of the letter written by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore from Bali to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* for October 14, 1927:

May I appeal to your sense of justice and claim a place in your paper for this letter of mine which I am compelled to write in vindication of my position as a representative of India against a most unjustifiable attack?

While travelling in this island of Bali I have just chanced upon a copy of the *New Statesman* of July 16 containing the review of a book on India written by a tourist from America. The reviewer, while supporting with an unctuous virulence all the calumnies heaped upon our people by the authoress, and while calling repeated attention to the common Hindu vice of untruthfulness even amongst the greatest of us, has made public a malicious piece of fabrication, not as one of the specimens picked up from a show-case of wholesale abuse displayed in this or some other book, but as a gratuitous information about the truth of which the writer tacitly insinuates his own personal testimony. It runs as thus: "The poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore expresses in print his conviction that marriage should be consummated before puberty in order to avert the vagaries of female sexual desire."

May I point out in this connection that selected documents of facts generalised into an unqualified statement affecting a whole large population may become in the hands of the tourist from across the sea a poison-tipped arrow of the most heinous form of untruth to which the British nation itself may afford a broadly easy target? It is a cunning lie against a community which the writer has used when he describes the Hindus as cow-dung eaters. It is just as outrageous as to introduce Englishmen to those who know them imperfectly as addicted to the cocaine habit because cocaine is commonly used in their dentistry. In Hindu India only in rare cases an exceedingly small quantity of cow-dung is used not as an ingredient in their meals but as a part of the performance of expiatory rites for some violation of social convention. One who has no special interest or pleasure in creating ill-feeling towards the Europeans will, if he is honest, hesitate in describing them, though seemingly with a greater justice than in the other case, as eaters of live creatures or of rotten food, mentioning oyster and cheese for illustration. It is the subtlest method of falsehood, this placing of exaggerated emphasis upon insignificant details, giving to the exception the appearance of the rule.

The instances of moral perversity when observed in alien surroundings naturally loom large to us, because the positive power of sanitation which works from within and the counteracting forces that keep up social balance are not evident to a stranger, especially to one who has the craving for an intemperate luxury of moral indignation which very often is the

We have become painfully familiar with deliberate circulation of hideous lies in the West against enemy countries, but a similar propaganda against individuals, whose countrymen have obviously offended the writer by their political aspirations, has come to me as a surprise. If the people of the United States had ever made themselves politically obnoxious to England, it is imaginable how an English writer of this type would take a gloating delight in proving, with profuse helps from the news columns in the American journals, their criminal propensity and quote for his support their constant indulgence in vicarious enjoyment of crimes through cinema pictures. But would he, in the fiercest frenzy of his rhetoric running amok, dare to make the monstrous accusation, let us say, against the late President Wilson for ever having expressed his pious conviction that the lynching of the Negroes was a moral necessity in a superior civilisation for cultivating Christian virtues? Or would he venture to ascribe to Professor Dewey the theory that centuries of witch-burning have developed in the Western peoples the quick moral sensitiveness that helps them in judging and condemning others whom they do not know or understand or like and about whose culpability they are never in lack of conclusive evidence? But has it been made so easily possible in my case, such a deliberately untruthful irresponsibility in this writer, condoned by the editor, by the fact that the victim was no better than a British subject who by accident of his birth has happened to be a Hindu and not belonging to the Muslim community, which, according to the writer, is specially favoured by his people and our Government?

of duty done, are ever ready to give vent to their blind prejudices while tenderly nourishing a comfortable conscience that lulls them into forgetting that they also have their Western analogies in moral license, only in different garbs made in their fashionable establishments or in their slums. However, let me strongly assure my English and other Western readers that neither I nor my indignant Indian friends whom I have with me have ever had the least shadow of intimation of what has been described in this book and quoted with a grin of conviction by this writer as the usual practice in the training of sexual extravagance. I hope such Western readers will understand my difficulty in giving an absolute denial to certain facts alleged when they remember the occasional startling disclosures in their own society in Europe and America, allowing to the unsuspecting public a sudden glimpse of systematic orgies of sexual abnormality in an environment which is supposed not to represent "sub-human" civilization.

The writer in the *New Statesman* has suggested for the good of the world that the people in India condemned by the tourist for malpractices should never be assisted by the benevolent British soldiers safely to preserve their existence and continue their race. He evidently chooses to ignore the fact that these people have maintained their life and culture without the help of the British soldiers for a longer series of centuries than his own people has. However that may be, I shrink from borrowing my wisdom from this source and make a similarly annihilating suggestion for this kind of writers, who spread about the malignant contagion of race-hatred; because, in spite of provocations, we should have a patient faith in human

sign of the same morbid pathology seen from behind. When such a critic comes to the East not for truth but for the chuckling enjoyment of an exaggerated self-complacency, and when he underlines some social aberrations with his exultant red pencil glaringly emphasising them out of their context, he goads our own young critics to play the identical unholy game. They also, with the help of the numerous guide books supplied by unimpeachable agency for the good of humanity, explore the dark recesses of Western society, the breeding grounds of nauseous habits and moral filthiness, some of which have a dangerous cover of a respectable exterior; they also select their choice specimens of rotteness with the same pious zeal and sanctimonious pleasure as their foreign models have in besmearing the name of a whole nation with the mud from ditches that may represent an undebuted fact yet not the complete truth.

And thus is generated the endless vicious circle of mutual recrimination and ever-accumulating misunderstandings that are perilous for the peace of the world. Of course our young critic in the East is under a disadvantage. For the Western peoples have an enormously magnifying organ of a sound that goes deep and reaches far, either when they malign others or defend themselves against accusations which touch them to the quick, whereas our own mortified critic struggles with his unaided lungs that can whisper and sigh but not shout. But is it not known that our inarticulate emotions become highly inflammable when crowded, in the underground cellars of our mind, darkly silent? The whole of the Eastern continent is daily being helped in the storage of such explosives by the critics of the West, who, with a delicious sense

in India, writes to the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay about the missionary feeling regarding *Mother India*—

I hope that you will give me space for a brief reply to a communication from Mr. S. Veerabhadra published in the *Reformer* of Nov. 26th. In this communication the author, while acknowledging that some American missionaries in India have condemned Miss Mayo's book, asserts that some share her point of view. Personally I doubt whether there are American missionaries in India who really share Miss Mayo's point of view or fully endorse her repulsive charges. In general we Americans have probably been at fault in the matter of making public in India our attitude to this book, confining our efforts too largely to counteracting its effect in America.

The very day on which I first had opportunity to read *Mother India*, I sent to America a brief review of it, which has just been published, in which I said, among other things, that I was ashamed that a fellow-American should write a book whose picture of India was a 'slimy caricature.' All of us Americans on the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council except Bishop Robinson, whose objection I understand to have been largely technical approved the statement condemning *Mother India* issued by the Secretaries of the Council. I myself had 400 copies of this statement struck off and am sending them to a wide constituency in America. A group of American missionaries from all over India is issuing a statement, repudiating *Mother India* and sending it broadcast to the American Press. I have myself gathered what seems to me to be conclusive evidence against many of Miss Mayo's

nature for its unlimited capacity for improvement, and let us hope to be rid of the lurking persistence of barbarism in man, not through elimination of the noxious elements by physical destruction but through the education of mind and a discipline of true culture.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Moendock, Bali, Sept. 6, 1927.

*

"Ditcher"—to his friends the late Mr. Pat Lovett—who had 40 years' journalistic experience in India and edited the leading Anglo-Indian commercial weekly, *Capital* of Calcutta, wrote in his paper on September 8, 1927:

It was not until the end of last week that I got a loan of a copy which I read through as a matter of duty, but with increasing disgust. In the first place it confirmed the opinion of one of the greatest of living essayists, that a 'best seller' nowadays is not, in nine cases out of ten, a good book; in the next place the intellectual dishonesty of *La grosse Americaine* was appalling; and in the last place her ghoulish propensity of frequenting hospitals to discover inhuman cruelties to indict a whole people borders on stark pornography. The book is devoid of literary merit. It is the crudest form of transpontine journalism. It sold like hot cakes partly because of its morbid sensationalism, but mostly because it was unscrupulous propaganda against the claim of India for Home Rule published at the 'psychological moment.'

*

Mr. A. H. Clarke, an American missionary

appointed the Governor of a province, and who at the time of his death which occurred recently was a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on landing in Bombay (December 30) was interviewed by a representative of the *Indian Daily Mail*. We copy below that part of the interview which is relevant here—

I entirely agree with Mr. Gandhi that M^{rs} Mayo has had a good sniff at all the filthy drains of India, that her picture is totally out of focus and I am sorry to say that the book is a deliberate, calculated lie.

"The whole of it?" asked our representative—"Yes, the whole of it," declared Lord Sinha with emphasis, "the whole of it as is pictured. It is a lie, and a false picture."

"But I think undue prominence has been given in India to her exploit. It has helped her to sell her book and to further her propaganda. When I say all this I should like to add that it is foolish to suggest that either the Government of India or the India Office in London has had any hand in the publication of this book. I am sure that the book has caused great embarrassment to the British Government. You are giving that book the prominence which it does not deserve. She has libelled and maligned almost every great man in India.

"There have been several Americans on board and they all said that the picture made by the book cannot be true. I also know every single Anglo-Indian official who has lived in India considers that the book is not only false but even mischievous."

worst mis-statements and have sent it to Miss Mayo in the form of a letter with an appeal to her, in the name of truth and good-will, to withdraw the book. Mr. K. T. Paul happened to see a copy of this letter and urged me to let him print it in *The Young Men of India*, but I had previously put in into the hands of a representative in America for publication there, if, as I fear may be the case, Miss Mayo's reply is unfavourable. To my personal knowledge a stream of articles and letters designed to offset the effect of *Mother India* is going to America from the American missionaries in India.

It is hard for me to believe that any such warped and hideous presentation of India as Miss Mayo's can long have much influence for evil in the world. It is bound to lead to reaction in which the great gifts of India for world civilization will again have emphasis. I share the hope of Mahatma Gandhi that India may be large-spirited enough to accept whatever there is in Miss Mayo's book of stimulus to fresh efforts for reform. Truth is still stronger than falsehood. Good-will is more powerful than prejudice. No single book, however disgusting and untrue, can long stand in the way of the movement of the peoples of the earth toward better mutual understanding and greater mutual respect.

In confidence that you share this faith,

AHMADNAGAR,
5th December 1927.

Yours etc.,
A. H. CLARKE.

*

Lord Sinha, who has held the highest offices under the Crown—being the only Indian ever

suppressio veri. The authoress attributes to all India certain customs that belong only to a section of the people. She calls India a 'world menace' because of certain elements in her sanitary habits, but gives no hint that the 'world menace' of the influenza epidemic of 1918 that cost India six million lives arose outside India. She criticises the water supply of Madras, but is silent on the disclosure last year that milk watered with dirty stable hose had been responsible for typhoid fever in New York. She pillories the sacrifice of goats in a Kali temple, but approves of the practice of flesh-eating which condemns an infinitely larger number of animals to torture and death in Europe and America for the satisfaction of appetite....

It would be quite easy, quite futile, and quite criminal, for me to take from my file of cuttings from American papers (with their records of bribery and corruption, vulgarity, impurity, robbery, smuggling, adulteration and murder) a case in proof of the recent declaration of an American judge that America is the most criminal country in the world, and to shape this case towards an expressed or subtly implied conclusion that the United States should be reverted to the state of affairs before the Declaration of Independence. I agree in advance with the reply that these things do not represent the United States; and I claim the same logic in regard to India....

The fact that there are glaring evils in India needed no 'ordinary American citizen' for its demonstration. Indians have been working for their removal for generations with as much zeal as reformers in America have been working to eliminate the scheduled six thousand murders per annum, and reformers

Asked to point out instances from the book which he held to be absolutely false, Lord Sinha replied that he just remembered one statement made by Miss Mayo which was a lie, namely, that Indian mothers taught their children unnatural vice. "I can conceive of nothing more atrociously false. I asked half a dozen English members of the Indian Medical Service who have spent each of them more than 25 years in India as to whether they have ever heard of such a thing and they all said that they have no more heard of them than I, and they are convinced that it is absolutely false."

*

Dr. James H. Cousins, Irish poet and author, who is a keen student of Indian culture, and knows this country intimately by long residence and educational experience, writes in a prefatory note to an essay on 'The Path to Peace: '*

The whole edifice of falsehood erroneously labelled *Mother India* rises naturally from a foundation of race prejudice and mental dishonesty which is none the less dangerous and reprehensible because it may be sub-conscious. The post-script expression of friendliness to India in the book is a thin apologia for the manipulation of pathological elements in a nation's life in order to make a case for her continued retention in a state of political dependence. This thesis emerges as the actual, if it was not originally the deliberate intention of the book; and it is supported by the ancient and dishonourable expedients of *suggestio falsi* and

*Madras: Ganesh & Co.

Mackenzie, Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji, Messrs. K. T. Paul, B. L. Rallia Ram and Rev. H. C. C. Velt. We take the following from that statement:

It has never been denied either by Indians or by foreign missionaries that great social evils exist in India, and it is a matter of common knowledge that strenuous and organised efforts are being made by groups of Indian reformers to get rid of them. Yet we representing a body of men and women who are in close touch with the people and are conversant with their every-day life unhesitatingly assert that the picture of India which emerges from Miss Mayo's book is untrue to the facts and unjust to the people of India. The sweeping generalisations that are deduced from incidents that come to the notice of the author or that are suggested by the manner in which these incidents are presented are entirely untrue as a description of India as a whole. At the end of the book Miss Mayo admits that she has left untouched other sides of Indian life, and for that very reason we can affirm that Indian life does not present the dark and the evil aspect which this book suggests, and that the ugly and repulsive and disgusting aspects of it that are emphasised in the book are not the predominant things in Indian society.

Beauty and culture, kindness and charm, religion and piety are to be found alike among the highest and the humblest. Miss Mayo leaves no room for these in her picture.

*

In a communication to the press, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Secretary to the Women's Association in

in England have been trying to remove the canker of venereal disease. I know well all that can be catalogued in laboratory manner regarding human depravity in India, for I have worked for twelve years in humanitarian causes in the country and am as familiar with its statistics as with its reality. But I cannot prostitute my intelligence to the inept conclusion that because there are sins in India, the people should therefore be kept in political subjection. I am not a politician in the political sense. I am a student of human evolution and a searcher for the perfect way towards human perfectness, and I assert that the needs of the case in India are just the reverse of the implications of *Mother India*. Human experience has always shown, and modern psychology confirms it, that responsibility is the parent of efficiency, not its offspring....

*

A statement with regard to Miss Mayo's book *Mother India* signed by Rev. Dr. N. Maoncol and Mr. P. O. Philip, Secretaries, and Miss A. B. Van Doren, Hon. Officer, has been issued to the Press in the name of the executive committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, the only dissentient member being Bishop J. W. Robinson "who does not find that he can assent to its terms." The Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India is the Chairman and Dr. S. K. Dutta is Vice-Chairman of the Council, and the executive committee includes Rev. Chitamber, Bishop of Dornkal, Rev. J. F. Edwards, Dr. C. R. Greenfield, Bishop of Madras, Rev. J.

What happens in the mind of the Western reader who has no facts to set over against the statements of the book may be seen from the words of one Western reviewer: 'India is putrid, worse than Sodom, or Gomorrah,' etc. This is a libel on a whole people. No one from the West would feel other than indignant if facts were drawn from the underworld of the West along with police court statistics and set before the world as a true picture of life in the West. This is the unfairness of the book. There is another India not in the book, if that other India had been put in we could not have complained. But the India that I know is not there. And that India I love and respect and honour.

E. STANLEY JONES.

October 5,
Ipoh (Federated Malay States).

*

Mr. Edward Thompson, British novelist and playwright who served for a fairly long time as an educationist in India, and is at present Professor in Bengali Literature at Oxford, writes in the course of his review published in the *London Nation and Athenaeum* for July 30, 1927:

The indictment takes so wide a sweep, and is so consistently ungenerous, that the book becomes one long 'nagging.' If you can convince them that you do sometimes see their point of view and have a genuine sympathy with them and an unpatronizing love for their country and the best things in their civilization, you can utter the hardest and frankest

India, referring to Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, says.—'Although the authoress has made the wrongs done to women in India as the subject of the major portion of her indictment, yet Miss Mayo did not have an interview with any representative Indian woman, like Mrs. Naidu or others. If she had, she should have been wiser. Indian women feel they are being exploited for the delay of self-government to their country.' Mrs. Cousins repudiates the charge that Indian women look for motherhood within nine months after reaching puberty, and says the majority of millions of people do not allow motherhood until after 16. If it were otherwise India would have perished centuries ago. She concludes: 'While we repudiate her book, we must turn every ounce of our zeal towards the rooting out of those social evils which are undoubtedly in our midst.'

*

Stanley Jones, a Missionary with considerable Indian experience, in the course of a letter to the *Leader* of Allahabad, says:

My views of *Mother India* may be summed up briefly as follows:

(1) Taking the individual statements up one by one, it is not easy to disprove them. Here and there inaccuracies and exaggerations may be found, but they would probably stand as a whole. This refers only to the statements of facts themselves, and does not refer to the authoress's generalizations about those facts which I consider to be often erroneous.

(2) While conceding this, I feel the book to be very unfair, to say the least. The picture that one gets from reading the book is not a fair or true picture.

the blood of their conquerors. She writes of that visit in a manner almost maudlin, which will only amuse any English public other than that whose bible is the illustrated society papers. She has taken over all the 'die-hard,' virulent contempt for the Bengali race and assumes that this contempt is universally felt by the native princes. Bengalis are important Ministers in Indian States—even in Udaipur. She shows no sign of suspicion that possibly Bengal, or even English education in India, has ever produced anything but 'babus' and 'Failed B.A.'s' and graduates. 'In the Philippines and in India alike little or no current literature exists available or of interest to the masses, while in both countries many dialects have no literature at all.' No important Indian language is without at least a considerable literature; and Tamil—in the poems of Manikkavasahar and other Saivite devotees; Hindi—in the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas, a singularly noble poem which every autumn is acted in the villages of the United Provinces during an ecstatic fortnight; Bengali—in its versions of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, of which hundreds of thousands of copies are sold every year, and in the exquisite songs of Ramprasad, which you can hear on any Indian road—all have literature in which the masses take keen delight.

On page 258 Miss Mayo gives an epitome of the history of India under British rule which was obviously picked up at a dinner-table. She quotes, with ponderous solemnity, the promise of 1784 that 'no native... shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the company.' She adds, 'A bomb indeed, to drop into caste-fettered, feud-filled, tyrant-crushed India!'

criticisms, and Indians will listen. Officials, professors in Indian colleges, and missionaries all know this. But you get no hearing if you 'nag.' Once Miss Mayo gets away from the treatment of woman the signs of first-hand research grow few. The prince who predicted that within three months of the British leaving India there will not be 'a virgin or a rupee' in Bengal probably spoke truth; but the English reader is prejudiced to find the stale yarn brought forward, and with so (characteristically, I am afraid) pontifical an air. 'Here is a story from the lips of one whose veracity has never, I believe, been questioned.' Well, it ought to be questioned now, even though her 'informant, an American of long Indian experience,' heard it when visiting a Mahratta prince, a man of great charm, cultivation and force. The story has been told on every steamer that has carried passengers between England and India during the last twenty years; eighteen months ago I heard an M. P. tell it of a Rajput, Sir Pertab Singh. Miss Mayo has no perception of Mr. Gandhi's courage of force, she quotes freely his scathing condemnations of child-marriage, untouchability and other abominations, but sneers at him because he thinks railways and machinery evil and yet uses them. Then, is India the only country where students consider the possible commercial value of a university career? Are there not students at Harvard, Yale, Oxford who are worried as to whether their education is going to result in a decent job? And Miss Mayo is so without imagination or sympathy with another race's point of view that she cannot see that perhaps self-respect prevented *some* Indians from being enthusiastic over the visit of the Prince of Wales—who, after all, belongs to

siva Aiyer, to the recent book by Miss Katherine Mayo, it is incumbent upon me as an American to make a few remarks. *That a country-woman of mine should, after a brief stay in India, write so unfairly and offensively of this country is a source of deep humiliation.* I have been able to read the book only in part, as I have loaned the copy, which I had borrowed, to Mr. Andrews, who has taken it off with him. But it is clearly apparent that Miss Mayo saw only a part of India and could not see that part in proper perspective. In many things her accuracy as an observer will not bear scrutiny and her many highly exaggerated conclusions give an utterly false picture of India as a whole. I have been in India since 1915 and have moved during these years among all classes. I have no hesitation in protesting vigorously against the unfairness of her book. Generalizations that may be taken for fact by readers abroad are too often statements of personal opinion based upon prejudice or partial examination. A very offensive book could be written as well of Americans or of any other Western nation and then we, of the West, would rightly protest against such unfair representation. Human sin and social evil are universal and writers who generalise would do well to keep that in mind..... I wish to express to this audience my own sense of great regret that an American citizen should deal so unfairly and with such prejudice in presenting India to the Western world.

*

Speaking at Geneva to a group of students from all parts of the Empire, the Hon'ble Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Indian Government's

Yes, and it would have been a bomb to drop into any collection of India's rulers if it had been seriously meant for another century or more. This promise had to be repeated in 1833, and again in 1858; in 1822, and 1824 Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, wrote with acute feeling of the entire closing of every office above the lowest to Indians, and on May 2nd, 1857 (eight days before the Mutiny broke out), Henry Lawrence wrote angrily of the same state of things. Miss Mayo ascribes 'the Sikh Rebellion in 1845' to 'this shock of free Western ideas.' Against whom did the Sikhs rebel? They were an independent people.

To sum up. Hindu child-marriage and callousness to misery inflicted on animals—but we have our field sports—deserve the fiercest condemnation. But it was a mistake when Miss Mayo let her magnificent case be lost in a welter of general condemnation. She had no right to forget that despite all the unfairness of Indian politicians, *some* have exhibited unselfish and courageous patriotism and a high standard of fairness towards opponents. She lost her case when she wove into it a bitter conviction that the white man's rule is so overwhelmingly good for inferior breeds that it is only wickedness that makes them dissatisfied.

*

Mr. D. F. McClelland, the American Secretary of the Madras Y.M.C.A., speaking at a public meeting in Madras referred to *Mother India* in these terms:*

After the reference by our lecturer, Sir T. Sada-

* The report is taken from the Madras daily *The Hindu*.

sented by Katherine Mayo, an American, in her book *Mother India*. We wish you to know how deeply we resent her untruthful vilification of Indian life and the false picture she has drawn of Indian ways and Indian thought. Even if everything evil which she has related were true, yet by the omission of the good she gives to her readers utterly wrong ideas and causes them to despise Indians both Hindu and Mahomedan, as 'weak, ignorant and fanatical.' Women as well as men are made to appear superstitious, sensual and slavish,—without desire to be otherwise.....

For example, a reader of her book would come to the conclusion that there were *no* happy marriages in India, but always a tyrannical and cruel old husband ill-treating a terrified child-wife. Miss Mayo ignores the beautiful relationship which most often exists between an Indian husband and wife, the tender protectiveness of the one, and the responsive devotion and loyalty of the other. Indeed, the undying, unquenchable love of an Indian wedded pair is traditional, and is recognised among all nations. It is the theme of many a beautiful legend and song. Miss Mayo is, perhaps, the more anxious to have this conveniently forgotten because it throws into glaring contrast the unfaithfulness and easy divorce of so many American marriages. To these 'modern' women, the idea of serving their husbands would seem ridiculous, rather they seek to enslave the man, and get all they can from him, then leave him for fresh game.....

Another evil exaggerated by Miss Mayo is the caste system, and again there is just as much cause to attack America for the same thing. White Americans despise and will have no contact with negro

delegate at the League of Nations meeting, said:

In order to furnish to outsiders a true picture of Miss Mayo's *Mother India* it is perhaps most useful to employ a figure of speech. Assume that a guest is invited to my house and is shown the drawing-room and the living quarters and has the additional opportunity of seeing the garden and its embellishments and assume that when taking leave of the host he catches sight of the open drain in a corner. Assume, moreover, that this person to whom my hospitality has been extended proceeds to write a book about what he has seen and concentrates on the drain and ignores the other features of the house and garden—that would be to act as Miss Mayo has done. In saying this I do not for a moment ignore or minimise the many social evils and handicaps from which India is suffering. Some of these evils are as old as humanity and some aspects of these evils are as prominent in Europe and America as in India; but every right-minded Indian patriot is willing and anxious to right these abuses and is working for their eradication. In such an endeavour Indians have been helped by men and women of other races, but amongst such helpers cannot be counted persons like Miss Mayo with filthy minds who in all probability are suffering from inhibited instincts and who have no eyes but for evil, dirt and degradation.

*

Mrs. J. C. Wedgwood, writing in *The People*, Lahore, for January 5, 1928, says:

Many Englishwomen are feeling strong indignation at the way in which Indians have been misrepre-

sented by Katherine Mayo, an American, in her book *Mother India*. We wish you to know how deeply we resent her untruthful vilification of Indian life and the false picture she has drawn of Indian ways and Indian thought. Even if everything evil which she has related were true, yet by the omission of the good she gives to her readers utterly wrong ideas and causes them to despise Indians both Hindu and Mahomedan, as 'weak, ignorant and fanatical.' Women as well as men are made to appear superstitious, sensual and slavish,—without desire to be otherwise.

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Indian visit, done a like service for British Imperialism in *Mother India*.

No wonder the book is regarded as a godsend by those reactionaries who wish to maintain our hold over India, who have given up their former excuses, and now tell us plainly that 'the basic fact is that India is not socially fit for self-government,' and that political concession must be postponed by this country until Indian conditions improve. 'We must not betray India under the pretext of giving her a political boon,' one of the Conservative journals tells us in reviewing this book.

Sir John Maynard, K.C.S.I., a retired Indian Civil Servant, who has spent the greater part of his life in India and has filled every office until he retired a member of the Governor's Executive Council in the Punjab, says that he finds it hard to write with restraint about this book. I concur. I have travelled through India from north to south and east to west on no fewer than six different tours during the last sixteen years, and have lived in Indian households both in British India and in the Indian States. I could write a book on India with conclusions as different from Miss Mayo's as could possibly be imagined—and, if I wished, as partial. I might confine my observations to Indian life as I saw it through these houses in which I stayed, and even so, it would give a truer picture of India than Miss Mayo could draw from what she has seen.

She is interested in Indian society only where it is unhealthy. She creates her 'atmosphere' in the first chapter with a sketch of what is to us, as well as to many Hindus, a revolting religious rite, although

Americans—they are the 'untouchables' in that country. But Miss Mayo is so busy picking holes in Indians, she has no time to look at home. She quotes Indian after Indian who defends 'Untouchability' and one only—Mr. Gandhi—who denounces it....

It would be quite easy for any one of you who had the time and the opportunity to write a 'Mother America' which should show only the dark side of that country—its worldliness and unparalleled crime, its lynchings and divorces, its prostitution and its slums, etc., and make such a travesty of the truth about U.S.A. as Miss Mayo has done about India, but it would not be good to lower yourself to her level. Rather, as I suggest, you should make her ashamed by publicly expressing your regret for her lack of wide vision, and try to open her eyes to the truth.... People will then feel amazed as well as disgusted that Miss Mayo should prefer to search with a mock-rake and shut her eyes to all the beautiful flowers and fruits with which India abounds.

*

Major D. Graham Pole, a Labour candidate for Parliament, writes in *The New Leader*, London, for August 19, 1927:

After a perusal of *Mother India*,.... one might be led to the conclusion that the ideal of self-government for India could have no existence outside the minds of visionaries or fanatics. It is reassuring to remember, however, that some years ago the writer, Miss Katherine Mayo, visited the Philippines and wrote a book about that visit also. It was called "The Isles of Fear," and was, in effect, a defence of American Imperialism. Miss Mayo has now, after her

On political matters Miss Mayo shows as little balance. She has visited the Indian Legislatures and tells us that sitting through sessions, Central or Provincial, an outsider comes to feel like one observing a roomful of small and rather mischievous children who by accident have got hold of a magnificent watch. "They fight and scramble to thrust their fingers into it, to pull off a wheel or two, to play with the main-spring; to pick out the jewels." I have seen the Indian Legislatures at work, and am bound to say that they compare very favourably either with our local councils or with the Imperial Parliament itself. The Hon'ble Mr V. J. Patel, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has just concluded a visit to this country. Much of his time was spent in the House of Commons and his amazement was intense at the lack of order he found there compared with that of the Assembly over which he so ably presides. When we are told by Miss Mayo that hour after hour and day after day the Swarajist Benches in the Indian Legislative Assembly spend their energies in sterile obstructive tactics while for the most part the rest of the House sit apathetic, we wonder if Miss Mayo is aware that in the matter of obstructive tactics those who at present sit on the Treasury Bench in the British House of Commons are the past masters. And if she would like to feel the dead weight of apathy she has only to attend an Indian debate in the House of Commons where, if she is lucky, she may find as many as 20 out of 415 Conservative Members present—mostly yawning or half-asleep.

Miss Mayo believes that Britain has tried to hustle India into politics, and she tells us that the East is being hustled, even in reforms. She attributes

it is not in the least characteristic of India and is practised only by the lowest and most ignorant of Indians. As with religion, so with social customs. To give an idea of marriage in India she has recourse to the hospitals and to the reports of medical authorities, although in the nature of things it is only exceptional cases which come under their notice.

One would think from Miss Mayo's book that there is hardly a person in India who is not suffering from Venereal Disease—a suggestion which, Sir John Maynard writes, would be contradicted by any medical practitioner who had worked in India. Sir Reginald Craddock, a recently retired Indian Governor, writing to the *Morning Post* also insists that the picture given by Miss Mayo is too drab and that she has 'concentrated on the darkest side,' whilst the reviewer in the *Times* admits that the impartial judge will detect 'signs of overstatement.' To write, as she does, that Indian women of child-bearing age cannot safely venture, without special protection, within reach of Indian men is, to my knowledge, a gross and unfounded slander. If Miss Mayo came to Britain and visited the hospitals she could paint as dark a picture of British life: if she spent some days in a Police Court there would be very little light and shade in her revelations of British family life. Or, to take her own country, what idea of American civilization could we not derive from that most American product, the film? It is extremely ironical that at a moment when Miss Mayo's book is giving us this appalling picture of Indian civilization, the Government of India have found it necessary to introduce legislation to deal with the importation of American cinema films owing to their demoralising influence on Indians!

speaking of the expectation and claims of Indians to a fair course of promotion to the higher posts in the services of the Government of India, he said:

"We all know that these expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have to choose between prohibiting them or cheating them; we have chosen the least straightforward course."

And he added:

"Both the Governments of England and of India had to take every means in their power of breaking to the heart the promises they had uttered to the ear."

This book, it seems to me, will be yet another excuse for breaking to Indians our oft-repeated pledges of equality between Indians and Europeans in India.

The Conservative Government will endeavour to hold on to all that we have got, not for the sake of India but for the sake of the financial interests that are involved. It is for the Labour Party to see that our pledges are honoured—to allow the Indian people to take up their own burdens and responsibilities, to become custodians of their own welfare.

*

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, a British solicitor, who has visited India several times and has had opportunity to come into contact with Indians in three continents, in the course of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

Miss Lilian Winstanley takes exception to Dr. Tagore's accusation that Miss Katherine Mayo was impelled by 'race hatred' and other malignant motives in writing *Mother India*. She quotes in defence of Miss Mayo the fierce criticism of their American fellow-citizens by certain well-known American writers.

the failure of Dyarchy not to its inherent defects—defects which are admitted by everyone, from the late Lord Curzon to the Governor of the United Provinces, who described it as a cumbrous, complex, confused system—but to Mr. Gandhi's 'ill-starred adventure into politics.' One looks in vain for any mention of General Dyer and Amritsar. But had Miss Mayo made inquiry of almost any Indian she would have been told that the terrible Amritsar Massacre of 1919 has had more to do with opposition to the reforms than has anything else.

The authoress discounts the complaints of Indians as to the 'drains' on their economic resources. Army officers, in addition, are spending their private incomes there, over and above their pay. On the next page she contradicts herself when she draws attention to the fact that the children of officers in the British Army or in the Civil Service have to be sent home to England to be educated—where a considerable part of their pay is necessarily spent. But as recently as March 21 last Lord Winterton, in the House of Commons, gave figures showing that there are between 4,000 and 5,000 retired military officers in this country, who are drawing annually from Indian revenues and spending it in this country, a sum amounting to almost £2,000,000; whilst there are over 3,000 retired members of the Indian gazetted services retired and living in this country drawing annually £1,500,000. Surely these are serious drains on the finances of India, to say nothing of the large number of Joint Stock Banks, Mercantile Houses, Factories, etc., whose profits flow to this country.

The late Lord Lytton, when Viceroy of India, wrote to the Government here a Despatch, in which,

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But while the replies to *Mother India* will probably receive little notice, Indians are only too well aware of the subtle propaganda use here, in America, and on the Continent that is being made of *Mother India*. Again and again my Indian friends, high in the service of the State and the esteem of their countrymen, have come to me bitterly indignant at being asked to explain, if they can, the various statements in the book by questioners who assume their correctness as though it was irrefutable and its writer clothed with plenary inspiration. How far this poison has gone it is difficult to judge; but of one thing I am sure—that, whatever may have been Miss Mayo's motive, the wide circulation and the propaganda use of the book have promoted and intensified race hatred in India is beyond dispute, and the consequences of this are incalculable....

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*Printed and published for the Banna Publishing Co.,
 5-2, Garstin's Place, Calcutta, by K. C. Bhalla,
 at the Kapur Art Printing Works,
 Abbot Road, Lahore.*