

SWAMI SHANKERANAND AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF HINDUISM IN NATAL, 1908-1913

Author(s): Goolam Vahed

Source: *Journal for the Study of Religion*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (SEPTEMBER 1997), pp. 3-33

Published by: Association for the Study of Religion in Southern Africa (ASRSA)

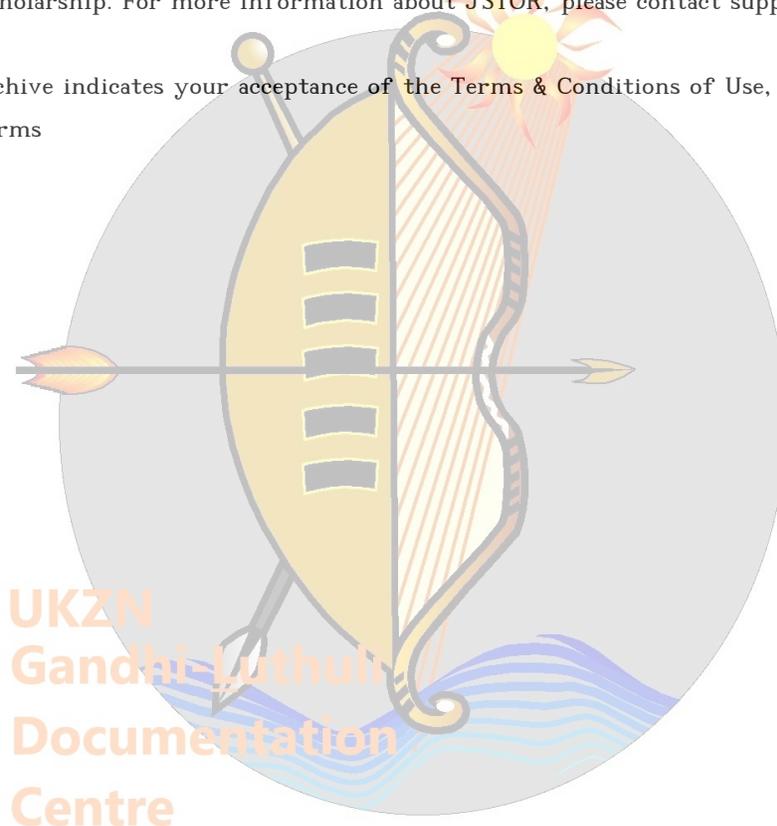
Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24764058>

Accessed: 24-03-2020 09:00 UTC

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



Association for the Study of Religion in Southern Africa (ASRSA) is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal for the Study of Religion*

## SWAMI SHANKERANAND AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF HINDUISM IN NATAL, 1908-1913

*Goolam Vahed*

Over a decade ago Maureen Swan remonstrated that in the pre-1914 discourse on Indian South Africans "there is no real place for anyone but Gandhi... The flaw is that analyses which concentrate on Gandhi to the exclusion, or virtual exclusion, of his constituents, inevitably offer a superficial, and thus often distorted, picture of the social and political reality..."<sup>1</sup> Indians are treated in the existing literature as an undifferentiated mass; distinctions and differences within the Indian community are ignored. Little has changed since Swan first recorded her observations. There still remains very little representation of those outside of Gandhi's political community.

This study will attempt to fill this void by examining the stay in Natal of a prominent Hindu leader, Swami Shankeranand, who involved himself in political, social and religious matters, and who opposed Gandhi on many issues, including passive resistance. By shifting the focus from Gandhi it is hoped to explore the tensions and divisions amongst Indians, as well to move away from purely political issues to social and religious matters which receive scant mention in most works, but which played a vital role in moulding Indians' identities.

### Arrival of Indians

The British annexation of Natal in 1843 and subsequent arrival of white immigrants stimulated the growth of settler agriculture. Natal imported indentured workers from India to solve the labour crisis. In all, about 152 thousand indentured Indian immigrants arrived in Natal between 1860 and 1911 to work on the colony's sugar plantations. While there were a small number of higher class Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, the majority of immigrants were from the lower castes.<sup>2</sup> Immigrants spoke a number of different languages: those from the Ganges valley spoke Bhojpuri (or Hindi),

those from western India spoke Gujarati and those from the south spoke Tamil or Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

Indentured Indians had to work for five years for the employer to whom they were assigned and were entitled to a free return passage to India after ten years. However, 58% of migrants remained in the Colony after indenture as reintegration into Indian society was difficult and they came to consider South Africa as their home.<sup>4</sup> An important development during these years was residential segregation. After indenture, Indian market gardeners were concentrated in places like Clairwood and Merebank in the south, Overport, Clare Estate, and Cato Manor in the west, and Riverside in the north.<sup>5</sup> This clustering in an environment that was value-strengthening rather than value-challenging allowed Indians to rebuild aspects of their social and religious life with the minimum of outside influence and played a vital role in defining citizenship along racial lines. However, the tendency of the state to treat Indians as a homogeneous entity should not mask the fact that they were extremely heterogeneous with clear differences of class, caste, religion, language and experiences of migration.

Ninety percent of immigrants (137 099) were Hindu, with the remaining ten percent comprising Muslims, Christians, Jains and Buddhists.<sup>6</sup> Since most Hindus were from the lower castes, the form of Hinduism practised in Natal was "a non-scriptural devotional and ritualistic cultus", known as Sanathanist Hinduism. It was traditional and operated on a popular rather than philosophical level. It was closely bound to ritualism associated with traditional temples and festivals, which sometimes involved blood sacrifices.<sup>7</sup> Indians had left India during the 1850s and 1860s at a time of severe economic and demographic dislocation, and a social, religious and political void. Religiously, the reformist neo-Hindu Arya Samaj movement had not yet been established. At least until the early years of the twentieth century Natal's Hindus were untouched by various reformist movements which had been making their mark in India from the 1870s. During the early years the tenets of Hinduism were transmitted to the young orally in the form of stories from Hindu

texts like the Ramayana. This form of religion centred around the priest and the temple, and emphasised the practical aspects of religion.<sup>8</sup>

The first Hindu temple in the southern hemisphere was built at Rossburgh, Durban, in 1869. Immigrants were encouraged by employers, who donated land and/or money to construct temples and shrines and even gave their employers time off for worship.<sup>9</sup> While these simple structures allowed for the practice of ritual and sacrificial worship no general religious doctrine was disseminated, nor was there any religious organisation to publish religious literature. The *African Chronicle* noted that many indentured Indians between the ages of twelve and twenty had accumulated "no knowledge of religion in India, and when they arrived here there was no-one to teach them... [because] the learned Pandits in Natal themselves have very little formal education". The editorial also commented that when learned scholars visited Natal, local Pandits did not assist them to transmit religious knowledge because they, the Pandits, favoured the *status quo* which enabled them to exploit the belief of the masses in superstition and idolatry.<sup>10</sup>

### Visits of Religious Leaders

The visits of religious leaders from India were important, particularly as they established important organisations to consolidate Hinduism in Natal. The first significant leader was Professor Bhai Parmanand, a faculty member at Lahore College, who arrived in Durban on 5 August 1905 and remained in the country for almost four months. He gathered various colonial-born, educated Tamils and formed the Hindu Young Men's Association in October 1905.<sup>11</sup> At the third anniversary of the Durban Hindu Young Men's Society in 1908 Mr V.R.R. Moodaly, the president, mentioned that prior to Prof. Parmanand's visit there were no religious associations among Hindus and that it was he who established associations for the "moral and spiritual betterment of Hindus".<sup>12</sup>

The HYMA and other bodies formed by later reformers such as Swami Shankeranand, Mehta Jaimini and Swami Manglanand Puri attempted to move away from ritualistic religious practice to more contemplative practices. They emphasised the value of reading and the availability of basic scriptures and religious literature.<sup>13</sup> They discouraged the celebration of Sanathanist festivals such as firewalking and, instead, emphasised more "refined" festivals such as Diwali.<sup>14</sup> The work of Professor Parmanand was continued by Swami Shankeranand. In March 1908 Mr Lala Mokhamchand, a local Hindu leader, launched an appeal to the "Hindu Public of South Africa" for funds. He stated that because of his "persistent and continued application for a religious leader", the "well-wishers" of South African Hindus in India had agreed to send the Swami to work "for the betterment of the Hindu nation and Indians generally".<sup>15</sup> By June, over £50 had been sent to India to cover the cost of the Swami's journey to South Africa.<sup>16</sup> Swami Shankeranand arrived in Durban on 4 October 1908 aboard the Carisbrook Castle. Over 1000 people attended a public reception at Congress Hall on 8 October 1908. The crowd was eclectic, with Hindu, Muslim and Christian Indians attending, while part of the Hall was reserved for "European ladies and men".<sup>17</sup> The chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr V.R.R. Moodaly, also President of HYMA, welcomed the Swami as Hindus "urgently needed a shepherd" and prayed that "we should prove ourselves worthy of the respect that he has shown us by choosing to come to South Africa".<sup>18</sup>

The Swami, a Brahmin, was born in Punjab in 1866. He was the son of a Professor of the Oriental College of Lahore. He was educated at a mission school and at the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College. He was married for a short while only as his wife died within a few years of their marriage. The Swami became celibate to lead a more chaste and religious life. The Swami spoke Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Gujarati, Sanskrit, Bengali and English. His Guru was Swami Shri Atmanandjee Maharaj whom he had met in 1887. He travelled by foot, cooked his own food and performed all other duties consistent with the life of a Brahmachari. In 1891 he returned to Punjab where he founded the Society of Celibates. The Swami

believed that religious reform had to be accompanied by social reform, and preached against child marriage. He edited an Anglo-vernacular newspaper which advocated the use of home-made goods. In 1894 he founded the S.A.S. High School and in 1896 he became a Sanyasi. He visited Italy, France, Scotland and England on a lecturing tour.<sup>19</sup>

The Swami was an adherent of Arya Samaj, founded in April 1875 in Bombay by Swami Dayananda (1825-1883). The aim of this society was to restructure Hindu society by abolishing rituals and social practices such as enforced widowhood, child marriage, idolatry, and the caste system, and making the Vedas the basis of Hinduism. They considered the Vedas to be revealed by God to man, and as containing the eternal truth that formed the basis of all Hindu life and beliefs.<sup>20</sup> In South Africa the Arya Samaj movement had very little impact on Tamil and Telugu speaking Indians who comprised the majority of Hindus. Because of this the Swami did not confine himself to preaching Arya Samaj principles but communicated Hinduism in its most general form.<sup>21</sup>

### **Impact in Natal**

Poor Indians were very receptive to the Swami who established local societies in areas like Sydenham, Mayville and Sea Cow Lake. At the third anniversary of the Durban Hindu Young Men's Society in 1908 the president, Mr V.R.R. Moodaly, noted that "owing to the Swami's presence there was great enthusiasm among the Hindus, which was working so forcibly in removing their racial differences and establishing better understanding between the various sects".<sup>22</sup> In November 1908 a Hindu Young Men's Association was formed in Overport. In his address to this body, the Swami explained that "society" implied the union of persons for a common purpose. All members had to be motivated to do good to others for a Society to benefit. The problem with Hindus was that they had "many different ideals and ways of realising their God". They had to set aside their differences and work for the common good of all Hindus.<sup>23</sup>

Between October and December 1908 the Swami remained confined to Durban where he expounded and reinforced his ideas and beliefs in various gatherings. Thereafter he embarked on an extensive tour of Natal visiting Verulam, Mount Edgecombe, Stanger and Pietermaritzburg where he was met by large crowds who flocked to meet and hear their "spiritual guide".<sup>24</sup> At his meetings the Swami preached unity, and further emphasised that his guide was the Vedas, with its message that "by One Supreme Ruler is this Universe pervaded. Enjoy pure delight, O! man, by abandoning all thoughts of this perishable world, and covet not the wealth of any creature existing".<sup>25</sup>

The Swami's activities increased religious awareness. For example, when the Town Council wanted to destroy two cows in September 1909, which were afflicted by tick-fever, the Swami organised a mass meeting in Mayville which was attended by over 2000 Hindus. The *African Chronicle* described the scenes as follows:

The indignation caused in consequence of the threatened shooting of the two cows, among the Hindoos is not likely to be forgotten by those who have been an eye-witness to the scene of their activity.... Women were crying and shedding torrents of tears as if their very children were being snatched away by the mighty hand of the messenger of death.<sup>26</sup>

A deputation was sent to meet with the Administrator of Natal. Hindu leaders explained the religious significance of cattle to Hindus and mentioned that "the women of the district are going to offer themselves to the officials who may come to shoot the cattle, to say that they should be shot before the cattle". The delegation had its way and the cows were not slaughtered.<sup>27</sup> Such incidents united Hindus and increased religious awareness.

The Swami also spent time organising Veda Dharma Sabhas in Clare Estate, Sydenham, Mayville and Overport. The objectives of such Sabhas, as we see in the case of the Mayville Sabha which was formed in January 1913, were to improve the general knowledge of

Indians through reading, cultivate the art of speaking, spread the Hindi language and national script (Devanagiri), create a love for the Motherland and render assistance to all Hindus.<sup>28</sup> The Swami was also keen to "reconvert" Christian Indians to Hinduism. While orthodox Hinduism denied admission to its fold of those who had converted to other religions, the "Suddhi" movement started by Swami Dayanand placed special emphasis on reconversion to Hinduism. Thus, for example, when the Hindu Young Men's Society held its anniversary celebrations in 1908 "the usual ceremony of re-conversion was performed for Ramsamy Naidoo by Swami Shankeranand, and after singing some sacred hymns, the new convert was announced to have been admitted by the Holy man".<sup>29</sup>

### Education

The Swami addressed his strong feelings on education formally in a letter to the 1909 "Commission on Education". He thought it "cruel" that the education of indentured children was neglected since the "fertility and prosperity" of Natal depended "solely and entirely upon the hard labours of this section". The Swami noted that on his visit to estates he noticed that most children were made to work instead of being educated. He felt that the government should provide free and compulsory education. An Education Report of May 1909 gave substance to the Swami's concerns. The Report noted that there were 7000 white children but only 510 Indian children in school, at a time when there were more Indian children than white children in the Colony.<sup>30</sup> The Swami felt that if Indians were educated they would become better "supporters and defenders" of the Government instead of "being a burden", and "the crime and vices of poverty would disappear, and the Government would have no botheration of putting Indians time after time in gaol..."<sup>31</sup>

In the absence of government schools, the Swami felt that Indians sent their children to Christian Mission schools "against the wishes of the parents as the missionary forces the study of the Bible upon the students".<sup>32</sup> He later stated that Mission Schools had been

"established more for proselytising than imparting education".<sup>33</sup> What the Swami did not take into account was that mission schools were pioneers in Indian education and that without the efforts of missionaries many Indians would not have had access to elementary education.

The Swami also elaborated on the type of education that he wanted in place for Indians. At the primary level education should be imparted in the vernacular "by Indian teachers, who could mould their character much better than an English teacher, ignorant of their languages, customs and habits". At this time the law forced Indians to leave school at the age of fourteen. The Swami wanted the government to provide for higher education for Indians. Significantly, he wanted Indians and white children to attend the same high schools as "the mingling of students in the same school where they have to learn their lessons of Empire would lead to the better realisation of their common ideals and common destinies, and would tend to inspire the Indians with patriotism and a determination to fight for the Empire side by side with the Englishman".<sup>34</sup>

Finally, the Swami emphasised that his vision did not extend to the children of Indian traders, "as I do not represent their class". However he did opine that it would not be wise for the government to let traders, who were largely Muslim, provide for their own education "as it might create a feeling of distrust and hatred between rulers and the ruled, and that it might give the latter a sufficient chance to diffuse ideas of disaffection into the minds of their children".<sup>35</sup>

The Swami gave practical expression to his ideas. Typical was his calling a meeting of the residents of Isipingo on Sunday 13 February 1910 to plead with "all sections of Indians to co-operate for the educational improvement of their children". At the end of the meeting a Panchiat of five was formed to build a school near the railway station.<sup>36</sup>

## Religious Festivals

Festivals and rituals were very visible markers of Indian identity in relation to Africans and whites, and strengthened the link between individuals and the "community". Festivals were especially important for Hindus for, unlike Muslims and Christians, who provided formal religious instruction in madrasahs and Sunday schools, there was no formal religious instruction for Hindus. The basic tenets of Hinduism were learnt in the normal course of family life which included prayers at home, performance of ceremonies, festivals and reading religious works. Despite their importance, the Swami was opposed to what he considered "ridiculous ceremonials adopted through unreasonable imitation and slavish fashion, costly rituals, these and such as these have arrogantly usurped the title and misnomer of religion".<sup>37</sup>

Until the turn of the century the majority of Hindus celebrated the Muslim festival of Mohurram which was observed annually on the tenth of Mohurram, the first month in the Muslim calendar. This festival commemorates the martyrdom of Imam Hussein who was killed on the plains of Karbala on this day. The festival, as celebrated in Durban, entailed tiger dancing, a play depicting the scene at Karbala, wrestling, incessant drum beating, and drinking. It also led to fighting between Indians from different areas of Durban, usually over whose tajijs were the most picturesque. It ended in virtual riot and major conflicts amongst Indians as well as between Indians and the police. After one such incident the Superintendent of Police in Durban was moved to recommend that "in future this festival tom-foolery be suppressed.... It is only made an excuse for a day's holiday in which to get drunk, and render themselves useless for the remainder of the week. Whatever the order will be, the Indians have no right to carry out this debauchery in our main streets".<sup>38</sup>

The Swami publicly condemned the participation of Hindus in the Mohurram. For example, when he spoke at the Umgeni Temple, under the auspices of the Hindoo Progressive Society, the Swami "in

strong terms denounced and rebuked the Hindoos for taking part in such festivals as Mohurram but ignoring their own, yet insisting on being called Hindoos".<sup>39</sup> The Swami was annoyed that employers granted Hindus the day off to celebrate Mohurram but not Diwali, the festival of lights, in which physical light symbolises transcendent light. The gleaming lights during Diwali are a sign of joy at the homecoming of Shri Ramachandra to Ayodha 3000 years ago, and a means of driving away the powers of darkness and evil.<sup>40</sup>

The Swami requested that the Town Clerk set aside 12 November 1909 as a holiday for indentured Indians to celebrate Diwali. When the Town Clerk told his assistant Mr Leslie to investigate, the latter reported that only the "better class" of Indians celebrated Diwali, and concluded: "I am not at all convinced that the general indentured population of the Colony would wish this day set apart".<sup>41</sup> When the opinion of the Protector<sup>42</sup> was sought, he also warned that the Swami's movement was a religious one, "to induce Hindoos to keep their own festivals and have nothing to do with the Mohurram... I think care will have to be taken lest the opinion of the few people living in Durban should be regarded as representing the opinions of the Hindoo Indians in the Colony."<sup>43</sup> The Protector also pointed out that on that very day he had in his office four Indians, two from South and two from North India. When he checked with them only one knew of the Diwali festival, and all considered the Feast of Pongul as more important.<sup>44</sup> That Diwali was essentially a middle class festival is a point also made by Dr Goonam who has written that when she was invited by her poor patients to festivals it "wasn't the festivals that we had grown up with. Theirs was different. The real festival of Diwali was not seen by them very much. It was more important to most of us in the urban situation...."<sup>45</sup>

The Swami's actions yielded some tangible results. In his 1910 report, the Deputy Protector of Indian Immigrants reported that the Mohurram is always well attended by Hindu indentured workers "as an outing for a day or two, although it is a Mahomedan occasion of mourning".<sup>46</sup> However two years later the Deputy Protector noted

that he was "pleased to see that a move is being made by the Hindus to celebrate their own religious occasions, 'Deepavali', etc., instead of taking a prominent part in the Mohurram".<sup>47</sup> From 1910 the Durban Municipality granted its employees leave to celebrate Diwali.<sup>48</sup> We also note from the fourth Annual Meeting of the Durban Hindu Young Men's Society held in January 1910 that the Education Department agreed to declare Diwali a school holiday. Further, the Secretary noted that "this Society, along with others, is now taking measures to prevent Hindus from participating in the Mohurram Festival".<sup>49</sup>

The societies formed by the Swami established a communal celebration of Diwali. For example, the *African Chronicle* reported that the Sydenham Hindu Young Men's Society celebrated Diwali in a "fitting manner" in 1910. The children met at 10:00 a.m. at the Society's hall and marched to Overport where a sports meeting was organised for children. Before the last race, toys were handed out to children. At 1:00 p.m., lunch was served to the crowd of 500. The officiating pundit, Chickurie Maragli, said that in the three decades that he had been in Natal this was the first time that he had seen Diwali celebrated in this manner. After lunch the Havan was sung and a concert performed for the people.<sup>50</sup>

As a substitute for the worship of pagodas, the Swami organised a procession of a chariot through the streets of Durban to celebrate the birth of Rama. This "Ramnami Festival" was first held in April 1910. On this day, Indians met at the Hindu Temple in Umgeni Road where the Swami explained the religious significance of the day. Also present were Mr Harry Smith, the Immigration Restriction Officer, and Mr and Mrs Daugherty, the Sanitary Inspector, who addressed the crowd before being garlanded "amidst roars of cheers". A news reporter noted sarcastically: "I was rubbing my eyes and wondering for it certainly seemed as if Ram, Luchman and Sita were being garlanded". Mr Polkinghorne, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, and Chief Constable Donovan were also invited but could not attend.<sup>51</sup>

After the speeches the crowd of 4000, accompanied by chariots, marched through the streets of Durban chanting "Shree Ramchandrajai" and carrying banners on which were inscribed "Ram Jayanti", "Rath Yatra" and "Om". When the crowd of Hindus passed the Grey Street mosque there was an altercation between Muslims and Hindus. Thereafter the procession returned to the Umgeni Temple where there was a feast and three wrestling bouts between north and south Indians at which the "Indentured Indian was the best".<sup>52</sup>

In subsequent years the procession was not allowed to pass the mosque. The Chief Constable of Durban, Mr D. Donovan, explained that:

owing to the bitter religious feeling which exists between Mahommedans and Hindus, I have not allowed Hindu processions to pass the Mahommedan mosque in Grey Street. I have ample proof that they only desire to pass this mosque wholly and solely for the purpose of jeering at the Mahommedans.<sup>53</sup>

However, despite the best efforts of the Swami the participation of Hindus in Mohurram continued long after his departure. In 1920, for example, Mr S.L. Singh of the Arya Yuvuk Sabha sent a letter to the Town Clerk seeking the latter's intervention in reducing the participation of Hindus.

The festival is purely a Mohammedan one, and the majority of Hindu participants labouring under a delusion intermingle freely with the Mohammedans, and with your kind co-operation this can be easily remedied, in so far that no leave be granted to non-Mohammedans under your charge...<sup>54</sup>

While working class Indians were not easily moulded in the image that the middle classes had in mind for them, the Swami at least introduced Hindu festivals to Hindus. In the longer run these efforts were successful because Diwali is now a significant festival for all

Hindus, and the participation of Hindus in the Mohurram is virtually non-existent.

### Market Boycott

The Swami demonstrated his wider agenda when he organised a boycott of the Indian market. Prior to 1890 Indian market gardeners had difficulty selling their produce because of the problems they encountered at the fresh produce market held by the Town Council. These included the high fee, the produce of Indians being sold only after that of whites had been disposed of, and Indians receiving lower prices than those paid to whites.<sup>55</sup> From 1890 the trustees of the Grey Street Mosque allowed farmers to sell their produce on mosque premises. Farmers were initially granted free use of the facilities but the trustees later requested a gratuity which, according to a Mosque official, was used to keep the compound clean and in good order.<sup>56</sup>

Shortly after his arrival in Durban, the Swami formed the Indian Farmers' Association (IFA). The IFA organised a meeting on 30 May 1909 to discuss how to set up a Hindu-controlled market. As soon as their meeting was over, these members of the IFA attacked a meeting of Indian banana growers which had been organised by Mr M.L. Sultan, a Muslim, to discuss the problems facing banana growers, with "sticks, schambocks and a few rounds of revolvers".<sup>57</sup> On the following day a meeting was held at the Swami's house at which an Indian Market Committee was formed and Hindu farmers embarked on a market boycott. The Market Committee, which comprised eighteen persons, was also mandated to meet with the Town Council to request a separate market for Hindus.<sup>58</sup> The editor of the *African Chronicle*, P.S. Aiyar,<sup>59</sup> criticised the boycott. He pointed out that it had taken "Mr Gandhi twenty years of solid, strenuous work to place the Indian community on the basis it now stands.... This movement is a messenger of death that has hailed here to put an end to the political existence of the Indian..."<sup>60</sup> He also felt that the Swami was exploiting the grievances of farmers to further

the cause of the Arya Samaj movement. He warned that the boycotters were "blindly paving the way to sow the seeds of 'Arya Samaj' which though it now appears to be as small as the mustard seed, may yet grow to be a gigantic tree and take a firm stand and uproot Hinduism..."<sup>61</sup>

In evidence to the Town Council, the IFA objected to the market being run by Muslims because they felt that the mosque was accruing profits which were used to benefit Muslims, while money was also sent to Gandhi to "help him carry on his political propaganda".<sup>62</sup> However, in their submission to the Town Council Mr Rooknoodeen, a trustee of the mosque, stated that this allegation was not true since the market was run on a non-profit basis.<sup>63</sup>

While the Town Council was investigating the dispute, the IFA initiated an alternative market at a building rented in Victoria Street. The Swami had hoped that profits from a Hindu run and controlled market would be used to propagate Hinduism and build a college for Indians.<sup>64</sup> During the course of this boycott there was an altercation between some Muslims and Hindus and seven Muslims were charged with assaulting Hindus on 20 May 1909. In his verdict, Judge Geo Brunton Warner stated that "it is clear that the whole affair is a quarrel over religion... the accused were provoked by criticism of their religion". The judge discharged four of the accused, fined the other three and concluded:

This is the first time to my knowledge of the Mahomedans and Hindus having a disturbance of this nature. They have always in the past lived amicably together until the arrival of the Swami Shankeranand who seems to have stirred the Hindus and created strife... I think the sooner this man Swami Shankeranand abstains from fostering agitation amongst these people, the better it will be for the Indian community at large... otherwise he had better leave the country.<sup>65</sup>

The Town Council met with "representatives of the various classes" of Indians on 31 August 1909 to discuss the dispute and

explain its own proposals on this issue. Hindu, Muslim, Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians sent their own representatives.<sup>66</sup> In a written submission to the meeting the IFA stated that it represented Hindu farmers and was formed under the guidance of the Swami, "who was a great religious teacher" and "who had advised these communities (Hindus) to leave politics to the Mahommedans and Mr Gandhi". They hoped that "in everything the Town Council did they would seek the aid of the great Swami Shankeranand who is highly respected by Indians in the colony". This was disputed by Mr V. Lawrence, representing the Roman Catholic community, who told the committee that "Mr Gandhi was a far more highly respected gentleman, not only in Natal but the whole of South Africa and the British Indian Empire, than the so-called Swami". Rather than being a "saviour" the Swami was actually the "cause of the troubles as Indians had lived amicably before his arrival".<sup>67</sup>

At the conclusion of the meeting the Mayor, Walter Greenacre, informed Indians that the Corporation would take over the market at a new site in Victoria Street, with revenue going to Corporation coffers. Although Hindu farmers protested that the new site was too small, too close to the Roman Catholic Church and too close to the "Native" Market, the Mayor insisted that this decision was final.<sup>68</sup> The new market opened on 1 August 1910. The *African Chronicle* lamented that as a result of the Hindu boycott of the market

the mosque authorities lost, and the Hindu farmers did not get it, and, in the bargain, the Corporation has become the sole possessor of this precious source of wealth. Where are those imposters and hypocrites who harangued the mob, and instigated them to make a division between the Hindus and Mahommedans?<sup>69</sup>

While the rhetoric of the Swami and the IFA included using profits for the benefit of the Indian poor, establishing co-operative movements and educational institutions, the actions of the IFA were dubious. It was unable to account for £500 that it collected during the market boycott and its constitution was never made public. It also

organised lavish banquets, including one on 31 May 1910, when the Union of South Africa came into being, at which the Swami rendered religious sermons.<sup>70</sup> Aiyar questioned the involvement of the Swami in the IFA and his attendance at this banquet: "Why was the high priest of the Hindoo-Vedic Arya Samaj religion invited to preside at the banquet? On what did he speak? On market gardeners or Union: neither belongs to the domain of religion. What has a Sanyasi got to do with vegetables and bananas and the Union Ministry?"<sup>71</sup>

### Loyalty to Government

In March 1909, shortly after his arrival in Natal, the Swami and a party of Indians had boarded a tram car in Pietermaritzburg on their way to the railway station. The Swami sat inside the tram car while his party sat on the top. The Swami was "rudely" ordered out of the car and was "abused and sworn at" when he asked for a reason.<sup>72</sup> As a result of this "high-handed action... the Christians, Hindus and Mahomedans have sunk their differences, held a mass meeting and appointed a committee" to protest.<sup>73</sup> When this committee warned the Town Council that a permanent and total boycott of the tram cars was being organised, the Council replied that in future "respectably dressed" Indians could sit in the car.<sup>74</sup> When Gandhi was faced with racial discrimination he became determined to fight white domination. The Swami, on the other hand, continued to seek concessions and goodwill within the prevailing structure of white domination.

Influenced by the Swami, in 1909 the Durban Veda Dharma Sabha chose the Durban Licensing Officer Mr Cole to present a political address to Sir Matthew Nathan, the retiring Governor of Natal. Given the problems that Indians were experiencing at the hands of the licensing officer, who refused Indians licences for no justifiable reason, the Swami's opponents considered this gesture most inappropriate. The issue of licences was contentious. The Dealers Licence Act of 1897 had given town councils the power to deny business licences on the grounds of sanitation or the inability

of the applicant to keep books of account in English. There were 393 Indian and 356 white licence holders in Durban in 1895. By 1908 there were 2034 white licence holders but only 1008 Indian licence holders.<sup>75</sup> As the *Indian Opinion* remarked, inviting the Licence Officer "implied all is well with Indians when the writing on the wall says all is ill".<sup>76</sup>

When King Edward died in May 1910 the flag at the Durban Hindu Temple was at once raised at half-mast to mourn the death of a king who, according to one message of sympathy sent by local Hindus to the Royal Family, "was so universally loved by the Hindus".<sup>77</sup> The Swami issued a "Notice" on 8 May 1910, published in local newspapers and circulated to all employers of indentured labourers via the Protector, which read:

All Hindus are hereby informed that they as loyal subjects of the British Empire are to observe the strict rules of mourning and to take no part in any sort of amusements, except marriages already arranged, or other strictly religious functions, till the day of the funeral of our noble and beloved late Sovereign... and to offer prayers to Almighty Father to give peace to our new Sovereign and other members of the Royal family in their sad bereavement.<sup>78</sup>

The Swami successfully obtained permission from employers for Hindus to attend funeral services. The attitude of the Illovo Sugar Estates Ltd. was typical. It granted workers off "in good time prior to the fixed hour of the Funeral... I hope this will meet with your approval and shall be glad to fall in with any suggestion you may think fit to make on this occasion".<sup>79</sup> At a mass meeting of Hindus on the Hindu Temple grounds speaker after speaker "eloquently dealt upon the great and irreparable loss which the British Empire and the civilised world have sustained by the death of the greatest monarch of modern times who will be remembered by posterity as Edward the Peacemaker".<sup>80</sup>

The Swami's plan to organise a "Grand Indian Sports and Festivities Day" to mark the coronation of the new king failed because the NIC formed pickets to warn Indians not to "dance to the tune of Corporation officials".<sup>81</sup> In contrast to the Swami, when the NIC sent its message of sympathy it added a "prayer that the reign of the new king may be characterised by a deep desire for the realisation of the sentiments of the Proclamation of 1858 and that his rule may be marked by the growth of wider sympathy for the Indian people".<sup>82</sup>

Another event introduced by the Swami was the observation of Empire Day. For example, on Empire Day 1909 the Pietermaritzburg Veda Dharma Sabha organised a general meeting "to express loyal devotion to His majesty the King-Emperor". In his speech the Swami remarked that India had derived numerous positive benefits from British rule and that the destinies of India and England were "interwoven". For him, Queen Victoria had "possessed an inexhaustible fund of perfect loving sympathy for her Indian subjects". The Swami "exhorted the audience to be most sincere and steadfast in their devotion" to the King. The Swami proposed the following resolution which was passed: "That this meeting wishes to convey the assurance of the sincere devotion and loyalty of the followers of the Vedic religion in this Colony to our beloved Sovereign, His Majesty the King, Emperor of India". At the end of the festivities the Swami offered prayers and long life for the King and the Royal family, and the meeting ended with three cheers for the King, the Governor of Natal as well as the Government of Natal.<sup>83</sup> The Swami also advocated compulsory military training for the Empire for both Indians and whites.<sup>84</sup>

### **Hindu Maha Sabha**

In April 1912 the Swami decided to hold a conference of South African Hindus to "unite Hindus and systematise Hinduism". Advance notice was given in both the *Indian Opinion* and *African Chronicle*.<sup>85</sup> All Hindu Associations, Temple Committees and

Temples in South Africa were invited to send delegates. The Minister of Interior was asked to facilitate the entry of delegates into the province of Natal and the Minister of Railways was requested to issue cheap rail tickets to delegates. Space was reserved for 500 delegates.<sup>86</sup> The conference was held in Durban between 31 May and 2 June 1912. The agenda circulated before the meeting comprised the following: "to devise means to popularise the teachings of the Hindu religion", "to devise means to make this Religious Conference a permanent institution", and "to appoint officials to further the cause of the Conference by communicating with the various Hindu Societies in South Africa".<sup>87</sup>

There was great enthusiasm and Hindus attended from all corners of the country. However, in his capacity as president, Swami Shankeranand rendered a highly controversial Presidential address. Instead of being conciliatory and emphasising Hindu unity, which was the stated purpose of the gathering, the Swami was contemptuous of Indians and critical of Gandhi. He pointed out that "Hindus have always served their masters most faithfully and industrially as long as they were not given a free hand, but whenever given freedom to accomplish independently they could not agree among themselves, and failed quite miserably".<sup>88</sup> The Swami was thus making it clear that a strong national body of Hindus was needed to guide and direct Hindus in South Africa.

The Swami was determined to work within the existing *status quo* and opposed Gandhi's passive resistance policy, pointing out that the result of opposition to the government is that "the authorities become prejudiced against the actions of such people, and in their efforts to re-establish law... the whole race has to suffer for the follies of a few".<sup>89</sup> In other words the mass of Hindus were suffering because of the actions of Gandhi and his followers. The Swami was, in fact, openly critical of Gandhi, stating that:

Mr Gandhi pays much less attention to the poor Hindus than to the people of wealth. Once when Mr Gandhi came to see me I asked him why he had not taken up the cause of the poor Hindus

in order to elevate them from their unfortunate and miserable condition. He replied that at the commencement of the political struggle, save a few Hindu clerks employed by the merchant community, there were no others. I was surprised to find that he did not consider the thousands of Calcutta and Tamilians to be Hindus, who had paid thousands of pounds to house his pet political institutions.<sup>90</sup>

Swami Shankeranand wanted to step into Gandhi's shoes and install himself as leader of Hindus in South Africa. He played the religious card when he commented that:

Many elderly Indians have invariably told me that they were much happier here and under the Boer Government of the Transvaal before the advent of Mr Gandhi.... I do not believe that if the Hindus had an absolute Hindu as their leader instead of a Tolstoyan, the Government of South Africa would have ever hesitated to better the condition of so useful an asset to the Colony, if properly approached.<sup>91</sup>

The Swami was implying that Indians were subjected to discrimination because of the actions of Gandhi. Further, if Indians adopted the Swami's policy of working within the system and cooperating with the government, the attitude and policies of the government would be more favourable. This viewpoint is not justifiable when one takes into account that the government regarded Indians as a homogeneous entity based on their race and did not consider differences of religion, language, caste and class.

While the conference formed the South African Hindu Maha Sabha on 31 May 1912, the contents of the Swami's speech angered many delegates who considered the attack unnecessary and vindictive, and felt that they had been misled. P.A. Joshie and C.B. Gihwala of the United Hindu Association of Cape Colony, who had travelled from Cape Town to attend the conference, complained that the "movement seems to be political rather than religious... We are not a party to the remarks passed against Mr M.K. Gandhi... We

hereby completely dissociate ourselves in the name of the United Hindu Association of Cape Colony from the South African Hindu Maha Sabha which has been formed as a result of the Conference."<sup>92</sup> K. Kalidas Patel, who represented Kimberly Hindus, announced that Kimberly Hindus would be withdrawing from the South African Hindu Association for the same reasons as the Cape Hindus.<sup>93</sup> A meeting of Kimberly Indians on 26 June 1912 resolved:

That this public meeting of the Kimberly Hindu Community... wishes to dissociate itself from the Maha Sabha inaugurated at the Conference so long as Swamiji is the president; and deplors the attitude adopted by the President towards Mr Gandhi and the subterfuge of calling a Religious Conference and converting it into a Political one.<sup>94</sup>

In Johannesburg, a meeting was organised by the Tamil Benefit Society on 12 June 1912 to hear a report from Mr V. A. Chettiar and Mr V. Naidoo who had represented the Society in Durban. Mr Chettiar, chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, said that although the Swami was supposed to have dealt with religious and social matters, he concentrated on political affairs; the "strictures he passed on our respected leader Mr Gandhi, were greatly resented". Mr Chettiar added that his request for an opportunity to challenge the remarks of the Swami was "declined". Mr Naidoo complained that all delegates had believed that this would be a

bona fide Hindu social and religious gathering, and also with the implicit belief that a Sanyasi (Hermit) was going to give utterance to sage-like wisdom, we at immense sacrifice decided to attend and we find the result is not what was expected from it.

The general feeling among delegates was that they had been "mised, hoodwinked and humbugged" and the following resolution was passed:

That this meeting of the Tamil Benefit society of Johannesburg dissociates itself entirely from the Presidential address delivered at the Hindu Conference... and urges that no confidence be placed in Mr Shankeranand and repudiates allegations and insinuations by him against the recognised leaders of the Indian community in South Africa.<sup>95</sup>

Whatever the attitude of delegates in the immediate aftermath of the conference, the holding of the conference by the Swami was a landmark event for Hindus in South Africa. Although many delegates were unhappy with what had transpired at the conference, a precedent had been set and this gathering became an annual event. A year later, shortly after the departure of the Swami for India on 17 May 1913, the first annual conference of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha was held on 31 May 1913. The tone was very conciliatory. In his Presidential address, Mr Ramsamy Naidoo made it clear that the organisation was

solely for the advancement and progress of the followers of the Vedic Dharma spiritually, morally, mentally and physically. We have no desire to observe the deterioration or destruction of our Indian brethren of other sects or religions. In fact we feel that the progress of some 130 000 Hindus cannot fail to have its healthy effect on the remaining 20 000 Indians whom... we wish every peace, progress and happiness.<sup>96</sup>

This second conference shunned politics and concentrated instead on social upliftment. Primary education was considered an urgent priority so that "we would have men possessed of the intelligence to make the best use of the visits of great spiritual teachers we may invite to gain a thorough knowledge of our shastrias".<sup>97</sup> An improvement in the status of women was another priority: "We can ill expect to advance nationally when one half of our nation are immersed in ignorance and superstition". The system of early marriage "deserves our emphatic condemnation. It has enabled our nation to degenerate physically besides injuring us to no mean degree spiritually, morally and mentally".<sup>98</sup> All were urged to remedy the

"many defects which time has wrought on our social system which urgently call for speedy reform".<sup>99</sup>

### Conclusion

Swami Shankeranand, who had arrived in South Africa in October 1908, left for India aboard the S.S. Umona on 17 May 1913 when his brother Swami Bhaskaranandrao took ill. The Swami's stay in Natal was eventful and some of his actions were very controversial. Actions such as the market boycott and criticism of Gandhi brought Hindus and Muslims in Natal into conflict for the first time. One has to agree with Aiyar that the Swami's actions resulted in "disunion and dissension in the community" and "estrangement" between Hindus and Muslims which undercut attempts by Gandhi to forge a strong sense of Indian community.<sup>100</sup> Achieving a sense of "community" was not at the top of the Swami's list of objectives.

His immediate concern was to regenerate and restore Hinduism. Most Hindus were extremely poor and lacked the education and resources to form organisations and train leaders to take care of their needs. Most Muslims, on the other hand, were traders who sponsored organisations and leaders to take care of their needs. Being affluent, they also dominated Indian politics and put their needs on the national agenda. It is for this reason that the Swami shunned politics. He did not want Hindu masses to be used as pawns by Gandhi in his pursuit of middle class objectives. The Swami repeatedly pledged his loyalty to the government and the British Empire, and expected in return that the authorities would create conditions that would facilitate the consolidation and dissemination of Hinduism. The Swami wanted to improve the condition of Hindus through appeasement.

The Swami hoped to replace Gandhi by first becoming leader of Hindus which would have given him the support of the majority of Indians since Hindus comprised eighty percent of the South African Indian population.<sup>101</sup> While he did not succeed in this, the fact

remains that through the market boycott, the cow incident, the various festivals and the response to his calling a national conference, the Swami succeeded in winning the support of large numbers of Indians, even though, as an Arya Samajist, his brand of Hinduism differed from that of the majority (who were Sanathanists). One can explain this by agreeing with Maureen Swan that Gandhi concentrated primarily on the grievances of Indian merchants at the expense of the masses. There was thus a huge leadership void which the Swami successfully filled, albeit temporarily.

The Swami's attempt to regenerate the "national pride" of Hindus was successful. It was through his efforts that Hindus stopped celebrating the Muslim festival of Mohurram and, albeit gradually, came to regard the previously middle class festival of Diwali as their major festival. The Swami also played a vital role in forming organisations throughout Natal to take care of the needs of Hindus. Aside from the small Sabhas formed all over Natal, twelve major Hindu organisations emerged between 1905 and 1912.<sup>102</sup> The most significant achievement of the Swami was, of course, his gathering of delegates from all over South Africa to form a national Maha Sabha. While the initial meeting was marked by dissension and acrimony, the Sabha grew in importance and is today representative of all Hindus in South Africa. Bhawani Dayal, from Johannesburg, assessed Swami Shankeranand's impact as follows:

On reaching Natal I noticed the effects of his religious propaganda. To have created in the Hindus who at one time were groping in darkness faith in Vedic Dharma, devotion to Aryan culture, interest in Sandhya and Haven, pride in their festivals, devotion to Aryan culture, practice in greeting one another with namaste, a feeling for the mother tongue, respect for the mother country and confidence in the bright future of the Aryans...<sup>103</sup>

## NOTES

1. M. Swan, *Gandhi: The South African Experience*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985.
2. G.J. Pillay, T. Naidoo, and S. Dangor, "Religious Profile", in A.J. Arkin, K.P. Magyar, and G.J. Pillay (eds), *The Indian South Africans: A Contemporary Profile*, Durban: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1989.
3. S. Bhana, "Natal's Traditional Temples in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries", Unpublished paper, 1997, p. 3.
4. S. Bhana, *Indentured Indian Emigrants to Natal 1860-1902: A Study Based on Ships' Lists*, New Delhi: Promilla, 1991, p. 20.
5. Natal Indian Organisation, "Statement Submitted to the Judicial Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Durban Riots of 1949", 11 March 1949, NA, 3/DBN, 4/1/3/1581, 323.
6. G.J. Pillay, T. Naidoo, and S. Dangor, "Religious Profile", in Arkin et al., *The Indian South Africans*, p. 146.
7. A. Diesel and P. Maxwell, *Hinduism in Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993, p. 17.
8. Pillay et al., "Religious Profile", in Arkin et al., *The Indian South Africans*, p. 153.
9. S. Bhana, "Traditional Temples", p. 3.
10. T. Naidoo, *The Arya Samaj Movement in South Africa*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992, p. 7.
11. *African Chronicle*, 4 May 1906.
12. *African Chronicle*, 12 December 1908.

13. Diesel and Maxwell, "Hinduism in Natal", p. 63.
14. S. Bhana, "Traditional Temples", p. 14
15. *Indian Opinion*, 21 March 1908.
16. *Indian Opinion*, 20 June 1908.
17. *Indian Opinion*, 17 October 1908.
18. *African Chronicle*, 10 October 1908.
19. *African Chronicle*, 5 December 1908.
20. Naidoo, *The Arya Samaj Movement*, p. 4.
21. Naidoo, *The Arya Samaj Movement*, p. 62.
22. *African Chronicle*, 12 December 1908.
23. *African Chronicle*, 12 December 1908.
24. *Indian Opinion*, 26 December 1909.
25. *Indian Opinion*, 17 October 1909.
26. *African Chronicle*, 25 September 1909.
27. *African Chronicle*, 9 October 1909.
28. *Indian Opinion*, 18 January 1913.
29. *African Chronicle*, 17 October 1908.
30. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.
31. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.

32. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.
33. *African Chronicle*, 8 June 1912.
34. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.
35. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.
36. *African Chronicle*, 19 February 1910.
37. *African Chronicle*, 14 November 1997.
38. *The Natal Advertiser*, 22 April 1902.
39. *African Chronicle*, 9 January 1909.
40. J.C. Jha, "The Hindu Festival of Divali in the Caribbean", *Caribbean Quarterly*, 22, 1, 1976, p. 55.
41. II/1/1/70 2280/09, 11 November 1909.
42. A Commission of Enquiry appointed in 1872 to investigate the conditions of indentured workers on plantations, recommended that a Protector of Indian Immigrants be appointed to visit estates twice a year, attend to Indian grievances and publish an annual report.
43. CSO 299/1910, Protector Polkinghorne to Town Clerk.
44. CSO 299/1910, Protector Polkinghorne to Town Clerk.
45. Interview with Dr Goonam, 31 May 1989.
46. Report of A.R. Dunning, Deputy Protector of Indian Immigrants, 1910; II 8/5, 1910.

47. Report of A.R. Dunning, Deputy Protector of Indian Immigrants, 1912; II 8/5, 1912.
48. Pandit Vedalankar, *Hindu Awakening in South Africa*, Durban: Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 1949, p. 18.
49. Report of the Secretary T.M. Naicker, Durban Hindu Young Men's Society, Fourth Annual General Meeting. Published in *African Chronicle*, 22 January 1910.
50. *African Chronicle*, 20 November 1997.
51. *African Chronicle*, 23 April 1910.
52. *African Chronicle*, 23 April 1910.
53. Chief Constable Donovan to Town Clerk, 16/134, 7 October 1916.
54. 3/DBN 16/134, 17 September 1920.
55. *African Chronicle*, 19 June 1909.
56. *Indian Opinion*, 10 December 1903.
57. *African Chronicle*, 2 June 1909.
58. *African Chronicle*, 2 June 1909.
59. P.S. Aiyar ran the *Colonial Indian News* from 1901 to 1903. In 1907 he established the *African Chronicle*. He used this as a voice to comment on issues on which he differed from others in the Indian community, including Gandhi. In fact, he was a founding member of three separate organisations which challenged Gandhi's NIC, these being the Natal Indian Patriotic Union (1908), Colonial Born Indian Association (1911) and South African Indian Committee (1911). See S. Bhana, *The*

*Natal Indian Congress, 1894-1994*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1997, pp. 17-18.

60. *African Chronicle*, 5 June 1909.
61. *African Chronicle*, 3 July 1909.
62. Evidence of Hindu farmers, represented by a lawyer, Mr C.P. Robinson, before the Town Council on 31 August 1909. Reported in *African Chronicle*, 4 September 1909.
63. Evidence of Mr Rooknoodeen, trustee of the Grey Street mosque, at a meeting with the Town Council on 31 August 1909. Reported in *African Chronicle*, 4 September 1909.
64. *African Chronicle*, 7 August 1909.
65. *African Chronicle*, 14 August 1909.
66. *African Chronicle*, 4 September 1909.
67. Report of meeting between Indians and the Town Council on 31 August 1909. Reported in *African Chronicle*, 4 September 1909.
68. Report of meeting between Indians and the Town Council on 31 August 1909. Reported in *African Chronicle*, 4 September 1909.
69. *African Chronicle*, 18 September 1909.
70. *African Chronicle*, 7 September 1910.
71. *African Chronicle*, 9 July 1910.
72. *Indian Opinion*, 27 March 1909.
73. *Indian Opinion*, 27 March 1909.

74. *Indian Opinion*, 3 April 1909.
75. S. Bhana and B. Pachai, *A Documentary History of Indian South Africans*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1984, p. 36.
76. *Indian Opinion*, 25 December 1909.
77. *African Chronicle*, 14 May 1910.
78. II/1/174, 1066/1910.
79. Letter from Managing Director of the Illovo Sugar Estates, Ltd. to the Protector of Indian Immigrants, 14 May 1910, II/1/174, 1066/1910.
80. *African Chronicle*, 14 May 1910.
81. *Indian Opinion*, 24 June 1910.
82. *African Chronicle*, 14 May 1910. Queen Victoria's 1858 Proclamation granted equal status to all British subjects.
83. *Indian Opinion*, 5 June 1909.
84. *Indian Opinion*, 7 August 1909.
85. See, for example, *African Chronicle*, 18 May 1912.
86. See, for example, *African Chronicle*, 18 May 1912.
87. *African Chronicle*, 8 June 1912.
88. *Indian Opinion*, 8 June 1912.
89. *Indian Opinion*, 8 June 1912.
90. *Indian Opinion*, 8 June 1912.

91. *African Chronicle*, 8 June 1912.
92. Letter from P.A. Joshie, President, and C.B. Gihwala, Vice-president, United Hindu Association of Cape Colony, to *African Chronicle*, 8 June 1912.
93. *African Chronicle*, 15 June 1912.
94. *African Chronicle*, 6 July 1912.
95. *African Chronicle*, 22 June 1912.
96. *African Chronicle*, 7 June 1913.
97. *African Chronicle*, 7 June 1913.
98. *African Chronicle*, 7 June 1913.
99. *African Chronicle*, 7 June 1913.
100. *African Chronicle*, 3 July 1909.
101. *Indian Opinion*, 8 June 1912.
102. F. Meer, *Portrait of Indian South Africans*, Durban: Avon House, 1969, p. 143.
103. Vedalankar, *Hindu Awakening*, p. 22.