

**GANDHI**  
**AND : : :**  
**NON-VIOLENT**  
**RESISTANCE**

**Miss BLANCHE WATSON**

GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENT  
RESISTANCE

GANDHI  
AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE  
THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT  
OF INDIA

GLEANINGS FROM THE  
AMERICAN PRESS

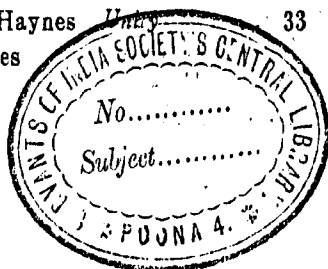
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## APPENDIX

Gandhi to every Englishman in India

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## GANDHI, TO EVERY ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

Dear Friend—I wish that every Englishman will see this appeal and give thoughtful attention to it.

Let me introduce myself to you. In my humble opinion, no Indian has co-operated with the British Government more than I have for an unbroken period of 29 years of public life in the face of circumstances that might well have turned any other man into a rebel. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that my co-operation was not based on fear of the punishments provided by your laws or any other selfish motives. It was free and voluntary co-operation based on the belief that the sum total of the activity of the British Government was for the benefit of India. I put my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire—at the time of the Boer War when I was in charge

of the ambulance corps whose work was mentioned in General Buller's dispatches; at the time of the Zulu revolt in Natal when I was in charge of a similar corps; at the time of the commencement of the late war, when I raised an ambulance corps and as a result of the strenuous training had a severe attack of pleurisy, and lastly, in fulfilment of my promise to Lord Chelmsford at the War Conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active-recruiting campaign in Kaira district, involving long and trying marches, that I had an attack of dysentery which proved almost fatal. I did all this in the full belief that acts such as mine must gain for my country an equal status in the Empire. So late as last December I pleaded hard for a trustful co-operation. I fully believed that Mr. Lloyd George would redeem his promise to the Mussulmans and that the revelations of the official atrocities in the Punjab would secure full reparation for the Punjabis. But the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and its appreciation by you, and the condo-

nation of the Punjab atrocities have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the government and the nation which is supporting it.

But though my faith in your good intentions is gone, I recognize your bravery, and I know that what you will not yield to justice and reason you will gladly yield to bravery.

See what this Empire means to India:

Exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of Great Britain.

An ever-increasing military expenditure, and a civil service the most expensive in the world.

Extravagant working of every department in utter disregard of India's poverty.

Disarmament and consequent emasculation of a whole nation lest an armed nation might imperil the lives of a handful of you in our midst.

Traffic in intoxicating liquors and drugs for the purpose of sustaining a top-heavy administration.

Progressively repressive legislation in



order to suppress an ever-growing agitation seeking to give expression to a nation's agony.

Degrading treatment of Indians residing in your Dominions, and

You have shown total disregard of our feelings by glorifying the Punjab administration and flouting the Mussulman sentiment.

I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hands. You know that we are powerless to do that, for you have insured our incapacity to fight in open and honorable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in evoking that bravery. Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice. Why should we co-operate with you when we know that by your administration of this great country we are being daily enslaved in an increasing degree? This response of the people to my appeal is not due to my personality. I

would like you to dismiss me, and for that matter the Ali Brothers, too, from your consideration. My personality will fail to evoke any response to an anti-Muslim cry if I were foolish enough to raise it, as the magic name of the Ali Brothers would fail to inspire the Mussulmans with enthusiasm if they were madly to raise an anti-Hindu cry. People flock in their thousands to listen to us because we to-day represent the voice of a nation groaning under your iron heels. The Ali Brothers were your friends as I was, and still am. I would not raise my hand to bear any ill-will toward you. I would not raise my hand against you even if I had the power. I expect to conquer you only by my suffering. The Ali Brothers would certainly draw the sword, if they could, in defence of their religion and their country. But they and I have made common cause with the people of India in their attempt to voice their feelings and to find a remedy for their distress.

You are in search of a remedy to suppress this rising ebullition of national feeling. I

venture to suggest to you that the only way to suppress it to remove the causes. You have yet the power. You can repent the wrongs done to Indians. You can compel Mr. Lloyd George to redeem his promises. I assure you he has kept many escape-doors. You can compel the Viceroy to retire in favor of a better one, you can revise your ideas about Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. You can compel the Government to summon a conference of the recognized leaders of the people, duly elected by them and representing all shades of opinion, so as to devise means for granting "Swaraj" in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.

But this you cannot do unless you consider every Indian to be in reality your equal and brother. I ask for no patronage, I merely point out to you, as a friend, an honorable solution of a grave problem. The other solution, namely, repression, is open to you. I prophesy that it will fail. It has begun already. The Government has already imprisoned two brave men of

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Panipat for holding and expressing their opinions freely. Another is on his trial in Lahore for having expressed similar opinions. One in the Oudh district is already imprisoned. Another awaits judgment. You should know what is going on in your midst. Our propaganda is being carried on in anticipation of repression. I invite you respectfully to choose the better way and make common cause with the people of India whose salt you are eating. To seek to thwart their aspirations is disloyalty to the country. Yours, etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

*December 1920.*

## GANDHI, TO THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

Sir, Your Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, must have heard a great deal about non-co-operation, non-co-operationists and their methods. I fear that information may have been one sided.

For me it is no pleasure to be actively associated in boycott of Your Highness's visit. I have tendered loyal voluntary assistance to Government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years, in the full belief that through that lay the path of freedom for my country. It was no slight thing to suggest to my countrymen that we should take no part in welcoming your Royal Highness. Not one among us has anything against you. As an English gentleman we hold your person as sacred as that of our dearest friend. We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to

destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that un-English nature which has made Dyerism possible in the Punjab and has resulted in wanton affront upon Islam. We consider inconsistent with our self-respect, any longer, to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance, which has disregarded the sentiments of the people of India in so many vital matters. It cannot be a matter of pride to you that so many million Indians should live day in and day out in fear of their lives from one hundred thousand Englishmen.

Your Royal Highness has come not to end the system I describe but to sustain it by upholding its prestige.

Non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by reforms that tinker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation, nor must they be impatient and angry. Nor in our impatience must we resort to stupid violence. We freely admit our share of blame for the existing state of things.

It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation. Our non-participation in the welcome to Your Royal Highness is thus no sense a demonstration against your high personage but it is against the system you have come to uphold. If we would be the equal of Englishmen we must cast off fear. We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection, and patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend. Hence this non-violent non-co-operation. I know we have not all become non-violent in speech and deed, but the results so far achieved have I assure your Royal Highness been amazing. The people have understood the secret value of non-violence. He who runs may see that this is a religious and a purifying movement. We are leaving off drink. We are trying to rid India of a curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel and splendor, by reviving the spinning and the ancient and poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the

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existing harmful institutions. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam we are protecting all religions. In protecting the honor of India we are protecting the honor of humanity. We desire to live on terms of whynboth in theory and in fact. I ask your Royal Highness and through you, every Englishman, to appreciate the point of view of non-co-operationists. Yours, etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

*February 1921.*



## MODERN POLITICS

(M. K. GANDHI)

Present day politics are based on certain ideas and principles which are not necessarily connected with ideas and principles of right doing or righteous conduct. Government is conducted more or less like a game of chess. Success sanctifies its politics; failure spells its condemnation.

The non-co-operation movement seeks to deliver politics from the bondage of non-morality or immorality to which it is committed. The non-co-operation movement, therefore, must seek its inspiration not from the current methods of Western political conduct and life, but from what may be called eternal verities.

How did the non-co-operation movement originate? It was found that the Government was powerless to step aside from a course of conduct which both the non-

co-operators and the cooperators have pronounced to be unrighteous and disastrous alike to the higher life of the people and that of the Government. Was it hate that prompted the movement? So long as the desire of the people is to prevent the committal or perpetuation of Governmental wrong-doing, there could be no hate. Hate comes in directly the people's struggle is no longer a moral struggle but degenerates into a communal or racial one. The Government has been guilty of not coming up to the standard of right-doing which was expected by the people in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat. A politically helpless people would necessarily nurse in their breasts their hatred against the wrong-doer. This hatred had to be eradicated; so the fight had to be transferred from the lower political plane to the higher moral or spiritual plane. Such a transference is good both for the people and the Government.

*The Government is unmoral or non-moral because it is a system, and a system has no soul and may be directed equally to the perpetua-*

*tion of a wrong or a right.* So also Law and Order are soulless qualities. Law introduces uniformity in the relation of individual to individual; uniformity is essential and we may almost take it that it is more essential for law to be *certain* than to be *just*. But for human beings who want to live a free moral life, a law must above all things be a *just* law. Modern politics makes a fetish of law merely because it is law. A system of government which produces a sense of helplessness among a people, which emasculates or terrorizes must not be inveighed against, because it is *by law established*, and you are guilty of sedition because by inveighing against it you stir up disaffection. So long as the law exists, you are bound to bend the knee to it. And you must not seek to oust one unjust law, you must not wage a moral war against it, for you are guilty of sedition—whether overt consequences of violence follow or not. The alternative left for you is to get behind each law and direct a flank attack: you are free only to proceed politically, through the channels of

memorializing, of interpellating, of drawing attention by motions in councils and by political agitation. In the West therefore, politics are daily getting degraded because the custodians of religion and morality among Western people the Church and the Clergy are kept in their places muzzled for fear of trenching upon the domain of the law, not the moral law or the scriptural law, but the political law—the Law and the Constitution. In this way, the collective life of the modern people who swear by the Law as against morality has been steadily going downwards. Law cannot be an end in itself, so when it can be shown that a law is unjust the state, if it does not or cannot abrogate it forthwith, must see to it that no court of law should pronounce a man guilty of violating such a law.

And so also there should be no fetish made of the doctrine of Order. For Order also is a means to a higher end, and when that higher end is jeopardized the plea for Order fails. Order exists for the protection of higher life—moral life of human beings,

for it is clear that not life but only death is orderly.

When therefore, Law and Order are weighed in the balance of righteousness and of the living forces of life itself and are not found wanting, they must be welcomed with open arms, and cherished and nourished with all possible care and tenderness. But when Law and Order are instrumental in promoting a peace which is the peace of death, of steady deterioration of the forces of life, of a helpless subjection to the forces of wrong-doing, or a helpless drifting along, then no code of politics should stand in the way of all possible moral and peaceful efforts on the part of a people to shake off the spirit of enslavement that may have overtaken it.

*So politics in India must not follow in open blindness of spirit the path which has been taken by it in the West,—the path of soulless-materialism.* The present non-co-operation movement must therefore irretrievably plant its feet on the vital foundations of moral doing and of absolute non-violence, accompanied by a steadfast determination.

not to yield an inch when such yielding means the degradation of the higher spirit of the divine in us.

M. K. GANDHI

“YOUNG INDIA”.

*March 1922.*

## GANDHI'S SPEECHES BEFORE THE COURT

*Mahatma Gandhi's address to the court that sentenced him to six years' imprisonment. This copy was secured by "The Call," New York, through the courtesy of the Friends of Freedom for India. "The Call" was the first to publish the address in America. The speech follows :*

Before reading his written statement Mr. Gandhi spoke a few words as introductory remarks to the whole statement. He said :

"Before I read this statement I would like to state that I entirely indorse the learned Advocate-general's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think that he was entirely fair to me in all the statements that he has made, because it is very true and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this court the fact that to preach disaffection toward the existing

system of government has become almost a passion with me, and the learned Advocate-general is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with Young India, but that it commenced much earlier; and in the statement that I am about to read it will be my painful duty to admit before this court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the Advocate-general. It is the most painful duty with me, but I have to discharge that duty, knowing the responsibility that rests upon my shoulders, and I wish to indorse all the blame that the learned Advocate-general has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, Madras occurrences and the Chauri Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these deeply and sleeping over them night after night, it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of educa-



tion, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should have known the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I were set free I would still do the same. I have felt this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say what I said here just now.

“I wanted to avoid violence. I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth, when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it and I am therefore here to submit, not to a light penalty, but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and cheerfully submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me, for what in law is a

deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the judge, is as I am just going to say in my statement either to resign your post, or inflict on me the severest penalty, if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people. I do not expect that kind of conversion, but by the time I have finished with my statement you will perhaps have a glimpse of what is raging within my breast to run this maddest risk which a sane man can run."

The statement was then read.

#### STATEMENT

"I owe it, perhaps, to the Indian public and to the public in England to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator. To the court, too, I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection toward the government established by law in India.

“My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. More correctly, I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian.

“But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the government my voluntary and hearty co-operation, criticising it freely where I felt it was faulty but never wishing its destruction.

Consequently when the existence of the empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906, at the time of the Zulu revolt, I raised a stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the ‘rebellion.’ On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in despatches. For my work

in South Africa I was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1918 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a corps in Kheda and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

“The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors, beginning with the massacre at Jallianwala Bag and culminating in crawling

orders, public floggings and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Musslamans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the forebodings and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress in 1919 I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

“But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprits went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw too that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but

they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

“I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. This cottage industry, so vital to India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do

they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realise that the government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye."

"I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiassed examinations of the Punjab martial law cases has led me to believe that at least 95 per cent. of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every 10 the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in the love of their country. In 99 out of

100 justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion, the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter.

“The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many Englishmen and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organized display of force on the one hand, and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defence on the other, have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self-deception of the adminis-



trators. Section 124 A, under which I am happily charged, is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen.

Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or system, one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege, therefore, to be charged under that section. I have endeavored to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection toward the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected toward a government which in its totality

has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system. And it has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in evidence against me.

“ In fact, I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-co-operation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavoring to show to my countrymen that violent non-co-operation only multiplies evil, and that, as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and

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submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime, and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge, is either to resign your post, and thus dissociate yourself from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent; or to inflict upon me the severest penalty, if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country, and that my activity is, therefore, injurious to the public weal."

REPRINT FROM "YOUNG INDIA,"  
"CALL."

*March 23, 1922.*

## MR. LAJPAT RAI IN AN INDIAN PRISON

What he foresaw and what his friends in America foresaw has come to pass. Lajpat Rai, the eminent patriot and leader of the people of India in their struggle for freedom, has been arrested and shut up within prison walls. Shut up once more! for this is the second time that he has had to pay the same penalty for daring to assert his nation's right to be free from a foreign yoke. Mr. Rai has been three times in America. He came the last time in 1915 and remained until 1920, spending the larger part of his time in New York, but also travelling to nearly all parts of the country to give lectures and addresses on India. Everywhere he impressed his audiences as being a man of commanding ability, of the highest type of character, and of the most uncompromising and unselfish

devotion to the cause of his country's freedom. Those who heard him and still more those who came into close personal contact with him, recognized him as actuated by the same spirit of noble patriotism as Franklin and Patrick Henry, and Washington himself, in our American struggle for liberation from a yoke similar to that which oppresses India, but much less galling and unjust.

While in America Mr. Rai wrote three important books on political conditions in his country, namely, "Young India, An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within," "England's Debt to India, A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India," and "The Political Future of India" (all published by B. W. Huebsch, New York). These are by far the best books we have on British Rule in India and its effects upon the Indian people. There are plenty of books in our libraries written from the British standpoint, giving the story of Britain's "Great Indian Empire" and the glories and beneficences of her rule; for

conquerors can be depended on to spare no pains in letting the world know how wise and unselfish and kind their conquests and dominations are, how incapable the peoples under them are of governing themselves, and how unselfishly they (the foreign rulers) are ruling the peoples "for their good." I say we have long had plenty of such books about British rule in India written from the British side. Fortunately at last we have three books written from the side of the Indian people,—from the side of the people that experience the rule, hear its pitiless burdens and suffer its ignominies,—from the side of the "toad under the harrow." Especially is Mr. Rai's "England's Debt to India" to be commended. Every American should read it. It should be read by every man and woman in the world who has a heart to sympathize with a great nation, possessed of a civilization older than that of Europe, that for more than one hundred and sixty years has been robbed of its nationhood, robbed of its wealth, made an abject dependency of a distant foreign power, deprived of the right

to make or alter a single law under which it must live, or in any way shape its own political destiny. Mr. Lajpat Rai's book is the work of a scholar. It gives facts and figures and documentary evidences that nobody can gainsay.

A year and a half ago Mr. Rai returned to India and at once threw in his lot with Mr. Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation Movement—that movement so unique, so unprecedented, so remarkable in its character, which seeks to win India's freedom—to compel Great Britain to give the Indian people self rule, without bloodshed or violence on the part of the people, by wholly peaceful means, by moral power,—by what Mr. Gandhi calls “soul-power.” When Mr. Rai was arrested he issued a “message to his Countrymen” which well expresses his spirit and his hopes. It has been widely published in India, and will interest his friends in America. The following are some passages from it.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

## MR. LAJPAT RAI'S MESSAGE

My Countrymen :

When I left the shores of America, I knew I would not be allowed to remain outside of a jail for any considerable time : and on my departure I told my American friends that I would be satisfied if I were allowed to work among my people for even six months. But now through the grace of God I have been enabled to work with you for about nineteen months, and I go to the jail with an untroubled heart, and with the firm belief that whatever we have done we have done according to our conscience and our God. I have no misgiving. I do not claim to possess the splendid spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi. But this I can truthfully assert that I have always kept the interests of my country and nation before my mind and my actions have been directed with a sole eye to the interests of my country.

The success of our movement requires that :

- (1) There should be complete unanimi-



ty between different communities and denominations in India.

(2) There should be no violence in the country. The Government officials are provoking the people in many ways. Courage, patriotism and regard for duty all demand that we should remain non-violent even in the face of the gravest provocation. There is every danger that at the present moment violence might lead to internal dissension, which is bound to ruin us. I, therefore, with the utmost respect and sincerity of purpose, urge on my countrymen to restrain their feelings. They should not hold meetings over the arrests, nor should they go to the courts. Every person should continue his everyday work with a calm and cool mind, should not disobey the order of the Indian National Congress, and should regard it his duty to carry out the order of the Local Provincial Indian Leaders. To maintain non-violence and to keep the movement of non-co-operation free from that taint are essential for our success.

My countrymen, I go to jail in the

firm belief that the honor of my beloved nation is safe in your keeping. I leave behind two children of my brain and heart—*Bande Mataram*, the paper which I have established, and the “Tilak School of Politics,” which I have founded to train young men to serve in their country’s political needs. These also I leave in your keeping. And now I bid you an affectionate farewell. May God help you, and give victory to the right.

LAJPAT RAI.

UNITY,  
*February 1922.*

# THE WORLD'S GREATEST MAN\*

BY REV. J. H. HOLMES

I am going to speak to you this morning upon what I hope will be the interesting question as to who is the greatest man in the world to-day. In seeking an answer to this inquiry, I imagine that all our minds instinctively go back to the days of the Great War, and run over the names of the men who held positions of vast responsibility and power in that stupendous conflict. Especially do we think of the great gathering of the war-leaders in Paris in the opening months of the year 1919. Two years ago, at this time, we would all of us have agreed that if the greatest man in the world was anywhere to be found, it was in this council of the premiers and statesmen of the Allied Governments-

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\* A Sermon preached at the Community Church, New York.

These were the men who had been tested by the most awful peril which had ever threatened the civilization of the world, and who had brought out of that peril a victory which was as complete as it was sudden. Now they were being tested by the challenge of peace--by the great problem as to how to use a victory after it has been won. And it is just here, in this most rigorous of all tests, that these leaders of the nations failed. Who can say, in view of what happened at Versailles, and especially in view of what has happened since the signing of the treaty, that any one of these men responsible for the great disaster of the peace has any substantial or permanent claims to greatness, in the true sense of the word? Of all the men who sat in that Peace Conference two years ago, there is only one, it seems to me, who still preserves a reputation that is without serious question. I refer, of course, to General Smuts, the Premier of South Africa, the man of whom Mr. Walter Lippman said so vividly that, of all the peace conferences who signed the treaty

in the famous Hotel of Mirrors at Versailles, he was the only one who saw mankind and not himself in the glass! If you would know how great a man was General Smuts at the Conference, I ask you to read three immortal documents—first, his public apologia for the signing of the treaty; secondly his “farewell to the people of Europe,” published on the eve of his departure from London for Johannesburg; and thirdly, his noble and generous tribute to President Wilson on the latter’s retirement from office on March 4 last. General Smuts fought the war with consummate ability and unfaltering idealism, in the moment of triumph on the battlefield, he sought forgiveness of the enemy, and healing of the bleeding wounds of men; in the moment of defeat in the Council Chamber, he confessed his failure in honesty of spirit, and sought at once to repair the damage which he had been unable to prevent. General Smuts is a great man—the only great man who is left to us to-day out of the wreckage of the war. All the rest of those leaders, who

filled the world for a little time with the noise of their fame, have faded, or are fading, into oblivion, never again to be restored, I believe, to the reverence of men. Ours to-day must be the cry of David, after the battle of Mt. Gilboa—  
 “How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!”

I turn away, therefore, from the storm of the Great War, and from the men who rode that storm to power and place and I look elsewhere for the man who impresses me as the greatest man who is living in the world to-day. And immediately I hit upon three men very different from one another in origin and character, who, I believe, may not unworthily qualify for this position.

The first man whom I would name is the Frenchman, Rolland author of that immortal novel, *Jean Christophe*, pacifist, exile from his native land during the Great War, the leading internationalist in this perplexing period of the aftermath of the war. Rolland is supremely great in the field not so much of achievement as of

ideals. I can best indicate my estimate of him by stating that I always think of him as the true successor, in character and influence, though not of course in personality, of Leo Tolstoi, who was himself the greatest single moral influence produced during the whole course of the nineteenth century. Like Tolstoi, Romain Rolland lives a life of rigorous simplicity. Like Tolstoi, he unites a gigantic intellect with a soul of ineffable beauty and power. Like Tolstoi again, he lives and moves and has his being in that sublime realm of moral and spiritual idealism, where love is recognized as the perfect law of life, and the brotherhood of man as the fulfilment of this law upon the earth.

Before the war, Rolland was one of the few men in Europe who saw the coming of the great catastrophe, and did his utmost to prevent it. He sent out his call to poets, musicians and artists of the continent; gathered about him, as a master his students, the young and ardent souls of all countries; and strove to lead them to those heights of pure idealism in the atmos-

phere of which he knew it would be impossible for the prejudices and hostilities of contemporary nationalism to survive. *Jean Christophe* was written in answer not so much to artistic passion, as to a desire to interpret Germany to France, and France to Germany, and thus make clear the essential kinship between the two. With the outbreak of the war, he conceived it his unique privilege and duty to keep alive those higher instincts of the soul, which are the first to suffer in the strife of arms. Never for a moment did he deceive himself into believing that the war would purge the heart of man, or quicken it permanently to nobler impulses of devotion; on the contrary, he knew that this war, like every war, was a dirty and ugly thing, subversive of all that is pure and good in human life. Therefore did he deliberately set himself, as a priest at the altar of humanity, to guard from extinction the spirit's flame, that when the conflict was at an end, the race might not wander as one lost for ever in impenetrable dark. And now, with the close of the



disastrous struggle, Rolland is building anew his international fraternity, to the end of persuading men to sheath their swords, to cleanse their hearts of the poison of patriotism, and to toil for the coming of that great Kingdom of the living God which shall mean wars and rumours of wars no more.

If there is any civilization in Europe to-day, any light shining through the gross darkness of the present chaos, any hope for the ultimate realization of the dreams and visions which beset us of a better world, I believe this is due more truly to Romain Rolland than Foch or Clemenceau, Lloyd George or Woodrow Wilson or any other of the men who struggled vainly to bring good out of the evil of the War. Rolland remained true to his ideal, served it with a flawless courage, and therewith did a work which marks him as a spiritual genius of the first order. If he falls short, as I think he does, it is in what we may term the realm of practical affairs. In this he does not fail; he simply does not enter all. For Rolland is an artist, an intellectual,

a man of the utmost sensitiveness and delicacy. It is difficult to conceive of him as dwelling among the trodden ways of men. He could never be the leader of a revolution, the moulder of great masses of the common people to a world-upheaval, the builder of the structure or the writer of the constitution of a new political and social state. Rolland, by the very necessities of his nature, as Tolstoi by the deliberate plan of his life, must move "above the battle" and not in the midst of its bloodshed and affright. For Rolland is an idealist and not a realist. I think of him as a silver star shining resplendent above the murk and mist of earth, a light to steer by and to worship. Others must serve as the smoky torches which show terribly the pathways of man's climbing.

The mention of the contrast between the idealist and realist, brings me to the second name which I desire to present this morning in this discussion. I refer to the Russian, Nicolai Lenin, Premier of the Soviet republic, a man who wields a greater degree of personal power than any

other man in the world to-day. In making an estimate of the position of Lenin among the great men of his time, it is necessary for us to disregard entirely such unfavorable ideas as we may chance to have of the work that he is attempting to do among his people. We may think that his principles are bad his policies dangerous, his whole influence destructive of the best interests of civilization ; but these opinions should not and indeed cannot, affect in any way the facts as to his ability. Many people, for example, regard Napoleon Bonaparte as one of the most immoral personages that ever lived, and describe his achievements as among the most disastrous in the whole range of human history, but I have never met anybody, except Mr. H. G. Wells, in his "The Outline of History," who denied his consummate greatness as a man. So also with Nicolai Lenin! We may think him the vilest monster alive upon the earth to-day if we so choose but there stands the fact of his greatness all the same. This man moves among his contemporaries like a

giant among pygmies. He is at the moment the centre of the world's life. The affairs of the race move round his central figure like the rim and spokes of a wheel about its axle. I am not at all sure, but what in future ages, this present period, which has followed upon the close of the Great War, is destined to be described by historians as the age of Lenin, just as we speak to-day of the age of Elizabeth or of Louis XIV.

If we would seek for evidence of the surpassing greatness of Lenin, we have only to cite the testimony of those who have seen him and studied him at close range. At first, he seems to make little impression upon those who meet him, for his personal presence is evidently one of utter insignificance. He does not look like a hero, he does not walk with the stride of a hero. Mr. Wells, who was as little impressed as anybody, speaks of him simply as a little man sitting behind a big desk. Bertrand Russell describes him as "very friendly and apparently simple, entirely without a trace of hauteur. If one met him without

knowing who he was he would not guess that he was possessed of great power, and never that he was in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self-importance." The only thing impressive about Lenin's appearance, so far as I can judge, is his head, which is that of a stupendous intellectual genius. To see the great dome of his brow, as depicted, for example, in Mrs. Clare Sheridan's bust, is to think at once of the head of Shakespeare. Aside from this single feature, however, Lenin's presence is apparently as unimpressive as his bearing is modest.

That Lenin is a great man, however, is admitted by everybody who has seen him. Arthur Ransome, who is favourably inclined towards the Bolshevist regime, declares that he is "one of the great personalities of his time." Bertrand Russell, who is now opposed to Bolshevism, refers to Lenin without qualification as "a great man." Raymond Robbins, who stands midway between the position of friend and foe, asserts his belief that the Soviet premier is "the greatest living statesman.

in Europe." Even those who view him at a distance, cannot disguise their admiration. Mr. Frank Vanderlip, for example, has said that Lenin impresses him as "a man of most extraordinary ability." Nor can I refrain from quoting the opinion of the "New York Times," which can hardly be described as friendly to the Bolsheviks. Speaking at an unguarded moment, on one of the numerous occasions of Lenin's reported death, the "Times" referred to him as "the most remarkable personality brought by the world war into prominence."

What moves all these persons who have seen or studied Nicolai Lenin to speak of him in these laudatory terms is undoubtedly the consciousness of the stupendous things which this man has accomplished during the last three years. His deeds are almost unparalleled in history. In the first place, he has beaten back upon every front the attacks brought against him by the enemies of Russia at home and abroad. Army after army has been organized and led against Moscow, only to be destroyed

by the "red" armies fighting without resources, in a distracted country, and amid a starving population. It is the fashion of these days to compare Lenin with Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, the leaders of France in the bloody days of the "Reign of Terror." The true comparison, however, is with Carnot, the Great War Minister, who raised the levies of the Revolution, and hurled back triumphantly the invading armies of autocratic Europe.

Secondly, Lenin and his commissaries have saved the civilisation of Russia from the utter collapse which was threatened, and is still being threatened, as a result of the catastrophe of the Great War. This is just the opposite of what is ordinarily assumed, for most people believe that it is the advent of Bolshevism which has caused the human misery and social disintegration which are everywhere prevailing in Russia at the present time. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth! The empire of the Czar collapsed of its own rottenness and decay nine months before the Bolsheviks found their way into the seats.

of power. This collapse was the immediate result of the impact of the Great War, which in its end, if not in its conscious purpose, was a struggle for the destruction, and not at all for the preservation, of civilization. What happened in Russia in 1917, was only what would have happened in France had the War continued another year, and in Great Britain had it continued another four or five years. Russia simply went to pieces, because she was the least developed and the most corrupt of modern capitalistic countries, and therefore the least able to bear the strain. The first revolutionary government which succeeded the Czar, tried to control the situation, but it ignominiously failed. Then came Kerensky, who likewise failed. Then came Lenin, who put his mighty shoulders beneath the toppling fabric of the state, and has thus far prevented it from falling. That Russia is not to-day a realm of utter chaos—that its cities are not empty, railroads streaks of rust running across vast wastes of desert country, its peoples swarming hordes of wanderers trooping madly



to the west in search of food—all this is due more to Nicolai Lenin than to any other single force in the world to-day. If H. G. Wells is right in his surmise that the fate of Europe is identical with the fate of Russia, I venture to prophesy that the time will come when this man will be remembered not as a destroyer, but as the saviour of the social structure of civilization.

Lastly, as we survey the achievements of Lenin, we see his great constructive undertaking in the field of statesmanship. Amid unexampled confusion and difficulties, he has worked out a new formula of economic relations—communism; he has builded a new structure of social order—the Soviet; he has visioned a new type of social idealism—a democracy of the workers; he has created out of abstract theory a new technique of practical achievement—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These are the deeds of a man of the first order of practical genius. If Lenin fall short anywhere, and I am certain that he does, it is in the field of moral idealism.

He seems to be absolutely devoid, not in character but in thought, of everything that we mean by ethical or spiritual principle. He boasts of the fact that he has no religion but lives contently in the realm of materialism. He denied that there is any such reality as a moral law to which it is proper or necessary for him to give acknowledgment. What we ordinarily describe and recognize as a system of ethics, calling for the allegiance of all right-minded people, he regards as an artificial code created by the strong, and imposed by them upon the weak for the better protection of their property and privileges. To Lenin's way of thinking anything is right that serves the class interest of the workers; by the same token, anything is wrong that delays or hinders the emancipation of the workers. In his activities as leader of the proletariat and chief executive of the Soviet republic, Lenin acts upon exactly the same law of necessity which holds sway upon the field of battle. Like the soldier, in other words he does anything which it is

necessary to do in order to defeat the enemy and thus clinch victory for his cause. "The end justifies the means!" Lenin is seeking a great end of human redemption and social liberation; any means which are necessary for the attainment of this end, are justifiable in the period which must intervene before men are ready and able to reach the goal. It is this realist point of view of life which explains the extraordinary contradictions in Lenin's career. Thus Lenin is a democrat; but he sustains one of the most absolute tyrannies that mankind has ever known. He is not a terrorist, and yet he carried through the six weeks of the "red terror" with ruthless severity. He is not a militarist, and yet he has builded on the foundation of universal conscription, the most powerful and successful military machine in the world to-day. What we have in Lenin is a phenomenon who has never before appeared in history so far as I know—a reformer of unquestioned personal integrity, rigorously pure in private character, simple and unpretentious.

in his ways of life, devoted to the ideal of a better world, seeking nothing for himself and everything for his fellowmen, and yet a man arrogant, autocratic, stern, hard in outline, untouched by any softness save a love for children. At bottom, there is nothing gentle or lovely about this man; he suggests only the strength of granite, and the coldness of steel. This is the reason, I take it, why Mr. Wells, when he thinks of Lenin, finds himself recalling the figure of Mohammed. Bertrand Russell, when he saw Lenin and his regime, was put in mind of Cromwell and the Puritans. I have to confess that I always think, in this connection, of Napoleon Bonaparte. All these parallels are defective—the last outrageously so; but it may serve at least to reveal the realistic pattern of the man, and the stupendous order of his genius. It is obvious that we have not yet found our greatest man. Rolland idealist, is defective on the side of reality. What we need is a universal man—a man who combines in perfect balance the supreme qualities of the Frenchman and the Russian—a man:



Looked at each other with a wild  
surmise—

Silent, upon a peak in Darien.”

The man whom I have in mind is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Indian leader of the present great revolutionary movement against British rule in India known and revered by his countrymen as Mahatma, “the Saint.” I wonder how many of you have ever heard of him, or know the story of his life. Listen while I tell this story, and see if I am not right in calling it the hero the greatest man in the world to-day!

Gandhi was born some fifty odd years ago in India, of a rich, clever and cultivated family. He was reared as the sons of such families are always reared possessed of everything that money can buy and the imagination of devoted parents can conceive. In 1889 he came to England to study law. He took his degree in regular course, returned to India, and became a successful lawyer in Bombay. Already, however, he had found that religion was coming to have a dominant place within

his life. Even before his journey to England, he had taken the Jain vow to abstain from wine, flesh, and sexual intercourse. On his return to India, his asceticism increased. Finding that money was inconsistent with his ideal of spirituality, he gave away his fortune to good causes, keeping only the barest pittance for himself. Later on, he took the vow of poverty, and thus became, what he is still to-day, a beggar. Later still he became converted to the doctrine of non-resistance, which he calls "the root of Hinduism," and therefore abandoned the practice of the law as "a system which tried to do right by violence." When Gilbert Murray saw him in England in 1914, he ate only rice, drank only water, and slept on the bare boards of a wooden floor. "His conversation," says Professor Murray, "was that of a cultivated and well-read man, with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness." Gandhi was indeed become a saint. He had deliberately swept out of his life every last vestige of self-indulgence, that no slightest desire of the flesh might stand in the way

of devotion to his ideals. From early in his life, he was a man apart, with every last energy of soul and body dedicated to the service of humankind.

His public career divides itself into two distinct periods. The first extends from 1893 to 1913, and is identified with South Africa. The second, which belongs to India itself, runs from 1913 to the present day.

In South Africa, in the early nineties of the last century, there were located some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in the province of Natal. The presence of these aliens had led to a situation very similar to that now prevailing in California as a result of the influx of the Japanese. The color question, in other words, had become acute, and the South African Government determined to meet it, first by forbidding the immigration of any more natives from India, and secondly by expelling the Indians who were already there. This last, it was found, could not legally be done as it violated a treaty, and was opposed by Natal where industry was dependent upon



cheap "coolie" labor and was objected to by the Indian Government. The first proposal, of course, could easily be met by the passage of an exclusion act. At once began a long and bitter struggle. The whites of South Africa, baffled in their desires, did what the whites in all parts of the world have always done under such circumstances—namely, persecuted and outraged those whom they detested as so-called inferiors. Systematically they undertook to make life in South Africa as miserable an affair for all Indians, especially those above the labour class, as malice and cruelty could provide. Thus, these Indians were burdened with special taxes; they were forced to register in degrading ways; their thumbprints were taken as though they were criminals; they were publicly insulted and discriminated against. In cases where the law could not be conveniently utilized, the South African whites did what we do so proudly here in America—organized patriotic mobs, to loot, burn and lynch. Nothing was left undone to harry these unhappy Indians, and drive

them in wretchedness and horror from the land.

It was in 1893, that the Indians in South Africa appealed to Gandhi, and asked him to come and help them. At once he responded to their call, for, it was his conviction that, if his countrymen were anywhere suffering, it was his duty and privilege alike to suffer with them. He came, therefore to Natal in 1893, and there he remained, with the exception of one short interval of time, until 1913. As he was still a lawyer at this time, he began his fight against the Asiatic Exclusion Act, and won it; in the face of the most bitter and unfair opposition on grounds of constitutionality. Then came the terrific battle for equitable political and social recognition—a struggle fought from beginning to end with the weapons of passive or non-resistance. Not once in all the years of the protracted struggle, was there resort to violence, or yielding to the temptation of retaliation and revenge.

Acting as the leader and counsellor of his people, Gandhi founded a settlement in

the open country, just outside the city of Durban. Here he gathered the Indians, placed them on the land for self-support, and bound them by the solemn vow of poverty. Here for years these organized thousands of resisters, suffering constant deprivation and frequent outrage, carried on their struggle against the Government. It was in essence, I suppose a strike—a withdrawal of the Indians from labour in the towns and villages, and a paralysis, therefore, of the industrial and social life of the republic. It was such a strike as Moses declared in ancient Egypt, when he led the Israelites out of the land of Pharaoh into the vast reaches of the wilderness. But this strike, if it may so be called, was in one thing different from any previous strike in human history! Universally in movements of this kind, the resisters make it their business to take quick and sharp advantage of any difficulty into which their opponents may fall, and press their claim the harder for this advantage. Gandhi, however, took the opposite course. Whenever in these years of struggle, the

Government became embarrassed by unexpected troubles, Gandhi, instead of pushing fight ruthlessly to victory, would call a truce and come to the succour of his enemy. In 1899, for instance the Boer war broke out. Gandhi immediately called off his strike, and organized an Indian Red Cross unit, which served throughout the war, was twice mentioned in despatches, and was publicly thanked for bravery under fire. In 1904, there came a visitation of the plague in Johannesburg. Instantly the strike was "off," and Gandhi was busying himself in organizing a hospital in the pest-ridden city. In 1906 there was a native rebellion in Natal. Again the strike was suspended, while Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work was dangerous and painful. On this occasion he was publicly thanked by the governor of Natal—and shortly afterwards, on the resumption of the resistant movement thrown into a common jail in Johannesburg. It would be impossible for me to tell this morning, the indignities and cruelties which were

visited upon Gandhi during these years of intermittent resistance and forgiveness. He was thrown into prison countless times, placed in solitary confinement, bound hand and foot to the bars of his cage. He was again and again set upon by raging mobs, beaten into insensibility, and left for dead by the side of the road. When not outraged in this fashion, he was insulted in public, mortified and humiliated with the most exquisite pains. But nothing shook his courage, disturbed his equanimity, exhausted his patience or poisoned his love and forgiveness of his foes. And at last, after twenty years of trial and suffering, he won the victory. In 1913, the Indian case was taken up by Lord Hardinge, an Imperial Commission reported in Gandhi's favour on nearly all the points at issue, and an act was passed giving official recognition to his claims. I know of no more astonishing illustration of a battle won by doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring without resentment all the punishment the enemy can inflict, until at last he

becomes weary and ashamed of punishment.

The second period of Gandhi's life began in 1913, and at this moment in the full tide of its career. This period, of course, has to do with the great revolutionary movement in India, which had been slowly developing during the years of his absence in South Africa. Immediately upon his return he took the leadership of this movement; but in 1914, with the outbreak of the war with Germany, suspended all operations against English rule. To strike at England at such a moment, he contended, was to strike her in the back; and it was as reprehensible to strike a nation in this cowardly fashion, as to strike a man. Throughout the war therefore, Gandhi gave enthusiastic support to the Empire in every way not inconsistent with his religious ideals.

Immediately that the war was closed however, quickened by the outrages visited upon the Indians during this period by the oppression of English tyranny, Gandhi lifted again his banner of revolt, and

organized that stupendous non-co-operative movement which is shaking the British Empire at this moment to its foundations. What we have here, under Gandhi's leadership, is a revolution—but a revolution different from any other of which history has knowledge. It is characterized by four distinctive features.

In the first place, it is a movement directed straight and hard against English rule in India. There is no concealment of Gandhi's determination to free his people from the injustice and cruelty implicit in alien domination. "So long," he says, "as the Government spells injustice, it may regard me as its enemy, implacable enemy." Again he declares, "I seek to paralyze this Government until we have wrung justice from unwilling hands, that is what I stand for." Still again he asserts, "I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy." That this is sedition, Gandhi sees as clearly as any one. If he were charged under the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code, he says that he

could not plead 'not guilty'. . . . "For my speeches are intended to create disaffection such that the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support."

With all this unbending opposition to English rule however, there is mingled no hatred against the English people. Gandhi has never at any time been guilty of the sin to which most of us were tempted during the war with Germany, of confusing a Government with its people. "I tell the British people," says Gandhi, "that I love them, and that I want their association"; but this must be on conditions not inconsistent with self-respect and. . . . absolute equality."

Secondly, Gandhi's movement is a revolution which has no place for force or violence of any kind. "Non-violence" is its most conspicuous motto and slogan. For Gandhi, as we have seen is a non-resistant; and in India, as in South Africa, will win his victory by peaceful means, or not at all! "Violence," he says, "whatever end



it may serve in Europe, will never serve us in India." We must fight our battles with cleaner weapons, on a nobler plane of combat. Thus, "we (must) meet their ungodliness by godliness; we (must) meet their cunning and their craft by openness and simplicity; we (must) meet their terrorism and frightfulness by bravery and patient suffering." Further, he says, "We must bring no violence against those who do not join our ranks"—How well were it if Lenin practised this rule of conduct! And he adjures his followers to hold "every English life, and the life of every officer serving the Government as sacred as those of our own dear ones"—think of what it would mean to Ireland if Sinn Fein observed this precept! "As soon as India," says Gandhi, "accepts the doctrine of the sword, my life as an Indian is finished. . . Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart."

In advocating thus the policy of non-violence, Gandhi takes pains to emphasize that he is not doing this because the Indians are weak. On the contrary he

commends non-violence just because India is so strong and thus so well able to meet the hazards involved. "I believe in the doctrine of non-violence," says Gandhi, "as a weapon not of the weak but of the strong. I believe that man is the strongest soldier who dies unarmed with his breast bare before the enemy." Again he says, "..... I want India to practise non-violence because of her strength and power. No arms are required for her. We seem to need it because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize, that she has a soul that cannot perish, and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of the world."

At bottom, of course, Gandhi advocates and practises non-resistance because he thinks it right. "The true thing," he declares "for any human being on earth, is not justice based on violence but justice based on sacrifice of self." Again, he says, "Non-violence is noble and right. . . . Forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier." It

is from this point of view, I take it, that Gandhi refers to his movement as "this religious battle!" He is insistent, however, that non-resistance is not only right but expedient. It is the one sure way of attaining a triumph that will endure. "The condition of success," he says, "is to ensure entire absence of violence." Again, "India might resort to destruction of life and property, but it could serve no purpose. You need but the one weapon of suffering." "Such truth is obvious to any one," says Gandhi, "who understands the laws of a universe which is spiritual. If we would realize the secret of this peaceful and infallible doctrine, we will not want to use even an angry word, when they lift the sword, we will not want even to lift a little finger."

Non-violence, however, is not enough. Non-resistance means something more than mere acquiescence in suffering. It must have a positive or aggressive policy—and it is this which Gandhi provides in what he calls "Non-Co-operation." To all his followers, Gandhi recommends refusal

to co-operate in any of the political or social functions which are essential to the continuance of British rule in India. He urges that the Indians boycott everything English, and thus paralyze the whole English system of control. Thus, he advises that his countrymen refuse to sit on the local Councils; that native lawyers refuse to practise in the courts; that parents withdraw their children from the schools, that title-holders give up their titles. On the occasion of the recent tour of the Prince of Wales, he urged all Indians to refuse welcome or recognition to the Royal visitor. Even a boycott of English goods is under consideration, but of this Gandhi voices his disapproval. Such policy, of course, if effectively carried out on a large scale, would destroy English rule in India; it would little by little bring paralysis to the Government as the hemlock brought inch by inch the chill of death to the limbs of Socrates. "The peaceullest revolution the world has ever seen" would be triumphant.

Lastly, as the crown of his great move-

ment, Gandhi seeks the moral and spiritual regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, Indian custom, and Indian idealism. This means the exclusion, so far as possible, of the influence of the West, with its industrial slavery, its materialism, its money-worship and its wars. The first step in his endeavour is to wipe out the barriers which divide the Indians from one another, and make them one great united brotherhood. Thus, he seeks the obliteration of caste distinction and religious differences; Mohammedan must live peaceably with Hindu, and Hindu with Mohammedan. Then must come a leadership of mankind in ways of peace and amity. "I believe absolutely," says Gandhi, "that India has a mission for the world" His idealism, therefore, transcends the boundaries of race and country, and seeks to make itself one with the highest hopes of humanity. "My religion," he cries, "has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself."

Such is Mahatma Gandhi ! In this great spirit, he lives among the people. As he

moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open countryside, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In this personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political endeavours, he is as stern a realist as Lenin, working steadfastly towards a far goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, is he an idealist, like Roman Rolland, living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for his Kingdom upon earth.

Do you recall how it is told of Jesus, that one day, as he was journeying, he heard his disciples quarrelling? And he said, "What were ye reasoning on the way?" And they said they had disputed who was the greatest. And Jesus said,

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“If any man would be first among you, let him be the servant of all.”

## SERMON AFTER THE ARREST

BY REV. J. H. HOLMES

As I enter this morning upon the discussion of Mahatma Gandhi, of India, and of the universal significance of the work which he is doing in his native country, I am irresistibly reminded of the day, which was not so long ago, when I first had the pleasure of presenting this man to this congregation, and of declaring my conviction, the same now as it was then, that Gandhi is incomparably the greatest man now living in the world. How the situation has changed in these few months! At that time Gandhi's name was practically unknown outside the borders of India. I hit upon it by the merest chance and, although I came to feel upon the instant that here was a creative spiritual genius of the first order, my information was of the meagerest description. Furthermore, an endeavour to get additional information met with failure. To-day, however, Gandhi's



name is appearing on the first pages of all the newspapers. Scores of articles have been published in the magazines and reviews of this country, England and the Continent. A great journal, the New York World," sends its leading correspondent to India to "spy out the land," and he returns to write of Gandhi and his policy of Non-Violence and Non-Cooperation. From almost utter obscurity, this man mounts in a few months to a fame which is as universal as it promises to be immortal. He holds to-day the center of the world's attention. That position of primacy held so proudly by Woodrow Wilson in 1918 and 1919, and by Nicolai Lenin in 1920 and 1921, is now occupied by a little Oriental who has never held any official position, who seeks neither glory nor power, and who languishes this day\* behind the bars of an English jail.

### GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

For such a change as this in the fortunes of a single man, there must be reasons. As

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\*Next day after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

it happens, these reasons are not far to seek. I would name this morning four events, as indications of what has been transpiring of late in this far distant portion of the world.

In the first place, there is the amazing growth of the Nationalist party in India. A few years ago, the only persons who wanted "Swaraj", or independence, were a few extremists and fanatics. The great majority of the intellectual leaders cherished no desire or expectation other than that of Home Rule, or Dominion status within the Empire. As for the masses, the common people, they were either ignorant of, or totally indifferent to, the issues involved. To-day, however, the movement for emancipation from British rule has swept like a prairie fire from one end of India to the other. It is true that the native princes and their retainers, many thousands of civic officials and their servants and certain well-educated and prosperous groups in the community who naturally oppose any change in the 'status quo,' are hearty supporters of the English

government in India; but these people, taken all together, would not number more than a million individuals. All the rest, from the highest to the lowest, from Rabindranath Tagore on the one side to the meanest of the "untouchables" on the other, are all aflame with the desire for independence from the British yoke. Remember now, if you will, that the population of India is well over 300,000,000, one-fifth of the population of the entire globe, and it is not difficult to understand why this Nationalist Movement is suddenly attracting so much attention. What is going on in India to-day, if only because of the stupendous numbers involved, is the central phenomenon in the world's life.

### LEADER OF "REVOLT"

In the second place, as another reason for Gandhi's rapid rise to fame, there is the fact that he is to-day definitely recognized as the leader of his people in their revolt against the English Crown. A few years ago Gandhi was a friend of England and her rule in India. More than once he had

received favours and rewards at the hands of the Imperial Government. During the Great War he supported the Allied Cause, and, in so far as it was possible for a non-resistant so to do, upheld the power and authority of English arms. After the war he advocated no reform more drastic than a reasonable measure of Home Rule. It was the massacre of Amritsar, when General Dyer turned his machine-guns on an innocent crowd of Indians, killed between three and four hundred men, women and children, and wounded I know not how many more, that changed the soul of Gandhi. From that time on, he became an open enemy of England, and an ardent champion of Freedom. One year ago last December the All-India Congress formally endorsed his programme of Non-Violence and Non-Co-operation. This last December, less than three months ago, the Congress reaffirmed the programme by an overwhelming majority, and named Gandhi as the leader of the movement for Independence. This man holds absolutely in his hands to-day the destinies of his people.

When Gandhi speaks, it is India that speaks. When Gandhi acts, it is India that acts. When Gandhi is arrested it is India that is outraged and humiliated. More truly, I believe, than any other man who has ever lived, this great Indian is the incarnation of a people's soul.

### REPRESSIVE POLICY

Thirdly, as an explanation of Gandhi's fame and influence at this moment, there is the repressive policy recently adopted by the English Government. Why, any government should turn to repression in a crisis like this, is explicable only on the supposition that governments are utterly ignorant of history and human psychology, and learn nothing from experience. For, repression has never worked. I challenge anybody to point me to a single episode in either ancient or modern history, which proves that repression has even once achieved the end to which it has been directed. This policy has certainly been no success in English hands. It failed in America in 1775; it failed in English

domestic affairs in the '20s and the '40s of the last century ; it failed in South Africa after the Boer War ; it failed in Ireland yesterday ; and it will fail in India to-morrow. If repression succeeds in anything, it is in advertising the cause of the enemy. " We are advertised by our loving friends," says Shakespeare, to which I would make the addition that we are advertised as well by our fearful enemies. Nothing that the Indians could have done of themselves would have spread such knowledge of, and won such sympathy for their movement for Independence as the policy of the British authorities in recent months. When the Ali Brothers were arrested, for example, news of the event spread to the remotest corners of the Mohammedan world, and made every Moslem a champion of Freedom for India. When Lajpat Rai was seized and imprisoned, thousands of Englishmen and Americans were immediately aroused, for they knew this man to be a scholar and a gentleman, and could not understand the nature of a situation which made necessary his

confinement. So also, now, with Gandhi himself; millions of people the world around know him to-day, and will believe in, and love, him passionately to-morrow, because they see a saint doomed to martyrdom by the tyranny of Imperialism.

### THE PRINCE'S VISIT

Lastly, as an indication of what has been going on in recent months, I would remind you of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. For sheer stupidity, I know of nothing to compare with this event. We are told that this trip was planned in order to demonstrate the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown. As a matter of fact had the Indian been loyal, there would have been no necessity for a royal visitation. The very exigencies of the situation made inevitable just the opposite result from what was intended or desired. No sooner was the prince's journey announced, than Gandhi organized his boycott—not because he had anything against this innocent young man, used by a distracted Government for a disreputable

purpose, but because he saw in his coming a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate how the Indian people felt about English rule. As soon as the prince arrived this boycott was put into effect. Everywhere he went, the natives met him with averted eyes and turned backs. Finally, at Allahabad, they refused to meet him at all. When the Prince of Wales entered this place, it was as though he were arrived at a city of the dead. Streets were deserted; doors were barred, and shutters drawn at the windows; while the people by the thousands swarmed to a rendezvous outside the town to acclaim "Swaraj," and pledge themselves to its support. The visit of the Prince of Wales, now drawing to a close has been simply one vast demonstration of Indian unrest. More than anything else that has happened, or could have happened, it has taught the world of Gandhi and his great crusade for Liberty.

#### "BAPTISM OF THE SOUL"

Such are some of the events which have conspired in recent months to draw the



attention of mankind to India. In so far as these events have enabled men to know who Gandhi is and what he is doing, they are beneficent, for I can imagine no truer baptism of the soul than knowledge of this eastern saint. To those who understand what it means in terms of inward purity and outward devotion, his name falls on the heart "like the gentle dew from heaven." From another and more important point of view, however, these events must be regarded as unfortunate, for they are tending to present Gandhi to the world simply as a leader of a Nationalistic cause. They are teaching men to classify the Indian Mahatma with such historical figures as William Tell, William Wallace, Robert Emmett, Kosciusko, George Washington, and Garibaldi, as the champion of the liberties of an enslaved people. This, of course, he is! Gandhi stands today at the forefront of his nation's life, as we have seen, and matches in heroic service of Freedom the achievements of any of the great Nationalistic leaders of the past. But it is a deplorable mistake to

look at Gandhi exclusively or even primarily from this standpoint. He is more than the leader of a movement for National Independence—his task is nobler even than that of championing the political emancipation of a great people. Dear to his heart as is the deliverance of India from English rule, immediate as is his concern with this great cause at the present moment, it must still be reckoned as a mere incident in his career, a passing episode in a life devoted to higher and further issues. If the movement for Independence had never appeared, Gandhi would still be the same transcendent figure that he is to-day; and if this movement ended to-morrow, in defeat or victory, Gandhi's real work would still go on to its appointed end. That there must be something wrong with an idea which classifies this man with Wallace, Washington, and Garibaldi all of whom were soldiers who drew blood on the field of battle, is shown conclusively by the fact that Gandhi is a non-resistant who refuses to take the sword, even to fight for Liberty, but appeals

to a "higher law" than that of violence, namely "strength of spirit." What we have here in the case of the non-resistant, is a religious leader, a man not of local, or national, but of universal significance. It is in the realm of the spirit that Gandhi "lives and moves and has his being." It is not primarily with kings and premiers, but with God and the soul of man, that he does business. Above and beyond the political liberation of his own or any other people, he seeks the spiritual redemption of mankind. If we would classify him with any of the supreme figures of human history, it must be with such august religious prophets as Confucius and Lao-tse, Buddha, Zoroaster and Mohammed and, most truly of all, the Nazarene! Out of Asia, at long intervals of time, have arisen these inspired witnesses of God. One by one they have appeared to teach men by precept and example the law of life, and therewith to save the race. To-day, in this our time, there comes another of this sacred line, the Mahatma of India. In all reverence, and with due

regard for historic fact, I match this man with Jesus Christ! If the lives of these two were written side by side, as Plutarch wrote the lives of the great heroes of Greece and Rome, it would be amazing to see to what extent they are identical. With Gandhi, only one experience is lacking—that of the crucifixion; but in the light of what is taking place, it would seem as though we could trust the British Empire to-day, as the Roman Empire yesterday, to point the road to Calvary!

#### AS A SPIRITUAL LEADER

Now it is of this universal significance of Gandhi as a spiritual leader, that I want to speak to you this morning. I find this significance most clearly typified, at least for the beginning of our discussion, in the personal character of the man. We can best get at this aspect of the problem by asking how it is that Gandhi has managed to acquire such a marvellous influence over the Indian people. Of the nature of this influence there can be no question; it is one of the most extraordinary personal

phenomena in the world to-day. As Gandhi moves from place to place, great multitudes of men and women follow him, as similar multitudes followed Jesus in Palestine. When he appears to speak in some town or city, crowds running all the way, from twenty-five to seventy-five thousand people gather to hear his words. That he is a wonder-worker is implicitly believed by the ignorant and superstitious, and stories of his miracles are now the legend of the countryside. Everywhere he is called Mahatma, the "saint" or "blessed one," for already the people reverence him as one who is divine. To find anything to match this influence of Gandhi over his people, we would have to return to ancient times and remote places, and even then the parallel would be incomplete. It is the testimony of a competent and unbiased observer that Gandhi's personal following is greater in numbers, and more devoted and disciplined in spirit, than that of any man history has ever known.

## HIS INFLUENCE

If we seek for the explanation of this fact we cannot find it, I believe, in any of the ordinary aspects of personality. It does not reside for example, in Gandhi's physical presence: which has been described as "pitifully insignificant." Thus he weighs less than one hundred pounds. He shows all the weakness and emaciation of one who has disciplined his body to an asceticism of an extreme type for over thirty years. On occasions he is so feeble that he is unable to stand, and has to address his audience while seated in a chair. His only impressive physical feature is his eyes, which glow with the flaming passion of a spirit which burns as though it would consume the flesh.—So, also, I cannot find that his personal influence has its origin in any extraordinary degree of intellectuality. Gandhi does not impress me as having exceptional mental powers. Certainly he is not to be compared with such an intellectual giant as Leo Tolstoi. To me, at least, it is inconceivable that the Indian could write such

books as "War and Peace, "Anna Karenina", or even "My Religion". Great as he is, Gandhi does not seem to move on this plane of achievement at all!—I feel the same way, also about his gifts as an orator. I speak with some hesitancy here, for the standards of oratory, as of music, may be very different in the East from what they are in the West. What is genuine eloquence in India may not be recognizable as such at all in the United States. But I might as well confess that Gandhi, so far as I can judge from his printed addresses, does not impress me as an orator. I find in his utterances no such magic of words as we are familiar with in the case of men like Edmund Burke and Patrick Henry. I had difficulty, for example, in selecting a passage from Gandhi's writings which had the lift and beauty, the soaring grandeur of style, which made it appropriate for reading as scripture in this service. That Gandhi can work a spell over an audience we know from abundant testimony, but it must be for reasons quite apart from eloquence of speech.

## HIS PERSONALITY

What is it that the Indians see when they look upon this man, and hail as Mahatma? Not a great physical presence, not a gigantic intellect, not an inspired orator, but a personality or character of transcendent spiritual beauty. What they see, first of all is a man who has made his life to be at one with the great masses of the people. Gandhi was well born of a family with ample means, and given the best educational advantages both in his own country and in England. When he returned to Bombay, he began his career as practitioner of the law. Then he did what so few men in any age have ever done! Instead of climbing up, up the ladder of achievement to wealth and fame, and thus away from the common people, he proceeded deliberately to move down—down to the depths of human misery and woe, down to where men toiled desperately and died miserably, down to the dark places of sweat and tears and blood. From the beginning he was resolved that there should be no suffering among



men which he did not endure, no outrage which he did not feel, no Cross which he did not carry. Even the "untouchables" should not be beneath his comradeship—to them he would descend, and with them share the bitterness of the world's contempt! The experience of men, in other words, down to its remotest horror, he made his own; and always, in his long struggles for reform, met first himself the hazards to which he invited others. How beautiful, for example, is the story of his leading the Hindu "coolies" in South Africa out on to the land, in revolt against the inequities of Government! Here Gandhi was the first to sleep on the bare ground beneath the stars; the first to practise the vow of poverty which he enjoins upon his followers; and the first to cultivate the land for sustenance! How impressive also the most recent and much more famous story of the loin-cloth? Talk with any enemy of Gandhi, and almost at once he will mention the loin-cloth episode, and offer it as proof of the Mahatma's insane fanaticism. What is this episode? Some

months ago, in the prosecution of his non-co-operation campaign against the Government, Gandhi ordered his followers to boycott all cotton goods imported from England, destroy whatever foreign cloth or clothing they had on hand, and spin what they needed on their own domestic spindles.

It soon developed that obedience to this command would cause great inconvenience and even suffering, especially among the poor, by stripping them practically naked of the little that they had. At once Gandhi appeared in public, on the country highways and even in the cities, clad in nothing but a loincloth, that no man in all the land should be embarrassed by a poverty greater than his own. Such deeds are a commonplace in Gandhi's life. His whole career reveals a positive passion for community of experience with mankind. When his people look upon him, therefore, they see not a leader merely but a comrade and a brother, one who is in all things like unto themselves; and of course they reverence him as one who is divine.

## HIS SELF-ABNEGATION

This deliberate kinship with the masses of his fellow-countrymen leads us to another quality which is fundamental in any estimate of Gandhi's personality. I refer to his self-abnegation, his sacrifice, his capacity for suffering. Very early in his career Gandhi discovered what he called "the law of conscious suffering"—the truth that the mastery of the world waits upon the man who is willing not to make others suffer but to suffer himself; and his whole life has been a discipline to its attainment. At the outset he sacrificed his property, his social standing, his profession, everything that could separate him from entire devotion to his fellowmen. In his personal habits he began and still continues to practise an asceticism that might well be the envy of a mediaeval monk. In his work as a reformer he has evaded no penalty, but has accepted gladly the punishments imposed upon him as only so many weapons to his hand. He has faced an assassin without flinching. Four times, in

South Africa and in India, he has been imprisoned. Thrice he has been beaten by mobs, and once left prone in the gutter as one dead. His body bears the stripes of the whips with which he has been lashed, his wrists and ankles the marks of the chains with which he has been bound for hours together to the iron bars of his cell. Read Paul's catalogue of sufferings, and you find it is a less terrible array than Gandhi's! "I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man" is his testimony. And all because sacrifice has been deliberately chosen as the law of his life and the sword of his fray! It is this which the Indians see when they look upon the scarred and wasted frame of their leader. It is this which they remember when they think of him in some far distant part of the countryside. Imagine the stupidity of a government which hopes to break such a man, or sever him from the worship of his followers, by fresh arrest and imprisonment!

## "LOVE INCARNATE"

Greater than all that we have yet mentioned in the character of Gandhi, is the love with which his entire being is saturated. No man of our time, few men of any time, have risen to such heights of tenderness and compassion for mankind as this Mahatma of India. Anger, malice, resentment, hatred, have altogether disappeared from his heart, and nothing is now left but the pure essence of love for his fellowmen. And his fellowmen include all men who live upon the earth! Like God himself, Gandhi is "no respecter of persons." He holds White men and Black side by side within the embrace of his affection. He ends the long feud between Moslem and Hindu, and makes them brethren, one of another. While recognizing certain social utilities of the caste system, he wipes out the barriers of separation in his personal relations, and seats Brahmin and "Untouchable" at common board and leads them in breaking bread together. Even the English are not excluded from his goodwill, for "love your enemies" is as stern a

command for Gandhi as for Jesus. "Tell the British people that I love them, and want their association" is the word that he has spoken a thousand times. Think of his conduct at the time of the attempt upon his life in South Africa! Asked in the hospital, where he was hovering on the verge of death, to take action against his assassin, he refused. "Why should I seek to injure or punish him," he said. "The man did what he thought was right, risked his life for what he thought was right! I believe in that man; I shall love him, and win him to myself." And he did. In a few months the assassin was conquered by the might of Gandhi's forgiveness, and became straight-away one of his most ardent followers.—Equally beautiful is Gandhi's attitude towards General Dyer, the officer responsible for the massacre at Amritsar. I cannot cooperate with him, says Gandhi: "I cannot recognize his authority or obey his orders. But if he fell sick of a fever, I would hasten to his bedside and nurse him back to health." There is no bitterness in this man, no last flickering spark of hatred or

revenge. He is Love Incarnate. In every act and even gesture of these last years, when patient suffering has purified his soul, he has been a perpetual witness to the truth of his own great words: "Anger will serve no purpose. We must meet ungodliness by godliness. We must meet untruth by truth. We must meet cunning and craft by openness and simplicity. We must meet terrorism and frightfulness by bravery."

#### OF UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE

It is qualities such as these, which have become familiar to all Indians, that give Gandhi such a hold upon the imagination and devotion of his people. It is these same qualities also, that give to him and his work a universal significance. Gandhi is a man who has mastered the secrets of spiritual living. His soul has been lifted, by virtue of incomparable discipline, to the measure of the stature of those realities which are of God. In humility, in sacrifice, in ardent love for men, he is one of those perfect characters which come along once

in a thousand, or perhaps only in two thousand years. And to-day he lies in prison. Such men are the judges of our world. A society which cannot suffer a Jesus, or a Gandhi to be at large, is a society which is not fit to live, and by this token is already doomed to die.

### A NEW ERA

A second evidence of Gandhi's universal significance is found in his doctrine of non-resistance, which, he says, "does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." I refer more particularly to the fact that Gandhi is the first man who has succeeded in applying the non-resistant idea on a vast scale, and in working out a technique for its successful operation in determining the great issues of social life. Gandhi, in other words, has demonstrated the feasibility of non-resistance as a method of political and economic reform, and therewith, definitely as Newton or Darwin, opened up a new era in human history.



## DOCTRINE OF NON-RESISTANCE

Hitherto non-resistance has laboured under two very serious disabilities. In the first place, its practice has been limited in the past to the life of the single individual, or here and there to the experience of single and isolated groups of individuals. The great non-resistants have been Jesus, St. Francis, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoi—men of transcendent personality and influence, who have exemplified nobly the possibilities of non-resistance in their own private lives, but have never attempted or been able to apply it on a universal scale to society at large. Occasionally, to be sure, there have appeared larger or smaller groups of men and women who have organised movements, and even whole communities, on non-resistant principles. Thus there were the Christians of the first two centuries of our era, various heretical sects of the Middle Ages such as the Cathari, the Waldenses and the Albigenses, and such modern religious groups as the Quakers, the Men-

nonites, and the Doukhobors of Russia and Western Canada. But these groups, like separate individuals of the Tolstoian type, have been independent and self-contained. They have lived very largely in, and for, themselves, and thus are important as an example rather than as an influence. They show what non-resistance can do on a small scale, but teach nothing about its practicability as a general social principle.

#### SUPREME NON-RESISTANT INFLUENCE

The second difficulty, under which the non-resistant gospel has suffered in the past, has been its identification with a remote or other worldly type of life. The non-resistant of the Middle Ages was the monk of the St. Francis type, who abandoned the world and went off to live alone by himself or with his group of disciples. The supreme non-resistant of modern times was Tolstoi, who characteristically cut himself off from his family, his country, his church, and lived like a kind of hermit on the land; and

at the end fled away, like a wounded animal in the bush, to die alone. These men were sublime in their personal lives. The non-resistant in all ages has marked the highest attainment of inward purity and outward sacrifice. But with few exceptions—Garrison, for example!—they have achieved virtue at the expense of contact with the world of men. From the practical point of view, the non-resistant has again and again been an ineffective man. He has solved the problems of life by running away from them. Tolstoi is one of the sublimest characters in history, but he contributed nothing to the solution of those questions that vex most terribly the society of modern times.

#### SOCIAL REVOLT BASED ON LOVE

It is these two disabilities which have left the advocate of non-resistance helpless to commend his doctrine as an adequate method for meeting the contingencies of the modern industrial struggle for example, or of international war. Non-resistance may be all right he has been told, as a

personal idiosyncrasy or as a means of escape from social responsibility, but it has nothing to offer the man who has to meet things as they are! And now, behold, comes Gandhi, a new type of non-resistant, a man who leads his people in the greatest movement of revolt our age has known, and does it on the basis of a programme of "resist not evil"! It is this programme or technique, of non-resistance as a method of social change, as the plan of campaign in what is literally a war for National Independence, that constitutes Gandhi's unique and immortal contribution to experience. Beginning with the elementary precept of "non-violence," which pledges all Indians to abstain from use of force under all circumstances Gandhi passes on to his second and basic principle of "non-co-operation." This is only superficially a negative principle—a refusal to co-operate in any way with the English Government: to accept favors or rewards, to use the courts, to send children to the schools, to buy English goods, to pay taxes, to recognize the laws. At bottom, it is a magni-

ficently positive assertion of Indian self-sufficiency—the definite organization of a society which is politically and economically self-sustaining and therefore independent. What Gandhi is doing is teaching his people to do their own work, to manage their own affairs to build and maintain their own institutions—and to endure in patience, not only without hatred or desire for revenge but with actual goodwill towards the enemy whatever suffering this policy may bring upon them from their alien rulers. He is organizing a vast programme of social revolt on the basis of love—love one for another expressed in terms of mutual service, and love for the enemy, expressed in terms of forgiveness and compassion. He is showing that no people need be helpless in the face of physical force, or to resist force with force to their own misery and destruction. All they have to do is to act together in ignoring it—to rise above it by discipline, to conquer it by suffering. “We must meet organization by greater organising ability. We must meet disci-

pline by greater discipline, and we must meet sacrifices by infinitely greater sacrifices."

### THE LAW OF LOVE

It is in this programme of non-resistance, applied on a vast scale to social issues, that I find evidence of a significance in Gandhi's work which far transcends the borders alike of country and of race. If the Mahatma succeeds in his great venture, non-resistance will be made for the first time in history a universal principle of life. The reproach that it is nothing more than an eccentric rule of individual or sectarian life will be removed. The charge that its feasibility is limited to the single life, or the unworldly habit of experience, will be answered. If Gandhi succeeds, we shall see that non-resistance is a sound method of social action, that resort to violence for any cause is no longer necessary, that for defence against aggressions and in endeavours after liberty, there is "the better way" than force. If Gandhi succeeds, do I say? Gandhi has already

succeeded; he has demonstrated this truth. His arrest yesterday was the final evidence of his triumph. More terrible to England than any sword, is the steadfast patience of this one little man who, in the true spirit of love, "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." In Gandhi if men be wise, the era of force at last comes to its end, and the era of peace and brotherhood begins!

#### NO ENEMY OF CIVILISATION

There is one final aspect of Gandhi's universal significance of which I would speak before I end this morning. I can best convey to you what I mean by referring to the charge most often brought against Gandhi by his enemies that he is a fanatic who would destroy everything that civilization has achieved in the last three hundred years. Thus it is said that he would close the hospitals in India, rip up the railroads, smash the printing presses and cotton factories, scrap the whole intricate mechanism of modern

life, in a vain endeavour to restore at one stroke the simpler ways of an earlier and more primitive day. Now, that Gandhi is thus a mad wrecker of the machinery of society as we know it to-day, is obviously disproved by the fact that he himself makes constant use of the various devices which are the commonplace of our time. Thus when he was so desperately wounded by the assassin in South Africa, he went to a hospital and was there nursed back to health by an Englishwoman who had come to know the kind of man he was. In India he travels constantly from place to place on the railroads. The other day, when extraordinary speed was necessary, he made the journey in a high-powered automobile. His use of the printing press is constant and most effective.

#### WAR AGAINST WESTERN CIVILISATION

There is truth, however, in the statement that Gandhi is fighting the machine of western civilisation in India, and seeking to restore the native and therefore primitive culture of his people. It is just this



which marks, to my mind, the culminating evidence of his genius as a spiritual leader. For Gandhi, as he looks upon his country to-day, sees it subjected to a two-fold yoke. On the one hand, there is the yoke of English Government—the bondage of an alien political system, against which the Nationalist Movement is now being directed. On the other hand, there is the yoke of capitalism—that economic system which uses the vast machinery of modern invention for the exploitation of the many to the profit of the few. To Gandhi, release from this economic system of Western capitalism is as important for India as release from the political system of British Imperialism. If English rule is overthrown, only to leave behind it English railroads, English factories, English promoting companies, and so on, the Indian people will have gained only the shadow and not the substance of Independence. They will be still enslaved, and enslaved to a system which is fatal to the best interests of humanity. At the heart of this Western civilisation of ours Gandhi

believes, is death and not life. We have created a vast machine which proves to be a Frankenstein which is devouring us. This monster has bound us to the wheel of labour, deceived us with the lure of wealth degraded us to the base uses of materialism and levelled to the ground our standards of moral and spiritual idealism. Even in a physical sense it is a failure, for in the end it brings only such calamity as the Great War. It is this system of economic ruin which Gandhi sees coming into Asia, after having conquered and ravaged our Western world. He sees it victorious in Japan, he sees it invading China, he sees it planted at the heart of India—"and he declares war against it!" He fights the opium trade; he battles against the liquor traffic; he substitutes the domestic spindle for the factory loom; he denounces the railroad, the automobile and the machine in general. What Gandhi is attempting to do is to save India from the blight of Western materialism by restoring her own native civilisation and culture before it is too late. He

is trying to preserve his land from the curse of commercialism, the horror of machine exploitation and production, the slavery of wage-labour, the whole black system of capitalistic life. And he would do this not for its own sake, but for the sake of India's soul. He would save the spirit of his people—their simplicity, their art, their religion, their mystic comradeship with one another and with God.

#### WORK OF SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION

It is here, in this great service, that Gandhi becomes in very truth the great religious leader of whom I spoke in the beginning. It is in this work of spiritual redemption that he takes on a universal significance, for the West as well as for the East. For in saving India, Gandhi is saving the world. In staying the ravages of capitalism in his own land, he is starting a movement which, by process of reaction, will flow back into our world and restore to us those things of the spirit which we have lost. Our Western civilisation is in exactly the situation of Rome in

## SERMON AFTER THE A

the days of the Great Cæsar mastered the world by the power of arms, and is exploiting its resources of the peoples to its own advantage. As its outward glory increases, however, its inward disintegration proceeds. At the critical moment in Roman history, there appeared Jesus and the Christians who brought to the perishing world a new source of life which preserved its vitality for a period of two thousand years. At the critical moment in our not dissimilar age, there appears Gandhi! Does he not also bring with him a new life of the spirit, and may he not therefore be truly hailed as the savior of the world?

## CHRIST REBORN

It is thus that I would speak of the universal significance of Mahatma Gandhi and his work in India. The parallel with Jesus constantly presents itself. The Nazarene was a divine personality; he taught the law of Love and laid down a programme of non-resistance for its fulfilment. He sought to establish the King-

is trying to bring heaven on Earth by dethroning the devil in favor of God. So also with Gandhi. This Indian is a saint in his personal life; he teaches the law of non-resistance as its practice; and he seeks the establishment of a new social order which shall be a Kingdom of the Spirit. If I believed in "the second coming," as I do not, I should dare to assert that Gandhi was Jesus come back to earth. But if "the second coming," has no historical validity, it has at least poetical significance, and in this sense, can we not speak of Gandhi as indeed the Christ? In a little book called "The Scourge of Christ," sent me by the author, Paul Richard, from the foot of the Himalaya mountains, where he lives, I find two remarkable sentences:

"If Christ came again, would he not choose again to be a son of an enslaved people rather than a citizen of the Empire?"

"The Christ, if he comes, will not be of the white race; the colored peoples could not put their faith in him."

Is not this the prophecy of Gandhi?

SERMON AFTER THE

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